Discriminating Palates: Evaluation and Inequality in American Fine Dining

By

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Abstract

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How are cultural fields organized? How do producers make sense of their products' value in a cultural field informed by structures of both art and commerce? How are categorization and evaluation related in cultural fields? How do these processes relate to broader systems of social inequality, such as those based on race, class and gender? In this dissertation, I analyze 120 in-depth interviews with critically recognized chefs and 1380 *Michelin Guide* restaurant reviews in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area to examine the relationship between ethnoracial and gender inequality and cultural production in the context of American fine dining.

I find that the system of ethnoracial categorization that defines the boundaries between restaurants and chefs in the field of American fine dining interacts with a system of three logics of evaluation that have different meanings and relevance to the assessment of distinct categories of cuisine in the field. This differential evaluation of different categories of cultural products and cultural producers then reproduces gender and ethnoracial hierarchies of culinary, artistic, and material value. I argue that chefs and restaurant critics use the logics of (1) technique, (2) creativity, and (3) authenticity to differentially evaluate restaurants and chefs serving (1) Classic, (2) Flexible, and (3) Ethnic cuisine, reflecting and reproducing a broader system of value that disproportionately celebrates culinary products and producers associated with whiteness and masculinity and devalues those actors that are symbolically or socially connected to femininity and /or non-whiteness.

I find that Classic restaurants, that is, those restaurants serving French, Italian, and Japanese cuisine, occupy a prestigious position based on their historical association with formalized technique, culinary hegemony, and tradition. Classic restaurants are primarily and uniquely valued for their ability to replicate institutionalized techniques and shared traditions in fine dining. Restaurants and chefs serving unfamiliar Flexible cuisine types, such as "Contemporary," American, and Californian cuisine, which lack shared meanings in the field are primarily valued for their artistic and scientific creativity, uniquely celebrated for the distinct contributions they make to the field through the production of personal,

previously unknown cuisine. Finally, Ethnic restaurants are evaluated according to the logic of authenticity, which has inconsistent standards formed in relation to three reference points—(1) Classic and Flexible restaurants already recognized as legitimate in the fine dining field, (2) inexpensive, Americanized take out establishments, and (3) Ethnic home cooking. This differential system of evaluation then veils an insidious form of gender and racial bias in language focused on the technical, creative, and authentic merits of artistic and commercial products in an emerging, globalizing cultural field.

“Well, there's nothing actually more political than food. I mean, who's eating, who's not eating. Also, I’ve found it's just very, very useful to not be a journalist. I mean, journalists drop into a situation, ask a question. People sort of tighten up. Whereas if you sit down with people and just say, ‘hey, what makes you happy? What's your life like? What do you like to eat?’ More often than not, they will tell you extraordinary things, many of which have nothing to do with food.”

Anthony Bourdain on *Fresh Air* in 2016

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Chapter One: Setting the Table
An Introduction to the Organization and Evaluation of the American Fine Dining Field

In April 2018, Michael Bauer, the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s restaurant critic, published his annual list of the Top 100 restaurants in the Bay Area to mixed reviews. Bauer's list was released on the heels of local and national controversy, as in the weeks before, the newspaper had published four essays by various *Chronicle* food writers about whether restaurants owned and operated by "bad men," that is, chefs or owners who had been publicly accused of sexual harassment as part of the #metoo movement, should be included in restaurant rankings this year. Men in various cultural fields, from Hollywood to journalism, dining to literary publishing, have been identified as perpetrators of sexual violence and sexual harassment, and the food world was particularly shocked by allegations against chefs such as John Besh in New Orleans, Mario Batali in New York, and Ken Friedman, who owns restaurants around the United States, including San Francisco's Tosca Café. Bauer included three restaurants owned or operated by men who were publicly chastised as "bad men" (Fort 2018) in a year when other food publications, such as national online food magazine *Eater,* refused to review or report on these restaurants, and the chairwoman of the national James Beard Awards encouraged voters to consider cuisine, "character," and kitchen "culture" when nominating chefs for recognition (Godoy 2018).

In addition to including three "bad men's" restaurants, Bauer's list notably excluded three-Michelin-starred restaurant Coi, owned by celebrity chef Daniel Patterson, who is known both for his distinctive California cuisine and his commitment to social justice (with Chef Roy Choi, he opened Locol, a fast food chain in California determined to provide healthy, affordable food to underserved communities). The exclusion inspired Patterson to turn to Twitter to publicly ruminate about the role and responsibilities of the restaurant critic and the implications of evaluation in restaurants today, particularly with regard to issues of race, class, and gender.

Patterson is not new to these conversations. In 2005, he wrote a public critique of the homogeneity of California's cuisine, rising prices, and broader systems of inaccessibility at Bay Area restaurants, asking, "how can we build an egalitarian society based on a lifestyle so few can afford?" (Patterson 2005). In 2018 in response to Bauer's list, Patterson recalls this article when he tweets, "Chez [Panisse (Alice Waters' acclaimed Berkeley bastion of California cuisine)], like our larger Bay Area community was, and is Euro-centric. That is to say, biased toward whiteness in myriad ways." He later tweets, "so I looked at this year's "Top" 100 with fresh eyes, and I have some questions about how gender and race impact the process. I think Souvla [a fast casual restaurant serving spit-fired meats helmed by a white male founder/CEO and chef/partner that made Bauer's top 100 list] is terrific, but so is Reem's [an Oakland restaurant serving the food of "Arab street corner bakeries" founded by a Palestinian-Syrian woman that was not included in Bauer's list]. Why one and not the other?" He then asks a series of important and perplexing questions: "when it comes to cultural cuisine, what is the effect of colonization on how we perceive appropriation in reviews? Should there be a demerit for stealing from and profiting off other people's culture? Is our review system fair? More importantly, is that system for everyone? Or is it designed for only some people, seen from one cultural point of view?" (Fort 2018).

The chefs, diners, and critics of the American fine dining field are grappling with some of the questions that Patterson poses. Cuisine is experiencing a moment of heightened attention, as chefs are recognized as international celebrities, diners document their daily consumption on social media, and American restaurants gain international acclaim through critical recognition from the *Michelin Guide* and the World's 50 Best List. At the same time, members of the industry, like Patterson, are illuminating some of the institutionalized hierarchies, particularly those concerning the historically Eurocentric cuisine served at fine restaurants, the disproportionate absence of recognition for women and non-white chefs, the sexual harassment and abuse embedded in professional kitchen culture, and the differential evaluation of restaurants serving Ethnic cuisine that undergird the contemporary culinary field (Fort 2018; Kludt 2017; Cohen 2017; Ray 2016). As Patterson suggests, American fine dining is defined by systems of inequality and exclusion, and ethnoracial and gender hierarchies inform the processes of critical evaluation and cultural production in the field. In this dissertation, I take up some of the questions that Patterson and others have recently asked, honing in on the relationship between culinary cultural production, evaluation, and systems of ethnoracial and gender inequality in American fine dining.

American Fine Dining as a Field of Cultural Production

The study of haute cuisine, elite culinary consumption, and the chef occupation has a robust history in the sociology of culture and food literatures (e.g., Ferguson 1998; Fine 1996; Rao et al. 2003; Johnston and Baumann 2010; Lane 2013; Leschziner 2015; Ray 2016). Food scholars have examined the historical development of haute cuisine, both in Europe and the United States, charting the origins of contemporary culinary production in nineteenth- and twentieth-century France (Ferguson 1998; 2004; Trubek 2000; Spang 2000; Freedman 2016; Rao et al. 2003; 2005; Barr 2018). Other scholars have followed Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital to analyze how cultural consumption, including the consumption of cuisine, maps onto systems of class-based distinction (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu 1993; Lane 2013; Johnston and Baumann 2010). These scholars consider how diners' epicurean "tastes" reflect their class status and how consumption patterns of "cultural omnivorousness," or the simultaneous appreciation of high brow and low brow products, challenge the bright boundaries (Lamont and Molnar 2002; Pachuki et al. 2007) of class-based distinction that Bourdieu's theory suggests (Johnston and Baumann 2007; 2010; Goldberg et al. 2016; Warde 2015; Zukin and Maguire 2004; Peterson and Kern 1996; Lizardo and Skiles 2012). However, less attention has been paid to the *producers* of culinary products in the fine dining field[1]. In this project, I consider how the organization and systems of evaluation in a cultural field at the intersection of art and commerce (Bourdieu 1993; Bourdieu 1983) affect how chefs understand their processes of production and their position, power, and prestige within the field.

American fine dining is a unique field of cultural production for several reasons. First, unlike other artistic fields of sociological interest, such as literature, painting or music (Bourdieu 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Griswold 1987; Peterson and Anand 2004;

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[1] Notable exceptions include Ray's 2016 study of "ethnic restaurateurs" in New York City and Leschziner's 2015 study of creativity among elite chefs in New York and San Francisco in the early 2000s.

[2] I use the term "cuisine type" to denote the specific ethnoracial and national categories of cuisine that chefs and restaurants serve, such as "Vietnamese," "French," and "Contemporary." I use the term "genre" to refer

White and White 1965; Peterson and Berger 1975; Lena 2006), cuisine is a temporal product that is difficult to canonize. Consuming a particular dish at a particular restaurant prepared by a particular chef is a singular, not shared, experience, so the consecration and legitimation of culinary products and chefs is based on an individual temporal experience that is difficult to replicate.

Additionally, for chefs in the American fine dining field, there are two processes of production. There is first the production process surrounding the *creation* of a particular dish. When a chef sets out to add an item to the menu, they have a particular creative process, usually involving an original idea of a dish, experimentation, and the tasting and development of the dish through repetition and innovation. Many chefs work alone or with one or two other trusted colleagues during this creative production process (Leschziner 2015). Second, the chef must then teach her staff, the line cooks, how to execute her creation, since it is nearly impossible for one chef to alone produce all of the food for one restaurant on any given night. This means that the second process of cultural production that chefs engage is the process of practical production, which involves the hiring, training, and managing of cooks who work under them. This training is then carried on, as cooks move from kitchen to kitchen and develop their own career paths, so the training that a particular chef offers her staff also comes to define her "legacy" in the field, as cooks who worked with her carry her vision and the skills they learned from her kitchen to other restaurants. Howard Becker (1983) argues that all art is made and understood through collaboration; however, unlike writing a poem or carving a sculpture, culinary production relies on the *daily* management of both the creative production of cuisine and the practical collaborative execution of it. Thus, in this project, I consider how chefs' understandings of these two processes of production—both creative and practical—are related to broader systems of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy in the field, represented by both the ethnoracial and gender categories assigned to chefs and the categories assigned to the cuisine they produce.

Finally, and perhaps most saliently for this project, as Patterson's tweets make clear, the field of American fine dining is organized according to ethnoracial and national categories. Studies of cultural taste have focused on the relationship between class-based status and taste (Bourdieu 1984; Peterson and Kern 1996), but, when we control for elite status, that is, when we examine differences in value for restaurants and chefs *within* the elite fine dining field, the boundaries between these actors are primarily defined according to ethnoracial and national categories. Restaurants are labeled as serving "Italian," or "Mexican," or "French" cuisine, and field actors have expectations about what these categories mean with regard to the kinds of dishes that will be served, the flavors and techniques used to create dishes, and the price point for these meals. While we know that ethnoracial categories meaningfully stratify social life when applied to people, demarcating the boundaries of distribution of resources in the labor market, education, politics, etc. (Massey 2007; Omi and Winant 2015; Bonilla-Silva 2017 (2005); Mora 2014), we know less about what these categories mean when they are applied to products, especially cultural products that are evaluated according to the tenets of both art and commerce. In this project, I use the unique cultural field of American fine dining to investigate questions about the relationship between ethnoracial and gender hierarchies and cultural production, focusing on the organization and evaluation of the cultural field of American fine dining.

Research Questions

In this project, I ask questions about categorization, organization, evaluation, and inequality in cultural fields. I use the case of American fine dining to illuminate how the systems of categorization and evaluation that are used to organize power, prestige, and value in cultural fields interact to reproduce systems of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy. I ask three interrelated research questions:

1. How is the contemporary American fine dining field organized?
2. How are chefs and restaurants evaluated? How do these systems of evaluation affect how chefs understand their products, position, prestige, and value in the field?
3. How are these systems of organization and evaluation related to systems of ethnoracial and gender inequality in the fine dining field?

I argue that the American fine dining field is organized according to ethnoracial and gender categories that classify both the cuisine cooked and the chefs who produce it. These categories correspond with the differential application of three logics of evaluation—the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity. The logics of evaluation interact with the system of ethnoracial categorization that organizes the field to establish a system of cultural and material value in the American fine dining field that uniquely privileges those products and producers associated with whiteness and masculinity and devalues products and producers associated with non-whiteness and femininity. That is, chefs and cuisines that are associated with whiteness and masculinity are systematically valued above those associated with non-whiteness and femininity.

These questions and the arguments I present draw on theoretical ideas from two bodies of literature—(1) the literature about cultural fields, cultural processes, such as categorization and evaluation, and art and (2) the literature concerning the social reproduction of race and gender in the workplace, including a sub-literature addressing racial and gender inequality in cultural work. Below, I summarize the major arguments in these two literatures. I then provide a brief overview of a third literature, focused on the case of the American fine dining field, to situate my arguments in the existing literature that addresses American fine dining as a case of sociological inquiry. I summarize the existing scholarship that considers the relationship between ethnoracial and gender hierarchy and American fine dining before bringing the theoretical underpinnings of the cultural fields and workplace discrimination literatures into conversation with each other to introduce the arguments that I develop in the rest of the dissertation. In a section entitled "Genres of Cuisine and Logics of Evaluation," I introduce the theoretical concepts that I develop throughout this dissertation and summarize the primary argument of the document. I then describe the methodology I used to pursue the answers to these questions and articulate the project's contributions to the literatures in cultural fields, the sociology of evaluation literature, the sociology of ethnoracial and gender inequality, and the sociology of food. Finally, I conclude this introductory chapter with a brief outline of the content of the chapters that follow.

Fields of Cultural Production and Cultural Processes

American fine dining is a field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1993; 1983; Peterson and Anand 2004). Cultural fields are defined by and structured according to power relations between field actors; power represents actors' symbolic and material value. Because fields are constantly changing, with actors entering and exiting the field regularly, power is constantly in question and renegotiated; in cultural fields, power is defined by actors' differential access to resources (capital) and determined by the social and symbolic boundaries that define systems of value within the field. Cultural processes (categorization, legitimation, and evaluation) organize value and power in cultural fields (Lamont et al. 2014). Fine dining is a unique cultural field because unlike traditional artistic fields which "reverse the economic logic," in fine dining, the processes of evaluation and markers of power are shaped by both expectations and logics of art and commerce, meaning that actors' value is determined by both symbols of value *and* economic value.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, a field is a structured, socially patterned system of agents, institutions, and practices in which action occurs (Bourdieu 1977; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Actors occupy what Bourdieu (1993) calls "positions," which represent actors' relational power and prestige in the field. Fields of cultural production, in which cultural products, such as art, dance, literature, etc. are produced, consumed, and evaluated, are embedded in the field of power, which, according to Bourdieu, is informed by class relations (1993; 1983). An actor's position in the field of cultural production, then, represents that actor's power, which is largely informed by actors' differential access to various forms of capital, including economic, cultural, and social capital (Bourdieu 1983; 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Actors in a field constantly jockey for power in the field, which is symbolized by their "position;" the most powerful actors are those who achieve high status positions by navigating the field through their *habitus*, or the embodied dispositions that inform how actors understand the world around them. An actor's habitus is simultaneously informed by and informs that actor's capital and position. The actors with the most capital relevant to the field occupy the most powerful and therefore prestigious positions in the field.

Power is, therefore, relational. An actor is only understood as "powerful" in comparison to another actor; for example, in the literary field, an author occupies a powerful position when they use their literary, cultural, social, and economic capital and, therefore, habitus to access channels of power in the field, whether through publication with a respected press, book sales, or markers of consecration, such as the National Book Award or Pulitzer prize. The author and her work are then deemed powerful because they have more status and/or capital than other authors. That author's position and associated power and prestige is only understood in relation to the other actors of the field, either through affiliation, such as association with a major literary prize or publishing house, or through distinction, as unlike other actors with less power and prestige in the field; an author with a Pulitzer-prize-winning book is more powerful in the literary field than an author without this recognition, and this power is predicated on the difference in association with the Pulitzer prize, a legitimating and consecrating actor in the field. Positions are constantly changing, as new actors enter and exit the field, so the distribution of power and prestige shifts as the actors in the field shift (Bourdieu 1983; 1993). This means that actors in the

field constantly renegotiate power and prestige in the field, what Bourdieu calls a process of "position taking," redefining the boundaries that distinguish actors from each other and define the parameters of the field itself.

"Position taking" in a cultural field is the process by which actors negotiate the boundaries that represent power relations. Powerful actors in the field determine both the boundary between those actors that are included in the field and those that are not and of those included actors, the boundaries that define their relational positions within the field. To return to the example of the literary field, actors in the field first determine the boundary between those actors who are in the field and those who are not (powerful actors, such as prize committees and respected presses, may determine that the literary field includes those authors who publish prize-worthy books or who publish books with those respected presses, while authors who write mass-market paperbacks, who publish online, or who publish with small, local presses) are excluded. Then, within this bounded literary field, publishers, booksellers, critics, prize committees, and authors negotiate the boundaries between actors *in* the field, creating a hierarchy of prestige.

These defining boundaries can be both symbolic and/or social (Lamont and Molnar 2002). Symbolic boundaries, "are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are the tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality" (Lamont and Molnar 2002: 168). That is, symbolic boundaries represent the power relations that actors in a cultural field negotiate as they engage in processes of "position taking" (1993). Social boundaries "are objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities" (Lamont and Molnar 2002: 168). The process of position taking and the negotiation of power in cultural fields, then, is both defined by and, in turn, defines the symbolic boundaries, or the categorical distinctions, such as, in the literary field, distinctions based on genre (i.e. "literary fiction," "poetry," "romance"), that have a shared meaning in the field, and social boundaries that reflect differential access to resources and social status, such as the boundaries represented by authors' gender, race, class status, nationality, etc.

Each cultural field is different and has a different set of criteria, evaluative processes, and organization of power specific to that field. The distribution of power and allocation of positions in one cultural field cannot simply be translated to another. Instead, each cultural field has a *logic* that guides the organization of action and the resulting system of power in that cultural field (Bourdieu 1977; 1983; 1993). Logics constitute the overarching systems of cultural entities, including norms and values, by which actors in a field make sense of and organize the action in that field (Friedland and Alford 1991; Haveman and Gualtieri 2017). Thus, the action in a cultural field is structured by a logic composed of values and expectations by which field actors make sense of and evaluate their position (and therefore their power and prestige) in relation to the other actors. Bourdieu argues that because cultural fields rely primarily on symbolic systems of prestige and power, as distinct from material systems of value, they follow the "logic of the economic field reversed" (Bourdieu 1993; 1996); instead of determining actors' relational value entirely according to the distribution of economic capital, these cultural fields are organized according to a logic of symbolic evaluation that celebrates actors who are wealthy in forms of field-specific, often symbolic capital.

While this holds true for artistic fields, such as painting and poetry, other cultural fields, including fine dining and film, exist at the intersection of art and commerce, so systems of value and position taking are defined by the logics of both art worlds (Becker 1983) and commercial markets (Fligstein and Dauter 2007; Peterson and Anand 2004; Baumann 2007; Leschziner 2015). Thus, they do not follow the logic of the "economic field reversed," as Bourdieu argues, but, instead are hybrid cultural fields that function as both markets with intense competition for consumers' dollars and a financial imperative (if books do not sell or diners do not eat at a particular restaurant, these producers may be excluded from the field because they do not have the economic capital required to continue producing), as well as creative spaces with cultural producers creating products that are artistic in nature and therefore symbolically valuable. These fields' occupation of the space between art and commerce informs how "cultural processes," including categorization, evaluation, legitimation, and consecration play out (Lamont et al. 2014).

Cultural processes establish and reproduce the social and symbolic boundaries that define the power negotiations of position taking. In order to assess a field actors' value, that actor must first be understood by other actors in the field according to the logic of the field. One of the ways this understanding is achieved is through the process of categorization. To *categorize* or *classify* something is to draw on shared meanings in the field to label actors in the field in a way that allows other actors to make sense of that actor (Lamont 2012). To use the case of the literary field as an example, when a novel is categorized as a "Great American novel," that book becomes understood as similar to other great American novels and distinct from other kinds of books, such as those books that are not "great" (such as mass market paperbacks) or great books that are not "American" (such as works by Austen or Dickens) or books that are not novels, such as Arthur Miller's "Great American plays;" actors in the field, including authors, publishers, and critics, have a shared understanding of the category of "Great American novel" formed in the context of other actors in the field that shapes their expectations of the categorized actor. Because a book is a "Great American novel," we might expect its author to engage themes central to American identity, such as race relations, American exceptionalism, or discovery because other actors in the field that are categorized as "Great American novels" feature these themes.

The classification of an actor according to an institutionalized category in a particular field, such as "Great American novel," then enacts expectations that inform how the product (and its producer) is understood relationally, indicating comparative reference points for what consumers expect to pay (a "great" new novel will be published in a more expensive hardback edition before a more accessible paperback edition is released), the themes they expect to encounter, the author's writing style, and even the demographics of the writer (i.e., race, gender, citizenship). Categories then draw on shared meanings in the field to establish the boundaries that inform the logics by which cultural products and their producers are valued, legitimated, and consecrated (Lamont 2012; Leschziner 2015; Negro et al. 2010).

Once an actor is categorized in a way that is understandable to other actors in the field, it may be *legitimated* or *consecrated* (Lamont 2012). According to Bourdieu's theory, cultural intermediaries, such as critics, assess field actors' value. Those field actors with the most relevant capital are deemed valuable, legitimate, and therefore, in some cases, consecrated. To be acknowledged as legitimate, is to be accepted as a valuable actor in a particular context; to be consecrated is to be understood as one of the most valuable actors

in the field (Lamont 2012). This process of legitimation/consecration allows actors in cultural fields that may not be materially valuable but are symbolically valuable, such as painters or authors, to produce "art for art's sake" and be celebrated for it (Baumann 2007; Alexander 2003; Lamont 2012; Bourdieu 1993).

Many of the studies of legitimation and consecration focus on how previously uncelebrated cultural products, such as film (Baumann 2007), become legitimated and accepted as artistic products and therefore subject to assessment according to the logic of art worlds (Becker 1983), "reversing" the logic of the "economic field" (Bourdieu 1983; 1993). Other studies focus on the predictors of consecration (Allen and Lincoln 2004; Braden 2009; Cattani et al. 2014; Lang and Lang 1988; Stokes 2015), such as pedigree, audience expectations, social context, and even gender and sexuality. Still another body of literature considers "authenticity" as a mechanism for legitimation in cultural fields, showing that authenticity is a social construction that serves as an imprecise tool for assessing artists and their products in a variety of cultural fields and markets (Peterson and Anand 2004; Grazian 2003; Lu and Fine 1995; Johnston and Baumann 2007; Johnston and Baumann 2010; Peterson 2005; Glynn and Lounsbury 2005; Hahl et al. 2017). These scholars examine how authenticity functions as a blurry but still meaningful marker of legitimacy for musicians (Peterson 1997; Grazian 2003), cuisine (Johnston and Baumann 2010; Carroll and Wheaton 2009; Kovacs et al. 2014), self-taught artists (Fine 2003), tourism entrepreneurs (Gotham 2007), and other creative workers.

Processes of categorization, legitimation, and consecration are all processes of *evaluation* (Lamont 2012; Chong 2011; 2013; Beljean et al. 2016). When consumers, producers, and critics assess a product's legitimacy, they are comparatively evaluating that product and determining its relational value, whether material, symbolic, or both. Most of the literature about evaluation in cultural fields has analyzed the relevant gatekeepers and audiences and the criteria they employ to evaluate cultural products (Lena and Schmutz 2017). Chong (2013) considers how book reviewers pursue objectivity in their assessments of literature. Baumann (2007) illuminates the legitimating ideologies that film critics applied to the evaluation of film as art. Johnston and Baumann (2007; 2010) consider the relationship between consumer taste and critics' assessments in gourmet food writing. In these studies in the sociology of evaluation, scholars have focused on the forms of symbolic capital that influence how critics evaluate actors in cultural fields, producing the symbolic boundaries that define actors' position, power, and prestige. However, the study of evaluation of cultural fields has primarily conceptualized the symbolic systems of evaluation of artistic fields and the material systems of valuation in commercial markets as distinct processes, with separate criteria and different distributions of power and prestige.

In artistic cultural fields, such as painting or sculpture, art is produced and understood as the result of the collaboration of various actors in the field, including artists, critics, dealers, gallerists, patrons, and consumers (Becker 1983; Alexander 2003; Alexander and Bowler 2014). The collective evaluation, legitimation, and consecration of art are based on *symbols* (Bourdieu calls this "symbolic capital" (1993); Becker refers to artists' "reputational value" (1983)). This system of symbolic evaluation allows artists to eschew the logic of economic fields, which establishes value based on pricing and material valuation, and produce valuable "art for art's sake" (DiMaggio 1987; Alexander and Bowler 2014; Alexander 2003).

At the same time, some cultural fields, including the field of American fine dining, are also commercial markets. If a restaurant does not attract enough customers in order to break even (indeed, many fine dining restaurants have a very low profit margin), they do not stay open, cease to exist, and, therefore, exit the field. In the categories literature, scholars have addressed how categories are used to define products so that consumers can understand them and make choices about how they wish to spend their money (Negro et al. 2010; Zuckerman 1999; Hannan 2010). The most valuable products are those that are easily understood and therefore profitable (Zelizer 2011; Zuckerman 2012; Fligstein and Dauter 2007) and/or understood as high status (Hsu 2006; Hsu et al. 2012; Kovacs et al. 2014; Carroll and Wheaton 2009). There is a large literature addressing the relationship between categorization and the evaluation of products in commercial markets (e.g., Zuckerman 1999; Rao et. al 2003; Hannan and Hsu 2005; Hannan 2010; Negro et. al 2010; Kovacs and Hannan 2010; Goldberg et. al 2016). These studies suggest that the most valuable products are those that are categorized in clear, not "fuzzy" or "partial," easily understandable ways (Hannan 2010; Zuckerman 1999; Negro et al. 2010).

Indeed, this literature suggests that consumers will reject less defined categories of products, such as those that are celebrated exclusively for their symbolic value in artistic fields, because they are not easily understood in relation to other institutionalized actors in the market and therefore consumers cannot easily determine their relational value, whether that value is based on price and/or status or reputation. However, this categories literature has primarily analyzed fields that operate exclusively as commercial markets, and categories in cultural fields, such as cuisine or advertising, which are sometimes called "creative markets" or "creative industries" (Koppman 2014; 2015; Currid 2008; Florida 2002), might indicate different systems of value, especially because these hybrid fields are organized according to logics of both art and commerce.

Despite the growth in this burgeoning literature (Lamont 2012), the literature about categorization and evaluation is largely divided between studies of the symbolic systems that organize "artistic fields" and the material systems that define the action in "markets." Because cuisine exists at the intersection of art and commerce and there are different forms of valuation and evaluation in artistic and economic fields (Bourdieu 1993; Peterson and Anand 2004; Lamont et al. 2014; Lamont 2012; Beljean et al. 2016), the American fine dining field provides a particularly compelling site in which to consider the relationships between categorization, legitimation, and material and symbolic evaluation that remain under-theorized in the literature (Lamont 2012). We might expect that in this hybrid field, these evaluative processes play out differently than in other fields, and the relationship between categorization and evaluation may challenge the predictions of both the artistic fields and categories literatures. Unlike other cultural fields, one of the primary mechanisms of categorization and organization in American fine dining is according to ethnoracial and national categories, meaning American fine dining functions as a "racial field," or a field that is explicitly categorically organized according to racial hierarchies (Emirbayer and Desmond 2015). In this dissertation, I argue that these ethnoracial categories serve as the primarily mechanism of organization for chefs, restaurants, and cuisines in the American fine dining field and, in turn, they shape how chefs understand their products' value and how those products are understood and evaluated in relation to other actors in the field.

The Social Reproduction of Race and Gender in the Workplace

In this project I consider the American fine dining field as not just a field of cultural production but also a labor market, arguably an "artistic labor market" (Menger 1999), where chefs are not exclusively artists, but also employees, managers, and workers. In labor markets, the social boundaries between actors, particularly those boundaries that represent producers' race/ethnicity, national identity, and gender, are understood in relation to the categories that also define their products in the field. Race and gender stratify social life, informing the social roles, resources, and systems of inequality that affect individuals' experiences in a variety of contexts, including education, housing, politics, and employment (Omi and Winant 2015; Pager and Shepherd 2008; Cornell and Hartmann 2006; Reskin 2012; England 2010; Martin 2004; Risman 2004; Ridgeway 2011; Quillian 2006). At work, women and people of color are systematically paid less (Cohen and Huffman 2003), denied access to positions of power and authority (Smith 2002; Huffman and Cohen 2004), experience discrimination in hiring and promotion (Rivera 2012; Bielby and Baron 1986; Moss and Tilly 2001; Pager and Shepherd 2008; Reskin 2012), and are expected to fulfill roles that align with stereotypes about the kind of work different kinds of workers do (Kanter 1977; Turco 2010; Schilt 2010; Wingfield 2013). The extensive workplace discrimination literature falls into two general categories—(1) micro-level studies that show that discrimination occurs in the workplace and has consequences with regard to workers' differential treatment, experience, and pay at work and (2) macro-level studies that address how discriminatory practices and norms at work reflect broader institutionalized systems of ethnoracial and gender inequality. I use the case of the American fine dining field and the differential treatment and evaluation of both cultural workers and their products to show how differential and discriminatory workplace practices rely on systemic, institutionalized ethnoracial and gender hierarchies to justify and explain unequal behavior, whether obvious or subtle (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Moss and Tilly 2001), and, in so doing, reproduce these systems of inequality in the workplace.

Because workplace discrimination is illegal in the United States, scholars who study discriminatory practices and behaviors at work encounter a methodological challenge when operationalizing the concept of workplace discrimination; few employers will admit that they did not hire/promote/pay someone fairly because of their race or gender. Historically, before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, discrimination on the basis of race and sex in employment, education, and housing was blatant, easily identifiable, and common in the United States. Since the passing of the Civil Rights Act, discrimination has played out in the labor market in much subtler, more difficult to measure forms (Pager and Shepherd 2008; Bonilla-Silva 2003; Omi and Winant 2015). This has inspired several audit studies (Pager and Shepherd 2008), or studies that use experimental techniques in real labor markets to consider how various characteristics of applicants, including race (Pager 2007), gender and maternal status (Correll et al. 2007), a criminal record (Pager 2003), and sexual orientation (Pedulla 2014) affect employers' hiring practices with regard to applicants with these stigmatized characteristics. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these audit studies find evidence of discrimination in hiring, with applicants of color and women applicants receiving fewer callbacks than white and male applicants, less favorable reviews, and fewer opportunities for promotion.

Other scholars who study sex discrimination at work show how the workplace operates as a space where gender roles are taught, learned, and enacted through interaction,

through "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987; Kanter 1977; Acker 1990; Williams 1992; Blair-Loy 2003; Connell 2005; Schilt 2010; Ridgeway 2011; Kang 2010; Bianchi and Milkie 2010; England 2010). While the gendered division of labor has historically defined women's work as the care work of the home and men's work as the wage-earning work of the public sphere (Milkman 1987; Ridgeway 2011; Risman 2004; Milkman 2016), as women entered the public workforce in greater numbers throughout the twentieth century, the workplace became a site for the reproduction of gendered social roles in the public sphere. In male-dominated work spaces, women are "tokens," or numerically underrepresented minorities, and, therefore "role typed" in positions that focus their labor on devalued care work (Kanter 1977; Turco 2010; Schilt 2010); they are pressured to fulfill traditionally feminine roles, such as "mothers" or "pets," while male colleagues are typed as "leaders" and "workers" (Acker 1990; Kanter 1977; Connell 2005; Wingfield 2013). Indeed, women are tracked into particular professions (or discouraged from entering certain professions) because some forms of work, especially those most associated with care work, such as teaching and nursing, are more closely associated with women's institutionalized social roles (Baron and Bielby 1986; Hartmann 1976; Acker 1990; Jacobs 1989; Stone 2007; Williams et al. 2012). When they do not fulfill gendered expectations, workers may be penalized (Kanter 1977; West and Zimmerman 1987; Williams 1992; Schilt 2010).

Scholars who study discriminatory behavior at work show that women are denied access to leadership positions, even in workplaces where they represent the majority of workers (Williams 1992; Smith 2002; Cohen and Huffman 2007; Huffman et al. 2010). Women experience discrimination in hiring and firing, especially when motherhood poses a "threat" to productivity and/or efficiency (Budig and England 2001; Correll et al. 2007; England 2010; Ridgeway 2011). Scholars of gender and work have extensively documented the gender wage gap (Cohen and Huffman 2003; Blau and Kahn 2007; England 2010; Ridgeway 2011; Schilt 2010), and one explanation for this pay differential is the "motherhood penalty" (Correll et al. 2007; Benard and Correll 2010), which suggests that, because of the stereotype that women who are mothers or who might become mothers will be less committed to their work, they are undesirable employees. Women workers navigate a cultural and structural system of work/family conflict, what Blair-Loy (2003) calls "competing devotions" that suggests that women must choose between devotion to work or family in order to fulfill cultural expectations of being a "good worker" and/or a "good mother" (e.g., Hochschild 1992; 1997; Schieman et al. 2009; Williams 2010; Bianchi and Milkie 2010). Even in two-earner homes, scholars of work and family find that women work a "second shift" (Hochschild 1992), doing a disproportionate amount of housework compared to their male partners, which can leave women workers exhausted and frustrated, often affecting their experience at work (Cohen 2004; England 2005; Glenn 2010; Bianchi et al. 2012; Schneider and Hastings 2017).

In addition to navigating these structural and cultural barriers to success and equity in the workplace, women are also likely to experience sexual harassment (Welsh 1999; Williams et al. 1999), or illegal workplace harassment on the basis of sex that makes work an unpleasant and dangerous space for women workers (Giuffre and Williams 1994; Dellinger and Williams 2002; Saguy 2003; Jayaraman 2013; Harris and Giuffre 2015; McLaughlin et al. 2017). Sexual harassment, which is considered sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, undermines women's authority, reproduces sexist stereotypes, decreases women's opportunities for mobility on the job, and threatens workers'

safety and satisfaction at work (McLaughlin et al. 2012; McLaughlin et al. 2017; Quinn 2002; Mackinnon 1979).

While studies in this literature illuminate the ways in which subtle and obvious behaviors related to racial and gender discrimination disproportionately affect how women and workers of color experience work, including differential access to opportunities for advancement, hiring, and equal pay, other scholars have connected these discriminatory behaviors at work to larger institutionalized systems of racial and gender inequality. When employers and other workers use racial categories assigned to their colleagues to inform their interactions at work, they draw on stereotypes, reproducing systems of racial inequality, and, in so doing, enact processes of racial formation and racialization in the workplace (Omi and Winant 2015). These processes of workplace racial formation then have concrete consequences for non-white workers, who face lower employment rates, lower average pay, decreased access to resources that facilitate mobility within workplaces, and comparatively less authority at work (Smith 2002; Huffman and Cohen 2004; Cohen and Huffman 2007; Massey 2007; Elliott and Smith 2004; Rivera 2012).

Similarly, when employers and workers use gender to inform how they distribute work, pay, responsibility, and leadership, they reflect and reproduce not only broader social systems of gender hierarchy but also what Joan Acker calls, "gendered logics of organization" (Acker 1990). Acker argues that organizations, including workplaces, are not "gender neutral," but are instead organized according to gendered expectations. She argues that organizations' occupations, practices, cultural norms, hierarchies, and values maintain gender inequality and masculine domination in the workplace, including through the perpetuation of the concept of an "ideal worker" who is male, fully devoted to work, and, as intersectional scholars have shown (e.g. Turco 2010; Wingfield 2013), white. These gendered logics create cultural norms and structures that exclude women from opportunities for advancement, inclusion, and authority at work, because they suggest that the very operation of the organization requires gender inequality and masculine domination, leading to experiences of "tokenism" (Kanter 1977; Turco 2010; Wingfield 2013) and the differential evaluation of different kinds of workers' work.

While in the majority of the workplace inequality literature racial and gender inequality are studied as distinct systems of stratification (that is, most studies focus on racial inequality *or* gender inequality at work), one of the theoretical pillars of the gender and race literatures is intersectionality (Collins 1990; Glenn 1992; Browne and Misra 2003; McCall 2005; Choo and Ferree 2010). Race and gender are not isolated social systems. Instead, systems of racial and gender inequality are intersecting, interlocking, and co-constitutive, but measuring these intersections has proven to be a difficult task for scholars in this theoretical tradition (Browne and Misra 2003; Choo and Ferree 2010).

In this project, I analyze both the discriminatory behavior, differential experiences, and differential outcomes that different categories of chefs encounter at work and the institutionalized systems of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that these behaviors reflect and reproduce in the American fine dining field. I then bring the two facets of the workplace discrimination literature—the micro focus on behaviors and the macro consideration of broader systems of inequality—into conversation with each other by examining how different categories of chefs experience the professional kitchen as a workplace and how broader systems of ethnoracial and gender inequality organize the field and affect the assessment of both chefs' and their products' relational value in the field. I find that chefs

who do not represent the "ideal worker," or women and non-white chefs, are devalued at work, often denied opportunities for authority and advancement, and therefore they must endure different barriers to opportunity in their training to prove their legitimacy as cultural producers in ways that their white and male colleagues do not because they do not physically embody the institutionalized stereotype of the artistic culinary producer. Additionally, I argue that culinary products associated with femininity and non-whiteness, such as Ethnic cuisine and cuisine associated with feminine home cooking, suffer similar barriers to legitimation and are comparatively devalued in the field.

By analyzing these two levels of discrimination, both in the daily labor of the professional kitchen and the systems of legitimation, consecration, and evaluation of chefs, restaurants, and cuisines in the broader field according to association with or distance from whiteness and masculinity, I complicate the workplace discrimination literature's isolated analyses of ethnoracial inequality and gender inequality and build on the tradition of intersectional theory. In my analyses, I show how systems of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy are both distinct and interlocking. In so doing, I demonstrate how systems of ethnoracial and gender inequality function both as interlocking, co-constitutive systems in the tradition of intersectional scholarship and as distinct systems of classification in a cultural field, affecting the differential evaluation of both workers (chefs) and their products (cuisine).

Cultural Fields and Systems of Inequality

The vast majority of studies about workplace discrimination have examined workers in "traditional" workplaces (Williams et al. 2012), such as factories, office settings, etc. While cultural workplaces, such as professional kitchens, do not entirely mimic the traditional workplaces studied in the literature, scholars of cultural industries find similar patterns of gender and racial hierarchy in cultural work. Scholars show that in creative work, such as professional cooking, men occupy higher status and higher paying positions, while women experience discrimination, sexual harassment, and devaluation of their labor, even in fields where the work they do resembles work that might be classified as feminine in the context of the domestic sphere, such as fashion design and cooking (Hennekam and Bennett 2017; Bielby and Bielby 1996; Stokes 2017; Stokes 2015; McRobbie 1998; Miller 2014; Miller 2016). Men are recognized for their artistic work more frequently than women are, and artistic greatness is culturally associated with masculinity (Nochlin 1989; Pollock 1988; Ortner 1974; Stokes 2015). Scholars have asked where "the great women artists" (Nochlin 1971) and, more recently, "great women chefs" (Druckman 2010; 2012) are. These questions of "greatness" rely on a gendered logic of artistry that excludes women from consecration and disproportionately celebrates men's creative labor.

Similarly, artists and creative workers of color have struggled to be recognized as valuable in artistic fields (hooks 1995; Bielby and Bielby 1996; Corse and Griffin 1997; Dowd and Blyler 2002; Pinder 2002; Mears 2010; Chong 2011; Grazian 2003). While the underrepresentation and comparative devaluation of artists of color and their work is well documented, we know less about how ethnoracial categories affect the evaluation of cultural *products*. Some notable scholars have considered how racial and ethnic categories affect critical assessments of literature (Chong 2011; Griswold 1987), museums and community art spaces (Wherry 2011; Davila 2008; Cahan 2018), and art in immigrant communities

(DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly 2010), but there is a notable gap in the literature that considers how the racial categories assigned to cultural products shape the reception and evaluation of art objects and how cultural producers understand their products in relation to these systems of ethnoracial hierarchy (Roy 2004; Beljean et al. 2014). For example, how does being labeled a "black artist" affect critics' response to an artist's work, the sale price of a particular work, and/or an artist's general reputation in the art world? I address this gap by showing how the implicit and explicit ethnoracial and gender categories assigned to chefs and their products affect the differential material and symbolic evaluation of those chefs and their restaurants and cuisine in the American fine dining field. I argue that the field is organized according to a system of ethnoracial categorization that corresponds with the differential application of three logics of evaluation—the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity—that are used to both veil and justify the continued disproportionate celebration of those chefs and restaurants associated with masculinity and whiteness and devaluation of chefs and restaurants defined by their connection to femininity and non-whiteness.

The American Fine Dining Field and Ethnoracial and Gender Hierarchy

The topic of fine dining has been the subject of sociological inquiry in studies of both labor market inequality and consumers' taste. Some scholars have already studied inequality in restaurant work, and they conclude that women and non-white chefs are comparatively devalued, excluded from prestigious positions, and subject to discrimination (Harris and Giuffre 2015; Jayaraman 2013; Ray 2016). Scholars of consumption find that taste is primarily a function of class inequality, but racial categories affect how consumers and critics think about and write about taste (Johnston and Baumann 2010). Other scholars study how chefs' taste, called "culinary styles" represent creativity (Leschziner 2015). However, culinary styles are more than just representations of creativity, and taste is about more than class-based distinction. In this study, I focus on producers not consumers to examine how "styles" demarcate the social and symbolic boundaries of the field and affect chefs' value and experience at work. I find that the field is organized according to racial classifications that correspond with the differential application of three logics of evaluation in the fine dining field. Thus, I unite studies of workplace inequality with analyses of chefs' creative processes to show how race and gender affect how cuisine is produced and evaluated in the American fine dining field. This, in turn, complicates the class-based paradigm of taste in the consumption literature.

Scholars of restaurant labor find that marginalized chefs face similar barriers to success that workers in other organizational contexts do (Harris and Giuffre 2015; Ray 2016; Jayaraman 2013). Harris and Giuffre (2015) show that women chefs navigate many of the forms of discrimination and devaluation that sociologists of gender and work find in other organizational contexts, including work/family conflict, sexual harassment, and gendered logics of cultural production that impede women chefs from achieving positions of authority in the ways that male chefs do. This is in part because there are powerful institutionalized norms around women's domestic food work and its lower status compared to the professional food work of fine dining restaurants (Cairns and Johnston 2015; Devault 1994; Trubek 2000). In 1895, Escoffier publicly declared, "in the ordinary domestic duties it is very hard to find a man equaling, much less excelling, a woman, it is her sphere in life;

but cooking rises far above a mere domestic duty; it is, as I have said before, a fine art" (Trubek 2000; Escoffier 1895). Similarly, in recent studies of food writing, including cookbooks and online blogs, scholars find that gender, race, and class hierarchies affect how chefs present themselves as public figures, constraining the options and opportunities available to marginalized chefs (Johnston et al. 2014; Rodney et al. 2017).

Similarly in his study of the "ethnic restaurateur" in New York City, Ray (2016) analyzes the marginalized social role and associated struggle of immigrant cooks, what he describes as the result of "a relationship of domination." He finds that ethnic chefs and restaurants have been systematically devalued in the New York City restaurant industry, both historically and now. Saru Jayaraman provides an illuminating exposé of the detrimental working conditions to which all restaurant workers are subject (minimum wage, no sick days, long hours, etc.) and the unique oppressions that women workers and workers of color navigate in the restaurant industry (Jayaraman 2013; Jayaraman 2016). These scholars show that the systems of gender and ethnoracial discrimination that are common in traditional workplaces also affect restaurant workers. While these scholars focus on producers, they center their analyses on discrimination in the workplace, mistreatment at work, and the struggle for status that marginalized chefs and workers engage. These studies do not then examine how chefs make sense of their artistic role in relation to the classification and associated status of their product. As Chef Patterson's tweets that introduced this document encourage critics, chefs, and diners to consider, I address this gap by examining how the ethnoracial and gender categories associated with both culinary producers and their producers affect how chefs and restaurants are differentially evaluated in the American fine dining field.

The literature that attends to culinary products is grounded in studies of taste, consumers, and consumption. These scholars analyze how diners make decisions about what to eat and the associated status and "taste" that these choices represent (Bourdieu 1984; Cairns and Johnston 2015; Cairns et al. 2010; Gabaccia 1998; Peterson and Kern 1996; Warde 2015; DeSoucey 2016). Johnston and Baumann (2010) argue that Bourdieu's exclusionary system of distinction exists alongside a narrative of democracy, or a simultaneous appreciation of products from a variety of status positions in "foodie discourse." They show how foodies use narratives of authenticity and exoticism to differentially legitimate culinary products associated with a lower status position, often what Ray (2016) would classify as "ethnic cuisine." While their study contributes to the study of cultural consumption, it neglects to attend to how these discourses affect how *producers* understand their positions as artists and businesspeople.

In contrast, through analysis of 44 interviews with elite chefs in San Francisco and New York, Leschziner (2015) attends to fine dining chefs' roles as creative artists. She argues that chefs understand where they fit in relation to other chefs in the field by strategically associating or dissociating themselves from other chefs' "culinary styles." These styles, which sometimes correspond with ethnoracial categories (e.g., Leschziner refers to the moniker "Italian" cuisine as both a classification and a "culinary style" that chefs purposefully identify with), affect whether reviewers assess chefs' products according to logics of tradition or innovation. However, I argue that these logics may not be universally applied nor have the same meaning for all chefs, all "styles," or all culinary products. Instead, these logics may affect chefs with different "styles" differently. Indeed, I argue that "culinary styles" are, in fact, ethnoracial and national categories that symbolize chefs',

restaurants', and cuisines' association with and/or distance from historically institutionalized norms and values of whiteness and masculinity. This system of ethnoracial categorization interacts with a system of the differential application of three logics of evaluation that are used to systematically justify the reproduction of cultural and material value based on ethnoracial and gender hierarchy in the American fine dining field. Next, I explain this argument in greater detail and introduce my concepts of the "genres of cuisine" and "logics of evaluation" that categorize, organize, and establish systems of relational value in the field.

Genres of Cuisine and Logics of Evaluation

In this project, I argue that the ethnoracial categories that critics and chefs use to describe and organize culinary products and their producers (chefs) are associated with different logics of evaluation (specifically the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity) that define actors' relational positions in the field. The logics of evaluation, then, are used to differentially assess different genres of actors in the contemporary American fine dining field, and they are used to veil insidious forms of bias, justifying the reproduction of ethnoracial and gender hierarchies through the disproportionate consecration of culinary products and producers associated with whiteness and masculinity (Classic and Flexible restaurants and male and white chefs) and the devaluation of products and producers defined by associations with non-whiteness and femininity (Ethnic restaurants and women and non-white chefs).

The American fine dining field is conventionally classified according to ethnoracial and national categories, such as "Italian," "Mexican," "Vietnamese," etc. that represent the social and symbolic boundaries that define actors' relationships to each other. These classifications signify the kinds of cuisine, dishes, flavors, and techniques that a restaurant offers and that diners, critics, and other chefs recognize as matching (or not) their expectations of that category of cuisine. For example, actors might expect a "French" restaurant to serve dishes representative of French training and technique, such as steak frites or escargot, while those same actors might understand a "Mexican" restaurant as serving dishes featuring corn, beans, tomatoes, cilantro, and avocado.

In this study, I use these specific categories (what Hannan et al. (2007) would call "folk" categories, or categories that are used by actors in the field to classify other actors that may not be clear or consistent) assigned to restaurants by the 2016 *Michelin Guide*, such as "Peruvian," "Japanese," and "American" to group restaurants into three *genres of cuisine*—(1) Classic cuisine, (2) Flexible cuisine, and (3) Ethnic cuisine. Genres represent not just the ethnoracial category of cuisine served at a particular restaurant but also the techniques of culinary preparation used, the organization of the kitchen, and field actors' expectations of the cuisine, ambiance, and staff at a particular genre of restaurant. **Classic restaurants** are those that serve cuisine types that are and historically have been indisputably understood as valuable in the fine dining context; this exclusively includes restaurants serving French, Italian, and/or Japanese cuisine. Classic restaurants are defined as valuable in the field because they reproduce the historically institutionalized rules of fine dining, including those associated with culinary technique and the organization of kitchen labor. **Flexible restaurants** serve "fuzzier" cuisine types, such as "Contemporary," "American," or "Californian," cuisine, that do not have an institutionalized history or

shared meaning in the fine dining field but that are accepted as legitimate. Finally, **Ethnic restaurants** are those that serve cuisine types associated with non-white, immigrant producers that have been historically excluded from the field, such as "Mexican," "Indian," and "Chinese" cuisine. These three analytical genres, unlike the "folk" ethnoracial and national categories used by field actors, represent restaurants' and, relatedly, because their value in the field is defined by and contingent on their products' value, chefs' relationships to historically institutionalized rules of fine dining, whiteness, and otherness. Table 1 below shows the distribution of the genres of cuisine in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*.

Table 1: Distribution of Genres of Cuisine in 2016 *Michelin Guide*

	Classic Genre	Flexible Genre	Ethnic Genre	Total
Bib Gourmand	**59** (15.4% Genre; 28.9% Bib Gourmand)	**73** (11.6% Genre; 35.8% Bib Gourmand)	**72** (19.2% Genre; 34.8% Bib Gourmand)	**204** (14.7%)
1 Star	**27** (7.1% Genre; 26.5% one-starred rest)	**63** (10% Genre; 61.8% one-starred rest)	**12** (3.3% Genre; 11.8% one-starred rest)	**102 (**7.4%)
2 Stars	**6** (1.6% Genre; 30% two-starred rest)	**11** (1.8% Genre; 55% two-starred rest)	**3** (0.8% Genre; 15% two-starred rest)	**20** (1.4%)
3 Stars	**1** (0.3% Genre; 9% three-starred rest)	**9** (1.4% Genre; 81.8% three-starred rest)	**1** (0.3% Genre; 9% three-starred rest)	**11** (0.8%)
Included in *Guide*	**382** (27.7% total)	**628** (45.6% total)	**369** (26.7% total)	**1380**

The genres of Classic, Flexible, and Ethnic genres of cuisine are defined *in relation* to each other. Classic cuisine—its standards, system of evaluation, and prestige in the field—is the gold standard, and it is the genre to which Flexible and Ethnic genres of cuisine are compared and in relation to which they take their positions in the field. These analytical genres define the symbolic boundaries that determine relational value in the field. They also correspond, as I will show, with the differential application of three logics of evaluation and, therefore, the dissimilar assessment of field actors variously associated with the historical institutions of haute cuisine, ultimately privileging those actors associated with whiteness.

I argue that both restaurants and chefs in the fine dining field are evaluated according to three logics of evaluation—the logics of (1) technique, (2) creativity, and (3) authenticity, but these logics are not equally relevant to all three genres of cuisine, nor are they consistently used to assess restaurants across genres. That is, the logic of technique does not have the same weight or application for Classic restaurants as for Flexible restaurants. The logics, like the genres of cuisine, are used to assess restaurants and chefs relationally within the field *and* within the genre of cuisine they serve.

The **logic of technique** assesses restaurants and chefs on the basis of the application and execution of formal culinary techniques that have historically been valued in the field. Often these techniques are based on the French tradition of haute cuisine set out by Escoffier in the twentieth century, when he codified the techniques and dishes of French cooking, such as foundation sauces, in his 1903 text, *Le Guide Culinaire*. The logic of technique celebrates those chefs and restaurants that employ the formal, recognized techniques for "proper" preparation that are still taught in culinary education programs that produce restaurant cuisine defined as valuable because it is distinct from the ordinary, unskilled food cooked at home and recognizable as associated with the traditions of the field. Technique in this context refers to both the techniques of culinary preparation and the

techniques of organizing and managing labor in the professional kitchen, especially the *brigade de cuisine* system of hierarchical organization and formal training. Technique celebrates those restaurants and chefs who reproduce the field's traditions that require special knowledge and training to recognize and celebrate.

The **logic of creativity**, by contrast, does not have institutionalized rules that are codified in formal training. Instead, the logic of creativity is used to evaluate chefs' and restaurants' distinct and unique artistic contributions to the field, not their execution of historically celebrated traditions. Chefs and restaurants are celebrated according to the logic of creativity when they present field actors with culinary products—both on the plate and in their management and training of staff, thus establishing an artistic pedigree and legacy in the field—that challenge the institutionalized expectations and traditions of fine dining. The mechanisms and parameters of creativity vary for each of the genres of cuisine, but across genres the logic of creativity recognizes chefs and restaurants that offer something entirely exceptional and unique to the fine dining landscape. Chefs who use artistic innovation and science, especially the ingredients and techniques associated with "molecular gastronomy" are recognized as valuable according to the logic of creativity because they produce individual, distinctive, unfamiliar culinary products that actively challenge the rigid formal traditions of the historical model of fine dining.

Finally, the **logic of authenticity** assesses restaurants and chefs according to culinary representations of "authenticity" a concept that sociologists overwhelmingly agree is a social construction, not an essential characteristic (Peterson 2005; Johnston and Baumann 2007; Grazian 2003). Authenticity is used to mark those culinary products that are understood as "real" or "true" to some idea of "original," or "pure" culinary production. Chefs and critics also use authenticity as a measure of chefs' and restaurants' ability to produce an "ideal type" or recognizable form of classic or iconic dishes and techniques that align with shared expectations of a category of cuisine in the field. For still other restaurants and chefs, "authenticity" is about being "true to oneself" or "true to an artistic vision." These inconsistent and imprecise representations of authenticity are used to differentially evaluate different categories of restaurants and chefs, and there are many ways for chefs and restaurants to associate their cuisine with the elusive concept of authenticity, including through narratives of "heritage" for chefs cooking cuisine that reflects their background (as when a French chef cooks French cuisine), narratives of having an "authentic" or "true" artistic voice, or through explicitly labeling of products as "authentic" because of the ingredients or techniques used to produce them. Restaurants and chefs that convey authenticity in their processes of culinary production, either by producing cuisine that matches actors' expectations, as with the reproduction of iconic dishes, or that communicates a coherent "authentic" artistic vision of culinary production are celebrated according to this logic.

In this project, I examine the relationship between the system of ethnoracial categorization that organizes actors in the field and the system of logics of evaluation. I argue that restaurants and chefs working in the different genres of cuisine—the Classic, Flexible, and Ethnic genres—are inconsistently assessed according to the three logics of evaluation. Classic restaurants are primarily evaluated according to the logic of technique, which celebrates Classic restaurants for their execution and reproduction of the historically institutionalized traditions of fine dining. Flexible restaurants, because they are defined as unfamiliar and "fuzzy," capitalize on this unfamiliarity to produce distinctive, original

cuisine celebrated primarily according to the logic of creativity. Ethnic restaurants are primarily assessed according to the imprecise expectations of the logic of authenticity, whereby at least two groups of diners have different, often conflicting expectations of Ethnic food formed outside of the context of fine dining at either inexpensive take out restaurants or home. Ethnic restaurants are then assessed in relation to not just their peers in the fine dining field but devalued extra-field actors (inexpensive Ethnic establishments and home cooking). This differential system of evaluation produces a system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that celebrates those products and producers associated with whiteness and masculinity and justifies the continued devaluation of products and producers associated with non-whiteness and femininity through the differential application of the logics of evaluation to different genres of cuisine in the American fine dining field.

In this project I argue that the interaction of the system of ethnoracial categorization that organizes the field and the differential evaluation of differently categorized culinary producers and products that defines actors' relational value in the cultural field of American fine dining, then, establishes a system of cultural and material value predicated on an insidious system of ethnoracial and gender bias. The logics of evaluation interact with the field's system of ethnoracial categorization to legitimate and celebrate both the restaurants and the chefs categorically associated with whiteness and masculinity and uniquely constrain restaurants and chefs categorically associated with non-whiteness and femininity. This system of gender and ethnoracial bias subtly reveals itself in the language of legitimation based in culinary production and innovation.

Researching the Contemporary American Fine Dining Field

To uncover this system of insidious bias, this project draws on two data sets—120 in-depth interviews with critically celebrated chefs in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area and 1380 restaurant reviews from the 2016 *Michelin Guide* in the same two cities. I selected these two cities because they are the two American cities that the *Michelin Guide* has consistently assessed for the last decade, they are two of the most important restaurant cities in the United States (Johnston and Baumann 2010; Leschziner 2015), and they both boast a large number of nationally and internationally recognized restaurants. Historically, New York's culinary scene was understood as driven by culinary technique, while the proximity to California agriculture and its year-round growing season allowed San Francisco's culinary culture to be defined as ingredient-driven (Leschziner 2015). The rise in cultural interest in local, sustainable cooking and farm-to-table cuisine, coupled with an increasingly globalized American culinary field, render these distinctions less pronounced today, and the fine dining fields in both cities are now comparable in prestige, diversity, technical prowess, and quality of available ingredients.

I define the American fine dining field as encompassing those restaurants in New York City and San Francisco that have either (1) at least one Michelin star or (2) a Michelin Bib Gourmand recommendation, a recommendation that Michelin uses to denote "inspectors' choice for best value." The *Michelin Guide* is arguably the most influential and most respected international critical body and has been reviewing restaurants around the world for nearly a century (Lane 2013; Leschziner 2015).

To recruit interview respondents, I contacted every restaurant with an online presence (an email address or Facebook page) with at least one 2016 Michelin star (n=49 in

San Francisco; n=77 in NYC) or a 2016 Michelin Bib Gourmand recommendation (n=74 in San Francisco; n=137 in New York City). Because this strategy yielded a sample with very few women and non-white chefs, I also contacted every woman chef and non-white chef located in San Francisco or New York City who was mentioned in a 2016 issue of *Bon Appetit* or *Food and Wine* (the most prestigious culinary magazines in the United States). I then contacted 16 more chefs in San Francisco and 30 more chefs in New York; many of these chefs cooked at restaurants that were newly opened, so they were not eligible for inclusion in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*. I interviewed 24 of these chefs. I interviewed 59 chefs in the San Francisco Bay Area and 61 chefs in New York City. Table 2 provides more information about the population and sample.

Table 2: Population and Sample by Critical Evaluation

	Population NY	Population SF	Total Population	Sample NY	Sample SF	Total Sample
Michelin 3 Star	6	6	12 (2.5%)	0	0	0 (0.0%)
Michelin 2 Star	11	8	19 (4.0%)	2	5	7 (5.8%)
Michelin 1 Star	71	45	116 (24.3%)	20	18	38 (31.7%)
Michelin Bib Gourmand	115	86	201 (41.9%)	25	26	51 (42.5%)
Bon Appetit/Food and Wine	30	16	46 (9.6%)	14	10	24 (20%)
No Internet Presence	66	21	87 (18.2%)	0	0	0 (0.0%)
Total	233	161	394	61	59	120 (100%)

I conducted interviews between November 2015 and October 2016, interviewing 39 (about 1/3) respondents in person and the remaining 81 chefs via telephone. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 150 minutes and were audio recorded, then transcribed. Interviews were open-ended and guided by respondents' answers. A complete interview script is available in the Methodological Appendix.

Chefs' understandings of their profession and the economic and cultural value of their cuisine varied according to four factors—gender, race/ethnicity, cuisine type, and critical rating from the *Michelin Guide*. In the historical French model of haute cuisine, the archetypal "ideal worker" (Acker 1990; Turco 2010) chef is European (often French), white, male, and classically trained (Trubek 2000). My sample, and the American fine dining field in general, both reflects and differs from this model. While the majority of the sample is white and male, I interviewed 27 women and 41 non-white chefs. Table 3 summarizes the distributions of gender, ethnicity and genre of cuisine in the sample and population.

I analyzed the interview data using the software program MaxQDA, using a combination of deductive and inductive codes. After clarifying these codes in the first round of coding, I returned to the data and recoded all interviews a second time to ensure consistency in the coding scheme. While coding, I identified the three logics of evaluation; upon closer inspection and analysis of the logics of evaluation in the interview data, I identified that chefs cooking different kinds of cuisine understood their products, position, and prestige in the field differently, and these differences were reflected in their understandings of the logics of evaluation. Chefs cooking Italian, French, and Japanese cuisine understood their products and value in the field similarly, as did chefs cooking

historically excluded Ethnic cuisine types, as did chefs cooking blurrier cuisine types[2], such as Californian and American cuisine. I then classified all interview respondents according to these genres of cuisine.

Table 3: Population and Sample Demographics by Race and Gender of Chef and Genre of Cuisine

	Population NY	Population SF	Total Population	Sample NY	Sample SF	Total Sample
Women	39	26	65 (18.3%)	13	14	27 (22.5%)
Men	171	108	279 (78.8%)	48	45	93 (77.5%)
White	125	82	207 (61.6%)	44	35	79 (65.8%)
Non-White	79	50	129 (38.4%)	17	24	41 (34.2%)
Classic Genre of Cuisine	57	36	93 (27.6%)	9	8	17 (14.2%)
Flexible Genre of Cuisine	92	64	156 (46.3%)	34	41	75 (62.5%)
Ethnic Genre of Cuisine	62	25	87 (25.8%)	18	10	28 (23.3%)

In order to ensure consistent measures of these cuisine types, I classified these cuisine types using the "category of cuisine served" assigned to restaurants in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*, as all chefs included in the interview sample cooked at restaurants featured in the *Michelin Guide*[3]. This ensured consistency in measures of cuisine type, as the *Michelin Guide* has a standardized method for assigning these classifications, while individual chefs use a variety of terms that are personally meaningful but inconsistent when describing their "culinary styles" (Leschziner 2015)[4]. I then used these patterns to identify the three analytical genres of cuisine from the interview data. Next, I clarified this analytical framework that emerged from my coding of the interview data and tested its application in a second data set composed of 1380 restaurant reviews from the 2016 *Michelin Guide*.

I digitized every review included in the print editions of the 2016 *Michelin Guides*. I then created a data set of the text of each review and variables for cuisine type, city, price, and form of recognition from the *Michelin Guide* (one, two, or three stars, Bib Gourmand recommendation, or inclusion without a marker of consecration). I used MaxQDA to code these restaurant reviews using deductive codes developed from the analysis of the interview data and inductive codes that emerged from this second data set. I again used the cuisine

[2] I use the term "cuisine type" to denote the specific ethnoracial and national categories of cuisine that chefs and restaurants serve, such as "Vietnamese," "French," and "Contemporary." I use the term "genre" to refer to three analytical groupings I identify (Classic, Flexible, Ethnic).

[3] For those chefs whose restaurants were too new to be included in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*, I used the category assigned in the 2017 *Michelin Guide*. To ensure consistency, I verified that all categorization of restaurants where the 120 interviewed chefs cooked from the 2016 *Michelin Guide* matched that identified in the 2017 Guide. For all sampled chefs, the categories were consistent. More detailed information about categorization is included in the Methodological Appendix.

[4] For example, when asked to explain his culinary style, one chef characterized his cuisine as, "I'm still trying to figure it out;" another described his style as, "very simple but thoughtful." As you can see, these classifications are not standardized nor easily understood.

types identified by the *Michelin Guide* to classify restaurant reviews into the three analytical genres of cuisine I developed through coding the interview data. I used MaxQDA's Document Variable functions to translate qualitative codes into quantitative dummy variables representing the presence (1) or absence (0) of a code in a restaurant review to produce a data set that captured these qualitative codes quantitatively. I used STATA to model the relationships between a variety of independent variables (City, Prestige, etc.) and the inclusion/exclusion of language representing the three logics of evaluation in restaurant reviews. More detailed information about the coding scheme, the construction of quantitative variables, and the regression analyses I conducted is included in the Methodological Appendix.

I used a consistent analytical schema of "genres of cuisine" and "logics of evaluation" to code these two distinct data sets to consider how producers, whose perspective I capture in the 120 in-depth interviews, and critics, whose perspective I capture in the analysis of the Michelin reviews, employ a coherent system of categorization and evaluation when assessing the position, power, prestige, and value of actors in the American fine dining field.

Contributions to the Sociological Literature

This project makes several contributions to at least four bodies of sociological literature, including the literature on cultural fields, the sociology of evaluation, the study of ethnoracial and gender inequality, and the sociology of food. First, the project engages the literature on cultural fields in conversation with the sociology of race/ethnicity and gender. While the majority of the literature on cultural fields focuses on consumption and the ways in which consumers' taste reflect various systems of capital (especially cultural capital), I bring these arguments into conversation with the literature about ethnoracial and gender inequality in the context of cultural *production*. In so doing, I complicate the dominant class paradigm in the cultural consumption and taste literatures and show how processes of cultural production reproduce other forms of inequality, especially ethnoracial and gender hierarchies, through subtle, veiled forms of bias that have substantial evaluative consequences for both producers and products.

Second, the project offers a new approach to a task proposed by Lamont in her influential review of the sociology of evaluation literature (2012) by explicating the intersectional relationship between processes of categorization and evaluation in a cultural field. By illuminating how the categorization of cuisine and chefs corresponds with different logics of evaluation within the same hybrid field, I begin to address the analytical connections between these interconnected, yet distinct, processes in a cultural field. Thus, I show how inequality is reproduced not exclusively as the result of categorization or evaluation, but, rather, through the interaction of these two processes in the organization and distribution of power and prestige in American fine dining.

Third, the project pushes arguments in the study of ethnoracial and gender inequality beyond discussions of how identity categories constrain opportunities for *people* by focusing on the consequences of categorization for evaluating *cultural products.* Thus, I move beyond the inequality literature's focus on explicit forms of bias, such as discrimination in housing, politics, education, and, most pertinently, the workplace, and illuminate the ways in which bias insidiously infiltrates the logics that organize systems of value and power in cultural

fields. I show how the ethnoracial and gender categories of cultural producers intersect with the categories assigned to their cultural products to enact the differential application of logics of evaluation, reproducing broader hierarchies of masculine and white hegemony in the American fine dining field.

Finally, the project contributes to the developing interdisciplinary study of the sociology of food. Many of the studies in this growing field address the consumer and critical discourse surrounding taste and cuisine. This project illuminates a previously neglected substantive focus by attending to processes of culinary production. I focus on elite chefs to understand how the evaluative logics of the field affect how producers think about their products and their power, prestige, and value in the field. Thus, I take arguments about the reproduction of ethnoracial and gender inequality in the sociology of food literature beyond discussions of how consumers craft omnivorous taste preferences (Johnston and Baumann 2010) and workplace discrimination (Harris and Giuffre 2015; Jayaraman 2013; Jayaraman 2015) to consider how the producers of cultural products navigate institutionalized ethnoracial and gender hierarchies in both their assessments of field actors and their own creative and practical processes of production.

Chapter Overview

In chapter two, I provide a brief historical overview of the development of the contemporary American fine dining field. I outline how American fine dining's origins rest in French haute cuisine and provide an introduction to the significant chefs, culinary trends, and critics of the contemporary field. In chapter three, I show how the primacy of the logic of technique in the evaluation of Classic chefs and restaurants relies on and reimagines a historical system of Classic hegemony. I show how the distinct evaluation and consecration of Classic restaurants and chefs according to institutionalized rules of technique reproduces an ethnoracial and gender hierarchy in the field that disproportionately values cuisine and producers associated with whiteness and masculinity. In chapter four, I focus my analysis on the largest and increasingly most celebrated genre in the field—the Flexible genre of cuisine. I find that chefs at these restaurants capitalize on the absence of institutionalized expectations associated with the blurrier cuisine types they cook and the implied whiteness embedded in the classifications of their cuisine to defy Classic rules, blend culinary traditions and flavors, and create artistic, scientific, unfamiliar cuisine to great acclaim. These restaurants are disproportionately celebrated, reproducing a symbolic order in the field that celebrates those actors that are distinct from devalued Ethnic cuisine and devalued feminine home cooking. In chapter five I show how the application of the logic of authenticity uniquely devalues chefs and restaurants serving Ethnic cuisine types because actors' relational assessments of authenticity at Ethnic restaurants are based on experiences at establishments outside of the parameters of the fine dining field—at inexpensive take out restaurants and in home kitchens. I then argue that this differential application of the three logics of evaluation to the three genres of cuisine reproduces a system of ethnoracial and gender inequality that, while veiled in language associated with culinary production, is a form of insidious bias that has concrete consequences for both the symbolic and material evaluation of actors in this cultural field.

Chapter Two
From French Hegemony to American Flexibility: The Historical Development of the Contemporary American Fine Dining Field

Over the last twenty years cultural attention to food politics and cuisine has rapidly increased and expanded, with constant information sharing using social media, especially Instagram and Yelp. Twenty years ago, a restaurant like two-starred Californios, which serves a tasting men of, according to Chef Val Cantu, "a modern interpretation of Mexican food," priced at $157 per person in 2018, in a sleek black dining room accompanied by a soundtrack of 90s hip hop would be difficult to imagine. In 1998, restaurants like Le Bernardin, the three-Michelin-starred seafood-focused French restaurant in Midtown Manhattan, where formal service, white tablecloths, and an attention to Classic detail, dominated the fine dining field. Today, while bastions of Classic fine dining, like Le Bernardin, remain celebrated in the field, distinctive restaurants like Californios are also garnering praise. Californios is celebrated by critical voices as varied as the *Michelin Guide* with first one star in 2016 and 2017, then two stars in 2018, *Food and Wine Magazine*, which named Chef Cantu as one of its "Best New Chefs" in 2017, Michael Bauer, the *San Francisco Chronicle* restaurant critic, who awarded the restaurant four stars in 2017, and Yelp reviewers, who deem restaurant worthy of 4.5 stars. Californios represents the new American fine dining restaurant—creatively designed, focused on independent artistry and the development of "new," previously unsung flavors, and recognized by several relevant critical actors, from the internationally celebrated *Michelin Guide* to Yelp reviewers. But, all actors in the American fine dining field do not do what Californios does, nor have restaurants like Californios always been recognized as valuable. How did we get here?

In this chapter, I take up this question, explaining both the Francophile history of American fine dining and the current dynamics that shape the organization of the contemporary American fine dining field to establish the context in which I collected data and develop my arguments in the following three empirical chapters. Below, I provide a brief history of the development of the concept and institutions of haute cuisine, first in France, then the United States. I mark significant moments in restaurant history that came to define American cuisine and dining culture as distinct from French cuisine. It is important to note here that I provide a *brief* overview of these significant moments; several deft and fascinating histories of French and American fine dining are available for interested readers (e.g. Trubek 2000; Spang 2000; Ferguson 2004; Freedman 2016; Kuh 2001). Here, I provide readers with the context to understand the state of the contemporary American fine dining field, which I then explain, noting a significant shift in dining culture in the mid-2000s, and describing the relevant culinary trends, critical actors, media moments, and culture of celebrity (and some of its most notable members) that define American fine dining today. In so doing, I reveal how the system of ethnoracial categorization that defines the boundaries between actors in the field interacts with a system of logics of evaluation to reproduce gender and ethnoracial hierarchies in a cultural field simultaneously grounded in historical tradition and contemporary innovation.

France and the Origins of Haute Cuisine

"Fine dining" has long been synonymous with "French haute cuisine," and historians and historical sociologists have argued that the French invented the restaurant (Spang 2000), the culinary profession (Trubek 2000), and culinary culture (Ferguson 1998; 2004). Before the 1700s, it was nearly impossible to dine outside of one's own home except at a nobleman's manor, and fine French homes employed chefs and cooks to execute elaborate displays at social events, such as banquets (Trubek 2000). Manor homes served as the precursors to fine French restaurants, where the cuisine prepared by chefs was distinguished from the daily food work of peasants and local artisans as "haute cuisine." Indeed, the origins of the word "restaurant" are far from the contemporary manifestation of a restaurant. The term "restaurant" translates in French to "restore," and, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the rich, highly concentrated broths sold at taverns and inns to lodgers that were meant to satiate a weary traveler were called "restaurants." A "restaurant," meaning a public dining establishment as we understand it today, was virtually nonexistent, and fine dining was only consumed by wealthy elites who employed professional chefs trained in an organized guild system.

When the French Revolution disrupted the nobility system of eighteenth-century France, many trained chefs found themselves unemployed and irrelevant without an aristocratic setting in which to display their unique skills (Trubek 2000; Ferguson 2004; Rao et al. 2003). So, they turned to the public sphere, serving a new dining population of upper middle class businessmen in Paris at dining establishments that served as early versions of fine dining restaurants. Chefs trained in the haute cuisine favored by aristocrats recreated a version of noble life for a new dining public. They prepared elaborate dishes, sold expensive wines, and set tables with fine china and delicate linens, birthing a public version of fine dining that continues to inform restaurant culture today (Spang 2000). Restaurants, then, became fixtures of life in Paris, and Parisian culinary culture (and excellence) grew, as French *cuisine classique* developed under culinary artists such as Antonin Carême, who famously designed sauce-based dishes, invented the toque, the iconic tall white chef's hat, and promoted herb and vegetable-driven cooking, and George Auguste Escoffier, who clarified the organization of the professional kitchen and codified many of the recipes of *la cuisine classique* in 1903's *Le Guide Culinaire*, still used as a textbook at many culinary schools today.

In *Le Guide Culinaire*, Escoffier outlines the "new French cuisine," which is now known as *la cuisine classique*, a style of cooking that originated with Carême's writings and that Escoffier famously simplified. Carême led the first effort to standardize the principles that shaped elite French restaurant food throughout the nineteenth century, including the idea of *grande cuisine* as a combination of art and science, the redefinition and elevation of "humble dishes," such as *pot au feu*, symmetry in service, such as the practice in classic fine dining service of all diners being served at once, rather than the contemporary practice of a single server distributing plates one by one, and new standards of sanitation and cleanliness in professional kitchens (Rao et al. 2003; Ferguson 2004). Carême's style, which was often dramatic, especially in display (Barr 2018), was decidedly elaborate compared to *la cuisine classique* codified by Escoffier. Escoffier focused on seasonality, simplicity, and replicable rules, like those for producing the five "mother sauces" of French cuisine. He considered

cooking a profession and haute cuisine an artistic expression distinct from the daily food work of the home (Trubek 2000; Barr 2018). Above all, he valued precision.

Escoffier is also notable for his contributions to standardizing kitchen management through his partnership with Cesar Ritz at several notable luxury hotels at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries (Barr 2018). Escoffier brought French cuisine to other European and American cities by providing training for countless cooks at hotels like the Savoy and Carlton Hotels in London and the Ritz in Paris. His training model facilitated the spread of French cuisine and the organizational system that he clarified, called the *brigade de cuisine* system, to fine dining establishments in France, Europe, and, eventually, New York City and other American metropolitan areas, establishing French cuisine and culinary training as synonymous with fine dining in the Western world. The *brigade de cuisine* system in the form institutionalized by Escoffier continues to serve as the basic organization for many of the finest kitchens today.

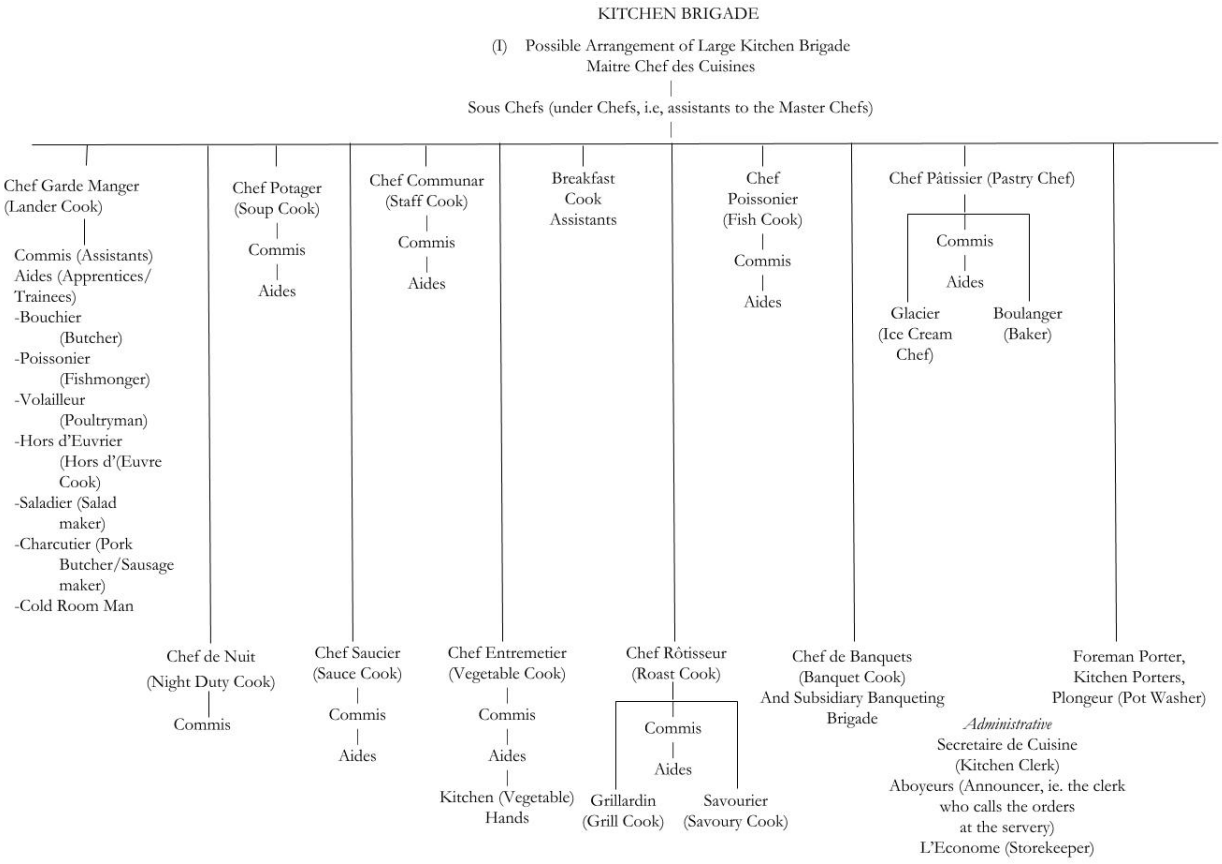
The *brigade de cuisine*, inspired by military hierarchy ("chef" translates to "chief"), was designed to maintain strict order and status hierarchies in kitchens required to produce technically complicated dishes for many high-paying diners at once. Each position in the hierarchy is allotted a specific task in the kitchen; the higher the position's status, the greater the responsibility and, in some kitchens, the capacity for creative development. At the top of the hierarchy is the *chef de cuisine* (sometimes called the executive chef in modern parlance), who oversees all creative and administrative tasks in the kitchen. The *chef de cuisine* is responsible for all activity in the kitchen, and, so, when something goes wrong he (all chefs at Escoffier's time were men, as are the majority of fine dining chefs today) is blamed, and, when the kitchen produces something commendable, he enjoys the praise. New cooks join a kitchen at the entry level, serving as a *commis*, or apprentice, often on the *garde manger* station. The *garde manger* station is typically responsible for cold dishes, such as salads, and basic vegetable cookery, and the *commis* of the *garde manger* works in the pantry, turning artichokes, chopping onions, disposing of garbage, and performing other simple preparatory tasks for the kitchen.

After some time in this position, if a cook on the *garde manger* station has proven himself a worthy employee, he might be permitted to move onto the "hot line," where cooked menu items are prepared. A cook might start first as a *cuisinier*, a sort of apprentice-like position that is higher status than *commis* but lower than chef, and then achieve the title of *chef de partie*. As a *chef de partie*, he might specialize in sauces (as a *saucier*), fish (as a *poisonnier*), meat (as a *rotisseur*), or vegetables (as an *entremetier*). A cook may also choose to specialize in pastry, which has its own distinct organization of labor, as, in the *brigade de cuisine*, pastry and savory cooking are separate departments.

If a cook demonstrates cooking and leadership skills while on the hot line, he may be promoted to the position of *sous chef*, who serves as the second-in-command to the ultimate authority in the kitchen, the *chef de cuisine*, who functions as the creative director for the kitchen, overseeing all creative and practical production in the kitchen space. Each of the roles in the *brigade* system is associated with a physical space in the kitchen (for example, the *garde manger* often works in the pantry; the *sous chef* and/or *chef de cuisine* often commands from the pass, or the space where completed dishes "pass" from the kitchen space to servers who deliver the dishes to diners). In the contemporary American fine dining field, it is common for kitchens to employ both a *chef de cuisine* and an executive chef, especially when executive chefs own multiple restaurants and, therefore, cannot supervise the action in a

particular kitchen on a daily basis. For example, Chef Daniel Boulud owns or is involved with at least 19 restaurants around the world, including two-Michelin-starred restaurant Daniel in New York City. While Daniel bears Chef Boulud's name and he maintains a leadership role in the restaurant, the restaurant also employs both an Executive Chef and a Chef de Cuisine who are not Chef Boulud. Figure 1 below illustrates the general *brigade* system.

Figure 1: The Brigade de Cuisine System



By institutionalizing the rules of French cuisine, Escoffier ensured that French cuisine became the standard for fine dining in the West, and cooking haute cuisine was recognized as a distinct artistic profession, not a domestic duty or hobby (Trubek 2000; Barr 2018). Haute cuisine spread internationally through the sharing of cookbooks written for professionals, gastronomic writing, and formal training in French techniques (Ferguson 1998; 2004; Rao et al. 2003). French food continues to occupy a consecrated position in the international and American fine dining fields today (Trubek 2000; Ferguson 2004; Johnston and Baumann 2010; Leschziner 2015; Ray 2016). Restaurants, specifically French restaurants specializing in haute cuisine, became institutionalized around the world as spaces where status hierarchies were established, debated, and created, for both consumers and producers, and cosmopolitan urbanites in places like London, Paris, and New York City demonstrated their social status at tables featuring luxurious linens and dishes from the

canon of *la cuisine classique*. This continued position of French dominance is aided by the critical prominence of the *Michelin Guide*, which also began at the turn of the twentieth century.

The Red Guide: The Origins of the Michelin Guide

While Escoffier was codifying the recipes of Classic French cuisine in the early 1900s, two unlikely figures in the gastronomic field created what would become the most important international critical voice in fine dining—the *Michelin Guide*. In 1889, brothers Andre and Edouard Michelin founded an automobile tire company during a time when the automobile industry was new in France (Michelin 2017). In 1900, in an effort to boost interest in motor vehicles and, therefore, tire sales, Michelin produced a guide with useful information for travelers, including instructions for changing a tire, maps, and listings for lodging and restaurants in various regions throughout France. The *Guide* was successful, so Michelin introduced subsequent guides for Algeria and Tunisia, The Alps, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Northern Africa, and Corsica between 1907 and 1911. For the first twenty years of the *Guide's* existence, it was distributed for free, with printing costs supported through paid advertisements.

However, in 1920, according to company legend, the brothers visited a mechanic, and, discovering that their free *Guides* were being used to prop up a wobbly workbench, they decided to eschew paid advertisements and charge motorists for the *Guide*. At the same time, the *Guide* expanded its focus, including a list of hotels in Paris and organizing included restaurants according to specific categories. In 1926, the brothers employed "mystery diners," now called "inspectors," who traveled anonymously to various restaurants and awarded one star to notable fine dining establishments. In 1931, the *Guide* first used the now iconic 0, 1, 2, and 3 star ranking, and in 1936, they published the criteria for the awarding of stars. One star indicates a restaurant purveying "high quality cooking, worth a stop;" two stars suggest, "excellent cooking, worth a detour;" and three-starred restaurants serve, "exceptional cuisine, worth a special journey."

This three star ranking system with ambiguous definitions of distinction continues to be used today, and, while the *Guide* is celebrated for its consistency and standardized, anonymous assessment, the precise criteria on which restaurants' rankings are based remain shrouded in secrecy, like the identities of the organization's inspectors. There are five publicly acknowledged criteria for the assessment of restaurants in relation to the star system: (1) quality of the products; (2) mastery of flavor and cooking techniques; (3) the personality of the chef in his cuisine; (4) value for the money; and (5) consistency (Michelin 2017). While other guides, like that published by Zagat, have different numerical ranking systems for food, décor, and service, Michelin focuses the evaluation of restaurants on the *food*. The *Michelin Guide* decides star rankings based upon the caliber of the cuisine, while also including other markers of distinction, represented by 1-5 knives and forks, to indicate their relational assessment of "comfort and quality." This comfort and quality ranking, which serves as a proxy for restaurants' ambiance and service, is distinct from the star determination.

In 1955, Michelin created another rating in addition to the star system to recognize "friendly establishments that serve good food at moderate prices" (Michelin 2017). The Bib Gourmand, named for Bibendum the Michelin Man, marks those restaurants that are

"inspectors' choice for good value." In 2006, Michelin published its first *Guide* in the United States, reviewing restaurants in New York City and its five boroughs, and in 2007 the first *Guide* to Tokyo was published. Now, Michelin produces 28 Red Guides, including those for Hong Kong, Bangkok, France, Chicago, London, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, Seoul, and Singapore, and in 2018, Tokyo was the city with the highest number of Michelin-starred restaurants in the world, with 234 starred restaurants with one or more stars.

While the *Michelin Guide* has historically received criticism for its disproportionately favorable ratings of restaurants in France and Japan (Burton 2017), it remains one of the most salient international critics, and a Michelin star is a universally understood marker of prestige in the culinary field. Michelin's methodology—sending anonymous "inspectors" to use the standardized star ranking to assess restaurants' cuisine and re-evaluating restaurants every year—is widely respected. Paul Bocuse, one of the founders of *nouvelle cuisine* in France in the 1960s, famously said, "Michelin is the only Guide that counts" (Rear 2018). A Bay Area chef with one Michelin star described the honor to me as the, "Single best mark of achievement you can have as a chef. You either have one, or you don't. It's a level of recognition that is the international gold standard. Period." The *Michelin Guide* is widely respected for its consistent, anonymous assessments of the best restaurants around the world, but it is unclear how the *Guide* came to hold this position of prominence. Perhaps its powerful position as a critic is related to its French origins at the same time that the field of French haute cuisine developed. Perhaps Michelin trumps all other critical voices because it is the longest-running system of international restaurant reviewing in the world. Or perhaps the *Guide* is so central to the organization of power and prestige in the field because, through its original and continued publication, it created a market for culinary travel; before the *Michelin Guide* and its ranking system that determined if a restaurant was "worth a special journey," tourists did not travel with the express purpose of dining. In many ways, the *Michelin Guide* helped to establish the contemporary international culinary field of "dining destinations" and internationally renowned celebrity chefs. Despite the ambiguity of its rise to fame, the *Guide* remains a highly influential and respected critical voice in the field.

Once a star is awarded, the pressure to maintain it can be enormous. In February 2016, a few days before the French *guide rouge*, as it is known in France, was released, Chef Benoit Violier, whose restaurants received three stars in 2015, committed suicide, and the media speculated if pressure to maintain the Michelin standard contributed to his actions (Bilefsky and Severson 2016). In 2003, three-starred French Chef Bernard Loiseau killed himself because he feared his restaurant's demotion from three stars to two. A chef with two stars with whom I spoke explains, "The two stars, it gives you a pride to come into work every day, but it also puts a lot of pressure on my shoulders that everything that goes out has to be super perfect every day and there can never be any mistakes. I always felt that way, but it's still that constant you live with, that constant fear it might go away." Another one-starred Bay Area chef describes the stakes as, "if we lose a Michelin star, this restaurant is done. 35 years of business, and it's done."

The *Michelin Guide* began as a marketing ploy to sell tires when motorists were few and far between, but it has since come to represent one of the most significant—if not the most significant—critical voices in the international fine dining field. While the *Guide* remains headquartered in France, and critics suggest that the Michelin inspectors are biased toward French and Japanese cuisine, these anonymous inspectors are some of the most knowledgeable and powerful diners in the world, and they have defined the parameters of

the American fine dining field since they first assessed New York in 2006. The *Guide* is respected for its standardized, anonymous assessment of restaurants around the world, but the specific criteria guiding those assessments remain enigmatic and secret, creating a sense of prestigious mystique around the *Guide*.

French Cuisine and The Creation of the American Restaurant

While Michelin did not bring its consecrating stars to the United States until 2006, American fine dining's relationship to French cuisine pre-dates the *Michelin Guide's* arrival. The first restaurants in the United States were oyster houses and coffee houses in urban areas where men gathered to drink and talk about politics. In the nineteenth century, increased access to travel through railroad expansion and the rise of industrialization led to a need for more public spaces for people to gather and eat in urban areas. Millions of Americans flocked to cities for factory work, abandoning the nuclear family structure and private shared family meal times. Boarding houses and other shared living spaces offered home cooking in group settings, hotels with Escoffier-trained chefs offered haute cuisine for elite diners and travelers, and Ethnic restaurants provided opportunities for new immigrants to gather and recreate a taste of home in a new city (Ray 2016). Like Paris in France, New York became the center of American commerce and social life, and therefore the dining scene in New York became the center of the American restaurant scene.

Many of the finest dining establishments in New York served French food, and the proximity to Europe, combined with high rates of European immigration to the US in the twentieth-century ensured that New York's dining scene was and, in some ways still is, dominated by French flavors in fine dining. In his history of the development of American restaurant culture, Patric Kuh argues that discerning elite American diners of the mid-twentieth century had two options when dining out in New York City, what he refers to as the choice between "red velvet or red leatherette" (2001). This metaphor serves as a symbol of the two iconic fine dining restaurants in New York City at the time—Le Pavillon, a classic French restaurant, and Delmonico's, an American steakhouse with French origins.

Le Pavillon began as *Le Restaurant du Pavillon de France* as part of the 1939 World's Fair, led by Henri Soulé. The restaurant, which opened officially on Fifth Avenue in 1941, featured markers of classic fine dining luxury, including red velvet curtains and Soulé as the discerning, snobby maître d'. He famously created the concept of "Siberia," or an area of the restaurant where undesirable (so deemed by him) guests were relegated, while fashionable regulars and starlets were seated at prominent tables in the restaurant for all other diners, including those interested in providing fodder for the society gossip columns, to see. At Le Pavillon, which remained open until 1971, diners were served menus (written entirely in French) composed of emblematic dishes from *la cuisine classique*, including *filet de sole au Chablis* and *pigeon en compote* (Freedman 2016). Here, New York diners were offered the haute cuisine of Paris' grandest restaurants in an environment designed to cater to the comforts of only those guests approved by Soulé, excluding all others (Kuh 2001; Freedman 2016). Le Pavillon then served as the model for other celebrated French restaurants that defined fine dining and high status in mid-century New York, including La Côte Basque (1959-2004), La Grenouille (1962-present), Lutéce (1961-2004), and La Caravelle (1960-2004).

American diners had another option for fine dining—the "red leatherette" Kuh describes of the iconic American steakhouse Delmonico's (2001). When it first opened in 1830, Delmonico's served French cuisine in an elaborate dining room to America's elites and European tourists. Throughout the nineteenth century, Delmonico's became known for fine French cuisine served alongside regional American specialties, especially oysters (Freedman 2016). In 1920, the original Delmonico family sold their final location, and in 1929, a restaurateur named Oscar Tucci re-opened Delmonico's (Freedman 2016). This new version tried restore some of the prestige of the original restaurant, but was not considered one of the finest restaurants in New York, especially compared to the fashionable French stalwarts gaining prominence in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, like Le Pavillon. Instead, Delmonico's served what is now considered American steakhouse fare—the Delmonico club steak, creamed spinach, baked potatoes, and martinis. These two touchstones—the masculine American steakhouse and the luxurious status-driven French restaurant—defined American fine dining until 1959, when the iconic Four Seasons opened in the Seagram Building on 52nd Street in Manhattan.

The Four Seasons was, at the time, the most expensive restaurant in New York, costing an estimated $4.5 million to open. The Four Seasons and its culinary godfather, James Beard, are credited with changing American restaurant culture forever. Rather than serving the established French standards of several of the Le Pavillon-like luxurious French restaurants in the City, Beard, in conjunction with Swiss Chef Albert Stockli and future *New York Times* food critic Mimi Sheraton, created seasonal menus (notably written in English, not French), changing the dishes on offer with the availability of local ingredients. The dishes at the Four Seasons were classified as "New American," and the restaurant boldly challenged the Francophile taste of then-*Times* critic Craig Claiborne, who famously adored Le Pavillon, by serving truly American dishes, such as Amish ham steak and broiled Maine lobster. Partially because of its gloriously expensive design, The Four Seasons remained a popular place for elite diners, especially Midtown power lunchers at the iconic Pool Room, throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Unlike the midcentury French restaurants, The Four Seasons never closed and, instead, adapted its seasonal menus to accommodate changing New York diners' palates. In 2017, after closing The Four Seasons, the landmarked restaurant reopened to great acclaim as The Grill, a 1960s New York City chophouse managed by Chef Mario Carbone's Major Food Group.

As the original Four Seasons restaurant was opening, other major shifts in American dining and culinary culture were shifting the public consciousness around food, restaurants, and cooking. In 1961, two years after "father of American cooking" James Beard[5] supervised the opening of the "traditional elite restaurant in New York" (Freedman 2016: 359), another idol of American culinary history published *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* with Alfred Knopf. Julia Child, the wife of a U.S. State Department official, changed the way Americans thought about cooking. Unlike the vast majority of authors of French cookbooks at the time, Child was not a celebrated chef in France, nor was she interested in providing readers with perfect recipes to replicate restaurant food. Instead, in her cookbooks and especially in her television program, *The French Chef*, which premiered on public television in 1963, she instructed home cooks in the "art of French cooking," including her

[5] Notably, Beard was not classically trained in French cuisine. His expertise in American cookery was based in his experience with running a catering company and authoring several cookbooks.

own blunders and personal anecdotes with charm, charisma, and an entirely distinctive voice (Prud'homme 2016). Millions of Americans watched Child as she roasted chickens, baked cakes, prepared salads, and bantered with some of the best French chefs of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, including her good friend and frequent collaborator Jacques Pépin.

Child's show and related celebrity marked a turning point in American culinary consciousness. While fine dining remained the product of restaurant chefs, Child made French cuisine and cooking exciting and accessible to American home cooks and created a new form of entertainment and food media. Now, food media was not just restricted to the elite evaluations of restaurant reviewers in cosmopolitan areas; instead, instructional culinary television was made available and compelling to the American masses.

Seasonality, Globalization, and a "New American" Field

The 1960s, 70s, and 80s were a moment of transition for American chefs and diners with four major changes in international restaurant culture and the American fine dining field. First, convenience and fast foods made cooking and dining easier than ever before. Second, fine dining chefs in France responded to recent social movements by shifting the form of celebrated French cooking from the reproduction of historical techniques set forth by Escoffier to a focus on chefs' autonomous creativity and an associated shift towards fresh, seasonal artistic cooking, a style that was in stark contrast to both the heavy *cuisine classique* that had dominated French haute cuisine and the increasingly popular processed foods on America's dining tables. Third, like the French chefs who developed artistic interpretations of vegetable-forward *nouvelle cuisine*, California cuisine developed as a distinct culinary style, focused on seasonal, wine-inspired, French-influenced cuisine. Finally, increased immigration from Asia and Latin America expanded the options of ethnic cuisine available to urban diners in America's cities, shifting the status of historically devalued cuisine types, especially Italian and Japanese cuisine. These changes altered the opportunities for chefs, options available to diners, and meaning of fine dining in the United States from exclusively encompassing French *cuisine classique* to a more inclusive culinary field defined by global influences, diversity, and a continued status hierarchy defined by exclusion and exclusivity.

The 1950s saw the increased consumption of processed food, with microwaves and other appliances allowing home cooks to reheat a plethora of newly available frozen dinner options. Additionally, increased access to highway travel meant that more Americans were on the road and seeking easy dinner options away from home. National chains, such as McDonald's (founded in 1940) and, for a more formal experience including sit-down service, Howard Johnson's (founded as a drugstore/soda fountain in 1925), provided middle class diners with consistent, familiar sustenance while traveling. The rise of nationally distributed convenience foods, such as canned goods and frozen products, and national restaurant chains established a trend toward the homogenization of the American diet across the country. In response to the increasingly homogenized American palate, fine dining chefs in both the United States and France sought ways to offer diners something different from *la cuisine classique* that historically dominated the field.

The late 1960s were defined by a series of social movements that inspired broad social change and a shift in how diners ate and chefs cooked. In France, these changes were marked by the shift from *la cuisine classique* to *nouvelle cuisine*; Rao et al. (2003; 2005) argue

that the antiauthoritarian protests in May 1968 in France triggered the shift in culinary production from classic cuisine's emphasis on the reproduction of institutionalized techniques, such as those codified by Escoffier, to *nouvelle cuisine*'s emphasis on chefs' creative autonomy. Unlike *la cuisine classique*, *nouvelle cuisine* produced lighter, delicate dishes with artistic presentations and was championed by culinary giants, such as the late Paul Bocuse, Alain Chapel, and the Troisgros brothers. This focus on simplicity and artistry mirrored the emphasis on seasonality first promoted by Beard and his colleagues at the Four Seasons and further advanced by the development of a new, entirely American form of cooking—California cuisine.

In August 1971 in Berkeley, California, Chez Panisse, a Provence-inspired restaurant with a menu that changed daily helmed by an unknown and untrained cook named Alice Waters opened, changing the American restaurant landscape forever. Inspired by the local products available in Northern California, including a well-tended backyard garden and an increasingly celebrated northern Californian wine industry (Lukacs 2005), Waters and Jeremiah Tower drew on French Provencal and Mediterranean home cooking to develop a style of highly seasonal, local, simple cookery that came to define California cuisine. While Classic French cuisine defined luxury according to elaborate, technically involved dishes that included ingredients that were difficult to procure, such as raspberries in January, California cuisine was about cooking simple, ingredient-focused food with what was easily and locally available.

As Chez Panisse grew in popularity and national renown, Waters and her team established several innovations that defined both the California style of cuisine and American cuisine at large, including creating casual, accessible dining spaces, cooking with open wood fires, the elevation of pizza as a seasonal American food, and what is now popularly called "farm to table" cuisine (Kuh 2001; Goldstein 2013; Freedman 2016). Beyond introducing California cuisine to the American dining public, Chez Panisse also established the Bay Area as a culinary capital to rival New York. While there continues to be a rivalry between the two dining destinations, with the advent of California cuisine, New York City could no longer unthinkingly assume its position of prominence, nor dismiss the creative cookery happening on the other coast.

At the same time that chefs turned to seasonality and locality for inspiration, following the model set forth at Chez Panisse, the ethnoracial landscape of dining in America shifted in response to immigration patterns, expanding American diners' access to and, in some cases, as with Italian and Japanese cuisine, reverence for foreign foods beyond the institutions of French haute cuisine. American urban diners found themselves in a more diverse landscape of restaurants offering all kinds of ethnic cuisines hitherto unknown to them, including take out staples such as Thai, Chinese, Vietnamese, Indian, and Mexican food, as waves of new immigrants, especially those from Asia and Latin America, arrived in major American cities and opened restaurants (Ray 2016). This shifted the definition of devalued ethnic cuisine and, relatedly, fine dining, as American palates expanded and adapted to the culinary changes these new dining options inspired.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Italian cuisine was understood as "ethnic food," primarily composed of large plates of pasta dressed in red sauce consumed by the bohemian theater set at institutions like Mama Leonne's in New York (Freedman 2016). In the 1980s, chefs like Lidia Bastianich at Felidia introduced American diners to the diversity and regionalism of Italian cuisine, and elite diners literally ate it up! The lighter fare offered

at Italian restaurants pleased dieters and offered a new form of gastronomic exploration for those accustomed to the heavier meals offered at the French bastions of fine dining, and knowledgeable American diners soon came to recognize the difference between Tuscan, Sicilian, and Roman styles of cuisine. The markers of prestige that were historically reserved exclusively for French cuisine were made available to Italian restaurants, allowing Italian cuisine to become a high status product in the fine dining field.

Just as Italian food transitioned from a low status "ethnic cuisine" to a celebrated form of "foreign food"(Ray 2016). In the 1990s and early 2000s, Japanese cuisine, especially sushi, transformed from a strange ethnic street snack to one of the most celebrated cuisine types in the United States. Today omakase-style sushi restaurants are some of the most prestigious and expensive restaurants in the United States. The Japanese economic boom of the 70s and 80s then brought many Japanese businesses to the United States, creating both a large immigrant dining population and an American public interested in all things Japanese (Corson 2008). Over the last thirty years, countless sushi masters, notably including Nobu Matsuhisa, Masa Takayama, and Masaharu Morimoto, have found great success, serving eager elite diners in American cities, and sushi holds a prominent position of prestige in the contemporary American fine dining field, celebrated for its refined technique and clean aesthetics. These two previously excluded cuisines—Italian and Japanese cuisine—shifted from being understood as cheap ethnic eats to legitimate, elite fine cuisine.

The Changing Role of the Chef: The 1990s and 2000s

The 1990s and early 2000s introduced even more change to the American fine dining field. Local restaurant critics, especially Ruth Reichl at the *New York Times*, expanded the scope of the field, assessing not just the institutionalized bastions of fine dining but also the local neighborhood ethnic restaurants in all five boroughs of New York. Additionally, restaurant reviews were no longer just read by a local audience; as national attention to chefs and restaurants grew through the development of national food media outlets, like Food Network, local critics and chefs rose to positions of national fame. The concept of the celebrity chef was born, and the role of the chef shifted from a submissive working class actor who remained hidden behind the stove to an internationally recognized culinary "personality," who came to represent a business and a brand far larger than any individual restaurant. Finally, due to the huge influence of one of these personalities, Ferran Adría in Spain, culinary preparation expanded to include scientific, "modernist" techniques, whereby individual chefs commanded scientific ingredients previously unimaginable in the context of cooking to introduce not just new flavors to the fine dining field but also entirely new techniques to the enterprise of culinary production. These three shifts in (1) the role of the restaurant critic, (2) the role of the chef, and (3) the techniques and ingredients used to produce fine cuisine set the stage for the contemporary American fine dining field's celebration of the individual chef as artist, changing definitions of the kinds of cuisine that are considered legitimate in the fine dining field, and system of national and global prestige that inform how restaurants and chefs are relationally understood today.

From 1993-1999, the critical voice of New York's dining scene was Ruth Reichl, who is renowned for her reviews of ethnic restaurants previously ignored by critics as well as her innovative approach to the occupation of restaurant reviewing. Reichl infamously

wore a variety of disguises while dining at restaurants she was reviewing and reported on the differential treatment she experienced when she dined as Ruth Reichl compared to when she was dressed as an elderly woman or a Midwestern housewife (Reichl 2005). In addition to drawing attention to previously ignored ethnic restaurants, Reichl reviewed classically-celebrated restaurants, like the infamous Le Cirque, where, when she dined out of disguise, "the King of Spain is at the bar, but your table is ready;" when she dined in disguise, she was subjected to a variety of service-related affronts. Reichl's approach harkened a new era of American dining culture and food writing, one in which diners-in-the-know, "foodies," sought both status-based "distinction" at fine dining establishments and open-minded "democracy" at inexpensive neighborhood ethnic restaurants (Johnston and Baumann 2007; 2010) and good food was not synonymous with the snobbery first made famous by Soulé at Le Pavillon. By writing honestly about historically consecrated restaurants *and* local ethnic establishments, Reichl captured the increasingly diverse options available in New York's restaurant scene and served as a model for the rest of the country, which was gaining interest in and access to information about chefs across the country and around the world through the development of new national food media outlets.

With the advent of the Food Network channel in the 1990s, American viewers gained access to information about celebrated chefs working at the best restaurants on the coasts through their instructional and, eventually, competitive cooking programs (Salkin 2013). At the same time, chefs realized they could capitalize on their increasing fame by stepping out of the day to day culinary work of the kitchen and entering the business world, opening several concepts under their name in multiple cities and across the country. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the profession of "chef" shifted from a blue-collar occupation, where chefs like Wolfgang Puck followed investors or patrons to jobs at restaurants they did not own and worked hard to accommodate others' desires, to a celebrity status of internationally renowned chef/artist/businessman. Puck is now recognized internationally as much for his innovative 1980s creation of smoked salmon and caviar pizza at Los Angeles' Spago (and a toned down version now available at many of his airport outposts around the United States) as for his line of home cookware, sold on the Home Shopping Network.

As food media expanded, through the Food Network (and then, because Food Network was so successful, the Cooking Channel), new online food journalism outlets, like blogs and food reporting sites like *Eater*, and social media, so did national interest in chefs as personalities and brands (Johnston and Baumann 2010; Leschziner 2015), and the role of the celebrated chef shifted from the local restaurant kitchen to the national stage. One chef I interviewed explains, "Yes; I'm still the chef at my restaurants [he owns four in New York City], but I'm not the chef at any one of my kitchens. There are chefs in every single one of my kitchens, but I'm on the phone talking to you. That's what being a chef today is." Chefs and restaurateurs began building brands that could be replicated on a national or international scale, as with Wolfgang Puck's 21 airport fast-casual concepts, 6 bars and lounges, and 34 restaurants around the world, or a more local scale, such as Danny Meyer's Union Square Hospitality Group, which was one of the pioneers of the idea of a restaurant empire. Now, in order to succeed in fine dining, even at the city level, chefs must cultivate a public image by maintaining a personal Instagram account, participating in interviews, whether for prestigious food publications, such as *Food and Wine* or *Bon Appetit* or segments

on morning talk shows, such as *Good Morning America* or *The Today Show,* and maintaining a public facing persona.

Perhaps one of the most influential of these increasingly internationally renowned chefs of the era is Ferran Adría, whose three-Michelin-starred restaurant elBulli was an international model for the development of artistic creativity and modernist cuisine (Svejenova et al. 2007; Svejenova et al. 2010). At elBulli, Adría challenged the conventions of fine dining by creating dishes that previously would not have been understood as edible, let alone akin to the cuisine served at historical icons of classic French haute cuisine, such as foams, gels, and "deconstructed" dishes. Several now-famous American chefs and restaurateurs traveled to elBulli to learn from Adriá, including Chef Grant Achatz, of three-starred Alinea in Chicago. Adría's primary contribution to the field of fine dining around the world was to introduce not just new flavors to the field but new ways of thinking about cooking. Because elBulli was so influential, providing a prestigious training program for many celebrated chefs, and garnering international acclaim (the restaurant was named the World's Best restaurant from the World's 50 Best list a record five times), modernist techniques spread across the world and are now universally accepted as legitimate, in today's fine dining field (Myhrvold et al. 2011). This celebration of challenging the traditional rules of Classic French fine dining through the incorporation of science and new technologies has defined the contemporary field and culinary innovation in the United States for the last decade.

The Gods of Food and Today's Contemporary American Fine Dining Field

The mid-late 2000s marked a new era in American fine dining, as American chefs gained international prestige in ways that had not been available to them before. First, the *Michelin Guide* began assessing American restaurants in the mid-2000s, granting American restaurants access to a system of consecration previously denied to them. Around the same time, American chefs like Grant Achatz and Daniel Humm achieved recognition from the World's 50 Best List, marking their distinctively American cuisine as some of the best in the world, challenging the international field's historic celebration of French cuisine. Also in the mid 2000s, chefs like David Chang of Momofuku Noodle Bar redefined good food and fine dining by creating accessible, ethnic cuisine that was popular with diners and critics alike. As American chefs and restaurants gained international prestige and chefs like Chang challenged the institutionalized norms of fine dining in America's top dining cities, Americans generally became more interested in food and food politics, shifting the role of the professional chef from one of culinary artistry and business acumen to one that also includes a role of social justice and advocacy. These shifts—(1) the increasing international recognition of American chefs and restaurants, (2) the universal critical and popular celebration of inexpensive ethnic food, and (3) the changing national discussion around food politics—fundamentally shape how chefs think about their products and relational value in today's American fine dining field.

In 2006, the *Michelin Guide* released its first reviews in the United States, assessing restaurants in New York City; in 2007, they published a *Guide* to restaurants in the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, and Las Vegas. Since then, Michelin discontinued the LA and Vegas *Guides* and introduced *Guides* for Chicago and Washington, D.C. Nearly 70 years after the first rendition of Le Pavillon opened at the New York World's Fair and over

100 years since the founding of the *Michelin Guide*, chefs and restaurants working in the United States were recognized as deserving of international, anonymous assessment by the widely-respected *Guide*. Similarly, throughout the 2000s, American restaurants have been recognized as prestigious by the World's 50 Best List. In 2011, Grant Achatz's exemplar of molecular gastronomy Alinea was ranked as the 6th best restaurant in the world by the World's 50 Best Restaurants list, the highest-ranking restaurant in the US that year. In 2017 Chef Daniel Humm's Eleven Madison Park in Manhattan was awarded the number one spot in the world. Over the past ten years, American chefs and restaurants have been recognized as valuable on an international scale for the distinctive American cuisine they offer in a way that they have never been before.

At the same time, innovative chefs began introducing consciously inauthentic, indisputably delicious ethnic cuisine to the dining scenes in New York and San Francisco. In 2004, Chef David Chang opened what was, at the time, a dubious yet wildly popular concept when he established Momofuku Noodle Bar in Manhattan's East Village. The Noodle Bar, the first in what would become a fleet of successful restaurants in the Momofuku Group, was where, "his menu reflects his background as a Korean-American chef who came up through the seasonally obsessed kitchen at Craft doing his take on Japanese noodles plus, it seems, whatever else he feels like cooking. That might include pan-fried Sichuan-spiced crawfish ($15) one night, or tripe braised with bacon ($8) another" (Meehan 2005). With Momofuku Noodle Bar, Chef Chang eschewed the expectations of his Classic fine dining training (he studied at the French Culinary Institute, and worked at Craft, Tom Colicchio's celebrated American restaurant and Café Boulud, a one-starred Manhattan French restaurant) to open an inexpensive, consciously inauthentic (he used bacon instead of bonito flakes to flavor the broth) ramen shop at a time when creativity in the field was defined by new modernist techniques and came at a high price point. In so doing, Chef Chang established a new kind of restaurant in the American fine dining field—the serious, delicious, inexpensive, ethnic restaurant, popular with and accessible to both critics and diners. Chang has parlayed his unique vision, which combines classic fine dining training with a love of junk food, into a mini empire of restaurants around the world, a successful chain of bakeries (Milk Bar with Chef Christina Tosi), a magazine, a television show, and a popular brand grounded in his unique creative vision and magnetic personality.

In 2013, Chang's field-changing cuisine and increasingly public persona earned him a spot on the cover of *Time Magazine* as one of its "Gods of Food." The magazine's cover story marked the changes in American fine dining from catering exclusively to elites to an expanding and more "democratic" (Johnston and Baumann 2007; 2010) discussion of what counts as "good food" in the United States, a shift personified by Chang. The cover story also remarked that this shift in fine dining occurred at the same time that food journalists and scholars were attending to the great disparity in access to healthy, sustainable food in the United States, identifying "food deserts," the disproportionate consumption of unhealthy fast food among the nation's impoverished, and the health consequences of excessive consumption of high calorie convenience foods (e.g., Pollan 2007; 2014; Nestle 2007; 2013; Barber 2014; Schlosser 2001; Patel 2012).

Time's cover article marked the changes occurring in American dining culture. No longer were chefs exclusively conceptualized as working class executors of institutionalized, replicable traditional cuisine, nor were they exclusively representatives of a personal creative brand. In an era of international attention to American culinary creativity and the broader

issues underlying the politics of food, chefs, like Chang and the other "gods of food" had an "impact [that] is felt even by those who would never eat a Michelin-starred meal. They are the thought leaders and advocates, who not only prepare extraordinary meals but also tell us why we may be doing good for the planet by eating well" (*Time* 2013). These new chefs who conceptualized their role as one of simultaneous culinary creativity, business acumen, and a commitment to environmental and social justice redefined the parameters of the fine dining field and the social and public role of the chef.

The Costs of Restaurants in the Contemporary Fine Dining Field

As a cultural field, American fine dining is organized according to systems of both symbolic and economic evaluation. Fine dining restaurants often occupy symbolically prestigious positions in the field, and these prestigious positions are often associated with a higher price point. While fine dining restaurants are the most expensive places to eat dinner in the United States, fine dining is not a lucrative business plan. The costs of running an elite restaurant in New York City or San Francisco are astronomical. Restaurants must pay for (1) rent in some of the most desirable neighborhoods, (2) labor costs, including wages for the ten or more cooks required to produce elaborate, artistic cuisine, service staff, hosts, and sommeliers and other bar staff, (3) food costs, including the high costs associated with luxury items that are common at fine dining restaurants, such as caviar, foie gras, and organic, carefully sourced produce and proteins, (4) wine programs, which often feature valuable and rare bottles uniquely available at fine dining restaurants, and (5) the costs associated with maintaining the ambiance of a fine dining restaurant, including fine linens, crystal, china, fresh flowers, luxury furniture, designer lighting, etc.

The costs of running a fine dining restaurant are far greater than those required to run lower status restaurants, which translates to a higher price point. Restaurants' profits are typically low, and the failure rate for new restaurants is high. Profit margins for fine dining restaurants are even lower than those at other kinds of restaurants; restaurateurs interested in making money are more likely to find success investing in lower status concepts than in fine dining establishments, which, if they are wildly successful, have between a 5 and 10% profit margin. Most fine dining restaurants are considered successful if they break even (Lane 2013; Leschziner 201; Sutton 2016).

Price is central to diners' understandings of a restaurant's value in the field, and the material concerns of running a fine dining restaurant in the contemporary field fundamentally shape how chefs, critics, and diners understand the costs of producing and consuming elite cuisine in the United States. Like the aristocratic manor house predecessors of fine dining restaurants in eighteenth-century France, restaurants in the fine dining field are defined as elite, expensive spaces, but the expenses required to maintain that position are great, and these financial pressures are exacerbated for different chefs and restaurants, depending on chefs' artistic visions, sense of purpose, and category of cuisine.

The Chefs of the Contemporary American Fine Dining Field

The American fine dining field reflects the diversity and regionalism of the United States. While the major American cities—New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago—serve as central hubs for most American creative fields and industries, several

smaller cities maintain active and nationally celebrated culinary fields beyond these four major centers of culinary innovation, such as those in Charleston, SC, Louisville, KY, and Denver, CO. Despite the ever-expanding national scope of the American fine dining field, chefs in New York City and San Francisco continue to serve as leaders in the industry, and the local fine dining fields in these two cities are substantial enough to support the continued presence of the *Michelin Guide*. The chefs there establish the trends that dictate how the rest of the country eats and how other actors in the fine dining field define their own culinary styles and positions in the field at large (Leschziner 2015).

There are four recent trends in fine dining that shape how chefs think about their products' position in the contemporary field—(1) sustainability and farm to table cuisine; (2) modernist artistic innovation; (3) a continued appreciation for Classic French technique; and (4) the introduction of Ethnic cuisine to the fine dining context. For example, Chef Dan Barber of one-starred Blue Hill in New York has served as a model for farm to table cooking and chef activism around sustainability since he opened his Manhattan restaurant in 2000. With a sister restaurant affiliated with a working farm called Stone Barns Center for Food and Agriculture in Westchester County, New York and a prominent public presence, Chef Barber represents the now seemingly ubiquitous concept of farm to table cuisine, recording his arguments about sustainability, "ethical eating," and "the future of food" in his 2014 book *The Third Plate*.

French-born Chef Dominique Crenn, one of three women chefs in the United States to hold two Michelin stars in 2016, of San Francisco's Atelier Crenn is representative of the kind of personal, artistic, modernist cooking that is gaining traction in the field. Her cuisine is famously intellectual; she writes her tasting menu as a poem, with each line representing a different course, and in her 2015 cookbook, which is more of a professional guide than an instruction manual for home cooks, she lists a sous vide machine and dehydrators as necessary equipment, and molecular ingredients such as corn maltodextrin and kuzu starch are regularly used ingredients in her recipes (Crenn 2015: 25-28).

In contrast to this personal, artistic cuisine, the legacy of Classic haute cuisine continues to inform how chefs are trained and evaluated in the field. Few chefs in the US are as revered for their French cuisine as Thomas Keller, the creative mind behind two three-Michelin-starred restaurants in Napa Valley (The French Laundry) and New York City (Per Se), as well as a several other celebrated restaurants throughout the United States. Trained in France at Michelin-starred restaurants, Keller unites Classic French technique with California seasonality, creating iconic dishes like butter poached lobster, "salmon cornets," and "oysters and pearls," his signature dish composed of a sabayon of pearl tapioca with oysters and caviar. Chef Keller represents the continuing legacy of and American fascination with French haute cuisine, Classic technique, and luxurious hospitality.

Finally, Chef Danny Bowien of Mission Chinese Food represents a new form of increasingly celebrated cuisine, what *Bon Appetit* calls "dude food" or "stoner snacks" (Knowlton 2014). Bowein combines ethnic culinary techniques and tradition with an affection for American processed food to create distinctive, inauthentic ethnic cuisine, like his fried rice topped with potato chips. Chef Bowein consciously challenges the institutionalized rules of Classic haute cuisine by introducing previously excluded flavors, especially those associated with Ethnic food, incorporating decidedly not fine ingredients into his dishes, such as pastrami in the Mission Chinese fried rice, and pursuing

deliciousness with a charming sense of gregarious fun and indulgent whimsy. These four chefs—Chef Barber with his activism around sustainability, Chef Crenn and her personal, innovative, artistic cuisine, Chef Keller and his celebration of Classic French technique, and Chef Bowien, with his boundary-spanning, consciously defiant Ethnic cuisine—represent the trends and trendsetters of today's American fine dining field.

The field is more diverse than ever before. In 2016, there were 133 restaurants with at least one Michelin star in New York and the San Francisco Bay Area (81 in New York City and 52 in the Bay Area). There are an additional 207 restaurants with a Bib Gourmand recommendation (133 in New York and 74 in San Francisco). These restaurants serve cuisines as varied as French, Japanese, American, Contemporary, Indian, Mexican, Californian, etc. Today's chefs are opening pop ups, underground supper clubs, tasting menu only restaurants, fast casual establishments, food trucks, stalls in food courts, casual sit-down service spaces, and hybrids of any and/or all of these. Chefs serve their cuisine in luxurious dining rooms, on casual patios with rustic picnic tables, at communal family tables, and even at "chef's tables" in their working kitchens. The contemporary American fine dining field, then, is defined by diversity and innovation, and, while the legacy and influence of French hegemony is apparent in the field, there is more flexibility and possibility then ever before.

While there is diversity in the dining experiences offered in the field are, there is far less diversity in the archetype of the ideal chef. Most chefs in the fine dining field are classically trained, graduates of expensive formal culinary programs, like those offered at the Culinary Institute of America or Le Cordon Bleu, and influenced by prestigious mentors. These chefs' styles come to be defined by their training; chefs who work at Chez Panisse echo a sense of California seasonality in their cooking, while chefs who train under Thomas Keller have a refined and disciplined sense of technique and tradition. Additionally, like the ideal chef under Escoffier, most chefs in the contemporary field are white men. This ideal worker norm establishes a system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that makes it difficult for chefs who do not match this ideal, such as women chefs and non-white chefs, to prove their legitimacy in the fine dining field. As I show in the empirical chapters, these status hierarchies—of both products and producers—affect how evaluative actors assess chefs and restaurants in the field.

The Evaluators of the Contemporary American Fine Dining Field

Several critical actors evaluate the American fine dining field. At the international level, Michelin and the World's 50 Best List rank American restaurants and chefs in relation to the best restaurants around the world; because of their broad scope, these awards are some of the most prestigious markers of value. At the national level, the James Beard Foundation and major national food publications *Bon Appetit* and *Food and Wine* identify the best restaurants and chefs in the United States. Local restaurant critics, like Pete Wells at the *New York Times* and Michael Bauer at the *San Francisco Chronicle,* remain influential in the cities where they work and are increasingly attracting national attention. Finally, in an age of social media documentation, every diner with an Instagram or Yelp account has a critical voice to which some chefs must attend. These different forms of recognition have different criteria for assessment and different meanings to the chefs and restaurants they evaluate.

In the second half of the twentieth century, local newspaper critics defined both the American fine dining field and the popular consciousness about cuisine. These local critics served as the primary source of information about culinary trends, gastronomic excellence, and the happenings of the dining landscape in major urban areas. In an increasingly global culinary field, there are now several critical voices at the international, national, and local levels that shape how chefs, diners, and other critics understand and evaluate restaurants in the American fine dining field. Now, online journalism, social media, and a global cultural fascination with cuisine has expanded diners', chefs', and critics' access to information about restaurants and chefs working around the world, and the critical sector of the American fine dining field has expanded accordingly.

I have already argued that the *Michelin Guide* maintains an unparalleled position of prestige. The three-star system of anonymous inspectors' assessments continues to serve as a universally revered system of evaluation in the field. Throughout this chapter I have also made frequent reference to the World's 50 Best Restaurants List. The list of the 50 best restaurants in the world, revised every year, is constructed through the votes of the over 1,000 restaurant industry experts who are knowledgeable "food writers and critics, chefs, restaurateurs, and well-traveled gourmets" (World's 50 Best Restaurants 2018). Recognition from the World's 50 Best is meaningful for chefs both because it represents recognition from peers as well as critics, and because it indicates a restaurant's contribution to the *international* culinary community. Because they evaluate restaurants on a global scale, these international critics occupy a position of great prestige.

There are also several other meaningful forms of national critical recognition, including awards from major food publications *Food and Wine* and *Bon Appetit* and the James Beard Awards, sometimes called "the Oscars of Food" (Sutton 2017). Each year for its July issue *Food and Wine* (circulation 934,000) announces ten to twelve "Best New Chefs" (*Food and Wine* 2017). Since 1988, the magazine has selected the chefs who represent, "the country's best restaurant cooking right now and offer a clarion call for the future we'd like to see" (Rothman 2018; *Food and Wine* 2018). Similarly, in September of each year, *Bon Appetit Magazine* (circulation 1.5 million) releases its BA Hot Ten list, a list of the ten best new restaurants (they must be open for a year or less in order to receive the recognition) across the country. Andrew Knowlton, *Bon Appetit's* editor at large, leads the research team and develops the annual Hot Ten List, judging new restaurants for their "1. Food. 2. Passion, and 3. That certain inexplicable feeling that one gets when dining out." (Bainbridge 2013)

While recognition from these major food magazines can launch careers, especially for young chefs and restaurants in the United States, the major national awards for culinary arts are those distributed annually by the James Beard Foundation. A panel of 400 food professionals composed primarily of previous award winners, vote annually to select the winners (James Beard Foundation 2018), and the awards are particularly meaningful because, unlike the awards distributed by the magazines, a jury of both critics *and* chef peers select the winners.

Additionally, despite the increasing significance of national and international critics, local critics in major cities continue to provide a salient local voice in the fine dining field. Pete Wells has been the *New York Times* restaurant critic since November 2011, and he wields the four-star rating system that has been used by the *Times* to assess New York[6]

[6] In a twist on tradition, Wells published his first review of a restaurant in Los Angeles in September 2016.

restaurants since 1963. While Wells' reviews are primarily assessments of New York restaurants, he often garners, as the paper does, a national readership, eager to indulge in the glorious schadenfreude of some of his more infamous reviews, such as his 2012 review of Guy Fieri's American Kitchen and Bar, written entirely in questions, including, "hey, did you try that blue drink, the one that glows like nuclear waste? the watermelon margarita? Any idea why it tastes like some combination of radiator fluid and formaldehyde?" (Wells 2012) or the 2016 review of Thomas Keller's three-Michelin-starred Per Se, where the soup resembled, according to Wells, "bong water" (Wells 2016). Indeed, Wells' reviews have economic consequences for the restaurants they take as their subjects, sometimes sending them to the restaurant graveyard, sometimes ensuring their financial survival for another season (Parker 2016).

Jonathan Gold of the *LA Times* enjoys a similar national provenance, known for his appreciation for the unsung Ethnic restaurant heroes of Los Angeles strip malls. The national food press eagerly awaits the release of his annual list of the 101 best restaurants in Los Angeles, which includes stalwarts of fine dining, such as Spago and Ludo Lefebrve's Trois Mec, alongside the Guerrilla Tacos food truck (Gabbert 2015). Finally, Michael Bauer, the restaurant critic at the *San Francisco Chronicle*. He releases an annual top 100 restaurants in the Bay Area list that local chefs attend to, but, perhaps because he has not cultivated a compelling personal brand in the way that Wells and Gold have, his audience is primarily confined to diners in San Francisco. In recent years, these local critics' roles have shifted from being the only relevant critical voice in their cities, to being members of a diverse chorus of critique.

Indeed, the role of the *professional* critic is shifting as the population of "foodies," or enthusiastic diners who blog, write Yelp reviews, watch Food Network and *Top Chef* religiously, and, perhaps most pertinently, record all of their dining adventures on social media, especially Instagram, grows. These "influencers" are interested in dining at the most exciting restaurants, photographing their consumption, including items produced almost exclusively for Instagram documentation, like rainbow bagels or milk shakes adorned with sparklers (Mull 2017). In the age of social media, diners, who can freely record their perhaps uninformed opinions about a dining experience in a highly trafficked public Internet space, like Yelp or Instagram, have a new role as amateur food critic. Photographing the hottest new dish, whether at a three-Michelin-starred restaurant in Manhattan or a "secret" food truck in a parking lot in Queens, has become a form of cultural capital among the foodie elite, and in the Internet age, diners' voices extend far beyond their own word-of-mouth circles to digital social networks that number in the thousands.

The Hierarchies of the Changing American Fine Dining Field

The various critical actors that evaluate chefs and restaurants in the American fine dining field illuminate the hierarchies that determine the systems of value and prestige in the field at large, especially those related to region, race, and gender. Some of the awards, especially the prestigious Michelin and James Beard Awards, are regionally restricted to major American cities (James Beard has an entire category dedicated to Best Chef New York City; similarly, categories like Best Chef West are often won by chefs working in San Francisco or Los Angeles, rendering it nearly impossible for chefs working in less trafficked areas, such as Sacramento or Honolulu, cities that are also included in the "West" region, to

earn recognition). This geographic constraint ensures that cities like New York City and San Francisco retain positions of power in the broader American culinary landscape.

Additionally, many of these awards disproportionately celebrate those restaurants that serve tasting menus featuring French, Japanese, and modernist cuisine (Sutton 2017). Tokyo and Paris are the two cities that boast the most Michelin stars in the world. 10 of the 11 restaurants in New York City and San Francisco with three Michelin stars serve Japanese or "Contemporary" cuisine, a cuisine type assigned by Michelin that indicates a kind of emerging haute cuisine that is inspired by both modernist and Classic French techniques. This unequal consecration of French, Japanese, and molecular cuisine establishes an ethnoracial order that assure that restaurants serving other kinds of cuisine, especially those associated with a lower price point and status, like Ethnic food, do not achieve comparable prestige.

Finally, women are vastly underrepresented in leadership positions at the most consecrated restaurants. In 2017, 28.4% of James Beard Award finalists were women, 33.3% of *Food and Wine* Best New Chefs were women, 17.6% of the *Bon Appetit* Hot Ten Restaurants were *co-owned* by women, 0% of the World's 50 Best Restaurants were led exclusively by a woman chef, and 0% of the three-Michelin-starred restaurants in the United States were run by women chefs (Kludt 2017). This underrepresentation reproduces a gender hierarchy that associates laudatory artistic culinary creation in fine dining with masculinity, denigrates the daily domestic food work associated with women, and discourages women chefs from pursuing excellence in the field (Harris and Giuffre 2015). The profession of chef developed as an exclusively masculine occupation, and early leaders like Escoffier defined professional restaurant cooking as entirely unlike women's home cooking in an effort to establish fine dining's distinctive and more valuable position as both art and science (Trubek 2000). There are many reasons why women are underrepresented in leadership positions in fine dining restaurants, including work/family conflict, the grueling schedule of a professional chef, active discrimination, and a culture of abuse and sexual harassment (Harris and Giuffre 2015). This continued exclusion of women chefs and consecration on the basis of tradition and masculine associations with creativity establishes a system of evaluation that disproportionately celebrates culinary producers and products linked to masculinity.

Given the increasingly diverse and global American fine dining field that continues to be structured by hierarchies that celebrate expensive French, Japanese, and modernist cuisine made by men in major urban areas, I ask, *how do chefs understand their value in the American fine dining field? How are actors in the field evaluated? How do these systems of evaluation affect chefs' processes of cultural production? What does this tell us about ethnoracial and gender hierarchy in cultural fields?* In the next three empirical chapters, I consider these questions, developing an argument about the three *logics of evaluation* (technique, creativity, and authenticity) that inform the relational positioning and therefore evaluation of chefs and restaurants in the contemporary American fine dining field. I argue that these three logics of evaluation are applied differentially to restaurants and chefs serving Classic (French, Italian, and Japanese), Flexible (e.g. Californian, American, Contemporary), and Ethnic (e.g. Mexican, Vietnamese, Thai, Chinese) genres of cuisine.

Chapter Three:
Tradition, Technique, and Classic Cuisine

At Acquerello, a two-Michelin-starred Italian restaurant in San Francisco's Nob Hill neighborhood, a meal is akin to a religious experience, a sensation bolstered by the restaurant's sacred origins as a church. Amid high ceilings, white tablecloths, and fine crystal and flatware, wait staff dressed in formalwear knowledgeably guide diners through a menu that features foie gras, house-made pastas, caviar, and truffles. The airy room is hushed, and the focus is the guest's total enjoyment of the perfectly executed meal. As the *Michelin Guide* advises diners, "with its air of old-world sophistication, Acquerello is the kind of establishment where one dresses for dinner, which is always an occasion" (102). Here, the Classic details of luxurious fine dining are celebrated, whether in the form of perfectly crisped biscotti gifted to diners by a stylish hostess when departing the restaurant for the evening "to accompany breakfast the next morning," or the tufted stools gracefully placed next to women's chairs in the dining room for their handbags. At Acquerello, the traditions of luxury, European technique, and formal service reign supreme, and the restaurant serves as a bastion of the Classic genre of cuisine in the contemporary field.

As I argued in the previous chapter, haute cuisine in the United States originated with the dissemination of French techniques around the world; these techniques remain the basis for most formal culinary education in the US and have defined Classic cuisine in the United States and Europe for decades. Scholars like Krishnendu Ray (2016), Alison Pearlman (2013), and John Freedman (2016) have shown how Italian food shifted from an inexpensive ethnic cuisine favored by bohemian artists in the early twentieth century to one of the most refined and consecrated cuisines in the western culinary canon, a "foreign food" (Ray 2016) now occupying a position of prestige comparable to that of French cuisine. Similarly, in the 1960s, when French chefs developed *nouvelle cuisine* in opposition to the *classique cuisine* prized in the first half of the twentieth century, they were inspired by Japanese omakase menus, initiating a gradual process of consecration of Japanese cuisine, culinary practices, and techniques in western gastronomy with a special focus on the aesthetics of Japanese cuisine as a symbol of wealth, cultural sophistication, elegance, and beauty. The omakase menu, which loosely translates to, "I'll leave it up to you," encouraged sushi chefs to prepare what they desired for customers, instead of permitting customers to order a la carte, prioritizing the chef's artistic vision over the customer's individual taste and establishing the model of dining employed by tasting menu restaurants around the world today.

The chefs and restaurants that serve the cuisine types that make up the Classic genre of cuisine—Japanese, French, and Italian cuisine—continue to occupy a position of power and prestige in the contemporary American fine dining field. One New York City chef explains:

> If you go by [*New York Times*] stars, let's just go through all the four star restaurants in New York. Jean George—French. Daniel is not four stars anymore, but they were—French. Le Bernardin—French. Eleven Madison Park—not really French, but he's [chef Daniel Humm] French trained. I'm not sure what they are, maybe New American? Sushi Nakazawa— Japanese. Historically, there's always been like four

> French and a Japanese, and excuse me we have one Italian. Now we have Del Posto. So, I think French, Italian, and sushi tends to be the top three in terms of price point, and they kind of hold the highest esteem.

Because these three cuisine types—French, Italian, and Japanese—serve as historical models of fine dining in the American tradition and have been the most critically acclaimed and expensive forms of dining in the United States more recently, they are some of the most powerful actors in the field. In this chapter, I focus on the Classic chefs and restaurants of the contemporary American fine dining field and ask: *How are chefs and restaurants serving Classic cuisine types evaluated in the American fine dining field? How do these evaluative processes reflect and reproduce ethnoracial and gender hierarchy?*

To answer this question, I first describe the restaurants and chefs working in the Classic genre of cuisine before addressing how the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity are used to assess and ultimately celebrate Classic chefs and restaurants in the field. I first focus on the symbolic value and consecration of Classic restaurants and argue that the logic of technique is the primary logic used to evaluate Classic chefs and restaurants, and its primacy affects how the logic of creativity and the logic of authenticity apply to restaurants and chefs in this genre. I show how the logic of technique's unique and exclusive celebration of Classic cuisine's association with the historical institutions of fine dining privileges these restaurants compared to other actors working in the other genres. The historical value of Classic cuisine and the ways in which the logics of evaluation apply to Classic cuisine then establish an ethnoracial and gendered system of hierarchy that uniquely celebrates those actors, such as Classic restaurants and chefs, that are associated with the traditions of the field, that is those actors who embody and represent elite whiteness and masculinity. Thus, I argue that subtle, insidious forms of ethnoracial and gender bias are veiled and justified by the logic of technique and the traditions of fine dining that it celebrates, upholding the "tradition" of excluding those actors in opposition to which Classic cuisine and its producers have been defined as valuable (namely, Ethnic cuisine and feminine home cooking).

To conclude the chapter, I then consider the relational material valuation of Classic restaurants. I find that, while Classic restaurants no longer dominate the top tiers of prestige (the vast majority of high status restaurants with Michelin stars serve Flexible cuisine types), the Classic genre retains a powerful and prestigious position in the field symbolically because of its association with the historical origins of the field and that association also informs the higher price point for these restaurants. Thus, I argue that the genre is understood in the field as both symbolically valuable because of its association with the origins of fine dining and materially valuable because of its shared definition as "expensive."

The Classic Restaurants of the Contemporary American Fine Dining Field

27.7% (382 of the 1379) of the restaurants included in the 2016 *Michelin Guides* for San Francisco and New York City serve Classic cuisine. Of these 382 Classic restaurants, 59 (15.4% of Classic restaurants) have a Bib Gourmand recommendation, 27 (7.1% of Classic restaurants) have one star, 6 (1.6% of Classic restaurants) have two stars, and 1 (0.3% of Classic restaurants) has three stars. According to the Guide, 62 of these restaurants serve

"French" cuisine, 207 serve "Italian" cuisine, and 113 tender Japanese cuisine. Across all cuisine types included in the *Michelin Guide*, Italian is the most frequently used classification. Table 1 depicts the distribution of these cuisine types in the population of all restaurants included in the 2016 *Michelin Guide* and within the Classic genre more specifically.

Table 1: Distribution of Categories of Cuisine in Classic Genre

	Total (Count)	Percentage all Restaurants in MG	Percentage within Genre	Total in Interview Sample
French	62	4.5%	16.2%	3
Italian	207	15.0%	54.2%	11
Japanese	113	8.2%	29.6%	3
Total	382	27.7%	100%	17

Because Classic cuisine serves as the historical baseline for the American fine dining field, all chefs understand their position in the field in relation to the historical models of consecrated cuisine and fine dining, represented by the Classic genre. However, in the contemporary field, there is not a monolithic model of the Classic restaurant that all restaurants serving Classic cuisine resemble, in the way Le Pavillon was in New York City. Instead, there is space for creative expression and diversity in restaurant design and dining experience offered at Classic restaurants in the United States today. Restaurants serving Classic cuisine offer (1) traditional, (2) modern, and (3) casual Classic dining experiences that represent the historical traditions of fine dining in different ways.

Traditional fine dining restaurants, like Thomas Keller's The French Laundry in Yountville, California, near Napa, or Eric Ripert's Le Bernardin in Manhattan, offer technically flawless, French-inspired cooking with luxurious ingredients, such as truffles and caviar, in opulent dining rooms with formal service for a very high price (most restaurants in this category charge at least $200 per person, excluding alcohol and service charges). One chef describes Classical fine dining restaurants as, "they have menus that have incredible ingredients, all of the accouterments are expensive—the cutlery, the china, the glassware. They have expensive beverage programs." Another New York City chef defines traditional fine dining as, "definitely French. The French style, and a lot of it is not just the style of food but the French service is what I think people see in the fine dining restaurants more than the food. The service, the French style service, like serving women first, you don't clear until everyone is finished. That's hard to get away from for a fine dining restaurant." Traditional fine dining restaurants serving Classic cuisine are celebrated for their adherence to and execution of complicated and revered techniques of French, Japanese, and Italian cooking and markers of formality in both service and ambiance, offering a restaurant experience that one chef summarizes as, "a meal that you anticipate. It's about the details. The table cloths are ironed, the silver is polished…somebody has thought about every detail just for you to have this beautiful meal. It's an occasion."

This traditional representation of fine dining is not the only way celebrated chefs serve Classic cuisine types. Some chefs, like Daniel Eddy at one-starred French restaurant Rebelle in New York and Chef Matthew Accarino of one-starred Italian SPQR in San Francisco, reinvent what it means to be a *modern* Classic restaurant, challenging the

traditional markers of "stuffy" fine dining with sleek décor, friendly service, and new interpretations of classic dishes. One chef characterizes these new Classics as, "there's a lot of freedom in fine dining now. A lot of rules have been broken. You used to have to wear like a suit and jacket to every restaurant you go to." Many chefs in this group trained at the best Classical fine dining restaurants early in their careers, and they craft dining experiences characterized by refined cooking in luxurious environments informed by their training. However, the symbols of refinement and luxury at their modern establishments are relaxed. Foie gras and candlesticks are no longer required markers of a fine dining experience, but knowledge of Classical technique, which allows for reinterpretation of tradition, and dedication to detail are. One chef considers the future of fine dining: "the food is really exciting, but the normal trappings of fine dining, the silver, the linen, the china, the upholstery have faded away. They're just kind of, I don't know, old fashioned or something."

Still other chefs serve celebrated Classic cuisine in casual restaurant spaces. Restaurants like one-starred French bistro Nico and Bib Gourmand Italian trattoria Delfina in San Francisco offer sometimes-eclectic, sometimes-traditional menus in relaxed, accessible settings, equally welcoming to diners in jeans and t-shirts and cocktail attire. Because they are cooking a familiar and legitimated (Johnston and Baumann 2007) cuisine (often described as "neighborhood trattoria" or "bistro" food), chefs at these casual restaurants challenge the symbolic tropes of traditional fine dining service and luxury while cooking Classic cuisine, therefore avoiding penalty to their position in the field. At these restaurants, chefs are celebrated for their representation of technique served in casual accessible spaces (often notable for the absence of the white table cloths that are emblematic of traditional fine dining).

These restaurants embody the recent trend of the "smart casual" (Pearlman 2013), or what one chef describes as "casually elegant," restaurant:

> I have the respect for the techniques that we do and the techniques of this craft, but I do it in a little bit more rustic way…to me, fine dining takes that to another level. It adds extra elements that we choose not to, whether it's white tablecloths or matching linen or this or that, certain steps of service, the uniforms. Everything is taken to one more level in classic fine dining, but the biggest thing is the technique and the craft, and everything else that goes into the *food* is never sacrificed here.

While these chefs interpret the accouterments and ambiance of the historical archetype of fine dining restaurants in traditional, modern, and casual ways, with some chefs employing the markers of traditional luxury and formal service, some chefs reinterpreting the symbols of luxury to reflect contemporary tastes, and some chefs serving Classic cuisine in casual settings, all Classic chefs in the contemporary American fine dining field are defined by their adherence to and reproduction of traditional culinary *technique*, both in how they prepare cuisine and organize the labor in their kitchens. These Classic chefs share a reverence for the historical norms and traditions of the past and an attention to detail, but their interpretations and representations of luxury vary, in many ways reflecting changing aesthetics, rejecting the historical markers of luxury as "old fashioned." All Classic restaurants are assessed and ultimately celebrated as powerful, prestigious actors in the field because they represent and reproduce the traditions that have historically defined fine

cuisine in the United States. Below, I focus on the application of the three logics of evaluation in the assessment of these various Classic chefs, showing that the primary logic is that of technique.

The Logics of Evaluation and the Classic Genre of Cuisine

Each of the logics of evaluation—the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity—is used to assess and ultimately celebrate chefs and restaurants producing Classic cuisine, but these logics are not applied equally within the Classic genre. That is, the logic of creativity is not equally significant to the assessment of Classic categories of cuisine as it is in the context of Flexible categories of cuisine, nor is the logic of creativity as significant to the consecration of Classic restaurants and chefs as the logic of technique is. Indeed, the logic of technique is the central logic of evaluation for Classic restaurants, guiding the application of the other logics and primarily defining the value of restaurants and chefs working within the Classic genre. In Table 2, I show three logistic regression analyses that control for city (San Francisco or New York), Michelin recognition (a variable that codes restaurants with a Bib Gourmand rating as 1; and one, two, and three stars 2, 3 and 4 respectively, with all other restaurants without this formal recognition coded as 0), and price point (reflecting the dollar sign symbols in the *Michelin Guide* as ¢=1; $$=2; $$$=3; and $$$$=4) to consider the relationship between Classic categorization of restaurants and the likelihood of the inclusion of language reflecting the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity in restaurant reviews in the 2016 *Michelin Guides* for San Francisco and New York City.

Table 2: Logics of Evaluation by Classic Genre in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*

	Model 1: Technique	**Model 2: Creativity**	**Model 3: Authenticity**
City (San Francisco)	-0.289	-0.567*	0.357*
	(0.193)	(0.228)	(0.164)
Michelin Recognition	0.715***	0.265*	0.108
	(0.105)	(0.118)	(0.130)
Price	0.165	0.338*	-0.657***
	(0.121)	(0.133)	(0.128)
Classic Genre	0.702***	-0.685**	0.710***
	(0.187)	(0.260)	(0.172)
Constant	-2.180***	-2.678***	-1.569***
	(0.190)	(0.204)	(0.162)

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

I find that Classic categorization is significantly correlated with inclusion of language reflecting all three of these logics. Compared to other restaurants serving Flexible and Ethnic cuisine types included in the *Guide*, restaurant reviews of Classic restaurants are significantly *more likely to include language representing the logic of technique*, *less likely to include language noting the logic of creativity*, and *more likely to include language reflecting the logic of authenticity*. This suggests that the logics of technique and authenticity are used to consecrate Classic restaurants, while the logic of creativity is not.

The Logic of Technique

Chefs cooking Classic cuisine are primarily assessed for their ability to meet expectations set by the historical rules of culinary production, primarily those of French haute cuisine and Japanese omakase dining. (Ray 2016; Freedman 2015; Pearlman 2014; Leschziner 2015). The formal rules of French cooking serve as the basis for the standards for the logic of technique. The primacy of the logic of technique is unique to actors working within the Classic genre because they work with cuisine types that have been historically celebrated and valued in the fine dining field. A one-starred chef in San Francisco explains, "it's about the techniques and the history…a lot of other cuisines, they don't have as much history with the US…we all learned the French techniques. Like, you go to culinary school, and all the cuts[7] are in French."

French cooking, Italian cooking, and Japanese cooking share a history of strict rules of technique and preparation. For example, a French *omelette* is famously specific in its execution, requiring a rigidly enforced technique of using low heat, "swirling" the eggs as they cook, and ensuring that the *omelette* is absent of any coloration, exclusively retaining the yellow of the egg yolks and avoiding any sign of browning; any coloration threatens the *omelette*'s legitimacy. Similarly, the preparation of sushi rice requires careful attention to detail and adherence to strict rules. Typically, an apprentice *itamae*, or haute cook, trains under a master chef for five years before he is granted his first independent task—the preparation of sushi rice. Only after the apprentice has mastered the distribution of rice, salt, vinegar, and water will he be promoted. One chef explains, "When it comes to French cooking then there is rules. Exactly the same thing with Japanese cooking—there is rules. You do the dashi that way, you cook the fish that way." Chefs cooking Classic cuisine are defined, then, by their adherence to and execution of these institutionalized rules. As another chef explains: "the traditional techniques, the ones that are hundreds of years old, they're still around for a reason. Because they work!" The logic of technique assesses chefs' and restaurants' adherence to the techniques related to both culinary product and how they approach management.

Chefs cooking Classic cuisine types *must* understand their cooking in relation to the institutionalized expectations of traditional techniques and ingredients that are taught and reproduced in formal culinary education (at culinary schools) and training (as low-level cooks in other chefs' kitchens). If they do not, their cuisine cannot be understood as legitimately French, Italian, or Japanese according to the traditional standards of the field. The *Michelin Guide* applauds one-starred French restaurant Bouchon in Napa Valley for its "*perfectly executed* bistro *classics*" (316, emphasis added), celebrating the restaurant's ability to match institutionalized expectations of dishes, such as the *pate de champagne*, which is served with "the essential smack of fiery mustard" or the *pommes purée*, which is satisfactorily "buttery." Similarly, in the review for one-starred Italian restaurant, Del Posto, in New York City, the Michelin reviewers note the technique involved in not just the culinary product, but also the management of kitchen staff: "what becomes abundantly clear is that this is a well-orchestrated kitchen and one which demonstrates considerable skill and plenty

[7] Here, "cuts" refers to the language describing different knife skills required to prepare ingredients, especially vegetables. For example, to "julienne" carrots is to cut them into matchsticks; to finely dice an onion is to use the "brunoise" cut.

of genuine care" (23). Here, the Michelin reviewers acknowledge the technique involved in managing a kitchen capable of high-level, speedy, excellent, and technically pristine cuisine in a fine dining context, night after night. This managerial technique often involves the regimented organization of labor, usually according to the *brigade de cuisine* (explained in Chapter Two), and emphasizes the distinction between the fine, high-skill cuisine made in restaurants and the everyday food produced by the unskilled home cook. Del Posto is laudable, according to the Michelin reviewers, because the cuisine is "very good" and the kitchen is "skilled;" the restaurant matches the standards of Classic technique in both the cuisine on the plate and the skilled labor and kitchen organization required to produce that cuisine.

To produce the rigorous order seen as necessary for the production of exquisite cuisine, Classic chefs emphasize the importance of their autonomy to direct and discipline the workplace (sometimes instituted through fear, yelling, or other forms of aggression that have been politically incorrect yet historical hallmarks of the industry). One chef describes the role of the chef as: "We are the rulers. It's like any other trade. If you think about a movie, there is a lead actor and then side actors. The restaurant is the point of view of my experiences. Sometimes I feel that if I could just make clones of myself, it would be so much easier for me." Another chef discusses training his staff to be "knock off artists," because, "I can't cook everyone's meal. So the whole thing is about becoming your own best knock off artist." Under this system, there is little room for individual mentorship, creativity, or personal growth for staffers. Instead, line cooks serve a functional role of executing the singular vision of the executive chef, often informed by shared training in and knowledge of traditional techniques, and these cooks' daily production of a chef's cuisine serves as a marker of that chef's legitimacy to be assessed according to the logic of technique. As such, Classic chefs ensure that what their line cooks produce matches their and the field's expectations of Classic cuisine through their management and training of their cooks.

Another chef explains how he uses his own tasting technique to develop shared standards for the kitchen and teach his cooks to execute his food:

> I need to be tasting everything because you're ensuring that your guests are getting food as you intended, and you're ensuring your cooks understand the difference between bad and good in the minor details of a dish. I might look at a dish and say it needs a squeeze of lemon, and I know what I mean by that, but a squeeze of lemon can mean any number of things to any number of people. So unless someone is measuring out 0.0069 grams of lemon juice per order, then they're squeezing by hand, and it's important to have a memory for it. So what needs to happen for that is I say a squeeze of lemon, the cook does a squeeze of lemon, I taste it and I say, 'yeah; it's perfect.' The next one, 'It's high. Let's back it down, it's getting a little low, it's perfect, it's perfect.' So we get the cook to understand how much lemon goes on that dish, so we've gotten that cook to build a memory.

Chefs like those I quote above must find a way to communicate their technical approach to the Classic cuisine they cook to their staffs, providing their staff with the necessary training to reproduce their expectations (which are often representative of the field's shared expectations) in a professional kitchen; additionally, part of their responsibility as executive chef is to provide the cooks who work under them with applied training in the

traditional techniques that define their cuisine. Unlike home cooking, which can be replicated through the sharing of a common recipe across households and allows for some natural error or flexibility based on an individual cook's skills, chefs' professional cooking requires the guidance and training from a specific chef who leads the kitchen in which the cuisine is cooked in the proper and regimented execution of traditional techniques and classic dishes. This kind of management and training is itself a technique historically celebrated and institutionalized in the field.

In order to establish the kind of organization required to accurately reproduce such a vision, chefs enact systems of "discipline" when training and supervising staff. One two-starred chef describes his kitchen management as, "a hard place to work. It's high demand as far as labor-intensive, especially in a kitchen like this. You have to be in it for the right reasons—to hone your craft and discipline. We want everything perfect." Some of these chefs even admit to using the fear and aggression that is historically mythologized as a cultural norm in the industry to lead their staffs. One chef confesses:

> I'm a hot-headed person. I want things to be a particular way, and I want people around me to get better at what they do, so I hold them right at the cusp of their ability, and that's the hard part about working here. I have people collapse, and I have people break and say they can't do this, and I have people succeed. I'm not ashamed that I get mad, and I yell.

For these chefs, the standards of technique are so strict and the proper execution of technique is so central to their value in the field that they must maintain nearly entire control over the products in their kitchen. This means they must engage the technique of management seriously and with discipline, so as to ensure that dishes depart the kitchen fulfilling the institutionalized expectations and cooks depart their kitchens for their next post with the training that reflects the supervising chef's knowledge. Failure to execute these expectations threatens a chef's legitimacy in the field.

The Logic of Creativity

The regression analyses in Table 2 show that language reflecting the logic of creativity is negatively related to Classic categorization in the *Michelin Guide*, meaning reviews of Classic restaurants are less likely to include language about creativity than reviews of restaurants in other genres. This does not mean, however, that Classic chefs and restaurants are not creative. Instead, the institutionalized rules of Classic fine dining are open to chefs' interpretation in the contemporary field, which has a broader definition of "fine dining" and a greater diversity of dining experiences available, both within the Classic genre and the larger field, than the original American fine dining field of the early twentieth century allowed. Therefore, chefs creatively cook Classic cuisine types, but they do so in a way that also acknowledges and demonstrates their knowledge of Classic technique. One of the ways that chefs establish their value to the field is by contributing something unique, their own "culinary style," that defines their cuisine in opposition to that which is available from other chefs in the field (Leschziner 2015). When Classic chefs innovate on traditions, they do so while simultaneously creating within the parameters of the institutionalized expectations of Classic haute cuisine.

One two-starred chef explains, "You will have people who will be traditional and conventional, and they want that fine dining feeling that was in the '80s and '90s, but now in a world where people are attracted to things that are different, as a chef you can build an experience that is your own experience, and not an experience that you have to follow *all* the rules [to execute]." Indeed, many chefs I interviewed describe their food as cuisine that draws on the institutionalized techniques of western gastronomy or Japanese omakase menus, but these chefs interpret the Classic cuisine types they cook in relation to their own creative "style" in different ways. Chef Suzette Gresham, two-starred chef of Italian Acquerello in San Francisco is one such example; the *Michelin Guide* celebrates her restaurant's "old-world sophistication" and the menu's "expertise and finesse," and she serves classic dishes, such as parmesan budino and lobster raviolo, alongside more unexpected dishes, such as cuttle fish "pasta" or a dessert featuring tropical fruits (not traditional Italian flavors), including pineapple and guava.

For chefs cooking Classic cuisine, demonstrating knowledge of formal technique establishes their legitimacy in the genre. If a French chef does not make his bouillabaisse using the classical technique, this is either intentional or evidence of his illegitimacy; if it is intentional, it is risky. By purposefully not demonstrating his knowledge of the institutionalized expectations of a bouillabaisse, he fails to match institutionalized expectations in the field and may be deemed less valuable than another chef who does. Alternatively, his value in the field may instead be defined by his creative interpretation of the classic dish, not his pristine execution of expected standards and techniques, since creative interpretation *requires* knowledge of those classic techniques in order to reimagine them in a modern way. Chef Daniel Eddy of one-starred Rebelle named his restaurant for his determination to "rebel" against classic expectations of French cuisine, especially those associated with a French restaurant in New York, which he describes as stereotypically "stuffy" and "expensive." While he draws on the foundations of his formal training in France and enjoys returning to classic recipes when developing a new dish, he says, "I really felt there was a stigma associated with French cuisine that I wanted to break away from. It was these long soliloquies about the food and where it was coming from and what it meant and where it was raised and how the chef suggested you eat it. I wanted to make food that I could put in front of a guest and they could just enjoy it." This departure from tradition is a form of creativity that is celebrated because it remains grounded in tradition.

For Classic restaurants, creativity is celebrated only in the context of the logic of technique; chefs can creatively riff on tradition but, in so doing, they simultaneously demonstrate their knowledge of traditional expectations of cuisine, and they depart from these traditions thoughtfully and deliberately. While creativity is possible, the product cannot stray too far from tradition; the Italian, French, and Japanese dishes produced at Classic restaurants *must* be recognized as legitimate, meaning they must match the field's expectations. The logic of creativity for Classic restaurants, then, is only used to celebrate restaurants that also legitimately build on the institutionalized traditions according to the logic of technique.

<u>The Logic of Authenticity</u>

The logic of authenticity is also connected to the logic of technique and its celebration of tradition for Classic restaurants and chefs. In addition to being assessed for

their execution of the standardized rules of Classic French, Italian and/or Japanese technique, chefs cooking Classic cuisine must also navigate expectations related to iconic dishes that diners expect to encounter at a particular kind of restaurant, such as coq au vin at a French restaurant, spaghetti Bolognese at an Italian establishment, or eel nigiri at a sushi restaurant. These canonical dishes function as comparative reference points for the assessment of restaurants' "authenticity."

This can sometimes lead Classic chefs who creatively interpret the classics, producing unexpected or unfamiliar dishes in the cuisine type, to feel constrained and penalized for their creativity. One French chef is disappointed by this phenomenon: "people come to the restaurant, and we say we're French. We had people like, 'why don't you do steak frites? Or what about coq au vin?' I'm like, 'Yeah; that's French, but that was decades ago! That's not what we do here." An Italian chef at an Italian restaurant in New York is similarly annoyed: "I serve real Italian food. New York is full of American Italian food, which is not real Italian food. A couple of customers told me I'm not Italian because I don't have fettuccine alfredo on the menu. Or spaghetti and meatballs- I said really? [The chef was born in Italy and immigrated to the United States fifteen years ago]." These chefs understand that their diners, including critics, have expectations of the kinds of stereotyped or iconic dishes they will serve; if they do not meet these expectations, they may not be deemed "authentic," and, therefore, may be understood as illegitimate and less valuable in the Classic genre. Therefore, chefs must define their food's relationship to these expectations or authenticity in order to be relationally understood and therefore evaluated.

Many Classic chefs know that diners assess the value of their restaurants according to these stereotyped expectations of authenticity, based on both institutionalized techniques reproduced through formal culinary education and stereotypes. However, if chefs choose to defy these expectations or challenge them in subtle ways, they are not necessarily penalized for failure to subscribe to these expectations, as Chef Daniel Eddy's comments above (and success in the field) suggest. Instead, as with the logic of creativity, the chefs I interviewed are critically celebrated when they acknowledge and incorporate tradition in their food, especially in the techniques they employ to produce Classic cuisine, and use those traditions to innovate new dishes that remain "true to the techniques" but also allow for modernity and individual artistry. The 2016 *Michelin Guide* writes of Rebelle: "While Chef Daniel Eddy's streamlined presentations and foam flourishes have contemporary flair, *rest assured that classic technique is at the root of every dish*" (335, emphasis added). Of two-starred French restaurant Daniel, they write: "the kitchen has had an obvious classical education yet you never feel it is tied by the tyranny of tradition" (369). Technique and representations of tradition serve as evidence of the legitimacy and therefore authenticity of a chef's Classic cuisine, even when chefs' interpretations of the cuisine challenge diners' expectations of stereotypical dishes.

For Classic restaurants and chefs, the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity celebrate those actors who legitimately execute historically shared and celebrated traditions and techniques. Classic restaurants are uniquely positioned in the field and in relation to the logic of technique because they are categorically associated with the historical models that defined fine dining in the United States throughout the twentieth century. Table 3 below summarizes the arguments that I articulate above.

Table 3: The Logics of Evaluation and the Classic Genre of Cuisine

Logic of Technique	Logic of Creativity	Logic of Authenticity
*Primary evaluative logic *Used to assess chefs' adherence to institutionalized "traditions" *taught through formal training *inclusion of language of logic of technique significantly related to Classic categorization	*not central to evaluation of Classic restaurants *chefs celebrated when they build on, but don't entirely depart from, tradition *creativity not required for consecration in field *absence of language of logic of creativity significantly related to Classic categorization	*functions as specific manifestation of logic of technique *used to assess shared expectations of iconic or stereotyped dishes in cuisine type *inclusion of language of logic of authenticity significantly related to Classic categorization

The other genres of cuisine—Flexible and Ethnic—are not categorically associated with historically celebrated cuisine types and, therefore, are not expected to execute fine dining traditions in the way that Classic actors in the field are. This unique position of association with Classic traditions of haute cuisine grants Classic restaurants and chefs a position of power and prestige in the field, but at the same time, it holds Classic actors to strict standards that can be constraining. The continued celebration of Classic restaurants and chefs, the definition of the genre as exclusive, and the reliance on a history of "tradition" that is not equally available to all cuisine types nor all types of culinary producers reproduces a system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that uniquely celebrates those actors, including Classic restaurants and chefs, that are explicitly associated with whiteness and masculinity. In the next section, I show how the application of the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity in the evaluation of Classic restaurants and chefs enacts this system of ethnoracial and gender inequality in the American fine dining field.

"Tradition" and Racial and Gender Hierarchy in Classic Cuisine

The logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity define Classic cuisine as valuable because it is both exclusive and exclusionary. By drawing on narratives of history and "tradition" that privilege flavors and techniques that are not available to all chefs, restaurants, or cuisine types, the logics of evaluation uniquely consecrate Classic restaurants and chefs for upholding traditions that are defined as valuable because they are associated with elite status, whiteness, and masculinity. Classic restaurants reproduce a contemporary version of the institutionalized model of historical fine dining by defining Classic cuisine as valuable because it is unlike feminine home cooking, adheres to institutionalized and shared expectations of bounded historically consecrated cuisine types associated with whiteness, and is preserved, or not disrupted by creativity or the incorporation of producers, ingredients, or techniques that have historically been excluded and comparatively devalued, such as women, home cooking, and Ethnic cuisine. Thus, Classic chefs and restaurants are defined as valuable because they adhere to certain logics of evaluation, especially the logic of technique, which are intricately connected with and defined as valuable by association with masculinity and whiteness.

The logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity value Classic restaurants and chefs for their adherence to historically consecrated traditions in both the cuisine on the plate and the management of the practical production of cuisine on a daily basis. One one-starred Contemporary chef explains:

> With French food, there's this clear system and hierarchy, almost like a military thing, that is easily replicable. But with a lot of other cuisines, they don't have has much history or it's more of peasant cooking, which is still good, but it has a different set of rules, or no rules, you know? French cuisine came out of the aristocracy, and they had the first restaurants, so it has a different history that is, like, the beginning of the industry.

To be a Classic restaurant, then, is to be associated with and evaluated in relation to the institutionalized hierarchical rules of what has historically been understood as fine dining, or the techniques and traditions of French, Italian, and Japanese cuisine. This association simultaneously defines Classic cuisine as the most prestigious genre in the field, valued above all others on the basis of categorical association with a legitimate fine dining tradition and defines legitimate Classic culinary production as a process of structured order, with clearly defined positions and responsibilities in the kitchen that correspond with experience and skill. To produce Classic cuisine requires special training, a specific structure of order and associated culture of discipline (that sometimes manifests as abuse) in the professional kitchen, and an institutionalized understanding of these cuisines as valuable. These cuisine types are prestigious because they are exclusive, meaning that these cuisine types must be protected and preserved from the influence of historically excluded and devalued culinary products, such as the food made at home or in Ethnic restaurants, in order to maintain their position of prestige. Classic actors' value in the field, therefore, is defined by their association with historical standards of tradition and exclusion that emphasize Classic cuisine's distance from the banal, femininity (in the form of unskilled home cooking), and unfamiliar, historically excluded non-whiteness (or Ethnic flavors and techniques). For Classic chefs and restaurants, "tradition" serves as a veiled justification for the reproduction of ethnoracial and gender bias in the American fine dining field.

Unlike other art forms, like painting or poetry, which are defined as artistic fields dissociated from the practices of everyday life (Becker 1983), for Classic fine dining to be legitimated as an artistic field during Escoffier's time, it *required* distinction from feminine domestic food work. This distinction established a gendered logic of fine dining predicated on women's exclusion and a masculine definition of greatness in the field (Acker 1990; Bourdieu 1993; Ferguson 1998; Trubek 2000; Johnston and Baumann 2010; Lane 2013; Leschziner 2015; Ray 2016). The logic of technique for Classic cuisine functions as a gendered logic of organization in the fine dining field because it explicitly defines Classic cuisine (and therefore its position, power, and prestige in the field) as the skilled, technical, *professional* work of men, produced through the militaristic (masculine) organization of labor in the brigade de cuisine system, a masculine culture of violent abuse, and culinary products whose value is based upon necessary disassociation from women's home cooking.

Because Classic cuisine was defined as a combination of "art and science" (Escoffier 1895; Escoffer 1903; Trubek 2000; Ferguson 2004), its production required a unique skill set that must be learned from other professionals in "tough" professional kitchen environments entirely distinct from the friendly warmth of the home hearth. A one-starred chef describes his training in classic restaurants as rigorously structured, aggressive, and, at times abusive. While working at a two-starred Classic French restaurant in New York City, his supervising chef de cuisine, "made it his reason for breathing to just fucking destroy me the entirety of my time there. All day, every day. He'd start every day by grabbing me by the chest and

pushing me against the wall and kneeing me and just screaming at me with my head bent over… it was an important step in my career to see the workload there, the intensity, the organization." He considers his training, including these abusive practices, a necessary part of his professional development and, while he does not plan to replicate these practices with his own staff, he speaks of this kind of abuse casually because it is not uncommon in the industry. A majority of the chefs with whom I spoke described an archetypal Classic kitchen characterized by a screaming head chef, "hazing" meant to "break you down," and a culture of fear. This cultural norm of aggression, fear, and abuse in formal Classic training defines the workplace as distinctively uncomfortable, entirely unlike the idealized home kitchen, where nourishing, devalued feminine food is made with love. The Classic cuisine produced under these undesirable circumstances is considered prestigious, which suggests the techniques of kitchen management that produce this cuisine, including abusive norms are lauded and recognized as "traditional."

Abusive behavioral norms in the professional kitchen are accepted practices under the "traditional" model of professional food work and in other work places dominated by men (Connell 2005; Kimmel 2008; Harris and Giuffre 2015; Schilt 2010; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Martin 2001), where interpersonal demonstrations of hegemonic masculinity serve as the basis for relational respect, power, and authority. This behavior, while perhaps shocking to an outsider, is allowed and even celebrated because it reproduces a model of culinary training that has historically been revered and has produced a culinary product—Classic haute cuisine—that is legitimated and consecrated in the field. As such, this model of abusive autocratic direction is the "traditional" model of culinary production and management. It also reifies an institutionalized understanding of the gendered value of men's "professional" food work and women's "domestic food work" in the field, a distinction that has defined the value of Classic cuisine since its introduction to American diners at the beginning of the twentieth century. As such, it reproduces a gendered logic of professional food work that defines traditional techniques of management including masculine power struggles and violence as a tradition used to produce valuable cuisine. For chefs cooking Classic cuisine, these historical norms of managerial technique must be respected and not challenged in order for these chefs to be deemed legitimate and therefore valuable in the field. They define exclusionary sexist norms in the kitchen as laudatory and therefore powerful in the field because they are "traditional," and therefore valuable within the context of Classic cuisine and its origins in twentieth century culinary training.

The logic of technique's privileging of tradition constrains Classic chefs' creativity and ensures that the logic of creativity is not central to the evaluation and celebration of Classic restaurants. If Classic chefs veer too far afield from the field's expectations of Classic cuisine, they threaten the genre's power and legitimacy, which relies on the exclusion of outside actors. While some chefs, like Daniel Eddy, challenge the institutionalized rules of Classic fine dining by offering a casual, modern dining experience, they do so within familiar parameters of the "traditions" and expectations of the cuisine type they cook. While these innovative chefs who unite "contemporary flair and classic technique" (Michelin 335) are not penalized for their creativity, they are careful to ensure that their cuisine does not differ too much from the institutionalized expectations; otherwise, if they find themselves bending the rules too much, they are no longer producing the Classic category they purport to cook, and they threaten the genre's value predicated on exclusivity. One one-starred chef at a French restaurant explains, "I cook the classics, but with a fun twist. Always something

that's a little unexpected, that keeps it interesting, but still familiar." Another one-starred French chef echoes this idea, "what I'm doing with my flavors and ingredients has to strike chords of familiarity *and* it has to create excitement." Here, the individual chef's "twist" or "excitement" is permissible, so long as it remains recognizable according to expectations of Classic cuisine.

The logics of evaluation draw on standards of "tradition" to maintain Classic cuisine's elite status in the field by ensuring that association with tradition is unique to the Classic genre of cuisine both through the definitions of the cuisine and through the difficult and expensive training required to produce the cuisine legitimately. Obtaining the skills and knowledge of these traditions and techniques is not equally available to all workers. Culinary school is expensive, as is travel to Italy, France, and Japan to receive the on-the-job (often unpaid) training in the countries of origin of Classic cuisine types. Additionally, the language of "protecting tradition" and "maintaining the techniques of the past," as some of the chefs described their professional purpose, calls forth a narrative of exclusivity and "purity" that is dangerously similar to racist arguments against integration, whether in the context of marriage, education, housing, employment, etc. (Omi and Winant 2015; Bonilla-Silva 2017; Massey and Denton 1998; Pager and Shepherd 2008).

To "preserve" and/or "respect" a cuisine by excluding outside flavors, techniques, or unskilled chefs is to maintain historical norms in the industry that propagate masculine dominance in professional cooking and the disproportionate consecration of cuisines associated with elite white diners (French, Italian, and Japanese cuisine). The logics of evaluation, especially the tentative celebration of creativity that does not stray too far from institutionalized expectations, exclude those restaurants and chefs for whom narratives of fine dining tradition are unavailable. This means that the evaluative logics' focus on tradition, technique, and shared history for Classic cuisine actively excludes cuisines associated with immigrants and non-white actors (Ethnic categories) and less institutionalized cuisine types that are based on the integration of traditions and flavor profiles across cultures (such as those included in the Flexible genre) from consecration according to the standardized expectations of the historical model of fine dining. One chef who cooks at a Bib Gourmand Italian restaurant explains, "I've basically been commissioned to cook Italian food, and that's fine. I have a lot of experience with it. It's delicious. But, I've never really been let out of the box to do all that I can, to try new flavors or whatever." Another chef at a Bay Area Italian restaurant explains, "my approach to menu planning is tradition first. I do take liberties sometimes, but it's always rooted in a southern Italian approach or sensibility to cooking. So, it's not me just making shit up."

The value of Classic cuisine requires the protection and preservation of the symbolic and social boundaries that distinguish it from the other genres of cuisine. The knowledge and capacity to legitimately recognize and assess the techniques and "authenticity" of a chef's execution of shared traditions in the genre is an elite form of cultural capital specific to the fine dining field. Not every diner can decipher the difference between the pomme puree at two-starred Bouley and the potato puree at a mid-priced bistro in Manhattan, let alone relationally celebrate Bouley's dish that, "is buttery yet retains its pronounced potato flavor" (347). Knowledge of these culinary traditions is exclusive and exclusionary, like the genre of cuisine itself, and only elite diners, knowledgeable critics, and *classically trained* chefs have the capital to fully understand the relational value of products in this genre. This

only further brightens the firm boundary around the Classic genre, protecting it from outside influence associated with devalued actors and therefore reinforcing its elite position.

The entire genre of Classic cuisine is understood through its relationship to historical systems of consecration that actively exclude new actors, like women and chefs and restaurants serving Flexible and Ethnic cuisines, from positions of power. French, Italian, and Japanese cuisine remain valuable in a changing, diverse American fine dining field because they are produced in kitchens that adhere to the traditional, masculine brigade de cuisine organization system, are defined as distinctly unlike the daily food work associated with women and the home through an emphasis on formal training and learned skills in the professional sphere, and are celebrated for the execution of familiar "authentic" and "classic" dishes that match the field's established expectations. By veiling ethnoracial and gender bias through language of "tradition," the Classic genre retains its power in the field by justifying the exclusion of outsiders who threaten the status quo and challenge the historical norms. This ethnoracial and gender hierarchy informs not only the relational evaluation of Classic cuisine in the field but also how different producers working *within* the genre understand their value.

The Chefs Who Cook Classic Cuisine

Classic cuisine's exclusivity grants the genre its distinctive and powerful position. The consecrating system of exclusion also affects how different producers understand their legitimacy and value in relation to their peers. Classic cuisine is valuable because it is associated with the historically celebrated traditions of haute cuisine; haute cuisine, in turn, was defined as valuable in the early twentieth century because it was unlike familiar feminine home cooking. By defining haute cuisine as valuable because it is distinct from feminine home cooking, Escoffier defined fine cuisine as the product of masculine artistry and technique. In so doing, he defined the chef as a classically trained, dedicated, disciplined man. This model of the ideal culinary producer continues to shape how chefs in the Classic genre understand their legitimacy as culinary producers and therefore their position in the field. Chefs who do not match this ideal worker norm, particularly women and non-white chefs, face barriers to success in the field, which manifests as the questioning of their legitimacy as cultural producers, exclusionary masculine abusive training norms that present as sexual harassment for women workers, and differential access to the resources required to accrue the capital necessary to produce Classic cuisine legitimately.

The vast majority of consecrated chefs in the United States historically have been men cooking French, Italian, and Japanese cuisine. The distinction between the male professional chef and female domestic cook in Classic cuisine is perhaps best exemplified by two of the most famous culinary icons of the twentieth century—Julia Child and Chef Jacques Pépin. After her wildly popular *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* cookbook and subsequent successful television program *The French Chef*, Child became the most recognizable authority on French cooking for American home cooks in the 1960s and '70s. She was careful to note that she was a cook, not a chef, grounding her public persona in an acceptably feminine form of food work. Meanwhile, Pépin followed a more traditional path in formal culinary training, first working in France under Lucien Diat in Paris and later in New York at the fortress of French cuisine, Le Pavillon. His book, entitled *La Technique*,

continues to be used as a respected textbook for learning the fundamentals of French cuisine. Together, in the 1990s, Child and Pépin delighted audiences on public television, collaborating on both popular television programs and several successful cookbooks.

Pépin is, in many ways, emblematic of the "ideal worker" chef. He is (1) French, (2) male, (3) trained in Classic cuisine in consecrated restaurants in both France and New York, and (4) a published authority on Classic French culinary techniques. In several episodes of their show, *Julia and Jacques Cooking at Home*, despite Child's extensive knowledge of French cooking, Pépin is depicted as the regimented authority on technique, while Child plays the dedicated home cook student observer. Child is beloved and remembered for her distinctive voice, lighthearted sense of humor, and forgiveness for the natural blunders of the amateur cook (she famously showed her misadventures to her viewers, including a dropped pancake that she matter-of-factly retrieved and returned to the pan during filming). In this role of enthusiastic home cook, she observes Pépin, "learning" from him and occasionally offering suggestions that he cheerfully entertains (in an episode featuring sandwich recipes she recommends "sardines instead of anchovies, if you don't care for them;" later, she pours Pépin a glass of beer, instead of the white wine he provides because "I like beer").

Pépin and Child's on-screen relationship serves as a foil for the gendered logics of Classic culinary production. While the cuisine itself was necessarily distinguished from daily domestic food work as prominent actors, like Escoffier, sought legitimacy for the profession as an art form, the producers, that is the chefs, also must be distinguished from the home cooks that Child represents. This gendered logic of professional culinary expertise (Acker 1990) continues to affect how producers think about their position in the profession today, with far more men occupying leadership positions in kitchens, and the exclusion and, in some cases, active discrimination of, women chefs, especially in kitchens serving Classic cuisine.

Of the 17 chefs in my sample cooking at Classic restaurants, 2 are women. Of the 23 one- to three-starred restaurants serving French, Italian, or Japanese cuisine in San Francisco and New York City in 2016, only one kitchen serves the cuisine of a woman executive chef[8]. There is not one three-starred restaurant in the United States led by a woman chef, and only three women lead two-starred kitchens in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area. While nearly all of the 27 women chefs I interviewed trained in Classic kitchens, their experiences in these kitchens inspired them to cook in other genres and kitchen environments later in their careers (the majority of women chefs in my sample cook Flexible cuisine). The "traditions" of distinguishing restaurant cuisine from feminine food work and the abusive culture of training in Classic kitchens render Classic restaurants hostile and exclusionary work environments for many women chefs. One woman chef explains, "you have to be strong if you're a woman in this business. I hate playing the woman card, but it's a fact, and you get treated differently."

Faced with cultural norms of exclusion and discrimination in the professional kitchen, women chefs must "prove themselves" and "show their strength" in order to be deemed legitimate in these historically masculine spaces, including enduring sexual harassment intended to deny women legitimacy in the professional kitchen. Sexual harassment in a male dominated workplace is not unique to the fine dining field; sexual

[8] Although since 2016 one-starred Italian restaurant Del Posto has notably promoted Melissa Rodriguez to executive chef.

harassment is a common experience for women at work, especially among women who work in historically masculine professions (Dellinger and Williams 2002; Hennekam and Bennett 2017; Harris and Giuffre 2015; Fine 1997; McLaughlin et al. 2012; McLaughlin et al. 2017). Nearly every woman I interviewed shared an experience of sexual harassment and the strategies they had developed to manage this mistreatment throughout their careers, especially during their early years while training. One chef describes the "sabotage" her fellow cooks enacted on her when her supervisors began to notice her talent and praise her work, destroying her *mise en place*[9] when she turned her back, so her supervisor would think she was lazy and unproductive. Another woman tells a story of working in a small kitchen in San Francisco, where, "there was this one guy, and every time I'd walk by, he would jump on me and, like, grab my tits, and I would kick and punch him, and I was like, 'Ok stop,' and he'd laugh. And it wasn't even, like, a big deal."

While this may sound like a vestige of the past, and it should be noted that the two women I quote above trained during the 1970s and 1980s, younger women chefs who have trained more recently have similar stories to share. One chef tells me: "I hear a lot of young women telling nightmare stories about their experiences in restaurants, like sexual stuff or inappropriateness, and there's just a feeling that they [male colleagues] can touch your bodies where that's just kind of like okay." Another one-starred chef describes his reluctance to engage in conversations about "political correctness" in his kitchen:

> it would be obtuse for me to not acknowledge that it [the kitchen] is an aggressive, racist, sexual environment, and that's protected in the industry. There are very few chefs who want to watch their environment become contrite and dry and sensitive. It's not like I'm a bigot or a racist or a pig, but I have no desire to make my kitchen a cubicle office space.

Some of this may be changing, as women across industries begin to share their stories of harassment as part of the #metoo movement, and perpetrators of harassment and violence are held accountable for their discriminatory actions. In late 2017, several high profile cases of sexual harassment and the mismanagement of its adjudication in the restaurant industry emerged, including allegations against John Besh (famous for his French fine dining restaurants in New Orleans) and renowned Italian chef Mario Batali (Moskin and Severson 2017; Hauser et al. 2017), prompting the 2018 James Beard Award committee to encourage voters to consider chefs' conduct in addition to their cuisine when determining which chefs to nominate for national recognition. The institutions of rigid hierarchy, distinction from home cooking, and physical and emotional abuse in Classic culinary production serve as the cultural backdrop for today's fine dining field.

Because these women do not look like the male ideal worker chef, they must endure gender-based discrimination in already difficult working conditions to prove their legitimacy. Many women describe working harder to prove that they are "as tough as" or tougher than the men they work beside. Doing so earns them the title of "badass." Another chef who manages two Bib Gourmand kitchens explains:

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[9] Culinary prep work done before service to ensure that work on the line is not regularly stalled for tasks that can be done ahead of time, like chopping herbs, sauce making, etc.

> I'm fully aware that I'm a woman in a kitchen, and the boys in the kitchen won't let you forget that. I walk a little different in the kitchen, like a badass dude because you can't seem to be feminine. So I found myself carrying myself differently, refusing, like, dudes saying 'You want me to get that for you? Is that stock pot too heavy?' 'Like, no get out of here!' Just to prove them wrong.

A one-starred woman chef with Classic experience sighs, exasperated, "people say that women are emotional, women aren't as strong, women aren't as good of cooks. I've heard all of that, and as a woman you just need to be stronger, work harder, and be better to prove them wrong." Women chefs' presence in Classic kitchens threatens the "traditions" that serve as the basis for evaluation of Classic restaurants, so they must work to differentially prove their legitimacy in a skeptical workspace by enduring the discipline, rigor, and, in many cases, abuse of the traditional Classic kitchen in order to gain recognition as valuable cooks.

Similarly, some non-white chefs who trained in Classic kitchens describe experiences in which their non-whiteness and therefore inability to physically resemble the ideal worker chef led to their active exclusion from immediate acceptance and legitimacy in Classic kitchens. One Asian chef with extensive experience in Michelin-starred French and Italian restaurants says:

> In the industry, I've noticed people tend to be nationalist. And, they will say you can't cook my food unless you're of my descent. I've experienced that with Italian food and with French food, and sometimes people say it in a joking way, but sometimes it's serious. It's often about authenticity. Like, 'We serve authentic French food because our chef is French,' and I think that's bullshit. I've always been insecure about me being Asian cooking European food for most of my career. I've gotten a lot of shit over the years.

Here, the logic of authenticity and its associated expectations grounded in the history of Classic cuisine types are used to justify the non-white chef's exclusion from legitimacy as a producer of Classic cuisine.

Another Asian chef who trained in French and Italian kitchens before his current position at a "Contemporary" restaurant thinks his ethnoracial background affects how the cooks he manages respond to him as a leader. "I'm five foot eight. I've got a little bit of a boyish face. I'm half Asian. I don't look like "the chef." I've had times with difficult cooks where I'm, like, this would not be an issue right now if I was three inches taller and white." Like the woman who enters the kitchen with a "badass" walk to counteract assumptions about their power and legitimacy in the kitchen because they do not embody the image of the ideal worker chef, this chef grapples with how to assert his authority when his physicality defies the institutionalized expectations of what an executive chef at a Classic restaurant looks like. Because Classic cuisine is defined through exclusion, these chefs understand themselves in relation to traditional forms of exclusion and must combat institutionalized ethnoracial hierarchies that define them as "other" in order to prove their legitimacy and value in the field.

The bright boundaries that surround Classic cuisine are constantly reproduced and reinforced through the narratives of professional "tradition;" they enact institutionalized

systems of ethnoracial and gender inequality that inform both how culinary products (i.e. food) and culinary producers (i.e. chefs) are evaluated. This suggests that an industry that many chefs believe serves as a "great equalizer," where, as one chef tells me, "once you step in the kitchen, you're a cook. You're not male or female or white or black or Latino. You have no gender. You're a cook, and your merit is based on how good of a cook you are," is, in fact, organized not by merit but by racial and gendered hierarchies of prestige.

The Material and Symbolic Value of Classic Cuisine

The traditions that define the symbolic boundaries of Classic cuisine and the associated social boundaries that shape how different kinds of producers understand their value in the genre also have concrete consequences for the symbolic and material value associated with Classic actors in the field. While Classic restaurants no longer dominate the highest markers of prestige (that is, Classic restaurants no longer dominate the rankings with regard to Michelin stars), they continue to represent power and prestige in the field, both in terms of consecration and price point.

Classic restaurant compose 27.7% of the included restaurants in the 2016 *Michelin Guide,* and, proportionately, 34 (25.6%) of the 133 restaurants with one, two, or three stars serve Classic cuisine types (27/102 one-starred restaurants, with the majority of these restaurants (18/27) serving Japanese cuisine; 6/20 two-starred restaurants; and 1/11 three-starred restaurants). The only Classic restaurant with three stars is New York City's Masa, a Japanese restaurant serving what the *Michelin Guide* refers to as, "what may be the continent's best sushi" (295). 59 of the 204 restaurants with a Bib Gourmand rating are Classic. While the *Michelin Guide* indisputably recognizes Classic restaurants valuable in the field, these cuisine types no longer *dominate* the top positions in the field as they once did. Perhaps most significantly, Classic cuisine and its historical connection to the origins of fine dining serves as a focal point for chefs' relational positioning and understanding of their own processes of cultural production across genres. Nearly every chef I interviewed defined their cuisine, creative process, or culinary vision according to their adherence to or departure from the techniques of Classic cuisine. A one-starred French chef tells me, "French cuisine is the foundation of modern cuisine, and it's so important to know, to have a strong foundation to go wherever else you want to go in fine dining." This model of valuable and celebrated cuisine, then, serves as a relational touchstone for chefs cooking across the three genres, providing the ideal type in relation to and against which chefs define their own position and style, granting Classic restaurants and chefs a symbolically powerful position in the field.

This high status position is also represented in the comparative economic value of a meal at a celebrated Classic restaurant. Among the Classic restaurants included in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*, the median price point is two-dollar ($$) signs of a possible four. Famously the most expensive meal in the United States is served at Masa, the only three-Michelin-starred restaurant serving Classic cuisine, where one diner's meal costs $648, including tax and tip (Sutton 2016). And, of course, wine, cocktails, sake and several "supplements" solicit an additional charge. In a regression analysis of the relationship between price point and categorization in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*, controlling for city and Michelin recognition, I find that Classic categorization is significantly correlated with a higher price point, compared to other genres of cuisine (Table 4). This suggests that, while restaurants serving

Classic cuisine retain a symbolic position of prestige without dominating the Michelin rankings, the material valuation of restaurants and chefs working within this genre is significantly higher than that of other genres.

Table 4: Price Point and Classic Categorization in the 2016 Michelin Guide

	Price
City (San Francisco)	-0.012
	(0.040)
Michelin Recognition	0.383***
	(0.025)
Classic Categorization	0.219***
	(0.043)
Constant	0.979***
	(0.029)

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Despite this disproportionately higher material valuation of Classic restaurants and cuisines, none of the chefs working within the Classic genre with whom I spoke mentioned the cost of a meal at their restaurant in our interviews; this suggests that, while a high price point defines Classic cuisine's relational value in the field, especially for diners, it is not central to how chefs in this genre understand the value of their product. Additionally, these chefs cooking Classic cuisine types did not express any need to justify or legitimate their price point to diners or critics, which is quite different from the chefs in other genres, as I show in later chapters. Instead, price was entirely absent from our conversations.

While Classic chefs were unconcerned with the economic valuation of their cuisine in the interviews, price is central to how other chefs in the field cooking in other genres understand the value of their Classic peers. When I asked chefs to define "fine dining," many did not hesitate to describe the cuisine as, "expensive." One Ethnic chef says, "fine dining is defined by the three-starred expensive places. Daniel, Benu, Masa." Even the Michelin Guide notes price point for many Classic restaurants, describing two-starred Italian restaurant Acquerello as a "splurge" (102) and warns patrons of one-starred restaurant Sushi of Gari to, "keep an eye on those prices, which can add up" (387).

As I will show in later chapters, this inattention to price is a unique privilege enjoyed by actors associated with the Classic genre. Some chefs who do not cook Classic cuisine express frustration with the higher price point for Classic categories, especially compared to their own differently categorized cuisine. Classic restaurants, then, are defined as high status, high price point actors in the field.

When applied to Classic restaurants and chefs, the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity center on ideas of formal tradition. Historically, chefs and restaurants specializing in French, Italian, and Japanese cuisine have been consecrated in the field. Today, these cuisine types remain recognized for their historical significance and continued technical excellence, and they are marked as both symbolically and materially valuable in the field. However, the American fine dining field is changing, no longer defined exclusively by historical norms of haute cuisine. New categories of cuisine, such as "American," "Contemporary," and "Californian" are emerging and gaining legitimacy in the field. Chefs and restaurants are actively challenging the traditional values of the historical field through their flavor combinations, creative blending, and new approaches to management. As these

new cuisine types gain acceptance in the field, collecting markers of symbolic and material prestige in the form of Michelin stars and high price points, the rules of consecration that have exclusively defined fine dining as Classic cuisine may change. In the next chapter, I address how the Flexible genre of cuisine, that is, those cuisine types without institutionalized meaning in the field, are differentially evaluated according to the logics of creativity, technique, and authenticity.

Chapter Four
Blending the Rules:
The Flexible Genre of Cuisine and the Logic of Creativity

On a short commercial block of the mostly-residential Brooklyn neighborhood of Clinton Hill is one-starred American restaurant, The Finch. Inside, the central feature of the space is an open kitchen where a neatly dressed kitchen staff busily moves between steaming pots, cutting boards, and a display counter featuring bright overhead lights. The service staff, attired in casual yet stylish Brooklyn outfits (read: clogs, linen shirts, top knots, and tattoos), including an enthusiastic bartender with the requisite flannel shirt and coiffed beard, glide between wooden tables. Well-dressed Brooklyn-ites peruse a menu of small plates, such as Japanese yams with Meyer lemon mayonnaise ($16), and main courses including squid ink pasta ($27) and roasted branzino ($30). The ponytailed and friendly Chef Gabe McMackin has a distinctive vision for his restaurant, and he takes the details of his space seriously, correcting small details (straightening a stack of menus, removing a piece of microscopic lint from the table top) as he moves through his kitchen:

> Everyone that is here has the same sense of agreement of our mission, which is to celebrate the food of this particular place, to celebrate the style of this kind of culture that we're in… it's not a set of ingredients or a set of techniques. In a way, it's a willingness to engage fully in what the influences that you have are.

The Finch is emblematic of an increasingly common form of restaurant in the contemporary American fine dining field. Unlike restaurants serving cuisine types in the Classic genre, chefs like McMackin are reimagining the parameters, flavors, and techniques of what is considered fine cuisine in the culinary field. In so doing, these chefs place themselves in a position in the field that must be understood and evaluated without relying on the standards of the shared reference point of Classic rules. Because these chefs work within cuisine types that are part of the *Flexible* genre of cuisine, such as "Contemporary," "Californian," "American," and "Seafood," they are not exclusively assessed according to the factors that define Classic cuisine, such as formal training, institutionalized culinary techniques, and tradition; instead they have more freedom to personally define their cuisine according to their own sensibilities. In this chapter, I consider *how Flexible cuisine types are evaluated in the American fine dining field and how these evaluative processes are related to ethnoracial and gender hierarchy.*

I show that the primary logic of evaluation for Flexible chefs and restaurants is the logic of creativity. Flexible chefs and restaurants, because they cook cuisine types without an institutionalized definition in the field, define their relational position and therefore value in the field as represented by their unique, distinctive creative vision. They build on Classic technique to create cuisine that is unfamiliar, artistic, sometimes scientific, and entirely associated with a specific producer, not necessarily a national tradition. While they bend the rules and blend flavors and techniques from a variety of culinary traditions, Flexible chefs are careful to distinguish their cuisine from devalued Ethnic food; they capitalize on the implicit whiteness in the categories used to classify their products, such as "American," "Californian," and "Contemporary," to create cuisine that is innovative because it is

personal and untethered to any singular category. The evaluation of Flexible cuisine primarily on the basis of artistic creativity reproduces a system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that relies on a definition of artistic "greatness" and "creativity" associated with whiteness and masculinity, brightening the boundaries between legitimate "fine dining" and devalued cuisine, and establishing barriers to success for producers who do not align with these definitions of greatness, or chefs who cook Ethnic cuisine, women, and non-white chefs.

In the organizational studies of the relationship between categorization and the evaluation of products in markets, scholars find that the most valuable products are those that lack the "fuzziness" or "partiality" (Hannan 2010) of the Flexible genre in the field (Zuckerman 1999; Negro et al. 2010; Hannan and Hsu 2005; Kovacs and Hannan 2010), such as Classic categories of cuisine. Indeed, this literature predicts consumers will reject less defined categories, such as Flexible cuisine types like "Gastropub," and "Mediterranean," because they are not easily understood according to shared definitions/understandings. Contrary to the predictions of this literature, I find that restaurants and chefs offering cuisine types in the Flexible genre, i.e. American, Contemporary, and Californian, etc., are actually some of the most symbolically and materially valuable restaurants in the field. The vast majority—83/133, or 62.4%--of one, two, and three Michelin-starred restaurants in New York and San Francisco serve Flexible cuisine, and meals at these restaurants are as expensive as those served at the most expensive restaurants serving Classic cuisine.

While the categories literature suggests that consumers should reject Flexible cuisine and that these products should be comparatively devalued because they lack consensus or shared meaning in the field, I instead find that these restaurants are lauded for their innovative unfamiliarity, challenging the hegemony of Classic cuisine. I argue that Flexible restaurants and chefs occupy this prestigious position in the field because the primary logic of evaluation for the Flexible genre is the logic of creativity. For Flexible chefs, value is assessed in relation to actors' unique contribution to the field, not their ability to match others' expectations of the cuisine type they cook. Chefs represent their creativity through individual artistry, the incorporation of scientific, not traditionally culinary, techniques in their creative processes, and approaches to management that do not reflect the abusive, autocratic norms of Classic culinary production. Because this genre lacks an institutionalized definition in the field, I next describe broad trends within this increasingly prestigious genre and define some of the most common Flexible cuisine types in the next section.

The Flexible Genre of Cuisine

The *Flexible* genre of cuisine is the largest of the three genres. 628 of 1379 restaurants (45.5%) included in the 2016 *Michelin Guide* serve cuisine types in the Flexible genre, and 75 of the 120 chefs I interviewed cook Flexible cuisine. The Flexible genre includes cuisine types such as "Californian," "Mediterranean," "Contemporary," and "American." These types lack a shared definition in the field and therefore encourage for personal creative interpretation in ways that the Classic genre does not.

Unlike chefs cooking Classic cuisine, who produce within an established and clearly defined culinary tradition with codified rules guiding their processes of production, chefs

who cook Flexible cuisine often struggle to concretely describe their cuisine according to shared understandings in the field. One two-starred "Contemporary" chef describes his food as, "we want to do things that are interesting, that are original, that are artistic, that are beautiful, that have a higher level idea to them…it's kind of hard to define."
Table 1 below depicts the distribution of the Michelin Guide's cuisine types within the Flexible genre.

Table 1: Distribution of Cuisine Types in Flexible Genre

	Total (Count)	**Percentage all Restaurants in MG**	**Percentage within Analytical Category**	**Total of Interview Sample**
American	135	9.8%	21.5%	18
Austrian	9	0.7%	1.4%	0
Barbecue	10	0.7%	1.6%	1
Basque	1	0.1%	0.2%	0
Belgian	2	0.1%	0.3%	0
Cajun	1	0.1%	0.2%	0
Californian	57	4.1%	9.1%	16
Contemporary	131	9.5%	20.9%	19
Deli	7	0.5%	1.1%	1
Eastern European	7	0.5%	1.1%	1
European	2	0.1%	0.3%	0
Fusion	17	1.2%	2.7%	5
Gastropub	24	1.7%	3.8%	1
German	1	0.1%	0.2%	0
Greek	25	1.8%	4.0%	0
Hawaiian	1	0.1%	0.2%	0
International	16	1.2%	2.5%	2
Mediterranean	37	2.7%	5.9%	1
Pizza	27	2.0%	4.3%	4
Polish	2	0.1%	0.3%	0
Portuguese	4	0.3%	0.6%	0
Russian	2	0.1%	0.3%	0
Scandinavian	2	0.1%	0.3%	1
Seafood	39	2.8%	6.2%	1
Southern	8	0.6%	1.3%	1
Spanish	29	2.1%	4.6%	2
Steakhouse	26	1.9%	4.1%	0
Vegan	3	0.2%	0.5%	0
Vegetarian	3	0.2%	0.5%	1
Totals	**628**	**45.4%**	**100%**	**75**

The three most frequently occurring cuisine types of those included in the Flexible genre are "American," "Contemporary," and "Californian." While Flexible cuisine types are defined according to a shared unfamiliarity that allows individual chefs to personally describe their orientation to culinary production and the field at large according to their specific visions, not institutionalized standards, the categorical distinctions *within* the Flexible genre are not necessarily arbitrary. Just as Italian cuisine is decidedly not the same as French cuisine, even though the two types share a position of prestige defined by their historical consecration as Classic cuisine in the field, American cuisine is not the same as Contemporary cuisine, which is not the same as Mediterranean cuisine. These categorical distinctions represent meaningful differences between products, primarily based on general trends that, over time, have come to define the different cuisine types in the genre. To illustrate this I describe the three most common cuisine types in the genre below.

American Cuisine

Stuart Brioza and Nicole Krasinski are a husband and wife executive chef/ and pastry chef/restaurant owner team. Together, they own and lead the kitchens of two one-starred restaurants in San Francisco—State Bird Provisions and The Progress. State Bird Provisions, classified as an American restaurant in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*, is emblematic of the kind of distinctive, out-of-the-box cuisine that defines the Flexible genre of cooking and the casual ambiance and creative flavor blending that defines American cuisine within the genre. At State Bird, staff push dim sum carts loaded with unfamiliar and creative small plates, such as the (in)famous pancakes, featuring unexpected flavors like sourdough and pastrami, the iconic quail "California State Bird" dish that serves as the source of inspiration for the restaurant's name, and seasonal vegetable dishes, such as the asparagus with miso Caesar and seaweed breadcrumb, individually priced according to small paper signs that accompany the carts. In addition to a 2016 Michelin star, in 2012, State Bird Provisions was named *Bon Appetit*'s Best New Restaurant, and in 2013, the restaurant was awarded the James Beard Award for Best New Restaurant; two years later, Brioza and Krasinski won the James Beard Award for Best Chef: West.

When I asked the chefs about their inspiration to open their unusual, celebrated restaurant, Chef Brioza explained, "We knew we didn't want to work in a restaurant that was just your standard restaurant. We wanted to do something that basically allowed us to cook really good food, cook what we want and not be…"

"Have fun," Chef Krasinski interjected.

Brioza nodded. "Right. And not be boxed in, have fun while cooking, interact with our diners" with their undefined and fun restaurant. Chefs Brioza and Krasinski have created a restaurant that contributes something entirely incomparable to the American fine dining landscape and have been celebrated for it!

State Bird's cuisine is "American" according to the chefs and the *Michelin Guide*. I asked the chefs what this moniker meant to them, and, like many other chefs who describe their cuisine as American, they defined their food in terms of both nostalgia and blending cultural references. Brioza explains:

> We grew up with going to high schools in the Bay Area that had Asian kids, Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Mexican, Indian. And, so, what were we doing when we were in high school? You'd go to your friend's house, and you're eating food that their grandmother's cooking. So, we're exposed to all of these things at a pretty young age… So you take all of that and it transcends somewhere. You can trace back these flavors, and we have a lot of Asian influence in our food. We call it wanderlust dining because we travel a lot…so when I started to play with my own style, things, like, naturally started to work their way into my cooking. I think that that's the state of American food right now. It's being evolved at a rapid clip, and for a lot of people, it's about cooking what they want to cook. So, we're not, like, bound by tradition. We're just cooking our food, what makes sense to us.

Many chefs cooking cuisine that they or the *Michelin Guide* characterize as American describe their food in similar terms of cultural blending and nostalgia for an American

childhood. They describe their cuisine as a personal reflection of their own American narrative, drawing on the cultural references that are pertinent to their biography to create something that is unique. This personal and original perspective relies on the rejection of firm boundaries (Lamont and Molnar 2002) around established rules and meanings of categories and instead defines American cuisine as the valuable result of cultural blending and personal artistry.

Contemporary Cuisine

Chefs who cook the similarly enigmatic category of "Contemporary" cuisine, a cuisine type assigned by the *Michelin Guide* but never used by the chefs classified as such, also define their products using vague language focused on individual innovation, not shared traditions. For example, at two-starred Commis in Oakland, Chef James Syhabout offers a tasting menu of, "elegant and creatively complex seasonal dishes," according to the *Michelin Guide* (184). The only Michelin-starred restaurant in Oakland, Commis serves an artfully plated eight-course (plus snacks and surprises, such as the three small candies to conclude the meal) tasting menu that, priced at $125 in the spring of 2016, was one of the least expensive tasting menus available at Contemporary restaurants of this caliber. The ordered kitchen labors over "beautifully composed plates that reflect the kitchen's attention to detail" (184), such as the slow-poached egg yolk with smoked dates, allium and malt, served with a picture-perfect house-baked loaf of bread and cultured butter for dipping.

Chef Syhabout approaches his kitchen as a representation of his artistic vision, so he curates an *omakase* style tasting menu for diners. "If you want to go to a place and experience it to its fullest extent, you have to be in the hands of whoever is cooking. You don't tell an artist what to sing. It's the same thing." Here, Chef Syhabout compares his role as a chef with that of an artist, language that many Contemporary chefs, especially those with high status recognition, like Michelin stars, echo. One Contemporary chef tells me, "the beauty about cooking is not just putting food on the plate. There is a story behind it. There is so much emotion. There is so much meaning to it. It's really a conversation, a dialogue that you want to have with people. It's the same with art, writing, poetry, or painting." Another chef reiterates this idea: "there is so much of a pressure, especially in fine dining restaurants, to be constantly innovating and coming up with new stuff. There is a lot more pressure on us to make more masterpieces, to innovate, to give diners something they have never seen before." For Contemporary chefs, to cook is to create at the intersection of art and science, just as Escoffier defined the profession when he established the rules of haute cuisine in the early twentieth century.

Contemporary chefs define their food as modern (thus freeing them from the expectations of traditional haute cuisine), sometimes modernist (associating their cuisine with science through the techniques of molecular gastronomy), distinctively unlike the food of other actors in the field, and artistic, associating their products with the original, highly-conceptual work of artists in other cultural fields, such as poetry, music, and painting.

Californian Cuisine

The third most common cuisine type in my sample in the Flexible genre is Californian cuisine. Notably, the Californian type is only used to classify restaurants in the

San Francisco Bay Area *Guide*, meaning that all 57 restaurants in the *Guide* categorized as Californian (and the 16 chefs I interviewed who cook this cuisine) are located in the San Francisco Bay Area. This reflects the characteristic regionalism of the cuisine that many chefs stress when describing their Californian cuisine. Chef Aaron London of one-starred AL's Place in San Francisco's Mission District uses the characteristically blurry language of other Flexible types while simultaneously emphasizing the *terroir* of California, where he cooks. Chef London explains:

> For me, the most important way to cook is not just to base the food off of vegetables, but to base it off of a specific farm. Because what that ends up creating is this scenario where the farm and the season dictates your cooking, and it's something that is as wholly organic as can possibly be in the sense of it being a natural process. There's no way to have as much unrestricted new thought as you can have by being completely at the mercy of the weather.

Seasonality is a hallmark of California cuisine, as is the creative freedom that the flexibility of the cuisine type allows chefs. The *Michelin Guide* commends AL's Place for the "fresh, seasonal vegetables" and "thought-provoking flavors" that London "combines with ease, layering dimensions you didn't know existed" (76). Like Contemporary cuisine, which is defined by distinctive artistic creativity, Californian cuisine is defined by chefs' innovative approaches to seasonal, often local, ingredients. Another one-starred Californian chef grounds his creative process in the product available through the restaurant's garden: "We're always working on new dishes, usually looking at what's going to be coming out of our garden …I really want things to taste the way they are. With a tomato dish I really want tomatoes to be the highlight. But I want there to be something interesting on there that you haven't necessarily seen before or that makes it stand out. So seasonal, ingredient-driven but with a fun twist." This combination of seasonality and creativity defines the Californian style of cooking among other Flexible cuisine types in the genre.

Other Flexible Cuisine Types

Other cuisine types included in the Flexible genre may not initially seem as undefined as American, Contemporary, and Californian cuisine. Readers might anticipate that cuisine types, such as Spanish, Greek, Pizza, and Austrian, would have clearly defined meanings in the field, indicating evaluation processes similar to those used to assess the Italian, French, and Japanese cuisine types of the Classic genre rather than those applied to the blurry cuisine types I describe above. However, these cuisine types that are associated with specific European countries that do not have an institutionalized history of haute cuisine in American fine dining behave more like the other cuisine types in the Flexible genre than the Classic cuisine types defined by strict adherence to formal techniques and shared traditions.

Chefs who cook these other Flexible cuisine types work within a set of expectations of what a particular cuisine type encompasses (for example, a Pizza restaurant does not sell Chinese-style dumplings but instead dishes resembling pizza—although unlikely flavor combinations, such as the pastrami reuben pie at Bib Gourmand Paulie Gee's, are a marker of a pizzaiolo's distinctive style; a Spanish restaurant might serve paella or manchego

cheese), but these expectations are not institutionalized as central tenets of the formal training required of Classic chefs, nor are these expectations firmly shared by all actors in the field in the way that the traditional techniques of Japanese, Italian, and French cuisine are. Instead, chefs at Flexible restaurants, like those serving Spanish, Greek, and Scandinavian cuisine, are permitted the freedom to create original cuisine, like Californian, Contemporary, and American chefs, because their cuisine types, while defined by national monikers that correspond with certain expected regional dishes or ingredients, are not institutionalized as haute cuisine in the field. One one-starred Spanish chef describes her cuisine:

> We wanted to set new standards for Spanish cuisine. We didn't think we could do it with the old dishes, so we chose new iconic dishes to represent what we felt was the most important cuisine from the different neglected regions of Spain that we loved…I wasn't really interested in making other people's food. I wanted to make *our* own food in that vernacular and in that celebration of the tapas tradition. Some of it could be very traditional and some of it could be very unique, but always sort of exhibiting *our* flair…I think that's why our food is so legit is because it's Spanish but it's also extremely innovative.

These cuisine types' absence from formal training and traditions of fine dining in the field therefore allows chefs who cook them to be evaluated for their personal creative culinary visions, like their peers serving fuzzier cuisine types, not their execution of or adherence to institutionalized norms of tradition and technique.

The Flexible Genre of Cuisine and the Logics of Evaluation

In Table 2, I present the results from three logistic regression analyses, controlling for city (San Francisco or New York), Michelin recognition (a variable that codes restaurants with a Bib Gourmand rating as 1; and one, two, and three stars 2, 3 and 4 respectively, with all other restaurants without this formal recognition coded as 0), and Price point (reflecting the dollar sign symbols in the *Michelin Guide* as ¢=1; $$=2; $$$=3; and $$$$=4) to consider the relationship between Flexible categorization of restaurants and the likelihood of the inclusion of language representing the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity in restaurant reviews in the 2016 *Michelin Guides* for San Francisco and New York City.

I find that Flexible categorization is significantly correlated with the inclusion of language of the logics of creativity and authenticity. Compared to other restaurants serving cuisine types in the Classic and Ethnic genres, restaurant reviews of Flexible restaurants are significantly *more likely to include language noting the logic of creativity* and *less likely to include language reflecting the logic of authenticity.* Inclusion of language reflecting the logic of technique is not *significantly* correlated with Flexible categorization, but the results of the analysis indicate that restaurant reviews of Flexible restaurants are less likely to include language reflecting the logic of technique. This suggests that the logic of creativity is the primary logic used to consecrate Flexible restaurants and chefs, while the logics of technique and authenticity are less relevant to the assessment and ultimate celebration of Flexible actors in the field.

Table 2: Logics of Evaluation by Flexible Genre in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*

	Model 1: Technique	Model 2: Creativity	Model 3: Authenticity
City (San Francisco)	-0.320	-0.572*	0.355*
	(0.192)	(0.228)	(0.167)
Michelin Recognition	0.670***	0.296*	0.066
	(0.103)	(0.119)	(0.132)
Price	0.263*	0.190	-0.357**
	(0.119)	(0.139)	(0.123)
Flexible Genre	-0.327	0.890***	-1.601***
	(0.185)	(0.217)	(0.214)
Constant	-2.522***	-3.155***	-1.149***
	(0.181)	(0.232)	(0.157)

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

The Logic of Creativity

While Classic restaurants are evaluated according to standards of tradition and technique institutionalized in the field, Flexible chefs and restaurants enjoy more freedom in their representations of celebrated cuisine. They intentionally and consciously challenge norms of culinary preparation, creating surprising and unknowable cuisine, and they are celebrated for these innovations. The primary logic of evaluation for Flexible restaurants, then, is the logic of creativity. Chefs engage with the logic of creativity by (1) describing their cuisine as the product of individual and distinctive artistry; (2) incorporating scientific techniques and ingredients to produce entirely unfamiliar and previously unimaginable culinary creations; and (3) approaching management as an opportunity to create a personal legacy in the field by focusing on the professional development of staff, not autocratic direction.

Many of the chefs cooking Flexible cuisine types capitalize on the unfamiliarity and blurriness of their classification to cook uncommitted to a particular tradition, technique, or set of ingredients, and they are celebrated for their unfamiliar, indefinable, and entirely original culinary products. A chef cooking American cuisine describes the creative process and perspective of many chefs cooking American food:

> I'm an American chef. Do you understand that? I'm American. This is an American restaurant. We make miso and use different Japanese techniques, and we use different and interesting ingredients from all over the world…it's an American fine dining restaurant and so as an American, we blend many different ideas and cultures and bring them together to do our own particular thing.

In the review for three-starred Contemporary restaurant Eleven Madison Park in Manhattan, which was also named the World's Best Restaurant in 2017, the *Michelin Guide* notes, "Chef Daniel Humm's cooking is clever, innovative, and at times even a little whimsical; it is robust when it needs to be but also delicate at times, and it is this variety and depth that really sets it apart" (115). Two-starred Contemporary restaurant Baumé in Palo Alto, California is similarly lauded for its "truly otherworldly culinary experience," where,

"beginning with sublime and seasonal ingredients, the master creator [Chef Bruno Chemel] takes his flavor profiles to truly profound levels" (277). The value of Flexible chefs and restaurants is based on their ability to produce cuisine that is delicious, distinctive, grounded in the personal creativity and artistry of an individual chef, and unlike any other dining experience in the field.

Because innovation is defined as an individual contribution to the field, these chefs resist comparison to other actors in the field, the very relational positioning upon which Classic restaurants and chefs rely for legitimacy, and instead emphasize their originality and *distinction* from other actors in the field. A one-starred chef of an International restaurant in San Francisco describes his creative vision for what he calls his "exotic American" restaurant:

> I like to present the customers with something that they know, but they have not had it in that particular form. So, it is always my intention to do that. I like to do a little bit of molecular gastronomy…I like to explore different flavor profiles and combinations and that blows your mind.

Another chef describes his food as, "we don't want to serve something that is *just* food. It's a conversation that we're serving." Chefs working in the Flexible genre emphasize their autonomy and divergence from other chefs' styles in order to establish a relational position of value in the field not based on similarity to institutionalized norms and shared traditional techniques, as is the case with the Classic genre, but through singular exceptionality.

In so doing, they use language common to the art world (Becker 1983) to define their product as more than just sustenance; their cuisine is art, exclusively understood by those with the artistic capital to produce art and recognize it as such. Evaluation on the basis of individual artistry ensures that Flexible chefs have privileged access to this form of consecration. It is then valuable because to understand it requires knowledge of what already exists in the field *and* standards of artistic innovation. One American chef tells me, "I think food is artistic and very creative and definitely an expression about something unique to a person who is making it." For these chefs, dinner is not just an opportunity to fuel or nourish the body; it is an experience meant to challenge and entertain, to introduce diners to something they have never seen before and may never see again. One chef explains, "the beauty about cooking is not just putting food on the plate. There is a story behind it. There is so much emotion. There is so much meaning to it. It's really a conversation, a dialogue that you want to have with people. It's the same with art, writing, poetry, or painting." Still another Contemporary chef explains, "As a chef, you're putting everything on the plate, just like an artist does, just like a musician does…it is definitely an interpretation of art and your emotions and everything that you think. It's your voice." These chefs compare their culinary products to artistic masterpieces, framing dining as an intellectual experience meant to provoke dialogue, reflection, and exchange. In so doing, they associate themselves with norms of artistic production that consecrate and celebrate *individual artists* for their unique contributions to the field.

Indeed, when describing their cuisine, many Flexible chefs emphasize their independence, both in terms of their own creative process, working individually to develop a particular creative vision, and in terms of the unique, unfamiliar cuisine they alone

contribute to the field. A one-starred chef describes her creative process as, "I just really want to satisfy my own curiosity about food and to make delicious things and make people happy with my food…that's been my privilege is cooking what I want." Still another one-starred chef emphasizes his unique ability to create among his kitchen staff:

> I don't write things down. I don't draw pictures of dishes. I have very few recipes. Wherever it is that my inspiration comes from, it's entwined in the concept of change and growth, and if you were to come and see us operate, there are times where I'm changing dishes as they go out to diners. There are very few people in the world that operate that way, but for me, leaving that one 1% for me of something undone until the last minute, that's the art.

Flexible chefs must distinguish themselves as unlike anyone else in the field in order to be legitimate and therefore valuable in the Flexible genre and in the field at large; their cuisine is valuable because they alone can produce it.

Escoffier defined haute cuisine as valuable because, as a culinary product that exists at the intersection of art and science, it is unlike the familiar food served at home. While some Flexible chefs ground their value in artistry, others define their unfamiliar and innovative cuisine in relation to science. Chefs working in Flexible restaurants use new forms of cooking (called molecular or modernist cuisine), combining the tools and chemicals of a scientific laboratory (think xanthan gum, agar agar, foams, blow torches, and liquid nitrogen) with food work to create cuisine that would be impossible for the founders of Classic cuisine to imagine, let alone produce, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The *Michelin Guide* praises one-starred Contemporary restaurant Luksus at Torst for food that is, "firmly rooted in Scandinavian techniques and ingredients, with inspiration from afar and unfussy flashes of tinkered modernism" (526). Restaurants like two-starred Contemporary restaurant atera and two-starred Commis are admired for their foams (flavored with greens and ginger, respectively), while two-starred Atelier Crenn in San Francisco serves (and is admired for its) "trio of aloe gelée, puree, and snow" (60).

These kinds of foods—foams and "snow"—are not traditional dishes that can be found just anywhere. They often require specialized equipment not found in most kitchens, such as a sous vide circulator or smoking gun used for flavor infusion. Just as Classic cuisine requires specialized training and knowledge to produce legitimately, Flexible cuisine that draws on scientific techniques and ingredients requires both specialized knowledge of these molecular trends and a distinctive creative vision focalized in an individual, artistic chef. Chefs working in the Flexible genre embrace their liberation from the constraints of tradition and employ unconventional and unexpected tools, techniques, and ingredients more predictably suited for chemistry experiments. In so doing they purposefully challenge the historical definition of fine dining by altering the form, ingredients, and techniques of fine dining, and this defiance of tradition is celebrated as creatively valuable.

The logic of creativity also affects how Flexible chefs think about the management of their restaurants, not just the cuisine they serve, as demonstrative of their innovative contributions to the fine dining field. Some chefs refer to their restaurants as "leaders in the industry" because of how they approach their restaurants as *businesspeople*, not just artistic creators. For one chef with a Bib Gourmand rating, culinary creativity defines not just the flavors on the plate, but also the business model and role that the restaurant he owns serves

in his community. He says, "there's certainly creativity in the food, but the primary goal is not to be creative just on the plate and the composition on the plate, but to be creative in having the kind of food business that we want to see more of and finding creative ways to make that work while also finding ways to make that exciting for diners." While Classic restaurants are celebrated for following an institutionalized model of management based on autocratic direction under a single chef, who reproduces the traditions of Classic cuisine in his cuisine and his management of staff, Flexible restaurants conceptualize management and the social role of the restaurant as a representation of their individual approach to the field and the changing meaning of culinary production in a field no longer dominated by the Classic model.

Just as Flexible chefs redefine fine dining cuisine as a personal and artistic practice, incorporating previously excluded flavors and scientific techniques into their creative processes, they also reimagine the role of the professional chef as manager and business leader. A two-starred Contemporary chef tells me, "We think about the restaurant industry and chefs and food culture as a culture and as a conversation and as something that's constantly evolving. We want to have a role and a place in that evolution, and we want to be pushing something forward with our own cuisine while also pushing the broader industry and cuisine forward." For these chefs, defining their distinctive position in the field is about producing unfamiliar cuisine and doing so through singular, perhaps unconventional processes of production, represented by how they approach management and how they approach their restaurant as a business, not just an artistic space.

Chefs who cook Flexible cuisine types are primarily assessed for their creativity. Rather than striving to execute institutionalized standards of tradition, as chefs working with Classic cuisine types must, Flexible chefs and restaurants resist comparison, emphasizing how their culinary products and processes of production are unlike anything and/or anyone else in the field. This logic of creativity permeates the application of the logics of technique and authenticity when evaluating actors in the Flexible genre, as well. While Flexible chefs and restaurants are not assessed for their adherence to and execution of Classic traditions, these Classic techniques can serve as a starting point for Flexible chefs' creativity; similarly, while many Flexible cuisine types lack a coherent shared meaning in the field and, therefore, there are not iconic or canonical dishes that represent those cuisine types, as there are for Classic restaurants, many Flexible chefs either reject the idea of authenticity as irrelevant to their processes of culinary production or use authenticity to represent their artistic vision.

The Logic of Technique

The logistic regression results in Table 2 above do not indicate a significant relationship between Flexible categorization and the inclusion of language reflecting the logic of technique in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*, but this does not mean that the logic of technique is irrelevant in the Flexible genre. While chefs cooking in the Flexible genre primarily determine their positions in the field in relation to their autonomous creativity, some of that creativity is facilitated by knowledge and active rejection of the strict standards of traditional technique endorsed by chefs cooking Classic cuisine.

Technique often serves as a form of direction and constraint for Classic chefs, but, for Flexible chefs technique provides chefs with foundational knowledge that allows them to

knowingly eschew traditional expectations in favor of blending and combining techniques to create something new in both their approach to creating cuisine on the plate and order in their management of the kitchen. Many chefs working with Flexible cuisine types trained in classical techniques, and they use their knowledge of these techniques to inform, but not determine, their distinctive culinary styles. A chef at a one-starred Contemporary restaurant in Manhattan describes his cuisine as, "there's a lot of technique involved, but the plate looks very simple and relaxed, but there's a lot of hard work behind it. I don't really want to bore the guest with how much we work in the kitchen or tell them everything that's going into the dish." Later in the interview, this chef explains that one of the "simple" dishes on his menu has "six or seven techniques" involved in its production.

For Flexible chefs, creativity is the primary criterion for evaluation and consecration in the American fine dining field. In order to challenge and defy the expectations of Classic cuisine, Flexible chefs must first understand those expectations; to define themselves as untraditional and to craft unfamiliar and unique cuisine, thereby earning consecration in the field according to the logic of creativity, Flexible chefs must first learn and acknowledge the Classic traditions that they will, in turn, define their cuisine and culinary style as *unlike*. While the logic of technique is not used to consecrate Flexible chefs and restaurants for adequate execution, chefs cooking in this genre do understand their position and contribution to the field in terms of the techniques they draw on and blend—both Classic and modernist—to create cuisine that cannot be found elsewhere.

In addition to drawing on and challenging traditional techniques in pursuit of artistic creative production, Flexible chefs also think about the relationship between creativity and practical production. Much of the production of Classic cuisine relies on the reproduction of managerial systems, like the brigade de cuisine, that can be abusive and stifling for cooks seeking to develop their skills in order to move forward in their careers. Because these hierarchical practices oriented around autocratic authority are traditional, they continue to be used in many of the best kitchens. However, not all chefs rely on these conventional practices when approaching management. Many chefs cooking in the Flexible genre define their distinctive position in the field by defying the managerial techniques set forth in the Classic model by focusing not on autocratic direction but instead on mentorship and professional development for staff. Where cooks train and how they continue through the field of American fine dining serves as an indication of an individual chef's legacy and value as a professional in the field. When Flexible chefs defy industry expectations and craft new managerial techniques focused on professional mentorship, they frame these techniques as evidence of their unique contribution to the field.

Rather than considering their staff exclusively as laborers who must perfectly reproduce Classic traditions Flexible chefs create kitchens that foster individuals' professional growth, offering cooks opportunities for collaboration, creative exploration, and skill building. One chef refers to his managerial role as akin to that of an athletic coach:

> I really see my job sometimes as being a coach. I need everyone to work well as a team. I need to put people in positions that they shine in. I have to educate people. I have to teach people… I had to learn to be patient and learn to educate my cooks instead of just telling them to do it a certain way and not to ask why because that's how I was trained, and I didn't want to do it that way anymore.

Another chef explains that he is, "creating a nice team spirit, teaching [my staff]…we have each other's backs." These chefs use athletic language of "coaching" and "team work" to characterize how they create a culture of camaraderie that is unlike the autonomous genius ideal type that is found in Classic kitchens, where chefs emphasize the rigor, careful reproduction, and hierarchy of power required in Classic fine dining. These Flexible chefs prioritize collaboration and they do so intentionally.

Cooks are defined by their training, and that includes the kitchens where they have previously worked; chefs, in turn, are defined by their mentees' careers (Leschziner 2015), and many chefs with whom I spoke proudly reported on where their previous employees now worked after spending time in their kitchens. Flexible chefs consciously think about the reputation, legacy, and distinctive position in the field they establish through their staff. One chef explains, "We want people to leave better than when they came in and teach them everything we can, so when they leave our restaurant, they're extremely valuable." Another one-starred chef describes how he hires cooks for his kitchen: "ultimately we are not looking for a cook; we're looking for a chef. We're looking for someone who wants to own their own restaurant one day, and working here can allow them to build the skills, the knowledge to accomplish that goal."

These chefs refer to their collaborative managerial techniques as anomalous and therefore as evidence of their unparalleled creativity and value in the field. One Contemporary chef with one star explains, "I do it a little differently than most chefs you talk to at Michelin-starred restaurants. I really just try to make it a positive, like, happy environment." Another chef prides himself on his "unique" mentorship practices:

> A lot of [Classic] kitchens that I worked in were very quiet, really clean and organized, and very kind of fine dining style. We're kind of the opposite here…I try to keep it upbeat and fun and exciting. A place you want to be. Not a place where the cooks feel they can't express themselves or say what they're thinking. I'm not that type of chef, where I'm always yelling and screaming and throwing things.

While most Flexible chefs described their approach to management as unlike the autocratic hierarchical model valued by the traditions of Classic cuisine, nearly all of these Flexible chefs referred to their approaches to management as unique and therefore as evidence of their valuable distinctiveness in the field.

The Logic of Authenticity

In the Classic genre, the logic of authenticity is used to recognize those chefs and restaurants who legitimately reproduce institutionalized expectations of "real" Classic cuisine; Flexible chefs cook cuisine types that are not institutionalized and therefore do not have the same kind of expectations in the field. Therefore, Flexible chefs approach authenticity in two ways. Some chefs entirely reject the idea of authenticity as irrelevant to the relational value of their cuisine; other chefs in the Flexible genre refer to authenticity as representative of their personal artistic, creative vision, or being "authentic to myself." In this way, the logic of authenticity for Flexible chefs serves as an assessment of Flexible chefs' artistry, creativity, and distinctiveness in the field.

"It's not really a word I use," a one-starred Californian chef muses, "my food is inspired by a ton of stuff. I would never say it's authentic." A two-starred Contemporary chef echoes this sentiment: "we don't really think about authenticity in what we do, and in fact, lack of authenticity sometimes is kind of a fun tongue-in-cheek thing we can do." Chef James Syhabout of two-starred Commis, jokes, "Authenticity? When I look it up in the dictionary, it has a picture of unicorn there. Everyone claims to have seen one, but…" Because these chefs define their position and therefore value in the field according to personal interpretations of creative, delicious cooking, evaluated for their original contributions to culinary innovation, many reject authenticity as a mechanism of assessment because association with something already known or understood in the field would threaten that chef's or restaurant's value in the Flexible genre.

However, not all Flexible chefs reject the idea of authenticity entirely; some refer to authenticity as a marker of their personal creative artistic vision. These Flexible chefs use authenticity to describe how they stay "true" to their own style and intention in their cooking; thus, authenticity for chefs cooking Flexible cuisine types serves as yet another indicator of their creativity in the field. A one-starred American chef explains:

> [My food is] authentic because I believe in this. When I taste this pasta, it tastes really fucking good, and I'm excited about this dish… if I'm respecting myself, that is the kind of authenticity that I'm most interested in.

In the 2016 *Michelin Guide*, Dominique Crenn's two-starred Contemporary restaurant, Atelier Crenn is praised for the authenticity of its distinctive vision: "While the idea of 'poetic culinaria' may seem self-indulgent to some, this cuisine is undeniably authentic, deeply personal, and filled with brilliant grace notes of flavor and creativity" (60). Here, Chef Crenn's restaurant is celebrated as an "authentic" representation of her deeply personal *creative*, artistic, and intellectual approach to fine dining. When I ask Chef Crenn what authenticity means to her, she says, "Authenticity is about your vision. You have your own authenticity. So, authenticity comes from within."

Some Flexible chefs explicitly reject association with Classic categories of cuisine and instead embrace the freedom of Flexible categories in order to avoid strict standards of evaluation based on the logic of authenticity grounded in traditional representations that is used to assess Classic cuisine. One one-starred chef who cooks a pasta-focused American menu discusses his "authentic" vision in opposition to the evaluation of authenticity he might face if he claimed to cook "Italian" instead of "American" cuisine:

> Am I doing authentic Italian food?" he asks. "No. Am I doing authentic American food? No. Am I doing food that is authentic to myself? I guess. I don't claim to do authentic, and that's why I don't want to be called an Italian restaurant because I don't want to be put up against [those expectations]…I'm trying to do seasonal American food focused on pasta, that's all I'm trying to do. It's authentic to the dream I had of what this restaurant would be.

Flexible chefs define authenticity in relation to their personal approaches to culinary productivity, and, in so doing, they resist the constraints that the logic of authenticity enacts for chefs and restaurants serving Classic cuisine who navigate expectations of tradition.

Instead, for Flexible chefs, authenticity refers to their value in the field on the basis of a particular chef's unique creative approach to culinary production.

In Table 3 below, I summarize the logics of evaluation in relation to the Flexible genre of cuisine.

Table 3: The Logics of Evaluation and the Flexible Genre of Cuisine

Logic of Technique	Logic of Creativity	Logic of Authenticity
*not central to evaluation *technique serves as basis for creativity; innovation involves differentiating from tradition *reliance on Classic techniques and newer techniques, e.g molecular gastronomy *not significantly correlated with Flexible categorization * management involves mentorship and professional development	*primary logic for this genre *actors' value determined by their unique, artistic or scientific products *celebrated for personal unfamiliar contribution to field *significantly correlated with Flexible categorization	* relational assessment of authenticity not central to evaluation * (1) authenticity rejected as irrelevant or (2) authenticity as evidence of creativity and "staying true" to "artistic vision" *significantly negatively correlated with Flexible categorization

Creativity and the Reproduction of Ethnoracial and Gender Hierarchies

The Products and Production of Flexible Cuisine

The Flexible genre of cuisine is primarily evaluated according to the logic of creativity, which celebrates those producers and products that contribute something unique, unfamiliar, and distinctive to the field. While chefs and restaurants in the Classic genre are evaluated in relation to standards of tradition that define the parameters of legitimate culinary technique and authenticity, Flexible chefs and restaurants are celebrated for building on technique, blending flavor profiles, and challenging the traditions of the Classic genre.

By evaluating Flexible chefs and restaurants according to a logic of creativity that relies on definitions of artistic greatness, unfamiliarity, and professional cooking, the logic of creativity defines Flexible products as valuable because they are associated with "higher level" cultural work associated with masculinity and *unlike* devalued feminine home cooking. And, while Flexible chefs and restaurants are celebrated for the creative incorporation of previously excluded flavors and ingredients, such as those associated with Ethnic food and science, Flexible chefs are careful to ensure that their cuisine remains categorically associated with whiteness by resisting association with Ethnic cuisine and grounding their cuisine's classification in the flexible, unknown categories of the genre, such as Californian, American, and Contemporary. In so doing, the organization and evaluation of Flexible chefs and restaurants reproduces a system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that defines Flexible cuisine's value on the basis of creativity that is explicitly and implicitly associated with whiteness and masculinity.

In her 1974 article, feminist anthropologist Sherry Ortner explains the source of women's universal, pan-cultural secondary social status as the parallel distinctions between men and women and "nature" and "culture." In a similar vein to Durkheim's theory of the sacred and the profane (1965), Ortner suggests that across cultures, women are more closely associated with "nature," which is universally devalued compared to the "culture" that is associated with men. Because women are often limited by both the biological realities of pregnancy and childbirth and the associated social role of motherhood, they are associated with "natural" work that keeps them from engaging with the arguably more valuable cultural work that demands a higher level of thinking and artistry associated with men, such as the creative work done by artistic Flexible chefs. Women perform "lower-level" conversions of products from nature to culture, like daily domestic transformations of the raw to the cooked (Levi-Strauss 1971), but the higher-level cultural practices, such as those associated with art, religion, and the detail-oriented cooking of haute cuisine, are "restricted" (Ortner 80) to men. Thus, feeding the family at home is the "natural" work of women (DeVault 1991; Harris and Giuffre 2015; Cairns and Johnston 2016); creating artistic masterpieces that contribute to "culture" in fine dining kitchens is masculine.

When Flexible chefs describe their cuisine as artistic, intellectual, and unfamiliar, they draw on the gendered logics (Acker 1990) of the field to explicitly associate their cuisine with the higher-level cultural food work of men and relationally position themselves as unlike and, in fact, superior to the "natural" food work of feeding the family in the home that is associated with women. While men and women producers face different barriers to accessing these narratives of artistic legitimacy, as I discuss in the next section, both men and women chefs working in the Flexible genre legitimate their culinary products in ways that distance their cuisine from devalued home cooking and emphasize the higher level artistic and intellectual purpose of their cuisine. Flexible chefs describe their food in terms that emphasize its unfamiliarity and artistic distinction from other actors in the field, such as the two-starred chef who describes the creative process as, "every dish always starts with a vision, like a painter who starts a painting with a blank canvas," and, in so doing, they resist not only the Classic techniques of professional food work but, perhaps more obviously, feminine association with domestic food work. When dinner becomes, as one two-starred chef describes it, "an experience on a higher and deeper level," that meal is understood as valuable because it is disassociated, through artistic language of elevation, from devalued domestic home cooking; it becomes understood and celebrated as an intellectual cultural product characterized by the unique artistry skill required to produce it, a vision that is grounded in the personal creative production process of one individual *professional* chef.

This distinction between the skilled artistic labor of Flexible chefs in the field and the "natural" food work of the home is especially evident when considering the Flexible chefs who engage techniques and ingredients that historically have not been associated with kitchens at all, whether in the home or in a restaurant. Chefs who use the scientific ingredients that characterize molecular or modernist cuisine, like xanthan gum and liquid nitrogen define their cuisine as entirely unlike the comforts of home. One Classic chef describes modernist cuisine, that is, food cooked using scientific ingredients and techniques, as "mind food." "I believe in having a connection with the food that's about love and soul." She says. "I see a lot of chefs these days, young ones mostly, who it just feels like that's not there. It feels very mind food, not love food, you know, like tweezers and tinkering with the plate to make it perfect and scientific." Another chef explicitly connects these ideas to

gendered hierarchies of food work when he exclaims, "the [modernist] style of food that's being done now a lot of times doesn't feel like the kind of food that women cook, because I think women cook more from the heart and soul, and guys, a lot of them get into this head thing. And, that seems to be the direction that food is going, with twenty-five little tastings and all this technique and my knife is sharper than your knife." While the chefs I quote here criticize the modernist style of cuisine for its absence of "love" and "soul," the artistic and scientific style of cuisine promoted by Flexible chefs is valued in the field, with many of the most starred restaurants serving cuisine that uses molecular techniques.

This gendered distinction between masculine professional food work and feminine domestic food work is further demarcated through Flexible chefs' approaches to management. When Flexible chefs describe their managerial position as one of professional mentorship, they emphasize the skill of the profession and assert the kitchen as a place of work and training, not the warming domestic hearth that many chefs describe at home. Chefs who refer to their management as an opportunity to foster the professional growth of the cooks who work under them demonstrate an investment in their *creative* legacy that Classic chefs do not. Flexible chefs who approach management as an opportunity for creative mentorship teach cooks how to think about innovative culinary production, not just how to executive shared expectations of the field. Classic chefs focus their management on providing direction and discipline; Flexible chefs provide cooks with *professional* guidance and opportunities to develop their creative voice through collaboration.

While these Flexible chefs challenge the institutions of the field through their more collaborative approach to management, they are careful to explain these new techniques using language that emphasizes their *professionalism* and artistic legacy. They do not describe their management as feminine "care work," focused on the emotional safety and personal development of individuals; instead, they describe their desire to create a collaborative workplace as one of professional intent, designed to both retain staff and define chefs' unique role as kind mentors not autocratic leaders, in the field. One one-starred Contemporary chef explains:

> We're always trying to get our line cooks to be working on a dish and experimenting and tasting with us, and if it's good enough, it goes on the menu. So we're always trying to get people involved in the creative process, as well and have them be a part of that. At the end of the day, you don't want to come in and be a robot. That's why people leave. I try to treat people with respect.

By grounding their collaborative approaches to management in language of mentorship and creative legacy in the profession, they associate these innovative management techniques with masculine cultural food work and distinguish their actions from feminine care work common to the home kitchen.

Other Flexible chefs challenge the model of autocratic leadership by associating their approach to management with feminine care work, describing their mentorship as focused on the *personal* development of their kitchen staffers. These chefs, mostly women, act as maternal figures, and, instead of being celebrated for their defiance of institutionalized expectations as mentors and artists, as the Flexible managers focused on professional skill development are, they are often penalized for their association with feminine care work. A New York chef describes her restaurant culture as, "as nurturing an environment as

possible…it's really a home away from home for a lot of our staff." These chefs attend to their staffers' emotional needs, happiness at work, and interpersonal relationships, a pattern of behavior that is closely associated with women's work, at home and in the workplace (Kanter 1977; Schilt 2010).

But, this association with the home is not celebrated in the way that the "unique" collaboration and focus on professional development that other Flexible chefs espouse is. One chef, who owns several successful restaurants in New York City, highlights the tension between her choice to engage a maternal style of management and the expectations of the field: "I have a new chef in one of my restaurants. He is shocked when my cooks call me "Mama." He says it's disrespectful, but I think it's lovely. I'd rather be called Mama than chef." She is questioned for her acceptance of the "Mama" title because to celebrate a role of maternal management is to threaten her legitimacy by associating herself with devalued home cooking and maternal care work. While Flexible chefs are celebrated for creatively challenging the traditions of Classic cuisine, those chefs who manage as professional, artistic mentors are lauded as distinctive, while chefs who instead associate their mentorship with feminine emotional care work face questions of their legitimacy.

In addition to framing their creative rule bending in relation to gendered logics of cultural production, Flexible chefs and restaurants also capitalize on the elasticity of their genre and its implied associations with whiteness to access consecrated positions in the field that are unavailable to Ethnic restaurants, which cannot dissociate from non-whiteness. Cuisine types, such as American, Californian, and Contemporary, do not have obvious affiliations with a specific ethnoracial group in the way that types such as Japanese, Italian, and Mexican do. However, it is precisely the absence of clear ethnoracial categories that allow these Flexible chefs and restaurants to be evaluated primarily according to the logic of creativity and therefore consecrated for their distinctive defiance of institutionalized expectations in the field, not penalized as Ethnic cuisine.

Some Flexible chefs define their cuisines as valuable because they blend previously excluded flavors and ingredients, such as those associated with Ethnic cuisine, together, creating an unfamiliar and singular product that is celebrated for its innovation. At the same time, because they cook cuisine that is classified with fuzzy, emerging categories they do not take on the evaluative consequences of associating their cuisine with the devalued Ethnic genre of cuisine. Chef Mike Poiarkoff of Bib Gourmand American restaurant Vinegar Hill House blends cultural influences on his menu: "my kitchen right now has everything from truffles to Szechuan peppercorns to some foraged berries. All that kind of stuff. So, it's no longer about classic French stuff; it's about what you can do with the ingredients that you have." When he does this, he is not immediately assigned the cuisine type of "Chinese," nor is he evaluated as an Ethnic restaurant, as a Chinese restaurant would be. Instead, the Michelin Guide praises the restaurant's "inventive mix of global ingredients" (456). Vinegar Hill House, then, is valuable because Chef Poiarkoff's blending of untraditional flavors, including those flavors associated with devalued Ethnic cuisines, is understood as a marker of distinctive creativity and is classified as "American," a label that is implicitly associated with whiteness (Omi and Winant 2015), not Ethnic, a label that is explicitly associated with non-whiteness.

Therefore, Flexible chefs and restaurants may "explore" and perhaps even appropriate Ethnic flavors without enacting the evaluative processes associated with Ethnic restaurants. This is because these Flexible chefs and restaurants cook undefined cuisine

types that indicate that, while this cuisine includes Ethnic flavors, the cuisine is assuredly not "Ethnic." Thus, Flexible chefs benefit from the white privilege embedded in the Flexible, "blurry" categories attributed to their cuisine and are celebrated, rather than penalized, for their engagement with flavors that have been historically excluded from the field.

In their influential text *Racial Formation in the United States*, Omi and Winant trace the historical development of the cultural understanding of the United States as a "white nation," despite the immigration, diversity, and "melting pot" narratives that have defined American national culture and character (2015). They write:

> For five centuries the phrase 'the American people' has been understood as an implicitly white designation…almost from the beginning of European settlement there has been a dominant white nation in North America. The colonies and the post-revolutionary independent U.S. state all explicitly celebrated their whiteness, and always took it for granted (2015:75-6).

As the United States has historically been understood as an implicitly white nation, Flexible categories are also defined as implicitly white. Chefs cooking American, Contemporary, and Californian cuisine, as well as other cuisine types in the Flexible genre, have enjoyed and benefited from an implied whiteness that distances their blended cuisine from associations with (and therefore the evaluative consequences of) non-whiteness.

Flexible chefs purposefully describe their cuisine in ways that enhance their association with whiteness and further brighten the boundary (Lamont and Molnar 2002) between implicitly white Flexible cuisine types and devalued non-white Ethnic cuisine types, strategically describing their cuisine in order to ensure that their Flexible food is understood as distinct from Ethnic cooking. Two Chinese-American chef-owners of a one-starred Contemporary restaurant serve a duck dish prepared in a similar style to mu shu pork, but they intentionally do not describe the dish to diners using the Chinese reference, "because we don't want to be seen as a Chinese restaurant, and I think if you call it mu shu duck, it would cheapen the dish." Another one-starred Contemporary chef describes how he incorporates ethnic flavors with "subtlety" and "refinement." "It's nice to have a little influence from somewhere else on a menu," he says. "I tend to try to still keep it subtle. Like, if I'm going to use wasabi, I'm going to use a subtle amount of wasabi, and it's going to be more like having horseradish in it, instead of making it blatantly, like, 'wow! There goes my sinuses.'" Just as Flexible chefs distance their distinctive restaurant cuisine from the feminine comforts of home in order to ensure their legitimacy and value in the field, Flexible chefs discursively distance their cuisine that engages ethnic flavors from devalued Ethnic cuisine. Flexible chefs incorporate ethnic flavors "subtly" or describe their cuisine without ethnic markers in order to ensure that their products are *creative* and boundary spanning but not *Ethnic*. In so doing, they capitalize on the implicit whiteness of their Flexible cuisine types and avoid the evaluative consequences of association with non-whiteness, reproducing a system of ethnoracial hierarchy that values white products above those characterized by non-whiteness.

Similarly, chefs of different ethnoracial backgrounds and chefs of different gender categories navigate distinct opportunities and constraints within the Flexible genre because of their social position defined by this identity categories. Those chefs who do not physically

resemble the ideal worker chef, especially those chefs who do not match the cultural expectation of artistic greatness, that is, women chefs and non-white chefs, are uniquely constrained within a genre in which chefs' and restaurants' value is primarily determined according to a logic of creativity that is defined as associated with masculine cultural production and implied whiteness.

The Producers of Flexible Cuisine

In the previous chapter, I argued that the ideal worker chef for the Classic genre is a white man formally trained in traditional techniques. The Flexible ideal chef is nearly identical to the Classic ideal worker chef, except that Flexible ideal chefs must also exhibit brilliant displays of creativity, not traditional technique, in their cooking. This artistic creativity is associated with masculine cultural work and whiteness and dissociated from feminine "natural work" and non-whiteness (Ortner 1974). This means that those chefs who do not physically resemble the cultural norm of artistic greatness (women chefs and non-white chefs) must prove their legitimacy as cultural producers in a way that their white and male colleagues do not. Women chefs face discrimination, exclusion and questions of their legitimacy when they challenge the historically institutionalized traditions of fine dining. At the same time, the majority of the women I interviewed cook within the Flexible genre, and, because of the absence of institutionalized expectations, the Flexible genre provides more opportunities for success for women chefs, who cannot physically embody the image of the traditional ideal worker chef, than the Classic genre does.

Similarly, non-white chefs' artistic creativity is constrained because, while white chefs describe freely incorporating previously excluded Ethnic flavors in their Flexible cuisine, when non-white chefs incorporate Ethnic flavors that match their own identity categories in their cuisine, they may be categorized as Ethnic cuisine and therefore suffer relational devaluation in the field. This differential assessment and understanding of women chefs' and non-white chefs' Flexible cuisine reproduces a system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that disproportionately celebrates artistic cuisine implicitly and explicitly associated with masculine cultural production and elite whiteness.

Chef Teague Moriarty of one-starred Contemporary restaurant Sons and Daughters in San Francisco embodies the ideal Flexible chef role. A white man trained in Classic technique in top kitchens in the Bay Area, his "seasonal, seven-course fixed menu that consistently pleases" features diverse and unpredictable dishes, such as, "candied limequat rind, briny sea beans, and light uni foam" (114). His orientation to cooking is Californian (he cites "what the farm is producing right now" as his primary source of creative inspiration). He focuses his management on "collaboration," "creating and experimenting and tasting together." Chef Moriarty explains the process of developing his personal vision for the restaurant as similar to the process he imagines a painter might engage, grounding his description of his culinary production in the language of artistry that is common among Flexible chefs:

> If you're a painter, you probably spend a long time trying to figure out how to be an illustrator first before you're off doing Picasso paintings. I'm sure there's a huge foundation of technique underneath it. So that's what the phase of my life is right now. Not to compare myself to Picasso, it's just more that the basics are down and

> established and the systems and the way our restaurant works and the guest experience is established… so now the focus is on how are we going to define our cuisine.

Chefs like Moriarty are celebrated for their creativity because, as white men trained in traditional technique, they represent the institutionalized model of an ideal chef in the field possessing the knowledge of traditional technique in relation to which his unique and innovative contribution is understood. Additionally, as an artistic culinary producer who challenges the norms of the historical field in both his boundary-spanning cuisine and his collaborative mentorship, Moriarty represents the ideal *Flexible* chef. Chefs who do not embody this ideal, such as women and non-white chefs, navigate the Flexible genre of cuisine, their processes of culinary production within the genre, and their positions in the field differently because they are not immediately accepted as legitimate creative producers, since they do not physically match the field's ideal.

That being said, because there is more flexibility in the definition of fine dining within this emerging, "blurry" genre, success in the Flexible genre is potentially more accessible to chefs who do not match the institutionalized standards of ideal worker chefs, such as women and non-white chefs. However, these Flexible women chefs, like their Classic counterparts, faced (and some continue to face) unique barriers to success in the field because they are physically different from the ideals of artistic greatness and historical culinary production. For example, Chef Dominique Crenn, a two-starred Contemporary chef in San Francisco, is one of the most celebrated chefs in the United States. In 2016, she was awarded the Best Female Chef award from the World's 50 Best List (her restaurant, Atelier Crenn, was not included on the top 50 list). The fact that there is an award for Best Female Chef that is distinct from the general awards (and not a comparable Best Male Chef award) suggests that women chefs are anomalous in the field; they do not represent the norm of culinary production, so they require a distinct form of recognition. Chef Crenn explains, "there's still a huge conversation that we need to have, and we need to continue to use that [award] as a platform. It's not just about awarding a female chef. I want to use that award to say we're getting there [with regard to gender parity in the field], but it's not there yet. And, in two years I hope it's an award for the best chef in the world." However, in a genre where challenging the norms of traditional fine dining primarily defines various chefs' and restaurants' relational value in the field, women, like Chef Crenn, find greater opportunity for success within the genre that celebrates creativity. At the same time, their legitimacy and value are not determined in relation to the same standards as those applied to the assessment of men and their culinary products, nor do women chefs achieve the same levels of prestige within the genre as their male colleagues[10].

As with the Classic genre, because they do not look like the ideal type of chef, women chefs must first prove their legitimacy as culinary producers in the American fine dining field before they are recognized as valuable. Because restaurant work, especially the creative, artistic, and sometimes-scientific culinary production of Flexible cuisine, is defined and therefore made valuable in the field through its distinction from the feminine food work of the home, Flexible women chefs must first prove their value as *artistic producers*, not just

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[10] There are only three women chefs with two Michelin stars in San Francisco and New York in 2016, and 0 of the 9 Flexible restaurants with three Michelin stars in these two cities are led by a woman chef.

domestic home cooks or skilled technicians in Classic cuisine, in order to achieve a position of power in the Flexible genre.

Of the 27 women I interviewed, 21 cook Flexible cuisine types. Many refer to times when their legitimacy was questioned and, like the women cooking Classic cuisine who I described in the previous chapter, finding ways to "prove themselves" in the kitchen. A one-starred Flexible woman chef describes the gendered culture of professional food work and the isolation of women chefs as, "It's never been a friendly place for women. I spent a lot of time being the only woman in the room. I am the only woman in the room right now, and I own the place!" Because women are considered anomalous in the field because they have been historically excluded and the profession has been understood as a masculine occupation of artistic creativity, not natural nurturing food work, women are "tokenized" (Kanter 1977; Turco 2010) and celebrated as "women chefs," distinguished from "chefs" and the masculine norms that define the profession.

Many of the Flexible women chefs with whom I spoke combat these systems of discrimination and exclusion by opening their own restaurants, where they define the organization and culture of the kitchen they manage, and several discussed how being a chef-owner allows them to challenge the gender logics of the field. One two-starred Flexible chef explains, "a lot of women who are executive chefs or lead their own kitchen, they own the restaurant and they decided, you know, just let me open up my own place and do it my way. And I think maybe it's because women just don't want to deal with the crap. They open up their own places in order to do their own thing." Another woman chef with a Contemporary restaurant echoes this idea, "I think there are a lot of badass ladies in the kitchen, but a lot of us have to break out and create our own space and our own restaurants because there is a glass ceiling with high-end executive positions all going to dudes."

Indeed, of the 21 Flexible women chefs with whom I spoke, 17 are owners or co-owners of the restaurants where they work. In order to occupy a position of power, women chefs must prove their legitimacy through demonstrations of culinary prowess, either through undeniably innovative cooking, like that of Chef Dominique Crenn, or technically flawless cooking, like the Classic chefs I discussed in the previous chapter. They can also achieve positions of power by creating their own kitchen spaces, where they cultivate a workplace culture that allows them to function free of the unequal evaluations of their worth because they do not embody the masculine ideal worker role. Because Flexible cuisine is defined as valuable when it defies the expectations of the Classic genre, women chefs have more opportunities for success in this boundary-spanning, rule breaking genre; some women even embrace a position that emphasizes their association with historically devalued and excluded feminine home cooking, functioning as a kitchen "mama" or creating cuisine that is meant to nurture and satiate, like home cooking does. There is space for these kinds of producers and culinary products within the Flexible genre in a way that the Classic genre does not allow. However, when women chefs associate themselves and their products with femininity, they associate themselves with a gendered logic that threatens their legitimacy as prestigious Flexible producers; a home cook is not an artist, nor a scientist. As such, while it is possible to embrace a role of femininity within the Flexible genre and still remain a part of the fine dining field, those chefs who do so occupy lower status positions (the "mamas" with whom I spoke do not have Michelin stars, but are, instead, recipients of the less prestigious Bib Gourmand commendation) and are questioned as legitimate *cultural* producers in the field.

Like women chefs, non-white chefs do not represent the physical ideal of the Flexible chef, and, like the Chinese-American chefs who consciously describe their food in a way that avoids association with the Ethnic genre of cuisine so as to retain a position of value and power in the field, non-white chefs describe their food in ways that explicitly associate it with the Flexible genre and distance their food from devalued Ethnic cuisine. For example, Chef Sachin Chopra, of one-starred International restaurant All Spice in San Francisco, rejects obvious association of his cuisine with his Indian heritage. He describes his food in the same way many Flexible chefs do, as the result of blending different cultures' flavors:

> I really like to use a lot of influences. I don't really have a preference for any particular cuisine, so it's really hard for our restaurant to be pigeon holed into a particular cuisine, because we are definitely not Indian. We are definitely not Italian or anything like that, but we have pastas…I think our menu has Indian influences in it. I won't say that I don't have that at all. There is definitely a hint of that, but we don't really focus on any traditional Indian cuisine.

A Korean-American chef cooks "globe-trotting cuisine" at one of her two Bib Gourmand restaurants, where she serves her burger with tempura onion rings instead of fries, and the "Korean steak and eggs" features kimchi fried rice topped with grilled skirt steak and eggs, a dish she describes as, "a play on the American breakfast steak and eggs embellished with Korean flavors." She explains, "Because the concept is globe-trotting bistro, I'm in this safe haven. Like, 'Oh, this is sort of French-European based. It's a bistro. It's okay.'" This chef blends flavors from many different culinary traditions, including the Korean flavors of her childhood, and, because her restaurant is a "bistro," a term associated with French cooking, she benefits from the implicit association with whiteness and Classic tradition, and, like other Flexible chefs, she is celebrated for this inventive cooking.

For some non-white chefs, the Ethnic food of their heritage threatens the position of value that they enjoy in the field because they cook Flexible cuisine types that are categorically associated with and therefore benefit from an implied whiteness. In order to avoid association with Ethnic cuisine and the related devaluation of their product, these non-white Flexible chefs discursively distance themselves and their food from Ethnic cuisine types that may be associated with their own ethnoracial identity categories, for example, describing their cuisine as "globe-trotting" instead of "Korean" or "Ethnic," and reproducing a system of cultural value that privileges whiteness. This system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that facilitates the powerful and prestigious position Flexible cuisine occupies in the field serves as the scaffolding for the differential material and symbolic value of chefs and restaurants in the genre in the broader field.

The Material and Symbolic Value of Flexible Cuisine

Those who study categorization in commercial markets find that consumers and critics reject those products that they cannot easily understand, products that defy expectations and are "fuzzy" (Negro et al. 2010; Zuckerman 1999; Hannan 2010). Cuisine types that fall under the Flexible genre of cuisine are, by definition, unfamiliar, defined by individual artist chefs, intentionally unbounded, and "partial" (Hannan 2010), that is, composed of a unique combination of multiple cuisine types to create something new and

purposefully unclear. Flexible chefs embrace this partiality and flexibility so as to emphasize the creativity that serves as the primary logic of evaluation for these unrestrained categories of cuisine, and, unlike the predictions of the categories literature, I find that they are celebrated for their unrestrained innovation, both symbolically and materially.

The Flexible genre is the largest genre included in the *Guide*, with 628 of the 1380 (45.5%) restaurants included in the 2016 *Guide* serving Flexible cuisine. 76 of the 207 (36.7%) restaurants with a Bib Gourmand designation serve Flexible cuisine types. Perhaps most notably, 63 of the 102 (62%) one-Michelin-starred restaurants, 11 of the 20 (55%) two-Michelin-starred restaurants, and 9 of the 11 (82%) three-Michelin-starred restaurants in the 2016 *Guide* serve Flexible cuisine. This means that Flexible chefs and restaurants are the most symbolically celebrated restaurants in the field. While Classic restaurants have dominated the field historically and have been celebrated for their strict adherence to the traditions that defined haute cuisine throughout its development in the twentieth century, the contemporary American fine dining field disproportionately celebrates the chefs and restaurants that serve Flexible cuisine types.

This symbolic consecration also translates to a difference in the material value of Flexible cuisine in the field. Below, in Table 4, I show the results from an OLS regression analysis of the relationship between price point and Flexible categorization in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*. Controlling for city and Michelin recognition, I find that Flexible categorization is significantly correlated with a higher price point. Compared to the other genres in the field, those restaurants serving cuisine types in the Flexible genre charge more than restaurants in the Classic and Ethnic genres of cuisine. This suggests that, in the contemporary American fine dining field, creativity is more materially valuable than tradition.

Table 4: Price Point and Flexible Categorization in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*

	Price
City (San Francisco)	-0.041
	(0.039)
Michelin Recognition	0.368***
	(0.025)
Flexible Genre	0.296***
	(0.038)
Constant	0.921***
	(0.030)

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

The average price point for Flexible restaurants included in the *Michelin Guide* is significantly higher than that for Ethnic and Classic restaurants; this suggests that diners are perhaps willing to pay more for unfamiliar, innovative cuisine associated with an individual producer than they are for the reproduction of Classic traditions or historically devalued Ethnic flavors. Perhaps because Flexible cuisine types and their personal interpretations served by individual chefs at particular restaurants are defined as valuable because they are unlike other actors in the field, diners are unable to relationally assess the value of the product; they do not have a shared comparative reference point in relation to which they can determine if a price point is reasonable. Therefore, chefs can capitalize on the unfamiliarity of their cuisine and charge a premium for artistic innovative cuisine.

Despite the statistically significant relationship between higher price point and Flexible categorization, none of the chefs cooking within the Flexible genre of cuisine mentioned their price point in my interviews with them, nor did other actors in the field define Flexible restaurants or chefs according to the expense required to learn how to cook the cuisine or to consume the cuisine. While other actors in the field understand Classic restaurants' position to be partially defined by the expense of dining at these establishments and/or obtaining the training necessary to produce the cuisine legitimately, Flexible restaurants' positions in the field are not defined by expense in the same way price defines the relational position of Classic restaurants. Instead, Flexible restaurants and chefs are primarily understood as symbolically valuable on the basis of the demonstration of personal, creative artistic visions, and chefs and restaurants can charge high prices for diners to experience this innovative artistry because they are legitimated as distinctive in the field and the absence of an institutionalized meaning of these cuisine types in the field makes relational price comparison difficult. Flexible chefs, then, are freed of commercial concerns and allowed to focus on artistic production, almost like the "art for art's sake" attitude found in other artistic fields in a way that chefs working in other genres cannot.

Restaurants serving Flexible cuisine are undeniably expensive. Of the 628 restaurants in the Flexible genre in the Michelin Guide, 68 (11%) of these restaurants are listed in the most expensive price category in the Guide ($$$$), and 131 (21%) are listed in the next most expensive category ($$$). For reference, 39 of the 382 (10%) Classic restaurants are in the most expensive category, and 73 (19%) are in the second most expensive category. As with the Classic genre, the median price point is two dollar signs (meaning the average price of a meal is $25-50 per person). The differences in pricing between the Classic and Flexible genres are slight, suggesting that, while Classic cuisine types are understood in the field as the most expensive, the emerging Flexible categories that actively defy the traditions of Classic cuisine are sold at the same price point as their Classic peers. Of course, three-starred Japanese restaurant Masa holds the top price spot of $648 for dinner for one diner in the United States, but the most expensive restaurant in California, three-starred Californian restaurant Saison in San Francisco, charged $398 per diner for the menu on Fridays and Saturdays in 2015, meaning that dinner for two, including tax and 20% tip (without alcohol) cost $1,025 (Sutton 2014). Add wine pairings, and the price for a meal for two jumped to $1792.

These (some might argue) exorbitant prices are on par with all of the prestigious Classic restaurants in the field. While tradition (represented by Classic cuisine) is respected and both symbolically and materially valued in the field of American fine dining, as indicated by the symbolically powerful position of Classic restaurants, the unfamiliar, creative cooking that is found at restaurants serving Flexible cuisine is not rejected, but instead praised and priced as art. Flexible chefs are celebrated for their incorporation of "untraditional" flavors, such as those flavors and ingredients associated with cultures that have been historically excluded from the American fine dining field, but they are simultaneously defined as unlike the Ethnic genre of cuisine from which they borrow these flavors. Flexible chefs are celebrated for their innovative challenges to the institutionalized expectations of haute cuisine, but the boundary-blurring food of the Flexible genre is valuable because it is defined not only as distinct from the Classic genre but also because it is defined as distinctively not Ethnic cuisine. Flexible cuisine types, then, benefit from a symbolic and material "implied whiteness premium." The cuisine that represents masculine,

white artistic creativity, or Flexible cuisine, is the most celebrated and valuable product in the field, and its position of power and value redefines the parameters of greatness in American fine dining according to a system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that excludes products and producers associated with femininity and non-whiteness from positions of legitimacy and consecration.

Chapter Five
"Too Expensive to Be Authentic": The Logic of Authenticity and the Devaluation of Ethnic Cuisine

At one-starred Thai restaurant Kin Khao in San Francisco's Financial District, the pomp and circumstance that a Michelin star implies are decidedly absent. A ponytailed host with tattooed forearms welcomes guests to a noisy brightly colored dining room. Wait staff in casual street wear (button down shirts, high top sneakers, and jeans) flit between tables of hungry tourists, clad in t-shirts and backpacks, and San Francisco urbanites, wearing slightly more cosmopolitan t-shirts, leather jackets, and miniskirts. A loud soundtrack of 1990s R&B accompanies the alluring scents of ginger, lemon grass, and coconut. As the *Michelin Guide* writes, "the décor is unexceptional by no uncertain terms, but really nobody seems to care, as the cooking—punctuated by Californian elements and welcome seasonality—is the real deal" (49).

Kin Khao is celebrated according to the logic of authenticity (the food is "the real deal"), which shapes how Chef Pim Techamuanvivit thinks about her product:

> There's a story I want to tell about Thai food that I don't feel like anyone is telling yet, about how the food can really be focused on quality and on subtlety of flavors without everything being so spicy it's ripping your face off, which seems to be the mark of authenticity in the West.

Kin Khao is representative of the third and final genre slowly gaining legitimacy in the American fine dining field—the Ethnic genre of cuisine. While restaurants serving cuisine types such as Chinese, Thai, Mexican, Vietnamese, and Peruvian cuisine are more familiar to frequenters of inexpensive take out restaurants than to connoisseurs of fine dining in the United States, some chefs and restaurants offering Ethnic cuisine are recognized as valuable actors in the contemporary fine dining field.

Yet, only 16 of the 133 (12%) restaurants with at least one Michelin star in 2016 serve Ethnic cuisine types. As I have shown in the previous chapter, while some Flexible chefs and restaurants engage flavors that are associated with the Ethnic genre, blending cultural reference points to create distinctive cuisine, they do so in a way that rhetorically distances their food from association with the Ethnic genre of cuisine, suggesting that Ethnic cuisine is understood in the field as occupying a position of comparatively low status. In this chapter, I ask, *how are Ethnic restaurants evaluated? Why are Ethnic restaurants devalued compared to other genres of cuisine in the field? How do these evaluative processes reflect and reproduce broader systems of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy?*

Racial and ethnic categories stratify social life (Weber 1914; Omi and Winant 2015; Emirbayer and Desmond 2015) by establishing social hierarchies based on race and ethnicity that privilege whiteness, devalue non-whiteness, and establish systems of oppression that justify discrimination on the basis of race (Omi and Winant 2015; Reskin 2012; Blauner 2001; Goldberg 2001). Ethnoracial categories, then, reflect systems of racial discrimination. They also reflect and enact inconsistent standards of authenticity, which is often employed as a marker of legitimacy in cultural fields, like jazz music, country music,

or cuisine (Emirbayer and Desmond 2015; Peterson 1999; Grazian 2005; Kovacs et al. 2014; Johnston and Baumann 2010).

Scholars of cultural omnivorousness, who note consumers' simultaneous appreciation of highbrow and lowbrow products, consider how class status affects consumers' tastes and preference. Johnston and Baumann find that, in the context of cuisine, food writers use discourses of "authenticity" and "exoticism" to legitimate and therefore consecrate different chefs, restaurants, and cuisines, especially those that historically have been understood as "lowbrow," such as Ethnic foods. These discourses of authenticity and exoticism suggest that consumers' class-based choices are intertwined with broader systems of ethnoracial hierarchy in the culinary field. We might expect, then, that systems of ethnoracial inequality structure systems of power and prestige in cultural fields, like that of American fine dining. In this chapter, I argue that these systems of inequality exclude field actors associated with non-whiteness, like Ethnic restaurants, from positions of value, power, and prestige in the American fine dining field through the differential applications of the logics of authenticity, creativity, and technique. That is, ethnoracial bias is veiled by language of technique, creativity, and authenticity, subtly and insidiously organizing power and prestige in the American fine dining.

The ethnoracial categories attributed to restaurants, chefs, and cuisine types associate actors with or distinguish them from the Eurocentric model of Classic haute cuisine and Flexible genre of cuisine that are intertwined with implications of whiteness. For example, when a restaurant is classified as French, that restaurant is then assessed in relation to expectations based on the historical traditions of Classic cuisine associated with European culinary techniques and elite white consumers. When a restaurant is classified as "Contemporary," that restaurant is evaluated according to the logic of creativity, celebrated for its artistry and distinction from other kinds of cuisine in the field, and any incorporation of untraditional or Ethnic flavors is seen as a marker of innovation, not devaluation. This implied whiteness is unavailable to restaurants serving cuisine types that fall in the Ethnic genre, or categories that Krishnendu Ray (2016) characterizes as representative of "the low status product of the labor and implicit knowledge of the immigrant poor" (Ray 2016:63) because Ethnic restaurants are explicitly classified using categories associated with non-whiteness, such as Mexican, Asian, Chinese, Thai, Indian, etc.

Below, I show that Ethnic restaurants' relational position and therefore value in the field is primarily assessed according to inconsistent standards of authenticity formed in relation to two actors external to the field—inexpensive take out restaurants and ethnic home cooking. Ethnic restaurants' value is determined by their ability to meet diners' expectations of the cuisine formed while consuming Ethnic cuisine in these lower status spaces; this system is entirely different from that used to assess Classic restaurants' and Flexible restaurants' relational value, which is determined according to standardized expectations and exclusive comparison to other actors *in* the fine dining field. Ethnic restaurants, then, are uniquely defined and evaluated in relation to both the institutionalized pillars of excellence in the field (Classic and Flexible restaurants) *and* extra-field actors, specifically take out restaurants and historically devalued home cooking. Ethnic chefs and restaurants are then denied access to the mechanisms of consecration used to celebrate Classic and Flexible actors and relegated to a lower status position in the field.

The Ethnic Genre of Cuisine

While Ethnic cuisine is an institution of American dining culture (Gabaccia 1998; Ray 2016; Freedman 2016), it has historically been understood as an inexpensive option for American city dwellers, excluded from the parameters of the American fine dining field. Despite its generally lower status position in the American fine dining field, the Ethnic genre of cuisine makes up a significant proportion of the restaurants included in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*. 369 of the 1380 (26.7%) restaurants included in the *Guide* are Ethnic, serving cuisine types such as Indian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Mexican, and Sri Lankan. However, the vast majority of these included Ethnic restaurants (282 of 369 or 76.4%) are not recognized as symbolically valuable, meaning that they are included in the *Guide* as potential dining options for travelers in those cities, but are not marked as special by a star or Bib Gourmand rating. 71 Ethnic restaurants (19.2% of Ethnic restaurants) have a Bib Gourmand rating (for comparison, 15.4% of Classic restaurants and 11.6% of Flexible restaurants have a Bib Gourmand recommendation), 12 have one star (11.8% of all one-starred restaurants), 3 have two stars (15% of all two-starred restaurants), and 1 Ethnic restaurant, San Francisco Asian restaurant Benu, has three stars (9% of all three-starred restaurants). Additionally, 28 of the 120 (23.3%) chefs I interviewed serve Ethnic cuisine. Table 1 below depicts the distribution of cuisine types in the Ethnic genre in the 2016 *Michelin Guide* and my interview sample.

The most common cuisine types in the Ethnic genre of cuisine are Chinese, Mexican, Indian, and Thai, cuisine types that are staples of American take out. Chefs at Ethnic restaurants serve cuisines that are colloquially labeled, "ethnic food," a designation that Krishnendu Ray argues was institutionalized in American critical discourse around dining in the 1950s and 1960s (2016). The term came to (and continues to) represent a combination of exotic fascination and disdain, as ethnic food is that which is associated with a subaltern, immigrant "ethnic entrepreneur," to borrow Ray's term (2016), not a classically trained chef. In the context of American fine dining, the label "ethnic" means "not white" and is associated with a lower status position in the field.

The use of the term "Ethnic food" is fraught (Ray 2016) because the lay usage of the term in the American culinary universe is not aligned with the theoretical implications of the term "ethnicity" in the sociology of race and ethnicity literature (e.g. Cornell and Hartmann 2006; Omi and Winant 2015). Scholars argue that groups assert their similarity according to shared identity or cultural markers using the concept of ethnicity, while racial identity categories are assigned to individuals and groups. Producers identify and label their cuisine in a way that represents their creative and commercial intents in the field. At the same time, critics and diners assign categorical labels to restaurants, chefs, and cuisines as a way of understanding those products in the field. Arguably, all cuisine is "ethnic," because it is labeled in a way that marks its association with a cultural or national group (e.g. French, Japanese, Californian), but some cuisines and restaurants are defined as "Ethnic" as a means of marking their distinction from whiteness. "Ethnic" restaurants, like Vietnamese, Indian, and Chinese restaurants, are defined as "Ethnic" because they are associated with non-white producers and consumers and dissociated from other consecrated cuisine types defined by whiteness, such as Classic and Flexible restaurants. I define the Ethnic genre as encompassing those chefs and restaurants that are categorically associated with non-whiteness and dissociated from the other legitimated genres of cuisine in the field. That is, Ethnic restaurants are those that are defined categorically as serving the devalued cuisine of

subaltern, immigrant, non-white producers in the United States (Ray 2016), such as Vietnamese, Mexican, and Indian cuisines.

Table 1: Distribution of Cuisine Types in Ethnic Genre in *Michelin Guide*

	Total (Count)	Percentage all Restaurants in MG	Percentage within Analytical Category	Total of Interview Sample
Afghan	3	0.2%	0.8%	0
Argentinian	3	0.2%	0.8%	0
Asian	18	1.3%	4.9%	3
Bangladeshi	1	0.1%	0.3%	0
Brazilian	2	0.1%	0.5%	0
Burmese	4	0.3%	1.1%	0
Cambodian	2	0.1%	0.5%	0
Caribbean	5	0.4%	1.4%	0
Central Asian	4	0.3%	1.1%	0
Chamorro	1	0.1%	0.3%	0
Chinese	72	5.2%	19.5%	3
Ethiopian	6	0.4%	1.6%	0
Filipino	4	0.3%	1.1%	0
Indian	38	2.8%	10.3%	4
Indonesian	3	0.2%	0.8%	0
Israeli	1	0.1%	0.3%	0
Jamaican	1	0.1%	0.3%	0
Korean	24	1.7%	6.5%	1
Lao	1	0.1%	0.3%	0
Latin American	15	1.1%	4.1%	0
Lebanese	4	0.3%	1.1%	0
Macanese	1	0.1%	0.3%	0
Malaysian	5	0.4%	1.4%	0
Mexican	62	4.5%	16.8%	8
Middle Eastern	7	0.5%	1.9%	2
Moroccan	3	0.2%	0.8%	0
Nepali	3	0.2%	0.8%	0
Persian	3	0.2%	0.8%	0
Peruvian	8	0.6%	2.2%	2
Puerto Rican	2	0.1%	0.5%	0
Senegalese	1	0.1%	0.3%	0
South African	2	0.1%	0.5%	0
Sri Lankan	5	0.4%	1.4%	1
Thai	31	2.2%	8.4%	2
Tibetan	1	0.1%	0.3%	0
Turkish	9	0.7%	2.4%	0
Vietnamese	14	1.0%	3.8%	2
Totals	**369**	**26.8%**	**100%**	**28**

Because Ethnic restaurants do not resemble anything like that which has been historically celebrated in the field, they cannot be assessed for their replication and execution of Classic techniques. Likewise, because they are understood as "other," often compared to the neighborhood "hole in the wall" restaurant serving the same type of cuisine, Ethnic restaurants face different standards of legitimation and therefore evaluation

and consecration in the field. Ethnic restaurants cannot create artistic cuisine that is defined by its irreproducibility and unknowability in the field because Ethnic cuisine types are, in fact, understood in the field as devalued outsiders. Field actors form expectations of Ethnic cuisine through previous exposure to these cuisine types *outside* of the field of American fine dining at (1) inexpensive neighborhood joints and (2) dinner tables at home. Diners, critics, and chefs, then, come to understand the relational value, contribution, and position of Ethnic restaurants in relation to these two poles of prestige—the consecrated restaurants in the field that benefit from association with whiteness (celebrated Classic and Flexible restaurants) and the decidedly not fine restaurants and kitchen tables of non-white producers external to the field. For Ethnic chefs, then, their position and value in the field is not determined exclusively in relation to other actors *within* the field. Instead, their value is defined by their cuisine's historical exclusion from both the institutionalized techniques of Classic haute cuisine and the original creativity of Flexible chefs and restaurants.

A chef at a Bib Gourmand Indian restaurant explains:

> Most ethnic restaurants, like Indian, are like, "Okay. We have to go super hole in the wall, or we have to be this stiff, stuffy, trying-to-be-fine-dining-but-not-quite thing. You know, it's that sort of very stuffy, boring experience. It's like you're on one end of the spectrum or the other. There's nothing in between.

Because Ethnic restaurants are, by definition, "outside" the American fine dining field, they are understood in relation to different reference points from those that Classic and Flexible restaurants are. Chefs at Ethnic restaurants either use the markers of traditional fine dining (markers that the chef I quote above calls "stiff" and "stuffy") such as white tablecloths, formal service, and tasting menus, to associate the dining experience they offer with already-consecrated actors, or Ethnic restaurants and chefs understand their position in relation to extra-field, devalued actors that also serve Ethnic cuisine types (the "hole-in-the-wall" establishment). Ethnic restaurants in the field then navigate this intermediary space between legitimate models of fine dining and devalued Ethnic restaurants in three ways, represented by three ideal types that I call: (1) the Exalted Ethnic restaurant, (2) the Elevated Ethnic restaurant, and (3) the Finer Take Out Restaurant.

The Exalted Ethnic Restaurant

At Junoon, a one Michelin starred Indian restaurant in New York City, Chef Vikas Khanna is, according to the *Michelin Guide*, "quite successful in presenting a contemporary vision of Indian cuisine" (121). Inside, a dining room with tables set with white tablecloths, candles, and plush chairs invites diners to experience the, "attention to detail [that] sets Junoon apart from its desi brethren" (121). Chef Khanna describes the space as like the dining rooms at Classic restaurants, distancing his restaurant from the expected markers of exoticism of inexpensive Ethnic restaurants: "You come to my restaurant, and you will not see any Indian artifacts. It's just a plain, grand room. It's about that old New York charm."

Like the luxurious dining room, the menu assures diners that Junoon is not like the Indian restaurants they have previously encountered. Take out favorites, like chicken tikka masala and butter chicken, are decidedly not for dinner. Instead, dishes like Mirchi Pakora, with shishito pepper, whipped paneer, strawberry, and mint, and Sturgeon Uttapam with

caviar and coconut chutney represent Chef Khanna's approach to the cuisine of his home country:

> I decided that I am going to figure out a way to take a modernist approach but still remain extremely soulful. I don't want to be a stranger to the natives of the cuisine. I don't want to alienate those people because a lot of chefs have done that. They want just a hint of India. I wanted the complete India, but I wanted to do it in a different presentation from the rest of the restaurants and the way that they were doing it.

Chef Khanna's Junoon signifies what I call the Exalted Ethnic restaurant. Chefs like Khanna position their cuisine in relation to both the established tropes of fine dining in the American fine dining field and inexpensive actors categorically associated with their cuisine type, embracing association with the legitimate Classic and Flexible actors in the field and resisting comparison to other, less consecrated, less expensive Ethnic restaurants. Indeed, in its first sentence of the review of Junoon, quoted above, the *Michelin Guide* notes Junoon's distinction from its "*desi* brethren." Chef Khanna defines his cuisine as like the "modernist" cuisine of Flexible chefs and distinct from the cuisine available at "the rest of the restaurants." Exalted Ethnic restaurants, then, are defined as valuable because they are unlike the take-out restaurants that serve the same cuisine type and appear to be like Classic fine dining restaurants.

Chef Khanna frames his cuisine using the language that consecrates Classic and Flexible restaurants, drawing on the logics of technique and creativity to define his cuisine. He describes a culinary philosophy simultaneously informed by celebrating what he describes as the "basics" and "comfort foods" of India, that is, foods that are devalued and excluded from the parameters of fine dining because they are associated with home cooking, and "elevating" them through the inclusion of Classic and modernist techniques. Chef Khanna describes his approach to curd rice as an example of his creative approach:

> So I will take the curd rice, a simple comfort food, and then I will start creating stuff around it. Like, I would change the dimensions of it. I want some texture in it, so I might have roasted lentils in it. Then I might want to have something more layered in it. It needs to have a little more acidity to it or something that is vibrant, so I add layers. This is my creative process…I might add a layer of choux pastry[11], which is not Indian, but I can make a choux pastry, which is absolutely Indian flavors. So this is my creative process for a lot of my dishes—taking the basic foundation, which is an extremely fundamental dish that we need to elevate step by step.

Here, Chef Khanna frames his cuisine as valuable because he starts with tradition and technique—both from the "basic" "comfort food" of India and Classic French cuisine—to create complex, creative cuisine that he associates with the legitimate genres in the field, defining his cuisine as valuable because it is like the consecrated cuisine in the field but still reminiscent of "authentic," "basic," "absolutely Indian" cuisine.

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[11] Choux pastry is a basic French pastry dough used to make many classic French pastries, including profiteroles, gougéres, beignets, éclairs, and the famously intricate croquembouche.

The Elevated Ethnic Restaurant

Comal, a Bib Gourmand Mexican restaurant, is emblematic of what I call the Elevated Ethnic restaurant, occupying the space in between the white tablecloths of the Exalted Ethnic restaurants and the fluorescent-lit take out counters of most American diners' idea of Ethnic restaurants. Dishes like tripe guisado ($9) and wood grilled rock cod tacos ($13) are characteristic of what Chef Matt Gandin describes as, "If you were to transplant somebody from Oaxaca here to the Bay Area and they walked over to the farmers' market two blocks away, this is the food that they would cook with what they would find here." This Californian sensibility, from the emphasis on seasonal, local produce, to the casual vibe (the restaurant does not take reservations and offers diners the now-popular option of dining at a communal table), earn Comal praise from the *Michelin Guide* which congratulates the restaurant for its, "bold, zesty Mexican food crafted with pristine ingredients" (183). The Mexican cuisine at Comal is distinguished from the devalued Ethnic cuisine served at inexpensive take out restaurants because it has creative direction, as defined by Chef Gandin, and is elevated through the use of "pristine ingredients."

Many Ethnic restaurants in the American fine dining field offer a dining experience akin to that available at Comal. Chefs at Elevated Ethnic restaurants offer "elevated" Ethnic dining opportunities, with sit-down service (instead of take out or counter service), craft cocktails, curated wine lists, and menus that reflect both diners' expectations, by including some familiar items, such as Comal's bestselling guacamole, and an innovative, creative perspective in the field, represented by unexpected dishes, such as Chef Gandin's Potato-English pea relleno empanadas. However, unlike Exalted Ethnic restaurants, these restaurants do not strive to emulate the markers of traditional fine dining in their elevated interpretations of the Ethnic restaurant. Instead of adorning tables with white tablecloths, candlesticks, and formal serving ware, they present casual, accessible dining rooms with familiar but innovative menu options. These restaurants offer dining experiences that represent an "elevated" version of diners' expectations of Ethnic restaurants both through the simultaneously familiar and creative cuisine on the plate and through their more formal, but not Classically luxurious, ambiance.

The Finer Take Out Restaurant

In Berkeley, Bib Gourmand Chinese restaurant Great China serves, according to chef-owner James Yu, "about 600 covers on average each day in house. And then with the to-go orders, we're serving about 150 at night and 50 at lunch, so probably an average of 800 people per day when you put it all together." The sleek restaurant features a separate take out counter immediately to the right of the entrance, and a long bar offers diners an impressive array of spirits, especially Chinese baiju, and a wine program that, in 2018, was nominated for a James Beard award for Outstanding Wine Program. Servers gracefully command heavy platters weighed down by a variety of both Chinese-American take out favorites (Kung Pao Chicken for $14.95 and Broccoli Beef for $15.95) and Northern Chinese specialties (Mei Cai Ko Ro for $19.95 and, the menu's crown jewel, Peking Roast Duck for

$44.95). Chef Yu explains the restaurant's style as, "northern Chinese. Traditional, more specifically Shandong style…we try to stick with very traditional techniques and flavors."

Great China serves as an illustrative example of the third ideal type of Ethnic restaurant—the Finer Take Out restaurant. Rather than resisting association with devalued take out restaurants, many Finer Take Out restaurants function as carry out restaurants with lucrative take out or delivery arms of the business, but they offer a superior product and dining experience to what one chef describes as the, "cheap hole in the wall places with fluorescent lighting and bad service" that represent the majority of take out restaurants. Great China is not cheap (although the lunch special attracts bargain hunters), but it does have a lower price point than many of the Elevated and Exalted Ethnic restaurants in my sample. At the same time, Great China's price point is higher than many of the inexpensive take out restaurants to which it is compared. Chef James Yu explains, "I'm fixed at a price point because my competition is all at a lower price point. If you're the best at that cuisine, you can charge the most, but you can't charge what another cuisine can charge." Because Great China is primarily understood in relation to other Chinese restaurants, and most of the Chinese restaurants to which Great China is compared serve inexpensive take out, Great China must price its products in relation to these other, arguably lesser Chinese restaurants. Even though Great China is celebrated as a superior take out establishment, as demarcated by its Bib Gourmand recommendation, Chef Yu cannot charge the high prices that his Classic and Flexible Bib Gourmand counterparts can.

In addition to being constrained by price point through comparison to lower status take out establishments, Finer Take Out restaurants are also associated with lower status Ethnic restaurants through their menus featuring stereotyped, Americanized dishes, such as the Kung Pao Chicken dish at Great China or Chicken Tikka Masala at an Indian restaurant, lower price points, casual dining rooms, and, in many cases, carry out counters. For example, in the review of Great China, the *Michelin Guide* characterizes the restaurant as, "chic enough for the style-savvy, cheap enough for Cal students, and authentic enough for local Chinese families" (189). Similarly, Michelin describes Manhattan Bib Gourmand Malaysian restaurant Laut, which features exposed brick walls, Christmas lights, spare tables, and servers in t-shirts recommending curry laksa soup ($15) and nasi lemak ($16), the national dish of Malaysia, as "a unique Malaysian restaurant that is at once cheerful and authentic yet never challenging or inaccessible" (122). Ethnic restaurants in the fine dining field are assessed according to the logic of authenticity, which celebrates those Ethnic restaurants that satisfy expectations of Ethnic cuisine formed in relation to actors outside of the fine dining field, namely inexpensive take out restaurants and co-ethnic home cooking, and these Finer Take Out establishment are celebrated for being "accessible" and appealing to both American and co-ethnic diners.

Ethnic restaurants are uniquely devalued in the American fine dining field because they are understood in relation to both the institutionalized and legitimate actors in the field—Classic and Flexible restaurants—and two actors outside of the field (inexpensive take out restaurants and home cooking) because they are ethnoracially categorized in a way that distances them from association with explicitly and implicitly white cuisine types, like those in the Classic and Flexible genres. Ethnic restaurants are primarily evaluated according to the logic of authenticity, which celebrates those restaurants that are deemed authentic through the fulfillment of diners' expectations formed through exposure to Ethnic cuisine types outside of the fine dining context. Consecration via the logics of technique and

creativity is less accessible to Ethnic restaurants and chefs because Ethnic restaurants are understood as outsiders, not legitimate actors in the fine dining field.

The Logics of Evaluation and the Ethnic Genre of Cuisine

In Table 2, I present the results from three logistic regression analyses, controlling for city (San Francisco or New York), Michelin recognition (a variable that codes restaurants with a Bib Gourmand rating as 1; and one, two, and three stars 2, 3 and 4 respectively, with all other restaurants without formal recognition coded as 0), and Price point (reflecting the dollar sign symbols in the *Michelin Guide* as ¢=1; $$=2; $$$=3; and $$$$=4) to consider the relationship between inclusion in the Ethnic genre of restaurants and the likelihood of the inclusion of language representing the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity in restaurant reviews in the 2016 *Michelin Guides* for San Francisco and New York City.

Table 2: Logics of Evaluation by Ethnic Categorization in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*

	Model 1: Technique	**Model 2: Creativity**	**Model 3: Authenticity**
City (San Francisco)	-0.331	-0.510*	0.260
	(0.192)	(0.227)	(0.164)
Michelin Recognition	0.690***	0.318**	0.032
	(0.104)	(0.119)	(0.128)
Price	0.133*	0.183	-0.323**
	(0.126)	(0.143)	(0.131)
Ethnic Genre	-0.508*	-0.623*	0.855***
	(0.246)	(0.293)	(0.178)
Constant	-2.394***	-2.554***	-1.928***
	(0.199)	(0.227)	(0.196)

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

I find that compared to other restaurants serving cuisine types in the Classic and Flexible genres, restaurant reviews for Ethnic restaurants are significantly *more likely to include language indicating the logic of authenticity* and *less likely to include language reflecting the logic of technique and the logic of creativity*. The primary logic used to assess and ultimately consecrate Ethnic restaurants in the contemporary fine dining field is the logic of authenticity, while the logics of technique and creativity, which are used to celebrate restaurants with more institutionalized and therefore legitimate positions in the field, that is, those actors serving Flexible and Classic cuisine, are less relevant to the assessment of Ethnic restaurants in the field.

<u>The Logic of Authenticity</u>

Ethnic restaurants have historically been excluded from the American fine dining field because they serve cuisine types that are defined as untraditional, outside the field, and disconnected from elite status and whiteness, distinguishing Ethnic cuisine entirely from the powerful and prestigious Classic and Flexible genres. Ethnic restaurants challenge the institutions of the fine dining field by introducing flavors that have historically been

excluded from the field. However, rather than being celebrated for their creativity, as Flexible chefs and restaurants are, Ethnic restaurants are instead understood as occupying a lower status position in the field. The introduction of previously excluded flavors is not valued as a creative act, as it is in the Flexible genre, but is instead a potential threat to the status quo of fine dining.

Because Ethnic flavors have been defined as existing outside of the context of fine dining, most diners assess Ethnic restaurants' offerings in relation to experiences with Ethnic cuisine outside of the fine dining field, at either (1) inexpensive Americanized take out restaurants or (2) home. This means that, while Classic and Flexible restaurants' positions in the field are defined exclusively in relation to other Classic and Flexible actors, Ethnic restaurants' positions are defined in relation to (1) Flexible and Classic restaurants in the field, (2) inexpensive take out restaurants serving Ethnic cuisine, and (3) Ethnic home cooking. These two reference points that are external to the field promote inconsistent standards of authenticity that are used to evaluate Ethnic restaurants' value. While Classic restaurants are celebrated when they reproduce codified, shared traditions of haute cuisine, Ethnic restaurants are assessed as valuable when they meet diners' expectations of authentic Ethnic cuisine. However, unlike Classic techniques, which are standardized in the field, the expectations of authenticity for Ethnic restaurants are anything but standardized, because diners' expectations of Ethnic restaurants are inconsistent, based on individuals' previous exposure to the cuisine. This system of positioning in relation to actors both within and external to the fine dining field is unique to Ethnic restaurants, and it comparatively devalues the Ethnic genre.

One chef at a Bib Gourmand Indian restaurant explains:

> The one big standard that people hold us to is, does this feel authentic? And that's kind of a loaded word because a lot of people don't know what authentic means. It's almost impossible to define, especially if you don't have a codified Bible of what the cuisine is, like French food. There's no singular authority on what's right and what's wrong and what's authentic and what's not.

Another chef at a Bib Gourmand Chinese restaurant defines authenticity as:

> It means what other people's perception of the cuisine is. China is so big with so many regional cuisines. There's twenty different regions that make a hundred different versions of the same dish…it's a stereotype of what that cuisine is. It's the standard that cuisine has set in someone's head.

Notably, Ethnic restaurants are evaluated in relation to "standards" of authenticity that are inconsistent and are based on individuals' previous exposure to an Ethnic cuisine, usually outside of the context of the fine dining field.

Even the *Michelin Guide*, a critical voice renowned for its standardized rating scale, does not have consistent or clear criteria for the assessment of Ethnic restaurants' authenticity. In the reviews of Ethnic restaurants included in the *Guide*, Michelin refers to Ethnic restaurants' authenticity as represented by (1) the flavors on the plate (the product), (2) the ethnoracial identity or background of the chef and other restaurant staffers (the producer), and (3) the ethnoracial identity of diners (the consumer). For example, a meal at

Bib Gourmand Mexican restaurant Hecho en Dumbo is described as, "a trio of excellent salsas and warm tortilla chips is a mouthwatering beginning to this authentic cooking" (155). For other Ethnic restaurants, the ethnoracial backgrounds of the staff, especially the chef, serve as evidence of authenticity. One-starred Moroccan restaurant Mourad "retains the influence of [Chef Lahlou's] Moroccan upbringing" (158). Finally, the *Michelin Guide* refers to the ethnoracial backgrounds of diners as evidence of restaurants' authenticity. Midtown Lebanese Bib Gourmand restaurant al Bustan is introduced as an, "enticing retreat, where a moneyed Middle Eastern crowd dominates the space" (228). Through explicit declarations of authenticity and implicit indications of authenticity represented by the backgrounds of those who interact with the cuisine as both producers and consumers, the *Michelin Guide* employs the logic of authenticity to celebrate Ethnic restaurants in a way that is entirely different from the evaluative processes applied to Classic and Flexible restaurants and chefs. Ethnic restaurants' value, then, is contingent on their authenticity, but there is variety in how authenticity is determined and/or represented.

This ambiguous concept of authenticity informs how chefs think about their restaurants, processes of culinary production, and positions in the field. One of the ways that chefs position their Ethnic cuisine as valuable according to the logic of authenticity is through their references to their heritage and personal history with an Ethnic cuisine type. These Ethnic chefs use their heritage as evidence of their Ethnic cuisine's authenticity in two ways. Some chefs refer to their heritage as evidence of their authenticity, while simultaneously using language of elevation to associate their cuisine with the legitimated actors in the fine dining field and distance their cuisine from devalued Ethnic actors external to the context of fine dining. Other chefs embrace the association with home cooking as evidence of their cuisine's authenticity and superiority compared to Americanized Ethnic take out restaurants.

The first group of "heritage" Ethnic chefs describe their Ethnic cuisine in terms of "elevation," comparing their products to the markers of technique, tradition, and creativity associated with Classic and Flexible actors in the fine dining field. At the same time, they refer to their heritage to emphasize the authenticity and therefore legitimacy of their cuisine within the Ethnic genre. These chefs combine their personal experience with Ethnic cuisine with their formal training in the Classic genre to create an "authentic" representation of Ethnic cuisine that they claim is superior to that which they ate at home because it draws on a Classic skill set to produce it. A one-starred chef at a Chinese restaurant describes his creative process as:

> When I started thinking of my own family and history within my own culture, and I started to think about who I am and how is Chinese food being continued and being developed, I started to think of how I could do that, how I could use part of my training [in Classic restaurants] to make adjustments and to show people the long history of Chinese cuisine.

This chef builds on his knowledge of the techniques of Classic fine dining to reimagine the historically devalued and excluded Chinese cuisine of his childhood, associating his product with both consecrated Classic techniques and the authenticity that denotes value among actors within the Ethnic genre. Similarly, a chef at a one-starred

Indian restaurant uses his childhood experience with Indian cuisine to indicate the authenticity of his "elevated" interpretation:

> I create all the best things that I learned from my childhood, most of the dishes are based on local flavors using the Indian spices, which are really incorporated in my authentic Indian food…my food is different, and it's better because I cut down the spice level [from how it is cooked in India], I balance everything out. So, my food is authentic Indian, but the whole way that I present it is really unique and refined.

Both of these chefs describe their cuisine as valuable because it is authentic, as indicated by their own personal histories with the cuisine they cook, and because it is comparable to already-celebrated Flexible and Classic actors in the field through their application of Classic technique and "refinement." By combining narratives of heritage with those of Classic fine dining these chefs declare their cuisine to be authentic, therefore meeting the standards of legitimation for the Ethnic genre, and distanced from the devalued "authentic" origins of Ethnic cuisine at home. This combination of authenticity defined as grounded in Ethnic home cooking and the techniques and symbols of Classic fine dining is celebrated in the *Michelin Guide*, where one-starred Thai restaurant Uncle Boons is described as, "refined techniques and top ingredients combine to produce a blend of homegrown-haute cuisine that's presented with exceptional service here" (338), and one-starred Indian restaurant Rasa's, "kitchen excels in elevating the cuisine of South India with solid technique and superlative ingredients" (257).

A second group of Ethnic chefs refer to their heritage and associate their cuisine with Ethnic home cooking as a means of indicating their products' authenticity and comparative superiority to the Ethnic cuisine offered at inexpensive take out establishments. Rather than framing their cooking as an "elevated" version of home cooking, they describe their desire to "introduce" diners to the food of their childhood homes, suggesting that American diners might be unfamiliar with the uniquely "authentic" home cooking they offer because they have only been exposed to inexpensive, inauthentic, Americanized versions of the cuisine. A Bib Gourmand chef at a Mexican restaurant describes his cuisine as "authentic" because he draws on his family recipes: "authentic for me is just going back to my roots and using my old recipes, house recipes." Another Bib Gourmand chef at a Mexican restaurant describes his restaurant as, "we felt like a Mexican restaurant doing everything from scratch would be great, first because it will remind me of my hometown and also it would be a way for me to represent where I'm from [to American diners]." Like chefs at Classic restaurants, these chefs emphasize their history with the cuisine type they cook, but unlike Classic chefs, Ethnic chefs' histories are not grounded in shared formal training in the field, but, instead, personal experiences eating and cooking their cuisine at home.

These relational reference points, of (1) institutionalized models of fine dining, (2) Ethnic home cooking, and (3) inexpensive Ethnic take out restaurants shape diners' expectations of Ethnic cuisine in the fine dining field. Ethnic restaurants face competing demands from both American diners whose expectations of an Ethnic dining experience are informed by markers of "authenticity" learned at inexpensive take-out restaurants that serve stereotyped, Americanized versions of a cuisine type, such as pad thai made using American processed peanut butter at a Thai restaurant or "queso fundido" at a Mexican restaurant, and from co-ethnic diners, diners who share the ethnoracial background of the

cuisine type and therefore maintain expectations based on their personal experiences with home cooking. While chefs at Classic and Flexible restaurants are primarily concerned with the evaluations of critics and other fine dining chef peers, chefs at Ethnic restaurants understand that their position and therefore value in the field is also determined by their ability to meet the expectations of two different types of *diners*. These diners have inconsistent expectations that Ethnic chefs must navigate.

American diners develop ideas about what they perceive to be representative dishes for Ethnic cuisine types (like pad thai for Thai cuisine or chicken tikka masala for Indian restaurants) through their dining experiences at "Americanized" inexpensive take-out restaurants. One chef explains, "people think of Mexican food as enchiladas and tacos and x, y, and z, and it doesn't exist beyond those five things, and there's a lot of room to improve upon that." Chef Yu at Great China explains:

> You have to fit the mold of what people want. 80% of the business, 80% of the people that eat here know what they want out of a Chinese restaurant, so you get kind of, like, I don't know pigeon holed or type cast. People have an expectation that you have to meet, but that's easy enough. I can't even remember the last time I ate sweet and sour pork, but we make a good one.

Like chefs at Classic restaurants, who feel pressure to represent traditional dishes associated with their category on their menus, chefs at Ethnic restaurants must negotiate diners' expectations of stereotyped, often Americanized dishes. A chef at a popular New York Mexican restaurant sighs, "when you do Mexican, you have to have guacamole on the menu, and it's bad not to have it because it's a money maker. People sit down they want guacamole and a margarita to start. Then they go from there." A chef at a Bib Gourmand Malaysian restaurant is very matter of fact. "Look," he says, "you must have certain dishes, like pad thai, green curry, papaya salad. These kinds of things we can't even think of removing from our menu." However, unlike Classic restaurants, the expectations of dishes offered at Ethnic restaurants are formed by diners' particular exposure to the cuisine type outside of the context of fine dining, not by the institutionalized rules of haute cuisine.

For example, coq au vin is a Classic French dish that many diners associate with French cuisine. French chefs' coq au vin is assessed in relation to the institutionalized traditions of French culinary technique. However, because French cuisine has a legitimate position of power and prestige in the field, French chefs do not *need* to serve coq au vin in order for their restaurants to be accepted as "authentic," nor do they feel pressure to serve coq au vin to ensure financial survival in the field. In contrast, diners' expectations of, for example, pad thai at Thai restaurants are based not on legitimate standards but on their relational assessments of a restaurant's version of pad thai compared to the pad thai they have consumed at other Thai restaurants, often inexpensive Americanized take out establishments, or at home. Ethnic restaurant chefs risk failure if they do not satisfy the stereotyped expectations of American diners that are formed through previous experience with Ethnic cuisine types at inexpensive take out establishments by both serving pad thai in the first place and/or by serving a version of pad thai that is recognizable as "authentic" to these American diners. If Ethnic chefs cannot satisfy diners' expectations, they will not stay in business. So, even if Chef Yu is confident that the sweet and sour pork on his menu is not a dish that aligns with the Shandong approach to Chinese cuisine that he defines as his

culinary vision, he keeps the dish on the menu in order to ensure that the 80% of diners who he estimates have a particular idea of an "authentic" Chinese restaurant, whether that idea is truly "authentic" or not, are satisfied to ensure the survival of his business.

Other Ethnic chefs accommodate American expectations while also "introducing" flavors, dishes, or techniques that are less stereotypical in a way that is accessible for the American palate. A Vietnamese chef combines American expectations of cooking with the Vietnamese flavors of his upbringing, accommodating American diners' palates while serving Vietnamese food that also represents his knowledge of the cuisine:

> I would use different Western cooking techniques to make the dish better, but the dish is always grounded in the original from Vietnam…Often I'll just blend Western technique, especially for just dealing with proteins, but not changing flavors. So, let's say you do a scallop. A Western scallop tends to be medium rare. They brown the one side, and they don't blanche cook the whole scallop. So, in Asia they will blanche the scallop in hot oil, and they cook it all the way through and put the sauce on top. So, I would make the sauce in the same way and sear my scallop.

This chef uses cooking techniques institutionalized in western culinary technique, to accommodate an American palate, while at the same time positioning his cuisine as authentic by describing the dish as "grounded in the original." In this way, he ensures that his product is marketable to an American diner who might be unfamiliar with traditional Vietnamese cooking techniques while also asserting his product's value in relation to the logic of authenticity.

All chefs at Ethnic restaurants do not oblige Americanized expectations of authentic representations of their Ethnic cuisine types. Instead, some chefs conceptualize their cuisine as an "educational opportunity" for uninformed American diners. A chef at a Bib Gourmand Indian restaurant in the Bay Area tells me, "I want to help Americans understand Indian flavors. I want to help Americans explore Indian dishes. We don't do chicken tikka masala, okay?" At one-starred Kin Khao, where pad thai is decidedly not on the menu, Chef Techamuanvivit and her staff are:

> Quite willing to educate people, but they have to start with a certain amount of willingness and ability to understand. If you sit down, and they go "There's no pad thai," and you could try to talk to them and offer them other things, but ultimately that's what they want. You're going to be way better off saying, "Just across the street there's a restaurant. They serve everything you want, and if you don't like the look of that one, there's two more down the block that will give you exactly the food that you're looking for." You have to understand that you can't please everybody.

Ethnic chefs who extend beyond the stereotyped dishes of Americanized take out understand that their cuisine challenges many American diners' expectations of authentic Ethnic food, but they insist that their food is still authentic, perhaps even more authentic to the origins of a particular Ethnic cuisine type *because* their cuisine is distinct from that available at more Americanized take out establishments. They take on the task of "educating" American diners as to the diversity of the cuisine by offering unfamiliar menu

items that reflect other, perhaps non-American diners', expectations of the cuisine types formed at home, and they are often rewarded with critical recognition for their efforts.

Not all opportunities for education are universally welcomed, however. A chef at a Bib Gourmand Mexican restaurant explains what happened when he tried to serve New Yorkers "authentic" Mexican snacks:

> I tried really hard to incorporate grasshoppers throughout the menu, at least on some dishes, and it just it didn't work. I get it. It's a hard sell. So, that's where it's interesting. We aren't as authentic as we can be, having had grasshoppers on the menu. In Mexico, everyone would be doing it, but we can't sell that in New York. So, that affects our authenticity a little bit.

Here, when this chef tried to serve "authentic" Mexican cuisine, incorporating grasshoppers into his menu, New Yorkers rejected it, and so he removed them from the menu, reproducing a version of "authentic" Mexican cuisine that is familiar to the American customers and ensuring his restaurant's financial stability.

As chefs negotiate American diners' notions of authenticity formed through previous experience with an Ethnic cuisine type, often at an inexpensive Americanized take out restaurant, they also must consider another group of diners' perceptions of authenticity—co-ethnic diners who have grown up eating Ethnic food at home. Perhaps the greatest challenge posed by in-group diners, or diners who share the racial or ethnic identity assigned to a particular cuisine type, is what one chef calls the "mother problem." He explains, "The problem with Ethnic Indian or any Ethnic community like that is that there is a strong, like, mother problem. Like, 'My mom cooked this thing so much better, and you absolutely don't know what it is, so why are you even trying to sell that?'" A chef at a one-starred Thai restaurant laments the frequency and consecrating power of the mama narrative at inexpensive Thai restaurants throughout the United States:

> Virtually every American Thai restaurant that you see says "traditional authentic Thai food" on the outside. There's always some fucking narrative in there about somebody's grandmother or some fucking narrative about somebody's mom, and that should tell you everything right there. If you are defining the only thing that is authentic and traditional is what your mom made, then you're doomed because there's only one of her. It's your mom, but there are millions of moms who might cook exactly the same thing but a little different. Is theirs any less authentic or traditional than your mom's?

Co-ethnic diners assess Ethnic restaurants according to expectations formed through experiences with the cuisine type at home, and chefs at Ethnic restaurants find that diners often deem their representations of familiar dishes inferior compared to the idealized memory of Mom's home cooking. A chef at a Korean restaurant explains, "When you're doing traditional, you deal with 'that's not the way my mom made it. That's not the way my grandmother did it.'"

While Classic and Flexible chefs resist comparison to feminized home cooking in order to ensure their value in the fine dining field, some Ethnic chefs associate their product with home cooking as evidence of their authenticity and therefore value within the field, in

part to satisfy the expectations of co-ethnic diners based in experience with mom's home cooking. A chef at a Bib Gourmand restaurant describes his food as, "It should be recognizable to a Vietnamese grandmother in Vietnam and would be approved by her. I say that because the ingredients might be different, but the taste should remind someone who came straight from Vietnam." Like the chefs who claim that their cuisine is authentic because of their childhood experience with Ethnic home cooking, some Ethnic chefs use narratives of "mom's cooking" as evidence of the authenticity of their cuisine, even though co-ethnic diners may (and often do) claim that the same food is inauthentic because it does not taste like *the diner's* mother's version.

I will address pricing and material valuation in detail later in this chapter, but it should be noted here that diners' assessments of Ethnic restaurants' authenticity also affect how chefs understand the material value of their Ethnic cuisine and the prices they assign their dishes. Some chefs perceive that diners' previous experience with Ethnic cuisine types at take out establishments and in home kitchens affect what they are willing to pay for a meal at an Ethnic restaurant, and price point can serve as a marker of authenticity. Restaurants that defy diners' pricing expectations formed outside the field may be deemed "inauthentic" and therefore less valuable in the field. Chef Techamuanvivit explains how comparison to inexpensive Thai restaurants affects diners' assessments of her restaurant's authenticity:

> People seem to think that if they pay a lot for Ethnic food, they're being ripped off because it's not supposed to be expensive. And of course, it's not. You can go across the street and buy a bowl of curry for $14…people complain that my curry is $32 or $34, and that's expensive, and I'm like but that's the ingredients I buy and the freshness of everything that we make. So, we are called to task quite a lot for being an Ethnic restaurant that is somehow a little too upscale to be authentic.

Another chef's "upscale" Korean restaurant is compared to the popular Korean take out spots in the outer boroughs of New York City, and this comparison affects how she thinks about pricing her product:

> I knew that I was going to be under a microscope with the price, because it's a Korean restaurant, and people think Ethnic food and Asian food in general should be cheap. But, when you go and have these, you know, what people call "authentic" experiences in, say, Flushing or Koreatown, that's what people think. I made sure that my prices were a couple dollars less than what the going rate is despite my food costs because I knew I was going to be under fire for that.

Ethnic restaurants are evaluated according to inconsistent expectations of authenticity—whether in relation to flavors, pricing, chefs' backgrounds, or the inclusion or exclusion of certain stereotyped dishes from the menu, on the basis of individual experiences with a particular Ethnic cuisine type. The precarious nature, then, of these assessments leads some Ethnic chefs to reject the legitimacy of the concept of authenticity as relevant to the assessment of their products while simultaneously acknowledging that it functions as a salient mechanism of relational positioning in the field. A chef at a Bib

Gourmand Mexican restaurant explains the frustrating personal meanings of authenticity in the field:

> Authentic is such a loaded word. What is authentic? I'm from Mexico City and as I've met more and more people from outside of Mexico City, I used to make the mistake of saying this is how we do it, like this is how Mexicans do it, and now I realize no, this is the way we do it in Mexico City, but where my aunt's from, we call it something different or we do it a different way. So, it's like this idea of what is authentic can be different even within your country.

A chef at a Bib Gourmand Malaysian restaurant is similarly annoyed by the concept of a universally understood concept of authenticity. He says, "When people say that a food isn't authentic, it bothers me a lot because food can never be authentic. It can be traditional, depending on what region you're from, but every region is different." Despite the absence of standardized measures of authenticity, Ethnic restaurants' value in the field is based on inconsistent and imprecise expectations of authenticity. The standards for evaluation, then, are anything but standard for Ethnic restaurants in the field.

The Logic of Creativity

While chefs at Flexible restaurants are primarily celebrated for their artistic culinary innovation and Classic chefs are granted the authority, based on their formal training in Classic technique, to creatively interpret the Classic cuisine types they cook, chefs at Ethnic restaurants are limited by inconsistent standards of authenticity because their cuisine is meant to represent not an unfamiliar cuisine type, such as Contemporary or Californian, but rather a category of cuisine about which diners and critics have expectations. A Bib Gourmand chef of a Korean restaurant explains:

> The flavors at my restaurant are, like, how *I* want Korean food to be. It's my take on it, and for the most part, it's served very traditionally. I do everything that you should get at a Korean restaurant but in a different setting, in a nice setting…I think that Ethnic food at, like, cheap hole in the wall places with fluorescent lighting and, like, you know, bad service, that's the authentic experience for a lot of people. But, you can't argue with that because that's what all these ethnic enclaves are. That's why it's so great to seek out the hole in the wall places that are great, you know, despite the service. But when you try to take that model and upgrade it to your liking, to *my* liking, then you're under fire because you aren't serving what they expect.

This chef uses the language of elevation to define her cuisine as creative and unlike the inexpensive take out restaurants to which she knows she will be compared. At the same time, she grounds her interpretation of Korean cuisine in language of "tradition," connecting her product with the logic of authenticity. Chefs at Ethnic restaurants face scrutiny and are often penalized for offering "their spin" on a particular cuisine because their personal interpretation, even if it is grounded in their own experience can be deemed "inauthentic" and therefore less valuable within the Ethnic genre if their cuisine strays too far from evaluative actors' understandings of what "authentic" Ethnic food is. For instance,

with the "mother problem" I describe above, if a restaurant serves a version of a dish that doesn't match "how mom made it," a diner might dismiss the restaurant as "inauthentic." Similarly, earlier in this chapter I described Chef Vikas Khanna's modernist approach to Indian cooking, but, as I quoted above, he is careful to ensure that his food does not "alienate" "natives of the cuisine" so as to avoid the label of "inauthenticity." Chefs in the Ethnic genre are not free to produce unknowable cuisine, like Flexible chefs are; instead, even if they develop a personal interpretation of a dish at their Ethnic restaurants, they must be careful to ensure that the dish is recognizable to those actors who have an understanding of what that Ethnic cuisine entails, usually formed in relation to Ethnic cuisine served outside of the context of fine dining.

Despite the restrictions on creativity at Ethnic restaurants, some chefs describe their food using language of creativity. A chef at a celebrated Mexican restaurant characterizes cooking Mexican food in the context of fine dining as a creative act. After training in some of the best Italian restaurants in the city, when it came time to open his own place, he turned to the cuisine of his childhood. "I thought okay, well, it has to be Mexican cuisine. This is what I was, like, born into and nobody was really doing it at the time," he says. "I think that there's just a lot of room to expand upon Mexican cuisine and add to the lexicon of Mexican dishes." Like the Flexible chefs who describe their cuisine as offering a distinctive contribution to the fine dining field, this chef refers to his Mexican food as an innovative addition to the field, since "nobody was really doing it." He believes he is uniquely able to "add to the lexicon" and "expand" the cuisine. Similarly, after working in many of the most famous restaurants specializing in modernist cuisine, another chef, "wanted to make a statement. So, part of being creative is doing what's unexpected. Well, the Mexican thing definitely was unexpected." For these chefs, cooking an Ethnic cuisine type that has historically been excluded from and devalued in fine dining is creative, but they are not primarily evaluated for their creativity. Despite conceptualizing cooking Mexican food as a "creative" act, these chefs' cuisine is primarily evaluated for its authenticity, not its innovation.

The Logic of Technique

In Table 2, I find that the reviews of Ethnic restaurants are significantly less likely to include language reflecting the logic of technique compared to the reviews of Classic and Flexible restaurants. Because Ethnic cuisine has historically been excluded from the fine dining field, there are not codified techniques for its preparation in the way there are for Classic restaurants. This is not to suggest that there are not established techniques for cooking certain Ethnic cuisines or Ethnic dishes. In fact, there are institutionalized techniques for the preparation of many Ethnic dishes, such as how to prepare Chinese dumplings or how to make Indian *roti* properly or how to make Mexican mole, but these techniques are not institutionalized in the *western* culinary field in the way that French techniques are. Instead, evaluations of Ethnic chefs' techniques of culinary preparation are based on individual diners' and critics' previous exposure to a particular cuisine and often knowledge of the preparation of Ethnic cuisine at home. A chef de cuisine at a Korean restaurant sighs:

> [French and Japanese food's] excellence is based upon the incorporation of rules on how to create that cuisine, unlike a lot of other cuisines, like Korean. There are definitely accepted ways of making things, like this dish usually has A, B, C, and D or A, B and C, or A, B and E, but definitely A and B. But, especially if you're of that ethnicity, it's about, 'this tastes like what my mother made or my grandmother made.'

While some Ethnic chefs "elevate" their cuisine by employing Classic technique, they are not primarily assessed according to their reproduction and execution of these Classic techniques; their "elevated" cuisine is only valuable in the Ethnic genre if it is also authentic, which is why many chefs describe their "elevated" versions of Ethnic cuisine in terms that associate their products with their own ethnic heritage.

The inconsistency in shared understandings of legitimate Ethnic culinary techniques in the fine dining field affects not just how chefs think about their cuisine but also how they approach the techniques of managing a professional kitchen. The chef-owner of a one-starred Indian restaurant relies on the traditional fine dining organization of the brigade de cuisine system:

> When you are in the cook category you're basically working on the line. You work behind the line, and you actually cook all the food, but you're under the chef's supervision, and the chef makes sure that they follow all the recipes that he creates, and he shows them how to do it his way, and nothing is changed or modified or tampered with.

Other Ethnic chefs describe their management styles as more like the mentorship focused on the professional development of staff members common in Flexible restaurants. A celebrated chef at a Manhattan Mexican restaurant describes his kitchen management as, "I think that cooks that enjoy themselves usually out-perform cooks that are not happy. So, we want to make sure that we challenge them, obviously because I think that's why people stay at a job because they feel challenged, and they feel happy." And, still other chefs at Ethnic restaurants embrace an alternative kitchen organization that reproduces a familial atmosphere, similar to the neighborhood take out restaurants or home kitchens that serve as comparative reference points. A chef at a Bib Gourmand Mexican restaurant describes his managerial style as:

> They're part of the family. And, in order for the restaurant to be good and successful, it will have to be a collaboration of cooks, dishwashers, front of the house, back of the house, everyone! At the end of the day, sometimes we spend a lot more time there [at the restaurant] than we spend in our houses. So I try to build that family environment in the restaurant.

Unlike the Classic genre, there are not standardized techniques of Ethnic culinary production, including with regard to kitchen management. This inconsistency in evaluation ensures that Ethnic restaurants remain in a lower status, outsider position in the fine dining field compared to Flexible and Classic restaurants.

Table 3: The Logics of Evaluation and the Ethnic Genre of Cuisine

Logic of Technique	Logic of Creativity	Logic of Authenticity
*not central to evaluation *techniques are inconsistent and not institutionalized *logic of technique significantly less likely to be used to evaluate Ethnic restaurants in MG	*not central to evaluation *Ethnic chefs' creativity constrained by inconsistent expectations of authenticity *logic of creativity significantly less likely to be used to evaluate Ethnic restaurants in MG	*primary logic of evaluation for this genre *inconsistent standard formed in relation to individuals' personal experience at inexpensive take out restaurants or home cooking *reviews of Ethnic restaurants significantly more likely to use logic of authenticity to evaluate Ethnic restaurants in MG

Ethnic restaurants occupy a low status position in the fine dining field because they are understood as outsiders, assessed in relation to extra-field actors that are not relevant to the evaluation of their Flexible and Classic colleagues. In Table 3 above, I summarize the logics of evaluation in the context of the Ethnic genre.

Authenticity and the Reproduction of Ethnoracial and Gender Hierarchies

Ethnic restaurants occupy a low status position within the field. This is partially because Ethnic restaurants are understood as (1) like home cooking, which is historically devalued because it is associated with feminine labor, (2) categorically defined by non-whiteness, and (3) cheap. Ethnic cuisine continues to be comparatively devalued, reproducing a system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy that disproportionately celebrates actors associated with masculinity and whiteness by insidiously veiling bias through the differential application of the logics of evaluation to different genres of cuisine.

The origins of the contemporary fine dining field under George Auguste Escoffier defined haute cuisine as necessarily unlike the everyday food available at home, and Classic and Flexible restaurants produce cuisine that continues to be defined as professional, restaurant cuisine, entirely distinct from familiar feminine home cooking. By distancing their culinary products from home cooking, Classic and Flexible chefs define their restaurant cuisine as special, artistic, and, most notably, more valuable than the everyday culinary comforts of the domestic sphere associated with women's work. Contrastingly, the food served at Ethnic restaurants is often explicitly associated with and evaluated in relation to devalued feminine home cooking; indeed, association with home cooking can serve as a marker of chefs' and restaurants' authenticity. A chef at a Bib Gourmand Mexican restaurant proudly describes his cuisine as, "authentic Mexican home cooking." A chef at a Bib Gourmand Indian restaurant characterizes the inspiration for his culinary style as, "I wanted to cook food that I would eat at home, that my family would eat at home, that my friends would eat at home, to offer them a really interesting authentic experience." Rather than resist association with devalued home cooking, these chefs describe their product as comparable to the domestic cooking against which Classic haute cuisine was historically defined. And, even when chefs at Ethnic restaurants do not define their cuisine as like the home cooking with which they grew up, their restaurants are compared to and evaluated in relation to diners' experiences with home cooking. This explicitly associates Ethnic cuisine with the devalued feminine cooking in contrast to which much of the cultural field of

American fine dining has historically been defined, further emphasizing the outsider status of the Ethnic genre.

Ethnic cuisine is defined as less prestigious in the fine dining field in part because it is associated with feminine home cooking, which is decidedly excluded from a position of legitimacy in the context of fine dining. Ethnic cuisine's outsider status is furthered through its categorical association with the cuisine types defined by non-whiteness, immigrant producers, and otherness that have historically been excluded from the field and therefore defined as not "fine" and not valuable. While Flexible chefs and restaurants capitalize on implicit associations of whiteness to creatively challenge the historical norms of a field traditionally dominated by Classic cuisine, Ethnic restaurants have not yet achieved legitimacy in the American fine dining field. Instead, because they are associated with and understood in relation to lower status actors outside of the field, Ethnic restaurants continue to occupy comparatively less valuable positions. When Flexible chefs are lauded as creative artists for incorporating previously excluded Ethnic flavors in their cuisine, Ethnic restaurants are seen as threatening the legitimacy of the American fine dining field by challenging the strict boundaries of ethnoracial hierarchy and elite social status that have defined and continue to define the organization of power and prestige in the American fine dining field.

In addition to being understood as less symbolically valuable than Flexible and Classic restaurants are in the fine dining field, Ethnic restaurants are also materially devalued. Because Ethnic restaurants are constantly compared to actors outside of the field that have a lower price point and a lower status in the restaurant industry, Ethnic restaurants in the fine dining field are understood as low status, cheap products, as well. A chef at a celebrated Chinese restaurant explains his frustration with the discrepancy in pricing for his Chinese cuisine compared to Classic restaurants as, "take dumplings and ravioli. It's a lot of work. You make the dough, you make the filling, you wrap them. [Mario] Batali and Michael White can charge $50 for a plate of ravioli, and the expectation is that 5 dumplings should be a dollar?!? That's what upsets me." A chef at a one-starred Thai restaurant expresses a similar frustration with the comparative lower price for Ethnic cuisine:

> It's not fair to look at something like Thai food or Vietnamese food or Mexican food or Chinese food or Indian food or any of those foods and think of them as not worthy of spending the amount of food you spend on Italian or Spanish or Greek or something like that. People are quite happy to spend $23 on a bowl of spaghetti with pecorino and breadcrumbs and arugula. But if you try to sell them a steak salad [at my Thai restaurant] that has a quarter pound or more of prime beef in it, that is carefully marinated, cooked with a bunch of aromatics and stuff like that, other expensive ingredients, and you're only willing to spend $7 for it, that's fucked up. For Ethnic restaurants, there's not a correlation typically between price of ingredients, technique required to produce it, and price across the board.

Even when dishes or ingredients are very similar in nature or value or perhaps, as with the example provided by the chef above, the ingredients used at the Ethnic restaurant are more expensive than those used at a Classic restaurants, Ethnic restaurants are consistently afforded a lower price point and corresponding lower status position in the

field. This material and symbolic devaluation is the result of the interaction between both the system of ethnoracial categorization that explicitly labels Ethnic restaurants as associated with excluded categories of non-whiteness and the system of evaluation that assesses Ethnic restaurants according to different, inconsistent standards from those used to consecrate the Classic and Flexible restaurants that are categorically associated with whiteness.

The Chefs Who Cook Ethnic Cuisine

The legitimacy concerns these chefs who cook Ethnic cuisine navigate are not just about the historical exclusion of the flavors they cook. Indeed, different categories of producers face different barriers to acceptance and legitimation in the fine dining field. In many ways, the chefs who cook Ethnic food are not "ideal worker" chefs (Acker 1990; Turco 2010) because they do not require formal training in Classic techniques to execute their food, they sometimes do not dissociate their restaurant cuisine from devalued feminine home cooking, and they cook a culinary product that is not consistently defined as artistic, fine, or valuable in the field. Additionally, many chefs at Ethnic restaurants are not white. Those chefs who more closely physically resemble the ideal worker chef must grapple with questions of legitimacy related to their product; but, chefs who do not physically resemble the ideal worker chef, like women chefs and non-white chefs, must prove both the legitimacy of their cuisine as deserving of inclusion in the fine dining field *and* their own legitimacy as cultural producers.

28 of the 120 chefs I interviewed cook cuisine types in the Ethnic genre of cuisine. 4 of the 28 chefs cooking Ethnic cuisine are women, meaning more women in my sample cook in the Ethnic genre than in the Classic genre, but, of course, the vast majority, as II have shown—21 of the 27—of women chefs in the sample cook in the Flexible genre of cuisine. Also, of those 28 Ethnic restaurant chefs, 20 cook a type of cuisine that matches their own ethnoracial or national background (i.e. Chinese-American chefs cooking Chinese cuisine), including all 4 of the women chefs I note above, and 8 chefs cook Ethnic cuisine that does not match their racial identity category. Of those 8 whose identity categories do not match those assigned to their cuisine, 5 chefs are white Americans cooking Ethnic cuisine, while 3 of those chefs belong to ethnoracial minority groups different from the type of Ethnic cuisine they cook. The relationship between a chef's ethnoracial background and the Ethnic cuisine they cook affects how chefs think about their processes of culinary production and the relational value of their cuisine. Below, I consider how non-white chefs cooking cuisine types that match their ethnoracial backgrounds, non-white chefs who cook Ethnic cuisine that does not align with their backgrounds, and white chefs who cook Ethnic cuisine differentially understand their food's position and value.

The vast majority of chefs cooking Ethnic cuisine in the American fine dining field cook Ethnic cuisine types that match their own identity categories (e.g. Mexican chefs cooking Mexican food). These chefs do not embody the ideal worker chef of Classic fine dining; they are not white, not all are classically trained, and they do not cook using the techniques that have historically been legitimated in the field. Many of these chefs who cook the Ethnic cuisine with which they grew up enact the narratives of "heritage" I describe earlier as a mechanism of marking their cuisine as authentic and therefore valuable compared to other Ethnic restaurants. An Indian chef explains, "a lot of my food is inspired

by my Indian upbringing and heritage. It's my food. It's my experience." For these chefs, "heritage" serves as a marker of their authenticity, which defines their product as legitimate within the Ethnic genre, and this form of authenticity based in heritage is uniquely available to those producers who cook cuisine that matches their own identity category. White chefs cooking Ethnic cuisine more closely resemble the ideal worker chef in the historical field and therefore do not navigate legitimacy concerns about both their own culinary abilities as chefs and the Ethnic genre's position of lesser value in a fine dining field that has defined itself in opposition to these "outsider" cuisine types.

Chefs who share an ethnoracial identity category with the cuisine they cook navigate two opportunities for potential exclusion from the fine dining field—the first based on the historical exclusion of people who look like them from the chef profession and the second based on the historical rejection of Ethnic cuisine from the field of "fine dining." This means that, when they cook Ethnic cuisine in the fine dining field, they must prove both their legitimacy as cultural producers and the legitimacy of their community's cuisine as fine dining. Other chefs cooking Ethnic cuisine, especially white chefs who resemble the historical ideal worker chef, do not face the same constraints.

Three chefs with whom I spoke identify as ethnoracial minorities, and, as such, they do not embody the ideal worker chef image. Rather than cooking the Ethnic cuisine of their "heritage," these chefs cook Ethnic cuisine types that are not the Ethnic foods with which they grew up. When non-white chefs cook Ethnic cuisine that does not match their own identity categories, they cannot rely on the narratives of heritage to demonstrate the authenticity of their food. The three chefs who fall into this group with whom I spoke approach the concept of authenticity in one of two ways—they either "learn" authenticity through research, or they reject authenticity, labeling it an irrelevant measure of value. An Indian chef who owns a Malaysian restaurant explains how he pursues authenticity by reading cookbooks and testing his recipes on his Malaysian friends:

> At the beginning, we were educating ourselves and constantly doing research. I must have bought, I mean, name the cookbook that's been published in Malaysia or elsewhere on Malaysian food, and it's probably in my apartment. But, the problem with cookbooks you realize is no chef ever gives you a complete recipe. They always hold things behind. I would have some Malaysian friends come by, and they would be my measuring stick, and I would always test my dishes on them asking how should we tweak it because I'm not Malaysian, I've never been to Malaysia!

This chef educated himself in the way that some chefs at Ethnic restaurants describe educating their diners, collecting information about Malaysian cuisine through cookbooks and then testing his culinary creations on co-ethnic diners who have experience with the cuisine at home. In this way, this chef strives to achieve a sense of authenticity comparable to that which chefs who share an ethnoracial category with the Ethnic cuisine they cook claim through heritage by learning through home cooking, unlike chefs at Classic restaurants, who undergo formal training.

Chef Danny Bowien, a Korean chef raised by white parents in Oklahoma who owns a Chinese restaurant, rejects the concept of authenticity in his creative process altogether. Before arriving at his current level of success (his Mission Chinese Food has two busy

locations in New York and San Francisco), Chef Bowien first developed an interest in traditional Szechuan cuisine in his mid-twenties:

> Because we really focused on Chinese food, specifically Szechuan food, at the beginning it was really easy for me because it was something I was not very familiar with. I didn't have that food until I was 26. So for me it [menu development] was kind of easy because I was, like, going down this rabbit hole learning everything I could. Like, what is this? I never had Chinese food like this before. I didn't have preconceived notions. I just wanted to learn more.

As he has gained recognition[12] for his unique perspective on Szechuan cuisine (the menu includes dishes such as Kung Pao Pastrami and, inexplicably, Hot Cheese Pizza), Chef Bowien describes the freedom from expectations of authenticity that now guide his creative process. "People may get confused by our restaurant because we aren't trying to be traditional," he says. "Ethnic food has always come with claims to authenticity that a lot of restaurants feel pressured by. People come in and say this is authentic, and we don't wrestle with that as much." While Chinese-American chefs at Chinese restaurants I interviewed described feeling constrained by expectations around portion size, Americanized dishes, or addressing the "mother problem" with Chinese diners, Chef Bowien offers an alternative Ethnic dining experience, one that is uninterested in representing authenticity. Because he is not cooking cuisine associated with his "heritage," he does not try to represent this kind of authenticity in his creative Chinese food.

The five white male chefs who cook Ethnic cuisine who I interviewed represent the ideal worker chef physically, and they all trained in celebrated Classic restaurants before cooking Ethnic cuisine. For these chefs, producing Ethnic cuisine is about creativity more than it is about authenticity, perhaps because the narratives of "heritage" that serve as evidence of authenticity for non-white chefs who cook Ethnic cuisine associated with their backgrounds are entirely unavailable to these chefs. A white chef with several celebrated Mexican restaurants describes his restaurants' cuisine as:

> We have no intention of serving authentic Mexican cuisine. We believe there's plenty of that out there, and we believe if you really want to eat great Mexican cuisine, go to Mexico. So, what we are doing is different. We are trying to subvert the perception of the cuisine.

Another white chef who cooks Mexican cuisine describes his food as authentic because, "We put our own creative spin on it but stay true to the region and the context of why the dish came to be." Here, the focus for these chefs is on creativity not authenticity, and authenticity serves as a starting point for the creative process, not the result of culinary production.

While authenticity is seemingly less relevant to how these white chefs make sense of their Ethnic cuisine, they still acknowledge its significance and the associated inconsistent

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[12] While Mission Chinese Food is excluded from both the San Francisco and New York City Michelin Guides, Chef Bowien was the featured chef on Season 6 of PBS's *Mind of a Chef*, won the James Beard Award for "Rising Star Chef" in 2013, is frequently mentioned in national publications like *Bon Appetit, Food and Wine*, and *Eater*, and received two stars from the *New York Times* restaurant reviewer Pete Wells in 2015.

expectations. A white chef at a one-starred Thai restaurant bemoans the concept of authenticity because:

> Authenticity implies that there's some sort of ultimate version of something out there that is THE version, and if you veer from that, you're not authentic. Authenticity is incredibly subjective, as is "traditional"…I don't use those words because they're so subjective that they literally have no meaning.

When I ask another white chef at a Bib Gourmand Mexican restaurant about authenticity, he says, "I wouldn't use that word to describe my food." In the same interview, however, he proudly tells me that many cooks on staff are from Mexico, and he describes why he assigns certain Mexican women cooks certain tasks: "These are not 100% truths," he assures me, "But in my experience, having the women that I have here working on the bigger projects, the things like the sauces, the moles, the salsas, the tamales, these are all things that is all muscle memory that they developed at the hip of their mother and grandmother." While he cannot claim Mexican cuisine as part of his heritage, he employs narratives of cooks' heritage to explain his production process and legitimate his Mexican cuisine as authentic.

All chefs cooking in the Ethnic genre navigate the unique system of evaluation for Ethnic restaurants based on comparison to the most consecrated restaurants in the American fine dining field and less prestigious, inexpensive reference points of authenticity external to the field (take out establishments and home cooking). However, non-white chefs who cook cuisine types that match their identity categories negotiate different constraints on their creative processes than non-white chefs who cook Ethnic cuisine with which they do not have a personal history and white chefs. While Ethnic chefs who cook "their" food promote a narrative of authenticity based on "heritage," these chefs must simultaneously prove their own legitimacy as "not ideal" cultural producers and the legitimacy of their cuisine type in a field that has historically excluded it. In contrast, white chefs who do not have a personal history with Ethnic cuisine, while acknowledging the salient and inconsistent standards of authenticity when applied to Ethnic food, often frame their creative processes using language of innovation, discovery, and creativity, thus associating their products with narratives similar to those celebrated by the logic of creativity for chefs and restaurants working in the Flexible genre of cuisine. These chefs enact a form of white privilege by using language of "discovering," "educating diners" about, and "elevating" devalued Ethnic cuisine that non-white chefs who share an identity category with the Ethnic food they cook cannot access. Just as the logics of technique, creativity, and authenticity are not equally applied to nor understood in the same way for all three genres of cuisine in the fine dining field, the standards of authenticity and creativity for different kinds of chefs in the Ethnic genre are also inconsistent.

The Material and Symbolic Value of Ethnic Cuisine

The Ethnic genre of cuisine is defined by its outsider status in the field. Thus, Ethnic restaurants are denied symbolic and material status. Nearly 1/3 (369/1380) of the restaurants included in the *Michelin Guide* serve Ethnic cuisine, but only 13.7% of the one, two, and three-starred restaurants offer Ethnic cuisine types. 1 of the 11 three-starred

restaurants, San Francisco's Benu, 3 of the 17 two-starred restaurants, and 12 of the 102 one-starred restaurants in the *Guide* serve Ethnic cuisine types. Ethnic restaurants are 71 of the 204 (34.8%) restaurants with a Bib Gourmand recommendation in the 2016 *Guide*. Ethnic restaurants represent the smallest proportion of celebrated restaurants in the field, and the most common form of recognition they receive is commendation associated with a lower price point (a Bib Gourmand recommendation is assigned to restaurants that are "inspectors' favorites for good value"). Ethnic restaurants' relatively low representation among the most symbolically consecrated actors in the field is intertwined with their simultaneous material devaluation indicated by a lower price point.

Scholars of race and ethnicity have documented the many ways that associations with non-whiteness constrain individuals' life chances, including access to housing, education, political activity, employment, and marriage (Massey 2007; Mora 2014; Omi and Winant 2015; Emirbayer and Desmond 2015; Reskin 2012; Smith 2002). Despite this extensive literature about ethnoracial categories' impact on individuals, we know less about the relationship between ethnoracial categorization and the evaluation of *products,* especially cultural products that exist at the intersection of art and commerce (Bourdieu 1993; DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly 2010; Chong 2011). In Table 4 below, I address this by showing the results from an OLS regression analysis of the relationship between price point and Ethnic categorization in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*.

Table 4: Price Point and Ethnic Categorization in the 2016 Michelin Guide

	Price
City (San Francisco)	-0.006
	(0.037)
Michelin Recognition	0.358***
	(0.024)
Ethnic Genre	-0.596***
	(0.041)
Constant	1.206***
	(0.027)

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Controlling for city and Michelin recognition, I find that Ethnic categorization is significantly correlated with a lower price point, compared to the Flexible and Classic actors in the field. Just as Ethnic restaurants represent a smaller percentage of the symbolically consecrated restaurants in the fine dining field (those restaurants with markers of prestige from the *Michelin Guide*), they are also the least expensive restaurants. Ethnic cuisine is then defined as "cheap." The statistically significant lower price point is central not only to diners' understandings of Ethnic restaurants but also to how chefs understand their positions in the field. As I argue in Chapter Three, Classic restaurants are defined as expensive, and in Chapter Four I show that the chefs at Flexible restaurants rarely discussed pricing. In stark contrast, nearly every chef cooking Ethnic cuisine in my sample discussed how expectations of a lower price point constrain their creative processes and opportunities for recognition in the field. A chef who owns a Chinese restaurant explains, "Largely, your Ethnic restaurants like Chinese, Thai, Indian, the expectation is that they should be cheaper." A chef at a Bib Gourmand Asian restaurant further expounds, "Because the restaurant serves an ethnic cuisine or exotic cuisine, you have to be cheap. And, of course, there were already a lot of

existing restaurants that were charging a lot less, but we source our ingredients from expensive places. We use things that three and four-star restaurants were using also, but we cannot really charge those prices that they charge."

Many chefs cooking at Ethnic restaurants note that similar dishes and ingredients, when served at restaurants offering different cuisine types in the Flexible and Classic genres, are priced much higher than their Ethnic counterparts. While Flexible chefs avoid association with Ethnic actors in order to retain a position of material value, Ethnic chefs do not gain material value for cooking similar dishes to those served at Flexible and Classic restaurants. A chef at a one-starred Thai restaurant serves a rabbit curry that is critiqued for its $30-something price tag: "We use really good meat in the rabbit curry. There are twenty-some ingredients in the green curry paste. The rabbit comes from Petaluma, from the same farmer who also supplies Saison. Do you know how much Saison charges for dinner[13]?!? And people complain about my curry being too expensive!" A chef at a Bay Area Indian restaurant echoes this idea:

> People will go to an Italian restaurant and pay $24 for a plate with eight tortellini on it that are one bite, and they will not bat an eyelash. There's some level of respect for that craft. And, at the same time, if they come here and get the curry, I think there was someone, some reviewer or Yelper that wrote literally "$19 for a curry" [as a critique]. What does that mean? A curry somehow is supposed to be cheap, but yet if I wrote a list of all the ingredients in this dish, you'd be like what the fuck? Yet, you know, someone can simply put some flour and water and some eggs and roll out a pasta dough and put this tiny little bit of shredded pork inside and put it in a broth, and people are willing to pay all this money.

Ethnic restaurants' position in the field, then, is defined by a lower price point, which is partially determined by comparative positioning in relation to inexpensive, low status actors outside of the field.

The American fine dining field is diversifying, as chefs develop innovative Flexible styles, reproduce the traditions of Classic fine dining in different kinds of dining spaces, and introduce previously excluded Ethnic flavors to the field. Chefs are cooking food that represents traditional and modern approaches to cuisines as varied as French, Italian, Vietnamese, Thai, Mexican, and the ever perplexing and undefined category of "American." As chefs represent their distinctive culinary styles, restaurant concepts, and creative dining spaces, the ethnoracial categories that demarcate the boundaries (Lamont and Molnar 2002; Hannan 2010) between different chefs, restaurants, and cuisines reflect deep systems of inequality in the culinary field of cultural production.

Because the organization of prestige in the American fine dining field has historically celebrated those chefs and cuisine types most closely associated with whiteness, what I call the Classic and Flexible genres, Ethnic restaurants and chefs must negotiate different scripts of legitimation and consecration than their Classic and Flexible counterparts. Chefs at Classic and Flexible restaurants are evaluated and celebrated for their creativity and adherence to institutionalized techniques, which inform assessments of their "authenticity," while chefs cooking Ethnic cuisine types navigate distinct applications of these logics and

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[13] At the time of this interview, Saison charged $398 per person for its nightly tasting menu. Alcohol and service charges were an additional fee.

multiple actors' inconsistent expectations of authenticity based on dining experiences outside of the field of American fine dining, namely at take-out establishments and home kitchens. The systems of evaluation, consecration, and legitimation that organize the field interact with the systems of ethnoracial categorization that define the boundaries between restaurants and chefs to reify Ethnic restaurants' outsider status, reproducing an ethnoracial hierarchy in the field that privileges actors associated with whiteness and devalues producers and products that are associated with low status, inexpensive cultural products and non-white consumers and producers.

Chapter Six:
Conclusion

The American fine dining field is experiencing a moment of increased national and international attention. International critical voices, such as the *Michelin Guide* and the World's 50 Best List, are recognizing American chefs and restaurants for their contributions to the global culinary field in a way they have not been acknowledged before. Diners face a daunting decision when choosing where to eat, with more restaurant options, more diversity in options, and more information about those options, due to the online communities of information sharing around restaurant and chef culture, readily available to them. Gourmet food halls, a growing community of haute food trucks, exclusive pop ups, and a dizzying array of traditional brick and mortar fine dining establishments have established an emerging and changing American restaurant landscape defined by creativity, tradition, and deliciousness. As the field garners more attention and prestige, the historical rules that defined fine cuisine as exclusively that which was produced in the French tradition, with codified rules and "stuffy" markers of formal luxury, are changing. Chefs are reinterpreting the parameters of fine dining by inventing distinctive, personal, artistic cuisine in Flexible restaurants and introducing previously excluded flavors at celebrated Ethnic restaurants, while continuing the legacy and tradition of Classic fine dining through the continued consecration of Classic techniques in formal culinary training and some of the best restaurants in the field.

American fine dining is a field of cultural production, in which actors' positions, power, and prestige in the field are defined by both symbolic and material systems of value (Bourdieu 1983; Bourdieu 1993; Peterson and Anand 2004). Bourdieu famously theorized that taste in cultural products is a reflection of consumers' class status (Bourdieu 1984), inspiring a large literature about the relationship between class distinction and cultural taste in the study of consumers and consumption, including theories of "cultural omnivorousness," or the simultaneous appreciation of both high brow and low brow products (Johnston and Baumann 2007; 2010; Goldberg et al. 2016; Warde 2015; Zukin and Maguire 2004; Peterson and Kern 1996; Lizardo and Skiles 2012). But, the American fine dining field is not exclusively organized according to systems of class hierarchy.

While the American fine dining field is defined as an elite cultural field, accessible only to those with the capital—economic, cultural, and symbolic—to do so, the products and producers in the field are primarily organized by ethnoracial and national categories. That is, within the parameters of the elite fine dining field, the symbolic boundaries (Lamont and Molnar 2002) that associate and distinguish actors within the field are defined according to the ethnoracial or national origins of the cuisine served, such as "Mexican," "French," and "Malaysian." Scholars of race and ethnicity have extensively documented the ways in which ethnoracial identity categories that define actors' relationship to whiteness restrict individuals' access to resources and opportunities with regard to housing, political participation, education, and employment (Massey 2007; Omi and Winant 2015; Bonilla-Silva 2017 (2005); Mora 2014), but we know less about what these categories mean when they are applied to products, especially cultural products that are evaluated according to the logics of both art and commerce. In this project, I have shown how chefs in the American fine dining field understand their and their products' position, prestige, and value

in the field, and how the systems of evaluation that organize the field reflect and reproduce broader systems of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy.

I have argued that there are three genres of cuisine in the American fine dining field—Classic, Flexible, and Ethnic cuisine. These three genres represent the social and symbolic boundaries that define actors' relationship to historically institutionalized models of haute cuisine and, relatedly, whiteness. I argue that these three genres of cuisine indicate the differential application of three logics of evaluation—of (1) technique, (2) creativity, and (3) authenticity. Table 1 below summarizes the relationship between the logics of evaluation and the genres of cuisine.

Table 1: The Logics of Evaluation and the Genres of Cuisine

	CLASSIC	**FLEXIBLE**	**ETHNIC**
Logic of Technique	***Primary evaluative logic** *Used to assess chefs' adherence to institutionalized "traditions" *taught through formal training *brigade de cuisine	*not central to evaluation of Flexible chefs and restaurants *innovation based on Classic technique valued *taught through training under specific artistic genius chef	*not central to evaluation of Ethnic chefs and restaurants *techniques are not institutionalized *learned at home or through travel
Logic of Creativity	*not central to evaluation of Classic restaurants *chefs are celebrated when they build on, but don't entirely depart from, tradition	***primary logic for this genre** *actors' value determined by their unique, artistic, sometimes scientific products *chefs approach management as opportunity for mentorship and professional development of staff,	*not central to evaluation of Ethnic chefs and restaurants *Ethnic chefs' creativity often constrained by inconsistent expectations of authenticity
Logic of Authenticity	*functions as specific manifestation of logic of technique *used to assess chefs' matching of shared expectations of iconic or stereotyped dishes in cuisine type	*assessment of authenticity is not central to the evaluation of Flexible actors in the field *Flexible chefs either (1) reject authenticity as irrelevant or (2) refer to authenticity as evidence of creativity and "staying true" to an "artistic vision"	***primary logic of evaluation for this genre** *inconsistent standard formed in relation to diners' personal experience with Ethnic cuisine, usually outside of the fine dining field at inexpensive take out restaurants or home cooking

Chefs and restaurants in the Classic genre are primarily evaluated according to the logic of technique, celebrated for their execution of shared traditions of culinary technique rooted in the French origins of the field. Chefs and restaurants in the Flexible genre are primarily evaluated according to the logic of creativity, which celebrates actors who cook "fuzzy" or "blurry" cuisine types for their personal, artistic culinary visions that blend cultural influences and incorporate previously excluded techniques—both from Ethnic cuisine and science—to craft a unique contribution to the field. Finally, Ethnic chefs and restaurants are evaluated according to the logic of authenticity; Ethnic restaurants in the fine dining field are uniquely understood in relation to (1) Classic and Flexible restaurants in the field, (2) inexpensive take out restaurants, and (3) home cooking. These three reference points provide points of comparison for the assessment of Ethnic restaurants' ability to represent inconsistent and imprecise expectations of authenticity, ensuring that Ethnic restaurants are assigned positions of comparatively lower symbolic and material status in the fine dining field.

Table 2: Gender and Ethnoracial Hierarchy and the Genres of Cuisine

	CLASSIC	FLEXIBLE	ETHNIC
Gendered Implications (Product)	*traditionally, women are not chefs *Classic cuisine is defined as unlike home cooking associated with domesticity and women's food work *brigade de cuisine (militaristic organization) and norms of abuse reify idea that women are not welcome and/or suited for professional food work	*"artistry" and "skill" are evaluative narratives that further distance restaurant cuisine from home cooking *managerial style that allows for professional growth is about *professional development* not feminine care work *artistic and scientific greatness reflect gendered logics of art	*cuisine is not dissociated from home cooking; instead it is made meaningful in relation to mom's food *Ethnic food is therefore denied access to position of artistry and professionalism that defines other categories' value in field *production process often mimics home environment; more women
Raced Implications (Product)	*definition of genre's value relies on exclusion and exclusivity, brightens boundaries around category associated with whiteness, justified by "tradition" *privileges tastes associated with white, elite consumers and producers	*Flexible chefs avoid association with Ethnic category because of evaluative consequences, but capitalize on implied whiteness of "American," "Californian," etc., to blend cultural influences without penalty (unlike Ethnic)	*explicitly associated with "subaltern" immigrant actors *understood in relation to two reference points external to the field→denied access to consecrating narratives for other "fine dining" actors and constrained by inconsistent not shared expectations→not valuable according to institutions of field
The Chefs	*ideal worker=white, classically trained man *exclusionary because requires access to expensive training *ideal workers don't have to worry about legitimacy and/or power as producers or managers *those who do not match ideal worker (women and non-white chefs) are actively discriminated against (for women, it takes the form of sexual harassment; for non-white chefs it's about "cooking their own food"); must prove legitimacy in production and management	*Ideal worker=white, skilled, artistic man→capitalize on Classic training to challenge norms of field *women have to prove themselves as "artists" in new ways, but there is more space for women's success in Flexible genre than in Classic *non-white chefs hide "heritage" with flexible categorization, seeking legitimacy (because it is in question) by avoiding Ethnic classification because they are terms that emphasize non-whiteness	*non-white chefs do not embody "ideal worker" so must prove legitimacy of both producer and product *when chefs cook cuisine that matches their ethnicity, they refer to heritage (enact logic of authenticity) *non-white chefs don't embody "ideal worker" so must prove legitimacy of both self and cuisine *when white chefs cook ethnic food they are celebrated for creativity, reject authenticity *when non-white chefs cook other people's Ethnic food, they refer to creativity and pursue authenticity by studying home cooks or reject authenticity
Prestige	*Classic occupies powerful position in field because all other actors must make sense of their position in relation to Classic categories *remains symbolically recognized but does not dominate the field *only 1/11 3-starred restaurants are Classic	*most starred category (9/11 3-starred; 83/132 starred) *most celebrated restaurants are the fuzziest categories, suggesting this is b/c standards are not constrained by history, tradition, or previous experience	*1/11 3-starred *symbolically devalued but not absent from top tiers *16/132 starred *71/204 Bib Gourmand→suggests symbolic value is entirely wrapped up in material value
Price	*Classic categorization significantly related to higher price point *category defined by field actors as expensive (access for diners and chefs is expensive)	*Flexible categorization correlated with higher price point but price is not central to how other chefs understand the category nor how chefs within the category understand themselves (unlike Classic)	*lowest average price→Ethnic categorization correlated with lower price *low pricing is central to how chefs and other field actors understand position of category in field

Thus, the *interaction* of the system of ethnoracial categorization and the system of differential application of the logics of evaluation produces a system of ethnoracial and gender hierarchy in the American fine dining field. This interaction between the process of categorization and evaluation produces a system of subtle, insidious bias that is veiled in language of culinary production. That is, those producers and products that are both implicitly and explicitly associated with whiteness and masculinity (Classic and Flexible

restaurants and chefs) are valued above those producers and products associated with non-whiteness and femininity (Ethnic restaurants and chefs), and this system of inequality is justified using language of "tradition" (technique), "artistry" (creativity), and "authenticity." Table 2 summarizes the relationship between the genres of cuisine and ethnoracial and gender inequality, including information about the differential treatment of different categories of chefs within the genre and the genres' associated symbolic and material value in the field.

Contributions

This project has made contributions to at least four literatures, those of (1) cultural sociology, (2) ethnoracial and gender inequality, (3) the sociology of evaluation, and (4) the sociology of food. First, the project contributes to cultural sociology by engaging the literature on fields of cultural production in dialogue with the sociology of race/ethnicity and gender. Cultural sociology has a robust tradition in the study of the relationship between consumers' cultural taste and class status (Bourdieu 1984), and scholars have extensively examined how actors' class status affects their consumption of a variety of products, including art, cuisine, film, literature, etc. (Johnston and Baumann 2007; 2010; Goldberg et al. 2016; Warde 2015; Zukin and Maguire 2004; Peterson and Kern 1996; Lizardo and Skiles 2012). However, class is not the only master status that affects how cultural fields are organized. Indeed, the American fine dining field functions as a racial field (Emirbayer and Desmond 2015), whereby actors in the field are defined according to ethnoracial categories. By examining how ethnoracial categorization affects cultural producers' understandings of their products and their relational value in the field, I have complicated the class-based arguments of the cultural consumption and cultural omnivorousness literature by examining ethnoracial and gender inequality in the context of cultural *production*. In so doing, I show how processes of cultural evaluation reproduce ethnoracial and gender hierarchies through insidious forms of bias that affect the relational material and symbolic value of both producers and products in the American fine dining field.

Second, the project contributes to the study of ethnoracial and gender inequality. I build on the literature about how identity categories constrain opportunities for *people* by examining the relationship between ethnoracial categorization and the evaluation of *cultural products*. Thus, I expand on the inequality literature's analysis of explicit forms of bias, such as discrimination in housing, politics, education, and the workplace, and bring attention to forms of insidious bias that infiltrate the logics of evaluation in cultural fields. I show how the masculine and white hegemony of the American fine dining field are reproduced through the differential application of logics of evaluation for differently categorized products *and* producers.

Third, the project contributes to the burgeoning literature in the sociology of evaluation (Lamont 2012) by specifically considering the relationship between categorization and evaluation. By illuminating how the ethnoracial categorization of cuisine corresponds with the different application of the three logics of evaluation in the American fine dining field, I begin to theorize about the relationship between these two cultural processes (Lamont et al. 2014). In so doing, I show that inequality is not the isolated result

of either categorization or evaluation, but, rather, stems from and is justified through the interaction between these two processes.

Finally, this project brings new insight to the developing studies of the sociology of food and food studies. Many of the sociological studies of food focus on the social reproduction of aesthetic and palatal taste through class-based distinction and consumption. Another body of literature in food studies addresses the systems of inequality and exploitation that are embedded in agricultural, factory, and other low-wage food labor. This project illuminates a previously neglected substantive focus by attending to the processes of elite culinary production to understand how the ethnoracial and gender hierarchies embedded in the evaluative logics of the cultural field affect how elite producers think about their relational power, prestige, and value. Thus, I push arguments about the reproduction of ethnoracial and gender inequality in the sociology of food literature beyond discussions of how consumers craft omnivorous taste preferences (Johnston and Baumann 2010) and workplace discrimination (Harris and Giuffre 2015; Jayaraman 2013; Jayaraman 2015) to illuminate the mechanisms and consequences of the insidious ethnoracial and gender bias of elite culinary production and cultural evaluation.

Limitations

This project has some limitations. While the focus of this project is on cultural producers and their approach to cultural production, the processes and practices of consumption in fine dining are central to how chefs understand their relational position in the field. Because the consumption literature is extensive, I focused on cultural producers and production, and therefore I do not analyze data that capture consumers' perspectives in this project. Instead, I rely on chefs' subjective interpretations of diners' response to their cuisine to explain how diners factor into chefs' understandings of their and their products' value in the field, which may or may not accurately represent consumers' perspectives.

In the interview data, there are two notable gaps in the data I collected. While there are 39 Japanese restaurants in the population studied, I only spoke with 3 chefs at Japanese restaurants, and all of these respondents are not Japanese (two chefs are white and own a ramen shop; one sushi chef is Chinese). Given Japanese food's powerful and recent influence on American and global fine dining's culinary imagination, this is regrettable, especially because certain forms of Japanese cuisines, particularly *omakase* sushi tasting menus, are prestigious ethnic, non-Western offerings in the American fine dining field. Despite multiple attempts to schedule interviews with Japanese chefs at Japanese restaurants, none agreed to speak with me. Perhaps chefs in this unique position have different ideas about the relationship between racial and ethnic categories and systems of evaluation in the field that are not captured in these analyses. Additionally, 0 of the 13 three-Michelin-starred chefs in New York City and San Francisco agreed to an interview for this project. As the most consecrated chefs in the field, these uniquely celebrated chefs might have a different understanding of their products and their value in the field than the other chefs included in the study.

Additionally, in chapter 2 I identified several critical actors in the American fine dining field, including the World's 50 Best List, the *Michelin Guide*, the James Beard Awards, *Food and Wine Magazine, Bon Appetit Magazine*, and local critics, such as Pete Wells at the *New York Times.* However, in this project, I only analyze the critical discourse of one

of these sources, albeit the most significant, the internationally renowned, standardized *Michelin Guide*. Perhaps these other critical actors employ the logics of evaluation the *Michelin Guide* does. Because I only analyze the discourse of the *Michelin Guide*, I do not capture these other critical perspectives. These limitations offer opportunities for future research to expand on this project and address (1) the consumer perspective related to the evaluation of American fine dining chefs and restaurants, (2) Japanese and three-starred chefs' potentially different relationships to the logics of evaluation, and (3) multiple critics' understandings of the logics of evaluation in the American fine dining field.

Directions for Future Research

This project makes several contributions to the sociological literature and provides an exciting opportunity for the continued study of the relationship between categorization, evaluation, and the social reproduction of ethnoracial and gender inequality in the American fine dining field. In addition to addressing the limitations I articulate above, future research might address the broader implications of the arguments I develop in these pages. Cultural fields are relational, and art worlds are collaborative (Bourdieu 1983; Bourdieu 1993; Becker 1983). Future iterations of this project might consider how the differential application of the logics of evaluation for different categories of cuisine and chefs reflects not just the differential value of these producers and products but also the differential value of various critics and/or audiences. For example, the logic of technique, which is most relevant to the assessment of Classic restaurants, relies on evaluators' knowledge of the institutionalized traditions and techniques of haute cuisine, which means that knowledgeable critics and chef peers are the evaluating audience for Classic chefs and restaurants. In contrast, Ethnic restaurants' comparative value is primarily based on unknowledgeable *diners'* imprecise assessments of authenticity. These differences might reflect hierarchies of *consumption*, not just the hierarchies of *production*, that I capture here, and might further our understanding of how cultural fields reproduce broader systems of inequality.

Additionally, I ground this analysis primarily in studies of ethnoracial and gender inequality, and, because I study an elite field, I do not attend to class in great detail throughout this document. Future iterations of this analysis might examine the role of systems of class-based status, particularly the intersections of class and race in the American context, to consider how the organization and evaluation of cuisine reproduces ethnoracial, gender, and class hierarchies. Such an analysis might allow scholars to consider the relationship between the organization and evaluation of cultural fields and broader systems of American exceptionalism, colonialism, and capitalism. These potential lines of inquiry offer an exciting opportunity to consider how what we eat, how we eat it, how we cook it, and how we understand it reflect broader systems of hierarchy in the social world.

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Methodological Appendix

To study how the American fine dining field is organized and the related systems of value that establish position, power, and prestige among elite chefs and restaurants, I used two methods—in-depth interviews with chefs in the San Francisco Bay Area and New York City and qualitative and quantitative content analysis of Michelin Guide restaurant reviews in the same cities. The two data sets together allowed me to understand how the three logics of evaluation that I identified inform both how producers understand their processes of cultural production, through interviews with chefs, and how critics, namely the *Michelin Guide*, relationally assess restaurants in the field. In this methodological appendix, I provide further detailed information about my research process, from sampling to data collection and analysis.

The Contemporary American Fine Dining Field

The American fine dining field is composed of the best restaurants in the United States, those restaurants that serve modern "haute cuisine," or cuisine that is designed not just to nourish or satiate but to engage diners in conversations about the artistry and science of the culinary product. These restaurants set the standard for culinary excellence in major American cities and represent the United States' finest cuisine at the local, national, and global levels. I define the contemporary American fine dining field as composed of those restaurants with Michelin recognition, meaning in 2016, they were awarded either 1, 2, or 3 stars from the *Michelin Guide* or were assigned a Bib Gourmand commendation from Michelin, an award that distinguishes those restaurants that are "inspectors' choice for best value." As I show in chapter 2, Michelin is widely regarded as the most powerful and respected international critical body in fine dining, and San Francisco and New York City are two of the undisputed culinary capitals of the United States. Many other scholars who study fine dining and elite restaurants in the United States emphasize the historic and continued significance of these two cities in the national and global fine dining fields (Kuh 2001; Johnston and Baumann 2010; Lane 2013; Leschziner 2015; Freedman 2016; Ray 2016). New York City is the center of American cultural innovation and commerce, and the James Beard Foundation maintains a separate award for the best chef in New York City. The Bay Area is home to California cuisine, started by Alice Waters at Chez Panisse in Berkeley. These cities each maintain local fine food cultures while simultaneously engaging in a broader national food culture, and they are two of the three cities in the United States that the *Michelin Guide* reviews.

Although they are different in terms of culinary style, availability of resources (California has access to a variety of produce year-round, while New York does not), and formal acclaim from bodies like Michelin and the James Beard Foundation (New York has the most Michelin stars and its own James Beard best chef category, while San Francisco has the second-most stars), each city has an acclaimed culinary school (the Culinary Institute of America), several well-regarded restaurants, a local newspaper with renowned food critics, and the attention of formal accrediting institutions (each city has Michelin-starred restaurants, several James Beard award winners, and since 2005—when Michelin began ranking restaurants in the US—*Food and Wine* has named 11 San Francisco chefs and 17 New York chefs their "best new chefs").

As a field at the intersection of art and commerce, American fine dining is a unique site for analyzing the relationship between evaluation, ethnoracial and gender hierarchy, and cultural fields. Art worlds (Becker 1983) are hierarchically organized according to *symbols* of prestige; markets are organized according to economic valuation (Zelizer 2011; Negro et al. 2010). Restaurants, particularly fine dining restaurants, unlike other cultural fields, such as that of literature, painting, or opera, are assessed according to the standards of both art and commerce. Because the field occupies this distinct interstitial space, fine dining is a prime case for studying the relationship between cultural production and both symbolic and material evaluation. Additionally, because American fine dining is organized according to ethnoracial and national classifications of culinary products, it functions as a "racial field" (Emirbayer and Desmond 2015). The relationships between art and race and commercial markets and racialized (Omi and Winant 2015) products remain under-theorized and relatively unexplored in the literature. This simultaneous organization of the field according to ethnoracial categories and the field's position as both art world and commercial market means that the American fine dining field serves as the ideal site for examining the relationship between the cultural processes of categorization and evaluation (Lamont 2012), ethnoracial and gender inequality and cultural production, and symbolic and material evaluation in cultural fields.

To examine these complex relationships, I draw on two data sets for this project. The first data set is composed of 120 in-depth interviews with critically celebrated chefs in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area; the second data set is a corpus of 1380 restaurant reviews published in the print editions of the 2016 *Michelin Guide* for New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area. Below, I provide details about the sampling, data collection, and data analysis processes for each of these data sets.

The Interviews

In October 2015, I received approval from the UC Berkeley Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects and began recruiting interview participants for my study. I began by compiling a list of all restaurants in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area with at least one Michelin star or a Michelin Bib Gourmand rating (for San Francisco, n=123; for New York, n=214). For those with an Internet presence (either a website, publicly listed email address, or Facebook page), I sent an email with information about the study and an invitation to participate. For restaurants without an Internet presence, I called and left a voicemail, often on the reservations line. None of the restaurants that I contacted via telephone returned my calls, so I focused my recruitment efforts on those restaurants with an online presence. If I received a response after the first email and they were interested in participating, I scheduled an interview. If I did not receive a response to my first email, two weeks after sending the initial email, I contacted the restaurant again. If I did not receive a response to my second attempt to contact a restaurant's chef, I reached out to the restaurant at the publicly listed email address for a third and final time.

This recruitment strategy produced an interview sample of approximately 95 chefs, most of whom are white and male, which, while representative of the majority of chefs in the field, did not accurately capture the diversity of the profession nor did it provide enough variation on race and gender, which are central variables of interest to this project. In order to ensure that the perspectives of women and non-white chefs were included in my study, I

referred to the two most popular and influential food magazines in the United States—*Food and Wine Magazine* and *Bon Appetit.* I systematically surveyed all content produced by magazine writers (not advertising content) in the pages of all 2016 issues of these two magazines, identifying any women and non-white chefs cooking in New York City or the San Francisco Bay Area (if the magazine content did not include information about a chef's geographic location, I located the restaurant's website and confirmed that the restaurant where they cooked was within the geographic purview of this study). Through this strategy, I contacted an additional 16 chefs in San Francisco and 30 chefs in New York City, and I eventually spoke to 24 of these additional chefs.

While these additional chefs did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the original sampling frame (because they did not have a Michelin star or Michelin Bib Gourmand recommendation), they are members of the contemporary American fine dining field because they have received recognition from a major national critical body (*Bon Appetit* or *Food and Wine*), and many of these chefs cook at restaurants that were new to the industry in 2016, meaning they were not eligible for Michelin recognition in 2016. Indeed, shortly after interviewing these chefs in the summer of 2016, when Michelin's new rankings were released in the fall of 2017, one of these chefs received a 2017 Bib Gourmand recommendation, one received a Michelin star, and two were named to the World's 50 Best Restaurants List. In many ways, recognition from major national food magazines serves as a precursor for international recognition from Michelin[14]. By oversampling women chefs and non-white chefs, I ensured that their perspectives, which were central to answering the research questions I ask, were represented in the sample. The final sample includes 27 women, 93 men, 79 white chefs, 41 non-white chefs, 59 Bay Area chefs, and 61 New York City chefs. Table 2 in the introductory chapter includes the racial and gender demographics of the population and the sample.

From November 2015 through October 2016, I conducted interviews. I conducted about 1/3 (39) of the interviews in person, and 2/3 (81) by telephone. The vast majority of studies that use telephone interviews use the telephone to conduct survey interviews (Vogl 2013; Gabarski et al. 2016). Indeed, interview scholars warn that it may be more difficult to establish rapport with phone interviews than in-person interviews and that interviewers miss out on observing non-verbal forms of communication when they conduct interviews by telephone instead of in person (Weiss 1995). I found, however, that it was not difficult to establish rapport via the phone. In fact, many of the telephone interviews lasted for a longer period of time and were more detailed than the in person interviews. I think this is because I conducted most of the in-person interviews in chefs' restaurants during moments of scheduled "down time" during the work day (usually before service), and the pressures of the kitchen, unanticipated time demands, and preparation for that day's service were immediately present in the workplace environment; the interview, with its sit-down format,

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[14] In fact, 2012's BA's Best New Restaurant State Bird Provisions in San Francisco has one Michelin star, 2013's BA's Best New Restaurants Saison (#2) in San Francisco and Aska (#10) in New York City have three and one stars from Michelin, respectively, 2014 Best New Restaurant (#3) Estela in New York City has one star, 2015's Best New Restaurant (#1) AL's Place in San Francisco has one Michelin star, as does 2015 Brooklyn-based awardee Semilla (#4); 2016's Lord Stanley (#3) in San Francisco has one Michelin star, as does 2016 awardee Wildair in New York, and, finally, 2017's celebrated San Francisco restaurant Mister Jiu's also received one Michelin star in the 2018 Guide, published in October 2017, just three months after it was named by *Bon Appetit.*

was a distraction from their never-ending work. When chefs were able to call me at a convenient time for their schedule instead, they were often much more focused on the conversation we had. Some multi-tasked while we talked, and they narrated their actions for me while they worked (one chef strained bouillabaisse, another visited his purveyors at a local Ethnic market, another picked produce from the restaurant's garden, and many chefs called me during their long drives to work).

I audio recorded all interviews, both in person and those that occurred on the phone. For the phone interviews, I spoke to chefs in a private space (usually my office or private residence), without any other witnesses or potential of being unintentionally overheard, on speaker phone, and used a hand-held recording device to record the conversation. Immediately following the interview, I took a series of notes about the conversation. If I conducted the interview in-person, I took notes on décor, ambiance, the menu, and other details about the restaurant space. For those interviews that did not take place in the restaurants where chefs worked, I visited the restaurants in San Francisco in October 2016 and in New York City in February 2017, sitting in the dining rooms for twenty-thirty minutes (often just enough time for a cup of tea), taking notes about the restaurant space, menu, etc. For all interviews, the chefs were offered the option of allowing their name to be included in the study or remaining anonymous. About 80% of participants elected to allow their name to be included with their responses[15].

One of the primary critiques of phone interviews is the barrier that the telephone creates for establishing comfort and rapport between interviewer and interviewee. I think my positionality and personality allow me to uniquely establish rapport with many of the chefs I interviewed even over the telephone. Often, chefs would ask about my age, my racial background, where I'm from, if I had restaurant experience, and/or why I was interested in the project in the first place. I only supplied this information if they asked, and I answered honestly. Usually, chefs asked these questions because they wanted to know how much experience with or exposure to a particular idea I had before they explained something to me (e.g., questions about my age often came from older chefs interested in my experience with the labor market when answering questions about managing staffers; questions about my ethnoracial background were about chefs wanting to know which foods I grew up eating as they explained their culinary styles or desire to evoke "nostalgia" or "comfort" or "familiarity" for diners). I told them to pretend I knew nothing every time they asked if I was familiar with something.

I am from the Midwest, which means that I am friendly, and I found that nearly every chef with whom I spoke was also friendly, interested in sharing their perspectives, and honest. At times, there were humorous miscommunications between the interviewees and me (a few chefs thought I was a "psychologist" and not a "sociologist," so they would share information about their childhoods or their marriages before I steered the conversation back to their profession, while another chef thought I was an undergraduate completing a "school project" until I presented him with the Informed Consent form required by IRB). In general, however, I found that the length of the interview and the questions that I asked allowed

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[15] Throughout the text of this dissertation, I selectively use chefs' names when quoting them. This is not because those chefs who elected to be anonymous had more interesting responses. Instead, I found that in many cases, including the names of chefs was a wordy distraction from the analytical argument I was developing.

chefs to grow comfortable speaking with me and even to become interested in the questions I asked.

Many chefs are now well accustomed to interviews with reporters and bloggers for publicity purposes. Once we moved beyond the questions meant to establish comfort and rapport, familiar questions about how they got involved with the industry, etc., that are common in these journalistic interviews, chefs were excited to shed their rehearsed answers to these predictable questions and engage with new questions. Indeed, many remarked, "Oh, I've been thinking about this a lot, but I haven't gotten to talk with someone about it!" or "No one's ever asked me that." At least fifteen chefs with whom I spoke remarked on how "fun" the interview was when we concluded, and many wrote emails after the interviews to follow up on or expand on their answers to questions I asked.

Interviews were open-ended, guided by respondents' answers, but I had a general interview script that loosely structured the conversation. I first started with questions about chefs' original interest in the culinary profession to establish rapport. I then asked about culinary creativity and the daily realities of culinary production to understand how chefs thought about their processes of production and how other actors in the field—whether critics, other chefs, the cooks they supervise, or diners—affect how they engage those processes. Finally, I asked explicit questions about systems of ethnoracial and gender inequality in the industry. Below, I have reproduced the general interview script:

1. How did you get involved in the restaurant industry and professional cooking?
2. Are there any formative training experiences that stand out to you? Did you go to culinary school? Did you have a mentor? How did they affect how you think about cooking and the profession today?
3. How would you describe your culinary style?
4. What is your creative process? Do you work alone? Do you collaborate? Why?
5. How do you approach management? What is your role in your staff's lives?
6. Is there a difference between a cook and a chef? What does that difference mean to you?
7. What was the greatest challenge you faced when you first started cooking?
8. What is the greatest challenge you face on a day to day basis now?
9. Who is your diner? How do you think about them when you are developing dishes?
10. What do you think about critics? Are there any whose opinions you value more or less than others? How do they affect how you think about your food?
11. Is food art? Why?
12. There's been a lot of talk lately about "the end of fine dining." What does fine dining mean to you?
13. You cook at a [insert ethnoracial classification here] restaurant. What does that mean to you?
14. Do you think there is an ethnic hierarchy to cuisine today? Why?
15. Are there any expectations or stereotypes that you have to navigate, either because of who you are or because of the food you cook?
16. What do you think about food media today?
17. Are there any myths in the food media or in the public's understanding of the industry that you have to think about?
18. What does "authenticity" or "authentic" mean to you?

19. What does "American" food mean?
20. There's been a lot of talk lately about diversity in the kitchen, both in terms of race and gender. What do you think about that conversation? Have you observed disparities? Have you experienced discrimination?
21. What is the most memorable meal you cooked? The most memorable meal you ate?

A complete list of interview respondents (without names) and the dates of interview is included at the end of this appendix.

After completing the interviews, I used the online transcription tool "Transcribe" (available at https://transcribe.wreally.com/) to transcribe all interviews within two months of conducting them. After completing the transcription process, I used the qualitative data analysis software program MaxQDA to both deductively and inductively code these interviews for patterns. As I coded the first time, I noticed that chefs continued to use language related to technique, creativity, and authenticity when describing how they understood their food and how others assessed their cuisine. Some chefs discussed their frustration with diners' expectations of "authenticity;" others referred to the significance of learning and using "classic technique" in their creative processes. I identified that these discourses were being used to assess the relational value of chefs and restaurants in the field, so I developed a theory of "logics of evaluation" and created a coding scheme to capture these evaluative logics in the interview transcripts.

To illustrate these three logics of evaluation and the coding scheme I applied, I will draw on examples from the transcript of my interview with a two-starred "Contemporary" chef in San Francisco, who I refer to here as "Chef." I coded interviewees' responses as reflecting the logic of technique when they used language that referred to "technique," "tradition," "classics," the "craft of cooking," and "training." For example, Chef refers to his "respect for tradition," "showing off technique," and "you have to be in it for the right reasons, to hone your craft and discipline." I coded for the logic of creativity when chefs referred to "creativity," "innovation," "unique" perspectives, unfamiliar cuisine and techniques, and "artistic vision." For example, Chef describes his, "creative mind," "avant garde cuisine," and "artistic perspective." Finally, I coded for the logic of authenticity when chefs used the term authentic in relation to the value of their cuisine, either explicitly labeling their cuisine as authentic or rejecting the label of authenticity; for some chefs, this manifests in language of "classic" or "iconic" dishes. Chef says, "how can I argue that this food stall is less authentic than that one? Authenticity for me comes from the place of origin." After developing this coding scheme through inductive coding, I then returned to the interview data and coded all data using the codes I developed to ensure consistency.

As I did so, I noticed that different kinds of chefs cooking different kinds of cuisine referred to the logics of evaluation and their relationship to their cuisine in different ways. I examined patterns across chefs' responses related to the logics of evaluation using the *Michelin Guide*'s classification of cuisine type assigned to each restaurant. I used the Michelin classification of cuisine type instead of chefs' responses to the interview question about "culinary style" to define the "category of cuisine" for all respondents because Michelin uses a standardized system for evaluating restaurants (although this system is not publicly available), and I wanted to use a consistent measure of category of cuisine. Nearly all chefs used language similar to that used by Michelin to classify their restaurants. Only one chef disagreed with the Michelin classification of his restaurant: "Michelin listed us as a

fusion restaurant, which I was irritated by. It was great to be included in the *Guide,* and nobody is going to complain about getting a Michelin star, but in the future I might send them an email saying, 'Hey; we'd like to be classified as Mexican.' Fusion is the least favorable term for modern chefs." This chef was an outlier, so I used the Michelin classification scheme for all restaurants in both the interview and restaurant data sets. For those chefs whose restaurants were not included in the 2016 *Michelin Guide* (the chefs I identified from *Bon Appetit* and *Food and Wine Magazine*) I used the classification assigned in the 2017 *Michelin Guide*. For all 120 restaurants, I confirmed that the 2016 and 2017 Michelin classifications were consistent from year to year.

In my analysis of the differential applications of the logics of evaluation in the interview data, I identified that there were three categories of chefs' responses related to the cuisine type they cooked. Chefs cooking historically celebrated cuisine types (French, Italian, and Japanese cuisine) all referred to the logics of evaluation similarly; chefs cooking historically excluded cuisine types associated with non-white, immigrant producers, such as Mexican, Indian, and Chinese cuisine, described their relationships to the logics of evaluation similarly; and, chefs cooking cuisine types that are categorically and nominally associated with whiteness, such as American, Scandinavian, and Californian, described their relationships to the logics of evaluation similarly. I then developed the concept of the three "genres of cuisine"—Classic, Flexible, and Ethnic—based on chefs' descriptions of their understandings of the relational value of their food and restaurants in relation to the logics of evaluation, and I applied this analytical framework to my analysis of the second data set, composed of 1380 restaurant reviews. I operationalize and clarify these three analytical genres of cuisine in each of the three empirical chapters (Chapters 3-5) above; please refer to Table 1 in each of these chapters for a distribution of cuisine types within each genre of cuisine.

The Restaurant Reviews

To capture the critics' perspective, I conducted a content analysis of the 1380 restaurant reviews published in the 2016 *Michelin Guides* for the San Francisco Bay Area and New York City. Michelin is a consistent and respected critical voice in the field; additionally, the *Guide* includes reviews for many different kinds of restaurants (casual, formal, French, Italian, American, small plates, gastropub, etc.) with a variety of markers of prestige. Only 133 of the 1380 (9.6%) included restaurants have at least one star; an additional 204 (14.8%) restaurants have a Bib Gourmand recommendation. This means that the majority of reviewed restaurants (1044 or 75.7% of the sample) are included in the *Guide* but do not have a marker of special recognition. By studying the broader landscape of all reviewed restaurants, I examined how the logics of evaluation affect the critical response to *both* consecrated restaurants in the fine dining field and unconsecrated restaurants in the broader dining landscape in these two cities.

These reviews, which range in length from about 120 words to 220 words, do not appear online; they are only available in the bound book format published annually when the rankings are announced in the fall. Reviews for unconsecrated restaurants and Bib Gourmand restaurants are shorter than those for starred restaurants, while reviews for restaurants with at least one star are longer and include a photograph, usually of a featured dish or the restaurant's dining room. The physical guides are organized by region or

neighborhood (e.g., all restaurants in Tribeca are reviewed in the same section; all restaurants in the East Bay appear in the same section, etc.). In the reviews, Michelin describes the ambiance and décor of the restaurant, the clientele, neighborhood, and, of course, the food. Sometimes the reviews refer to price point, wine lists, and the chef and/or kitchen staff. Because Michelin reviews and assesses restaurants annually, the content of the reviews for starred restaurants changes with each newly-released *Guide* each year; however, the content included in the reviews for restaurants that are not consecrated and/or that have a Bib Gourmand recommendation are not updated annually. For example, the 2016 review for Bib Gourmand restaurant Grace's Table in Napa is identical to the review published in 2015. Below, I include the text from the review of two-starred San Francisco restaurant Coi and Bib Gourmand Brooklyn restaurant The Good Fork for reference:

> **Coi:** Even on the eve of its tenth anniversary, Coi manages to stay as fresh as the days when it first opened its doors. Its second decade is sure to be exciting as Daniel Patterson hands off his kitchen to a new and very talented brigade. The moniker translates to "silent" or "quiet," and indeed the restaurant owns a serene, zen-like atmosphere, with branches arching across the foyer; soft grey upholstered banquettes; bare wooden tables; supple brown leather chairs; and beautiful conversation-worthy earthenware dishes.
>
> Service here is warm, refined and extraordinarily well trained with a nearby sommelier at the ready with an impeccable wine list and a smile. Waiters quietly attend to every need of the stylish crowd.
>
> The kitchen's contemporary cooking is a joy to experience, and the multicourse tasting menu showcases both incredible technique and pristine seasonal ingredients. Picture thinly sliced geoduck sashimi paired with crunchy seasoned cucumber, shavings of radish, and violet hued edible flowers. Then a bright chilled English pea soup is poured over creamy buttermilk, soft yellow nasturtium and whole spring peas picked at their peak. Tender bite-sized slices of aged duck find perfect company in vibrant spring greens, sprouted wheatberry, and a rich duck broth. (121).
>
> **The Good Fork**: The Good Fork is a destination restaurant, and foodies know that it's well worth the journey. Located on the food centric Van Brunt Street near the Red Hook waterfront, this inviting spot swaps New York pretense for pure passion—it's the dream of a married couple who built the restaurant from scratch, literally. Co-owner Ben Schneider crafted the space, while his classically trained wife, Chef Sohui Kim, helms the kitchen.
>
> Her cuisine reflects the team's commitment to the locality, as seen in such original dishes as pan seared cod reclining on squid rings braised in a spicy kimchi broth; or hot and crispy manchego *arancini* cooled with yogurt and a fennel tomato marmalade. A tres leches cake with fresh berry compote is a crowning way to close this meal. (502).

In addition to the written content of the restaurant reviews, Michelin also maintains an elaborate system of symbols to demarcate restaurants' offerings, comfort, and price point. Each restaurant's review is accompanied by the restaurant name, phone number, address, hours of operation (listed vaguely, such as "dinner Tuesday-Sunday" or "lunch and dinner daily"), and website, if available. The restaurant's price point is indicated by four symbols; an image resembling two coins indicates restaurants with an average price of "under $25;" $$ represents an average price of $25-50, $$$ means $50-75, and $$$$ marks those restaurants with an average price over $75. Each restaurant's "Cuisine Type," such as "American," "Gastropub," and "Vietnamese," accompanies the review. Additionally, each restaurant is assigned a "classification by comfort," marked by the number of knives and forks included next to the cuisine type classification. One symbol represents "comfortable," two means "quite comfortable," three indicates "very comfortable," four suggests, "top class comfortable," and five symbols represent "luxury in the traditional style;" if the knives and forks are printed in red type, instead of the more commonly occurring black print, the comfort classification is "more pleasant." Additionally, the *Guide* includes symbols to represent if a restaurant is cash only or wheelchair accessible; there are symbols that indicate the restaurant offers breakfast, brunch, dim sum, a notable wine list, a notable sake list, a notable cocktail list, a notable beer list, valet parking, small plates, and a private dining room. In my construction of the data set of all 1380 restaurant reviews, I collected all of this information, with particular attention to the "cuisine type" and price classifications, to accompany my analyses of the content included in the reviews. Figure 1 below is a photograph of the "How to Use This Guide" page from the 2016 San Francisco Bay Area Guide.

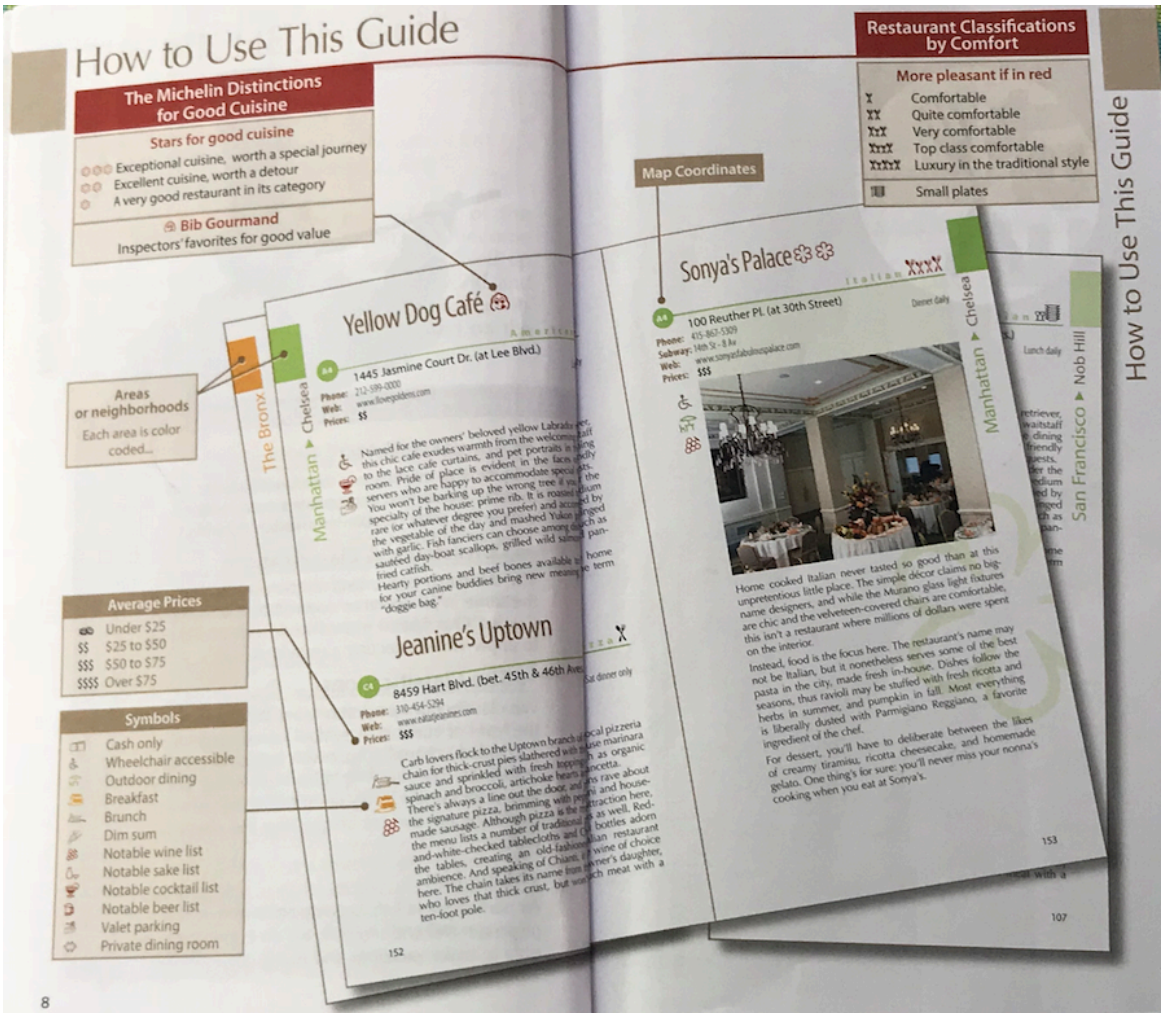
Because the reviews only appear in bound print form and are not readily available online, I needed to digitize them in order to analyze them systematically using qualitative data analysis program MaxQDA. To do this, with a team of research assistants, I used a Google Form survey to collect data related to the inclusion of the various symbols noted by the *Michelin Guide* (i.e, the form might ask, how many dollar signs are assigned to price? Then, I or a research assistant would input the number 2 for a restaurant with an average price symbol of $$). Then, we used iPhones to photograph every page of restaurant reviews in the *Michelin Guide*. We then employed free online optical character recognition (OCR) tools (primarily https://www.onlineocr.net/) to convert these images to text. We then reviewed the text output from the OCR process to ensure that it matched the text in the *Guide*, manually correcting any (infrequent) mistakes or misrecognition. At least two team members reviewed every entry to ensure consistency and correct for human error in manual entry. We then used the Google Form to input the text of each restaurant review alongside the other data we had collected related to price point, cuisine type, comfort rating, etc., from the *Guide* to the spreadsheet produced through the Google Form. When this process was complete, we had created a complete spreadsheet that included the restaurant name, city, price point, comfort rating, cuisine type, marker of recognition from Michelin (1-3 stars, Bib Gourmand, etc.), and the text of the restaurant review. I then imported this spreadsheet to MaxQDA to begin the coding process.

In MaxQDA, I used the coding scheme I developed in the analysis of the in-depth interviews to guide the coding process of the Michelin reviews. I coded reviews that referred to "skill," "technique," "execution," and "training" as reflecting the logic of technique. For example, in the review for two-starred Contemporary restaurant Coi, the *Guide* reads,"the

kitchen's contemporary cooking is a joy to experience, and the multi-course tasting menu showcases both incredible technique and pristine seasonal ingredients" (121). I coded for the logic of creativity when reviews employed references to "creativity," "innovation," "artistry," and "inventiveness." In the review for one-starred Italian restaurant Babbo, Michelin writes, "the food itself is always artful and precise, and the menu more than delivers on its promise: creative, rustic Italian fare made with stellar skill and extraordinary ingredients" (143). Because this line refers to both "creativity" and "skill," I coded it as reflecting both the logic of creativity and the logic of technique. Finally, I coded reviews for the logic of authenticity when they included both explicit and implicit references to authenticity. Explicit authenticity takes the form of labeling restaurants or food as "authentic" or "real." For example, in the review for Bib Gourmand Chinese restaurant Great China, Michelin declares, "chic enough for the style-savvy, cheap enough for Cal students, and authentic enough for local Chinese families, it's one of the few local restaurants everyone can, and does, agree on" (189). I coded for an implicit logic of authenticity when reviews referred to diners or restaurant staff's shared identity with the cuisine type served there. For example, Kabab and Curry's, an Indian restaurant in Santa Clara, is identified as, "a dining destination among Indian and Pakistani expats missing the comforts of home" (283). At Bib Gourmand Indian restaurant Dosa, "welcoming servers help translate street favorites, like bhel puri (a delicious sweet-spicy blend of puffed rice, crispy noodles, green mango, and chutney)" (63). After I coded the entire data set once and clarified the coding scheme for this larger, more diverse corpus of text, I then reviewed the codes and coded the data set a second time.

When the coding process was complete, I used MaxQDA's "transform into document variable" function to transform codes into document variables. An observation was coded "1" for the variable "logic of technique" if any segment of the review was coded as reflecting language of the logic of technique, and it was coded "0" if language of the logic of technique did not occur in the text of the restaurant review; I repeated this process for codes for the logic of creativity and the logic of authenticity. Additionally, I created three dummy variables indicating the genres of cuisine, and coded a review as "1" for "Classic cuisine" if they served French, Italian, or Japanese cuisine, and "0" if they did not. I repeated this process for the Flexible and Ethnic genres (please review the empirical chapters which include detailed information about which cuisine types were included in each of the three genres). I then produced a spreadsheet that included these quantitative variables reflecting the presence or absence of language reflecting the logics of evaluation in the reviews and the other variables collected from the *Michelin Guide*, such as "cuisine type," "price point," "comfort rating," "Michelin recognition," "city," and "restaurant name."

Figure 1: How to Use the *Michelin Guide*



I then used STATA to conduct regression analyses to analyze several relationships of interest in the Michelin review data. First, in Table 2 of each empirical chapter, I examined the relationship between categorization and the inclusion or exclusion of the three logics of evaluation. Each Table 2 includes three models of logistic regressions. Model 1 examines the relationship between categorization in the genre of cuisine that is the focus of that chapter (for chapter 3, this is Classic, chapter 4 is focused on Flexible cuisine, and chapter 5 considers Ethnic cuisine) and the presence or absence of language reflecting the logic of technique; model 2 studies the relationship between categorization and the presence or absence of language indicating the logic of creativity; and model 3 represents the relationship between categorization and the logic of authenticity. In these models, I controlled for city (0=New York; 1=San Francisco), Michelin Recognition (0=inclusion in *Guide* but no marker of prestige; 1= Bib Gourmand recommendation; 2=1 star; 3=2 stars; 4=3 stars), and Price (1=Under $25; 2=$25-50; 3=$50-75; 4=more than $75). Instead of identifying a single reference category and considering all three genres of cuisine at once, I isolated each genre of cuisine for these analyses, in order to stay focused on the genre of cuisine that is the topic of that chapter and to show the relationship between inclusion in the

genre of cuisine of interest compared to all other actors in the field. For reference, in Table 1 below, I show the models of the logistic regression analyses that include all genres of cuisine, taking the Classic genre as the reference group because it represents the historical model of fine dining.

Table 1: The Logics of Evaluation by Genres of Cuisine in the 2016 *Michelin Guide*

	Model 1: Technique	**Model 2: Creativity**	**Model 3: Authenticity**
City (San Francisco)	-0.292	-0.573*	0.345*
	(0.193)	(0.229)	(0.167)
Michelin Recognition	0.722***	0.297*	0.062
	(0.105)	(0.119)	(0.132)
Price	0.128	0.189	-0.329*
	(0.127)	(0.144)	(0.133)
Flexible Genre	-0.630**	0.886**	-1.551***
	(0.200)	(0.264)	(0.234)
Ethnic Genre	-0.871**	-0.005	0.110
	(0.267)	(0.358)	(0.197)
Constant	-2.058***	-3.150***	-1.226***
	(0.221)	(0.303)	(0.213)

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

I also conducted OLS regression analyses of the relationship between categorization and price (labeled as Table 4 in chapters 3-5). I analyzed each genre of cuisine distinctly in the relevant empirical chapter to focus the analyses on the genre of cuisine that is the topic of the chapter at hand. Table 2 below depicts an OLS regression analysis of the relationship between price and categorization, taking Classic cuisine as the reference point, for comparative reference.

Table 2: Average Price Point by Genres of Cuisine in 2016 *Michelin Guide*

	Price
City (San Francisco)	-0.007
	(0.037)
Michelin Recognition	0.359***
	(0.024)
Flexible Genre	0.003
	(0.044)
Ethnic Genre	-0.595***
	(0.049)
Constant	1.205***
	(0.037)

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

In Table 3 below, I provide a correlation table for all of the variables included in these models.

Table 3: Correlation Table

	Classic	Flexible	Ethnic	City	Michelin	Price	Technique	Creativity	Authenticity
Classic	1.000								
Flexible	-0.565	1.000							
Ethnic	-0.374	-0.552	1.000						
City (SF)	-0.083	0.040	0.041	1.000					
Michelin	-0.015	0.068	-0.063	0.013	1.000				
Price	0.122	0.214	-0.364	-0.013	0.370	1.000			
Technique	0.103	-0.016	-0.085	-0.042	0.258	0.156	1.000		
Creativity	0.085	-0.236	0.180	0.050	-0.027	-0.126	-0.032	1.000	
Authenticity	-0.061	0.126	-0.080	-0.061	0.109	0.099	0.083	-0.052	1.000

In my analysis throughout the dissertation, I draw on both qualitative analysis of the in-depth interviews and restaurant reviews, drawing on illustrative examples for evidence, and these quantitative analyses to capture both the breadth of representation of the logics of evaluation in the data I collected and the specific application of these logics in both producers' processes of self understanding, "position taking," and creative production and critics' processes of evaluation in the contemporary American fine dining field.

Table 4: Interview Respondents

Date Conducted	Cuisine Type	Gender	Critical Ranking	Price Point	Analytical Category	In Person/Phone
10/31/15	Californian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Person
11/3/15	International	Male	1 Star	$$$	Flexible	Person
11/10/15	Mexican	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Person
11/15/15	Californian	Male	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Person
11/18/15	Californian	Female	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Person
11/22/15	Italian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Person
12/3/15	Pizza	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Person
1/29/16	Fusion	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Person
2/28/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$	Flexible	Person
3/1/16	Thai	Female	1 Star	$$	Ethnic	Person
3/8/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Person
3/12/16	Italian	Female	2 Stars	$$$$	Classic	Person
3/17/16	American	Female	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Person
3/17/16	American	Male	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Person
3/18/16	Contemporary	Male	2 Stars	$$$$	Flexible	Person
3/21/16	Californian	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Person
3/23/16	Californian	Female	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Person
3/23/16	Californian	Male	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Person
3/25/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Person
3/28/16	Chinese	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Person
4/5/16	Contemporary	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Person
4/7/16	Contemporary	Male	2 Stars	$$$$	Flexible	Person
4/11/16	Californian	Male	1 Star	$$$	Flexible	Person
4/13/16	Italian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Person
4/23/16	American	Female	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Person

4/23/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Phone
4/25/16	Contemporary	Male	2 Stars	$$$$	Flexible	Person
5/2/16	Californian	Male		$$	Flexible	Person
5/3/16	Californian	Male	1 Star	$$$	Flexible	Person
5/3/16	Pizza	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Person
5/18/16	Italian	Male	1 Star	$$$	Classic	Person
5/18/16	Scandinavian	Female	2 Stars	$$$$	Flexible	Person
5/19/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$	Flexible	Person
5/22/16	Contemporary	Male	2 Stars	$$$$	Flexible	Person
5/23/16	American	Female	1 Star	$$$	Flexible	Person
5/23/16	American	Male	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Person
7/12/16	French	Male	1 Star	$$$	Classic	Phone
7/12/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Phone
7/13/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Phone
7/14/16	French	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Classic	Phone
7/18/16	Thai	Male	1 Star	$$	Ethnic	Phone
7/20/16	Spanish	Female	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Phone
7/22/16	Fusion	Male	1 Star	$$$	Flexible	Phone
7/25/16	Californian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
7/25/16	Californian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
7/27/16	Peruvian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
7/28/16	French	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
7/28/16	American	Male		$$$	Flexible	Phone
7/28/16	International	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
8/2/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Phone
8/3/16	Indian	Male	1 Star	$$$	Ethnic	Phone
8/8/16	Contemporary	Female	2 Stars	$$$$	Flexible	Phone
8/11/16	Mexican	Male		$$$$	Ethnic	Phone
8/31/16	Spanish	Male	1 Star	$$$	Flexible	Phone
9/1/16	Indian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
9/1/16	Gastropub	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Phone
9/8/16	Mexican	Male		$$	Ethnic	Phone
9/8/16	Californian	Female		$$$	Flexible	Phone
9/12/16	Eastern European	Female	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/14/16	American	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/15/16	Italian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
9/15/16	Japanese	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
9/15/16	Japanese	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
9/19/16	Italian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
9/19/16	Sri Lankan	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
9/19/16	Barbecue	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/19/16	Pizza	Male		$$	Flexible	Phone
9/20/16	Korean	Male		$$	Ethnic	Phone
9/20/16	Contemporary	Female	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/20/16	Contemporary	Female	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/20/16	Californian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/21/16	American	Male	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/22/16	Italian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
9/22/16	Mexican	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
9/22/16	Vietnamese	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
9/22/16	Californian	Female		$$$	Flexible	Phone
9/24/16	American	Female		$$	Flexible	Phone

9/24/16	Seafood	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/26/16	American	Female		$$	Flexible	Phone
9/26/16	Californian	Female		$$	Flexible	Phone
9/26/16	Mediterranean	Female		$$	Flexible	Phone
9/27/16	Middle Eastern	Female		$$	Ethnic	Phone
9/28/16	Fusion	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/29/16	Mexican	Female		$$$$	Ethnic	Phone
9/29/16	Middle Eastern	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
9/29/16	American	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/29/16	American	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
9/29/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$$	Flexible	Phone
10/3/16	Italian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
10/3/16	Asian	Male		$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/4/16	Italian	Female	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
10/4/16	Contemporary	Male	1 Star	$$$	Flexible	Phone
10/6/16	Italian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
10/6/16	Italian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
10/6/16	American	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
10/7/16	Peruvian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/10/16	Indian	Female		$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/10/16	Indian	Male	1 Star	$$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/10/16	Asian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/10/16	American	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
10/10/16	Pizza	Male	Bib Gourmand	cents	Flexible	Phone
10/11/16	Mexican	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/11/16	Deli	Male	Bib Gourmand	cents	Flexible	Phone
10/13/16	Chinese	Male		$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/14/16	Mexican	Male	Bib Gourmand	cents	Ethnic	Phone
10/14/16	American	Female	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Phone
10/17/16	Californian	Male		$$	Flexible	Phone
10/19/16	Southern	Female		$$	Flexible	Phone
10/2016	Asian	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/21/16	Chinese	Male	1 Star	$$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/21/16	American	Male	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Phone
10/22/16	Vietnamese	Male		$$	Ethnic	Phone
10/22/16	American	Male	Bib Gourmand	cents	Flexible	Phone
10/24/16	Japanese	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Classic	Phone
10/25/16	Mexican	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Ethnic	Phone
11/1/16	Fusion	Female		$$$	Flexible	Phone
11/2/16	Contemporary	Male		$$$	Flexible	Phone
11/16/16	Vegetarian	Female		$$	Flexible	Phone
11/22/16	Fusion	Male	Bib Gourmand	$$	Flexible	Phone
12/3/16	American	Male	1 Star	$$	Flexible	Phone