

Free Food, Free Space: People's Stews and the Spatial Identity Politics of People's Parks

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As radio host and historian Studs Terkel discovered when he arrived at Chicago's activist-created Poor People's Park at the corner of Halsted and Armitage one fall evening in 1969, food served as a symbolic form of cultural and territorial reclamation. Created spontaneously by activists days prior, the park was the most recent spatial occupation by Lincoln Park residents who had been protesting the impact of urban renewal on affordable housing. Terkel heard the crunch of shovels and rakes hitting the rocky dirt, yet the smell of simmering Puerto Rican *asopao de pollo* or chicken stew continued to draw the residents' attention.¹ When asked by Terkel why she came out to cook for park workers, Ceil Keegan explained that the dish honored the ethnic heritage of the Young Lords leading the park's construction. Her calm and earnest tone conveyed her pride in cooking for these activists as a form of emotional caretaking, encouraging denigrated members in her community to be proud of their culture. Local newspapers had characterized the protest as militant and hyper-masculine, yet Keegan made a public display of slowly cooking a delicious vat of chicken stew—its tantalizingly rich aroma pouring into the lungs of their surrounding white middle-class critics who looked on from the sidewalks with derision. Within Poor People's Park, food was a medium for asserting power and reclaiming space that became a foundation for building cross-cultural alliances across boundaries of race, gender, ethnicity, and class in the Lincoln Park neighborhood.

Focusing on “people’s stews,” this article examines the racial politics embedded within shared meals cooked within urban spatial takeovers in the late–Cold War era. People’s stews were collectively produced potages made from scavenged ingredients that, when cooked together in public bonfires, symbolized a cross-cultural unity of resistance to the Man. Soups were one of several key meals frequently served in “people’s parks”—urban recreation areas created illegally on vacant lots between the late 1960s and the mid-1970s. As part of a larger pattern of “placemaking” protests in the postwar era, people’s parks were created to protest a range of issues, from the Vietnam War to urban renewal to police brutality.² While historians have focused on situating select case studies of people’s parks within broader patterns of Vietnam-era activism, as well as the emergence of hippie modernist design, putting these parks in conversation with one another reveals food as a lens into how American identity shaped the successes and struggles of coalition building within this era.³ Food not only served as what Warren Belasco has called a “marker of revolutionary consumerism,” but shared feasts like people’s stews functioned as spectacles, forms of sustenance, and symbols of occupied territories that have shaped how some participants have remembered these protests.⁴

Scholars of the U.S. postwar left have increasingly uncovered diverse narratives of alliances during this era that challenge rigid political distinctions, revealing what historians Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle have argued is more of a disjointed trajectory of social justice commitments than a cohesive movement.⁵ While art, performances, and the underground press have been analyzed as mediums for countercultural and leftist political expression, food was also a critical component of the resistant aesthetics within the politics of community-based urban design as a radical protest movement for the postwar left.⁶ Activists used food to link identity, space, and power in the postwar era: protests over segregated dining spaces in white homes and restaurants helped launch the civil rights movement; a back-to-the-earth, whole-food movement transformed hippie communalism into popular capital enterprises; and feminists used kitchens, restaurants, and bars to create safe spaces while enabling women to reclaim radical domesticity as a form of revolutionary group identity empowerment.⁷ Structural inequality embedded within the food system fueled the Black Panther Party’s Free Breakfast Program and the United Farm Workers’ (UFW) international grape boycott, and it inspired the creation of alternative economies like food cooperatives and communes within the whole-grain revolution.⁸ African Americans centered the denigration of soul food and the racialization of hunger and malnutrition in racial self-determination movements.⁹ At the dawning of the environmental movement, food connected spirituality and the healthy body to the earth. While alcohol and drugs were essential to the beat movement in the early Cold War era, the popularization of weed and LSD helped catapult the idea that consumption could be a mindfully liberating experience.¹⁰

While scholars have cited the significance of Berkeley's People's Park in helping to ignite an ecologically driven countercuisine movement critiquing the capitalist-driven American food system, the significance of food performances within these politicized happenings as spatial protests has been ignored.¹¹ As Michael Wise and Jennifer Jensen Wallach have argued, examining food culture opens an interdisciplinary window onto the past in ways that traditional historical sources and methods cannot: "Food crosses the abstract boundaries of culture due to the corporeal certainty associated with the act of consumption, grounding our communities in the material worlds around us, revealing the limitations of traditional modes of historical research focused narrowly on the archival exegesis of manuscript sources."¹² Food as a form of cultural politics helped connect activists to one another and their bodies to the landscape, heightening the insurrectionary potential of land reclamation as a symbol of collective resistance.

Within participants' cultural memories of these direct actions, the sensorial experience of stews, from the smell of the smoky bonfire to the sticky residue coating your hands after eating with your fingers, transformed the memories of these spatial occupations into imagined utopian community building. Work felt harder, food tasted juicier, and fires burned hotter, creating an ephemeral experience that many parkgoers described as being seemingly more authentic and therefore more impactful than other forms of rebellion. Parkgoers imagined food within these spaces as a medium for redefining authenticity as spontaneous, experiential, and shared, in contrast to the containment of modern American life. Yet as Martin Manalansan IV reminds us, the construction of cultural authenticity empowers some while disempowering others: "Consumption is never a complete process. While it can lead to satiation, it can also lead to more hunger, more queries, and lingering discomforts."¹³ Food therefore offers an opportunity to interrogate the blurred borders between the emotional experience and the politicized practice of social change within this moment that continue to affect our historical memories of this movement.

Transnationalism and Racial Self-Determination in "Liberated" Space and Food

Interrogating the racial politics of people's stew begins with its name, which symbolically imagined its consumption as an extension of revolutionary movements resisting colonialism in the Global South. The term "people's" had a long, complex history by the postwar era, having been frequently used in largely European movements for nineteenth century populism seeking to create spaces of civic uplift—*rus in urbe*, or open green spaces for natural public leisure. State-run "people's parks," *volksgarten*, or *folkpark* were created in industrializing cities in Europe and Russia as respite from the factory and a tool of social reform. These nineteenth-century parks were highly sculpted and socially regulated, with selective entrance rules specific to race and class, as

well as department.¹⁴ These parks were often coupled with community centers called people's palaces or people's houses that served to raise the morale of the working class by developing programs on language, history, and culture.¹⁵ Yet in European colonies like eastern China, urban green spaces and leisure areas remained racially segregated; public parks and gardens in Shanghai prohibited Chinese, Japanese, and Indian citizens, as well as dogs and bicycles.¹⁶

By the midtwentieth century, "people's" took on new meanings that signified territorial reclamation as part of an anticolonial revolution. Designating China as the People's Republic of China in 1949 reflected the new focus on the needs of the peasant populace rather than the colonial oligarchy. Critiquing colonizers' use of the word to describe civic-minded yet segregated parks in the revolution, places like the Shanghai Race Club were renamed as people's parks. Mao Tse-Tung's new government argued that cooperatives like people's communes and people's parks educated and trained the proletariat in exchange for communal production.¹⁷ This use of the term migrated to the United States as media coverage of the Vietnam War and anticolonial movements captured headlines.¹⁸ By 1968, when the Oakland Black Panthers sold Mao's "little red book" of quotations through the Bay Area as an arms fundraiser, "people's" became part of larger cross-cultural political discourse rejecting American imperialism.¹⁹

The use of the term "people's" within occupied territories challenged the construction of America as a nation made for the people, seeing it now as one insurgently remade by the people. From people's parks and the People's Pad—a Bay Area affordable-housing squat—to people's stews, "people's" came to describe a variety of political movements, groups, and actions oppositional to American nationalism by the late 1960s.²⁰ The descriptor embedded the stew at people's parks within transhistorical and transnational discourses of both civic uplift and power reclamation, while offering participants the ability to make and consume revolution. This discursive reimagining of parks and stews as part of a larger movement of postwar Maoism reflects larger patterns of post-World War II orientalism that exoticized the political struggles of racially and economically dominated or Third World people.²¹ The descriptor "people's" threaded together food, people, and the landscape, including the creation of the park's People's Revolutionary Corn Patch, as well as its slogan, "let a thousand parks bloom"—an adaptation of the Maoist phrase, "Let a thousand flowers blossom"—symbolizing the spread of the communist revolution.²² These references carried more symbolic weight than a reflection of transnational political organizing—"imperfect analogies" that reinforced strategic essentialism of ethnic minorities through forms of horticultural, culinary, and aesthetic play.²³ The material culture of foreign plants, flags, art, and food in people's parks transformed performances within these spaces, such as manual labor and food consumption, into primitive narratives that became exotic lenses through which to experience the park as more "authentic" than modern urban America.

The “free food” ethos of many Berkeley-area people’s parks was inspired by several local organizations like the Black Panthers and the Diggers, whose free-meal initiatives were rooted in decades of free-food giveaways by civil rights groups and labor organizers, from Operation Breadbasket to UFW strike kitchens.²⁴ The nearby Oakland Black Panthers became the most nationally recognized organization advocating for free food as a formation for antiracist community building in the late 1960s. For racial self-determination groups like the Black Panther Party, making food free illuminated how malnutrition was produced by the intersectional oppressions of race, ethnicity, and class. The group marketed their free breakfast campaign for children as a survival program—a socialist solution to the racist capitalist economy—and used demonstrations and articles in both mainstream and underground media to shame grocery stores that failed to donate food. Pig calling by the Black Panthers, as well as antipolice hog roasts made famous by the Students for a Democratic Society and the Yippies, would later inspire weekend hog roasts at some people’s parks seeking to attract spectators.²⁵

The Bay Area in the 1960s witnessed a growing movement of political, countercultural, and service organizations serving free meals as a critique of structural inequality in the United States. People’s stews served outside would become reenactments of mid-1960s hippie “be-ins” that offered free food as a medium for community building and critiquing capitalism. The Bay Area Diggers popularized food giveaways as a playful civil disobedience tactic in the mid-1960s to challenge displacement. While writing to their white hippie audience in their newsletters called feeds, the group continued to use their platform to shed light on the connections between institutionalized racism and anticapitalism—even calling out patterns of racial prejudice within their hippie community that took advantage of the exoticism and affordability of San Francisco’s working-class black neighborhoods despite their white privilege of not needing to escape segregation.²⁶ The Diggers argued that the best coalitional defense against structural inequality was an anticapitalist revolution in which food, housing, farms, and tools would be available for free.²⁷ Meals offered at no cost were part of the group’s larger liberation ideology, including setting up free stores and free kitchens as a tool to critique and ultimately “drop out” of the normalization of capitalism.

The Diggers focused on feeding crowds in public spaces, often discussing them like ticketless theatrical productions. At one event, the group famously required attendees who wanted free food to walk through a giant empty wooden frame as a symbolic “new frame of reference.”²⁸ At times, the massive quantities of food they distributed at one time, with flyers announcing takers for “100 cases of lettuce,” “Free soup—bring a spoon and bowl,” and “Free Perch—400 lbs.,” reflected their interest in sharing the excess they were fortunate enough to acquire, rather than their own demands to feed the hungry.²⁹ Centering food in their political street theater, the Diggers took over street corners, public parks, and vacant storefronts to give free food and household items to the poor—

namely, starving teenage runaways who had fled to bulging hippie ghettos in search of a raised consciousness. The Diggers argued that food, when used within playful direct actions, called on participants to think about their complicity with capitalist systems of poverty and malnourishment, along with the cultural values placed on store-purchased foods versus donated ingredients. As described by George Metevsky in the *Berkeley Barb*, he first saw the group shouting “Food as Medium!” while distributing “shopping bags filled with day-old bread, wooden crates of tossed green salad, a ten-gallon milk container steaming hot with turkey stew, and apples all over the ground.” Insurgent food giveaways became a demonstration tactic for the poor to reclaim their right to the city and fully engage with public space outside the bounds of for-profit food consumption.³⁰ Publicizing photos, offering shared meals, and giving away free food in occupied territories became a way to visually communicate that their alternative domestic spaces and political groups were autonomous and that their anticapitalist visions for society were sustainable.

Over the course of the 1960s and 1970s, communes and eating and gardening cooperatives increased, and the Diggers became part of a range of groups that argued that growing, cooking, and eating “free” food—meat and produce that imaginatively existed outside the bounds of capitalism—fostered an alternative economy in which bodies and nonnormative political ideas could be nurtured and sustained. At the same time, the Diggers’ pamphlets situated their food actions at the cross-cultural intersection among several social justice currents in the 1960s, including “the symbolic importance of sit-ins at segregated restaurants; the Quaker-led fasts against the war; the consumer boycotts in support of grape and lettuce pickers.”³¹ Food also became essential to the labor of creating and sustaining people’s parks.³² Transnational, cross-cultural, and anticapitalist discourses rooted within free food in these spaces mobilized coalitions of social justice advocates across lines of race, ethnicity, age, and class. As a tool for symbolic political play, food offered activists opportunities to embed their land reclamation projects within cross-cultural histories of social justice activism: food boycotts as a labor-organizing issue for food-industry workers, strike kitchens to keep labor actions fueled, free shared meals as a critique of racist capitalism that reinforced poverty and malnutrition in communities of color, and movements for “agrarian nationalism.”³³

People’s Stews, Food Giveaways, and the Culinary Culture of Insurgent Placemaking

Following the framework of Mary Douglas, understanding food culture at people’s parks requires “deciphering a meal”—analyzing what types of cooking techniques and ingredients are used, as well as when and by whom these meals are shared, in order to interrogate the social relations hidden within.³⁴ Food culture at people’s parks at times functioned discordantly—largely dependent upon the culinary and horticultural leadership of individuals who donated

goods, cooked meals, and planted vegetable gardens on- and offsite as their contribution to the project. Film footage of several parks, including Berkeley's People's Park and Berkeley's Mobile Park Annex, reveals how two main styles of food offerings created different moods in these spaces over the course of the day and week: planned dinners and foraged midday snacks that fluctuated as park labor waxed and waned. Workers as both spatial creators and territorial protectors were nearly always present, yet the largest concentration of laborers arrived on the weekends, when food was more widely available, making weekend food consumption more spectacle and celebration than mere sustenance. Announcements of festive, collectively shared meals frequently held at nights or on the weekends also attracted parkgoers whose presence politicized the informal be-in as an occupying force.

During the day, food culture helped shape the park's life cycle. Video footage captured how hungover pre-lunch parkgoers lounged quietly around a brewing coffee percolator on the campfire. In the background, a patch of fledgling sweet pea, tomato, and bean plants were growing in the west end of the park; by midday, park workers were on site to water and expand vegetable patches taking shape in the park's first weeks, as well as set up apparatuses for roasts and stews cooking over the course of the day. Throughout the early afternoon, park attendees took advantage of randomly donated consumables, from readymade sandwiches to do-it-yourself concoctions that domesticated the space. While some parkgoers who lived nearby and walked home for meals, other weekend parkgoers began arriving by the afternoon, waiting near the smoky campfires in anticipation of the evening's untamed barbecue. After children left by nightfall, adults huddled around the campfire to roast wieners and melt marshmallows for s'mores. After 10 p.m., firefighters and police officers frequently arrived to extinguish campfires or respond to noise complaints. By early morning, park leaders arrived to pick up the broken Coke bottles, empty jugs of Red Mountain wine, and trash left behind by twilight revelers before new workers would arrive, the cycle beginning anew. Taken together, food at Berkeley's People's Park was a form of energy, work, celebration, and performance. Across the array of activist-created parks, free shared community meals frequently kept these spaces occupied and, in turn, imbued these territories with symbolic political powers. Growing seedlings, happy eaters, and caregiving chefs became a metaphor for the park's success.

Most often, lists of food offerings at people's parks read nonsensically, with focus on the slapdash array of ingredients and the public consumption of alcohol and marijuana as indicators of legally liberated space. At Berkeley's People's Park, mixed-race groups of men and women passed glass jugs of red wine from mouth to mouth while eating crumbly chunks of baguettes and fresh carrots.³⁵ According to coverage of the park in the student newspaper of the University of California, Santa Cruz, "Watermelons, oranges, wine, and marijuana [were] communally shared by the workers, freaks, revolutionary intellectuals, little old ladies, and children."³⁶ The random diversity of shared

food consumption became a metaphor for celebrating how spatial protests like people's parks attracted a range of participants. On the first day of work at Chicago's Poor People's Park, workers shared watermelons, doughnuts, and soda while bandaging blistered fingers.³⁷ Similarly in Berkeley, "Beer, wine, lemonade, soda pop, and cider always seemed to appear when you were thirsty. Band-aids [sic] and gloves were passed around."³⁸ Food facilitated moments of rest in which workers could compare and bind their wounds—their scratches, soreness, and hunger manifesting as symbolic corporeal proof that their activist labor had been arduous and politically meaningful. Within this space of transient political symbolism, processed foods, purchased ingredients, stolen meats, and leftovers all offered opportunities for new beginnings that imagined the park project as facilitating a cross-cultural coalition beyond the bounds of one political organization.

Beyond scavenging for midday snacks or campfire circles, two of the most common foods produced within activist occupations in public space were people's stews and hog roasts that functioned like rituals, using anticapitalist culinary metaphors to politicize the space as antiestablishment. At Berkeley's People's Park, people's stews were held every Saturday and Sunday at noon during the first few weeks of work. Stews large enough to feed hundreds often required collective management and assembly, as well as creative thinking that added to the park's aesthetic. Ingredients were boiled over the course of the workday in a metal trash can, stirred with a large wooden stick, and served with a 3-ft-long ladle or shovel on thousands of paper plates. Smoke and steam billowed from the can, blocking views, yet crowds swarmed with arms outstretched to taste the experiment. One photograph of a people's stew captures the curiosity and excitement of the meal, revealing a crowd of men circled round, squinting quizzically into a steaming cauldron while the girl being served holds her paper plate outstretched, biting her lip in excitement.³⁹ Unlike thinner soups that required spoons for sipping, these stews were thick and meant to be eaten with your hands from mismatched containers.⁴⁰

As a celebration of the make-do ingenuity of "peasant food," stews were often collective creations with donated vegetables, grains, beans, and other scraps—a potluck-style reenactment of a stone soup made from leftover ingredients without a specific recipe. In her memoir, Wendy Schlesinger described the first people's stew held at Berkeley's People's Park as a fundraising challenge for the park's organizers who solicited stores for donations of soup bones, vegetables, and bits of leftover meat.⁴¹ Video footage of a potluck preparation at People's Park No. 6 in Berkeley panned across cardboard boxes of corn, string beans, onions, and celery, among other vegetables, in prep for that day's people's stew.⁴² In his documentary on Berkeley's People's Park, titled *Let a Thousand Parks Bloom*, filmmaker Leonard Lipton captured a man stirring a waist-high trash can full of rice and tomato-based stew, while another man off to the side tossed a handful of basil leaves into the mixture.⁴³ Callouts for one people's stew in the *Berkeley Barb* encouraged everyone to "bring vegetables,

spices, whatever's your thing," while more expensive proteins were specifically requested: "Chefs say meat is hardest to get. Bring meat. Then EAT IT!"⁴⁴ Because donations changed from day to day, stews changed tastes and textures spontaneously, allowing some participants the opportunity to contribute to spatial protests through culinary expertise.

Stews and soups made sense of the randomness of the park's leaderless structure that offered opportunities to women and men, young and old, skilled and unskilled, to become makers together. People's stews served during long workdays in these territories juxtaposed misshapen and sporadically donated ingredients that put varying tastes, textures, and colors metaphorically in racial harmony with one another. With little guarantee that food would taste good when dependent upon the choices of volunteers, the experience of people's stews focused on the symbolism of their collective production and consumption. Eating with your fingers and tasting how your donations complemented your neighbor's ingredients created intimacy that personalized the project.

Because a variety of racial and ethnic groups created people's parks during this era, the racial, gender, class, and immigrant identities of park creators shaped the cultural meanings of the food constructed within. At Chicago's Poor People's Park, Keegan's *asopao de pollo* was a powerful statement of support for Puerto Rican pride—a language with which to confront ethnic stereotypes, articulate racial and ethnic self-determination, and sustain the labor of park occupiers. While the foundation of chicken and rice formed Keegan's hearty meal for the park's horde of workers, the savory aroma of garlic and tomato sauce, bay leaf and vinegar, wafted through the park and captivated Terkel's interviewees, who began to talk about Keegan's food like home cooking. By ladling and passing a bowl of hot soup, park creators joined together, their shared family meal converting a disheveled lot into a home.⁴⁵ Puerto Rican stews shared in occupied public territories similarly transformed vacant lots into community-building projects in New York City's *Loisaida*. Photographs by Garry Tyler of Plaza Caribe, a people's park built by squatters at the corner of 112th Street and Broadway, show crowds of Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and Polish Americans gathered on the occupied lot. Artists painted several murals on the brick exterior of tenement buildings lining the park, layering phrases like *Liberación* with images of armed revolutionaries of color. Off to the side, several women stand at a table with their hands in large metal pots preparing for a shared stew.⁴⁶

Sharing soup not only warmed workers at James Rector's People's Park in Madison, Wisconsin, but also facilitated a coalition between largely white parkgoers and local Chicano organizing. As captured by photographer David Giffey in 1969, the park hosted a "Mexican dinner fundraiser" for the UFW, coinciding with a protest on campus at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in support of the grape boycott.⁴⁷ Footage of the park's first Memorial Day celebration reveals a mostly white, male, college-age crowd ladling thick soup from a giant fire-kindled communal vat or nodding in agreement with a rock

band performing on a small platform.⁴⁸ Stapled underneath the park's entryway sign is a UFW poster with an Aztec eagle reading, "Viva La Huelga, Viva La Causa." In the background, another poster reads, "La Lucha es la Fuerza," indicating a visual trail of UFW material weaving throughout the densely packed lot. Although the park largely served as a hangout space for students and an outdoor concert venue for rock bands, this shared meal fundraiser became an opportunity for students to learn more about and connect with working-class Chicano activists in the region. Meals like these not only celebrated *mestizo* culinary heritage but also facilitated racialized consumption as a medium of cross-cultural political organizing. Purchasing plates or bowls of Mexican food enabled University of Wisconsin's largely white student body to playfully and politically consume the Chicano people—their exotic brown skin, their strength in colonial resistance, and their oppression.

For park creators of color, food became a way to celebrate their marginalized racial, ethnic, and national identities, while for white parkgoers, food sometimes became a medium with which to ignore their privilege. Shared soups made from donations recreated the metaphorical American melting pot at the same time that they became a medium to critique American colonialism—cross-cultural culinary fantasies that became a practice of what Stephanie Hartman has called "appreciative inclusiveness."⁴⁹ Park creators transfigured racialized metaphors onto spaces for food production and consumption, as well as food itself. Looking back on her first day of work in the park, Schlesinger compared the park's mud pit to a South Asian rice field, comparing the spectacle to what it must have been like to see two approaching water buffalo.⁵⁰ Agricultural zones within the park, including a "miniature Mexican garden," were mentioned without explication in an early supportive review of the park.⁵¹ Within the context of the Vietnam War and cross-cultural antiracist activism at home, bygone and foreign narratives of food production and consumption became exotic lenses through which to experience the park as more authentic than modern America. For participants like John Simon, food, drink, and drugs were instrumental in fueling continuous work in the park that he imagined came easy to hardworking Asians.⁵² Embodying Chinese dedication to hard work—what many participants of Berkeley's People's Park described as foreign in their educated, domesticated, middle-class lives—became a point of pride without regard to forced labor and inhumane working conditions.

People's stews became simultaneously a medium for collaboration and a vessel for racial play that at times facilitated power hierarchies that reinforced white and male privilege. The ethnic exoticism of the seemingly foreign landscape and labor permeated culinary discourses, creating mythological borderlands in which activists and community members could embody overlapping and even contradictory identities of imaginative racial and national play.⁵³ Food, work, and the creation of alternative, insurgent landscapes became mediums for participants to enact transnational, transhistorical, and cross-cultural fantasies

of racial harmony through a framework of “orientalism.”⁵⁴ By imagining themselves as foreigners from past and present, park participants used food to cross borders that they could not.⁵⁵ Through foreign ways of seeing, processed and purchased foods became seemingly more authentic within the park. People’s stews that connoted racial harmony served as a form of cultural comfort for Americans wrestling with their own privileges within the context of imperialism at home and abroad. At the same time, shared savory stews made the park project more enterprising, their meals more intimate and collective, their labor more productive, and their landscapes more natural and wild that, in turn, sanitized how this culinary tourism functioned as a form of cultural appropriation.⁵⁶

Despite these important distinctions across people’s parks, food helped make sense of the inherent ideological contradictions within these activist projects. In an attempt to create a racially harmonious “political palate,” white hippie food culture encouraged playful culinary exoticism that made heterogeneity comfortable in broadly symbolic ways. Although park creators solicited donations and offered free meals as a political statement, in reality free foods within people’s parks never existed outside of capitalism and were only metaphorically liberated. Similar to commune cooking that Hartman has argued was often “diverse and unorthodox,” with purchases of wholesale cans of Chicken of the Sea lining the kitchen pantry, parks embraced both slow-roasted meals and store-purchased snacks as political metaphors.⁵⁷ Participants gardened for vegetables, pined for stew from scratch, and yet at park picnic tables, men and women laughed while making peanut butter and jelly sandwiches from pre-packaged white breads. By preparing stew from grocery store donations in a galvanized metal trash can, food culture in people’s parks harnessed the privileges of modernity while simultaneously critiquing it as inauthentic.

This culinary exoticism also became written onto anticapitalist narratives within the park, including the creative reuse of wilted vegetables and food scraps for stews, watering cans for beverage pitchers, and metal trash cans for soup cauldrons. Gentrification remnants, like stones, ceramic tiles, and steel beams used to line and decorate bonfires and barbecue pits for cooking, became a materiality with which park creators constructed their politics and identities as environmentally beneficial amid intersecting narratives of pollution and waste of white, Western modernism. Many white park creators in 1969 defended their projects by using nonwhite and working-class narratives of self-sufficiency. Potluck stews and exoticized recycled park landscapes created a political theater of racialized sustainability for middle-class hippies who appeared to “nourish themselves on disaster,” like struggling farmers in Vietnam.⁵⁸ Like the Navajo storytelling of the efficiently dismantled buffalo on the Western plains, food became a way to perform a political theater of sustainability amid intersecting narratives of environmental degradation and waste of the modern era.⁵⁹

Taste and the Production of Cultural Memory

People's stews were part of a vibrant visual, material, and performative culture within Vietnam War-era activism that helped make spatial protests like people's parks political. Throughout this period of territorial confrontations, free giveaways of people's stews remained essential to the experience, mission, and political symbolism of direct actions like these that helped connect social justice allies with one another. As parks were increasingly regulated after Berkeley's People's Park was famously fenced on Bloody Thursday in 1969, culinary storytelling became part of the cultural memory of these projects as sources of emotional nourishment. Looking back on a photograph of a soup potluck at Berkeley's People's Park, Todd Gitlin remarked that the radical aspects of cooking in public transformed simple sustenance into revolutionary theater: "Steam rises from the pot. You know, looking at [it] the stew probably tasted raunchy but it was *there*, it was there at the right time, it was appreciated, and, who knows, it may still be remembered by those who tasted of it. *It was useful*" for imagining and remembering a community as the early 1970s increasingly became described as one defined by political declension.⁶⁰

Other parkgoers like José "Cha-Cha" Jiménez of the Young Lords cannot recall meals within Poor People's Park. For him, shared meals took a backseat to the daily experience of survival to defend their community from police and pro-developer politicians. In contrast, Jiménez remembered the Young Lords' free breakfast giveaways in the occupied church basement, their partnership with an architect to design an affordable housing project, and the murders of their members and supporters.⁶¹ As Studs Terkel meandered through Poor People's Park, his interviewees cited their membership in allying organizations like the Mexican American Young Comancheros, the white working-class Young Patriots, and the Latin Eagles who shared frustration with displacement and poverty, as well as their own ideas for the site, including a pool, church, park, and more affordable housing.⁶² The ingredients, aroma, and display of the *asopao de pollo* fed the spirits and stomachs of workers. The surrounding Poor People's Park, as one of several territories the Young Lords would occupy, represented the expansion of a movement.

Putting seemingly oppositional memories of food within these politicized spaces in conversation with one another does more to reveal a culinary political fluidity within this historical moment, in which food helped transcend the boundaries of radical, liberal, and cultural activism. As food studies scholar Mark Padoongpatt reminds us, debates over whether People's Park participants were revolutionaries, "liberal multiculturalists," or racists or imperialists or all of these" distracts from the larger argument that "an analysis of foodways can enrich our understanding of colonialism and imperialism in ways that an analysis of architecture, literature, art, or music have not or, perhaps, cannot."⁶³ Across the People's Park movement, food became a way for a range of activists to produce and consume rebellion—a currency with which to perform and ex-

change political discourses that helped fuse consciousness-raising body politics with the materiality of the liberated landscape for activists in different ways and are thus remembered differently. Shared feasts and communal outdoor dining areas became part of the political palette that helped define activist-occupied territories as resistant to capitalism. Warm meals transformed work sites and actions into homes that sustained workers while reclaiming domesticity for working-class women and people of color displaced by postwar urban renewal. Stews filled the bellies of park creators and their allies while fulfilling activists spiritually and politically by encouraging them to imagine these occupied territories and the movements that created them as nourishing, autonomous, and sustainable. For some, these memories remain strong, while for others, the memories of these shared feasts have faded.

At the same time that cooking and eating meals became opportunities for playing with identity, meals within these spaces shed light on the inherent contradictions bound within these movements for spatial power. Within this postmodern moment, food's ephemerality and mobility enabled it to take on new political meanings as it passed from one race, one activist group, and one locale to another through visual storytelling. Cooking, serving, and eating food offered limitless opportunities for identity exploration that became part of what "the movement" was trying to become—"more a process than a product, and thus more a direction or a motion than a movement."⁶⁴ Food as a form of racialized imaginative play allowed activists to metaphorically expand their pinpointed parks, feed-ins, and tent-ins on vacant lots into a larger "territorial imperative."⁶⁵ However, in comparing the experience of people's parks, some park creators—often those who were white, middle class, and male—were able to revel in culinary play more than others.

Deciphering the subtle and hidden codes of shared meals within late 1960–era placemaking projects reveals a complex system of hierarchical social relations often erased in accounts by participants, critics, and historians.⁶⁶ Adapting Monica Perales's argument about the inherent contradictions within discourse on authenticity, I argue that spatial protests attracted participants because they created a table where foods and people coexisted, combined, and collided that simultaneously silenced other ways of eating and being, illuminating a dramatically shifting cultural landscape in the late–Cold War era.⁶⁷ By providing a central point of social convergence within urban space, passing the bread and ladling the stew, shared meals helped activists imagine a cross-cultural, transnational, and transhistorical community of unified activists, even if only for a moment. Food play functioned as both consciousness raising and political fantasy through which eaters could embody multiple overlapping identities of oppression and empowerment beyond their personal experiences. Food grown, cooked, and eaten in public space became a medium with which to identify with and romanticize anticolonial movements within and beyond the United States. At the same time, communities of color used food to articulate their agency by situating their national and ethnic food cultures within a larger framework of

social justice organizing. Growing, cooking, and eating food facilitated shared experiences that helped raise consciousness about the colonial power structures enveloping the food system and, by extension, American culture.

Notes

1. Studs Terkel, Interview, T3400 SCD, approx. 60 min. recording (ca. August 1969), Studs Terkel Collection, Chicago History Museum.

2. Jeffrey Hou, ed., *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities* (Routledge, 2010); James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Princeton University Press, 2008). I am modeling my definition of placemaking on Hou's definition of insurgent public space as a momentary rupture in power hierarchies, indicative of a larger erosion of public space. "Making" indicates activity in creation and power of self-determination, whereas "using" would affirm the power of the state. Hou models his definition on Holston's notion of "insurgent citizenship" or the "insurgent space of citizenship" that positions this form of placemaking as oppositional to public space regulated and maintained by the state. For an examination of the People's Park movement, see Kera Lovell, "Radical Manifest Destiny: Mapping Power over Urban Green Space in the Age of Protest, 1968–1988" (PhD diss., Purdue University, 2017). For more on individual case studies of people's parks, see the following texts: W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (Oxford University Press, 1989); David Farber, *Chicago '68* (University of Chicago Press, 1994); Stanley Irwin Glick, "The People's Park" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1984); Jon Cash, "People's Park: Birth and Survival," *California History* 88, no. 1 (2010): 8–29, 53–55; Eric Avila, *Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Chicano San Diego: Cultural Space and the Struggle for Justice* (University of Arizona Press, 2008); and Wilfredo Cruz, *City of Dreams: Latino Immigration to Chicago* (University of Arizona Press, 2007).

3. For more on design, see Lovell, "Radical Manifest Destiny;" Michael Carrier, "Between Being and Becoming: On Architecture, Student Protest, and the Aesthetics of Liberalism in Post-war America" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2010); Greg Castillo's coverage of Berkeley's Ohlone Park in "Hippie Modernism: How Bay Area Design Radicals Tried to Save the Planet," *Places Journal* (October 2015), <https://placesjournal.org/article/hippie-modernism/>; and Peter Allen, "Violent Design: People's Park, Architectural Modernism and Urban Renewal," ISSI Fellows Working Paper (University of California, Berkeley, 2007), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/6vz4s7jj>.

4. Warren Belasco, *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

5. Literature on transnational and/or cross-cultural coalitions can be found in Stephanie Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-Wave Feminism in the United States* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Gordon Mantler, *Power to the Poor: Black-Brown Coalition and the Fight for Economic Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); and Michael William Doyle and Peter Braunstein, "Introduction: Historicizing the American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s," in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 10.

6. For just a few examples of the importance of food politics to art, performances, and the underground press in this era, see Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, eds., *West of Center: Art and the Countercultural Experiment in America, 1965–1977* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Bradford Martin, *The Theater is in the Street: Politics and Public Performance in 1960s America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004); and Abe Peck, *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press* (New York: Citadel, 1991).

7. For examples, see Finn Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930–1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); and Kathleen Blee, ed., *No Middle Ground: Women and Radical Protest* (New York: NYU Press, 1997).

8. See Raj Patel, "Survival Pending Revolution: What the Black Panthers Can Teach the US Food Movement," in *Food Movements Unite!... Strategies to Transform our Food Systems*, ed. Eric Holt-Giménez (Oakland: Food First Books, 2011), 115–36; Matt Garcia, *From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2007); Heidi Tinsman, *Buying into the Regime: Grapes and Consumption in Cold War Chile and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Lauren Araiza, *To March for Others: The Black Freedom Struggle and the United Farm Workers* (Philadel-

phia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Craig Cox, *Storefront Revolution: Food Co-ops and the Counterculture* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Martin Deppe, *Operation Breadbasket: An Untold Story of Civil Rights in Chicago, 1966–1971* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017); Mary Potorti, “Food for Freedom: The Black Freedom Struggle and the Politics of Food” (PhD diss., Boston University, 2005); Margaret Rose, “From the Fields to the Picket Line: Huelga Women and the Boycott, 1965–1975,” in *No Middle Ground: Women and Radical Protest*, ed. Kathleen Blee (New York: New York University, 1998), 225–50; Margaret Rose, “Women in the United Farm Workers: A Study of Chicana and Mexicana Participation in a Labor Union” (PhD diss., UCLA, 1990); Rosemary C. R. Taylor and John Case, eds., *Co-ops, Communes, and Collectives: Experiments in Social Change in the 1960s and 1970s* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979); Maria McGrath, “Food for Dissent: A History of Natural Foods and Dietary Health Politics and Culture since the 1960s” (PhD diss., Lehigh University, 2005); Mary Rizzo, “Revolution in a Can: Food, Class, and Radicalism in the Minneapolis Co-op Wars of the 1970s,” in *Eating in Eden: Food and American Utopias*, eds. Martha Finch and Etta Madden (University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 220–38; Anne Knufer, *Food Co-ops in America: Communities, Consumption, and Economic Democracy* (Cornell University Press, 2013); Joshua Clark Davis, *From Head Shops to Whole Foods: The Rise and Fall of Activist Entrepreneurs* (Columbia University Press, 2017); Etta Madden and Martha Finch, eds., *Eating in Eden: Food and American Utopias* (University of Nebraska Press, 2008); and Stephanie Hartman, “The Political Palate: Reading Commune Cookbooks,” *Gastronomica* (Spring 2003). Although not principally focused on food, Auther and Lerner’s edited collection *West of Center* offers insight into how activist and artist collectives like the Diggers, the Droppers, and the Harrisons made food political in the postwar U.S. left through performance art.

9. Jennifer Wallach, ed., *Dethroning the Deceitful Pork Chop: Rethinking African American Foodways from Slavery to Obama* (Chicago: University of Arkansas Press, 2015); Frederick Opie, *Hog and Harmony: Soul Food from Africa to America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); Doris Witt, *Black Hunger: Soul Food and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

10. Chris Elcock, “From Acid Revolution to Entheogenic Evolution: Psychedelic Philosophy in the Sixties and Beyond,” *Journal of American Culture* 36, no. 4 (December 2013): 296–311; W. J. Rorabaugh, *American Hippies* (Cambridge University Press, 2015); Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011).

11. Belasco, *Appetite for Change*; Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore’s Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* (Penguin, 2007).

12. Michael D. Wise and Jennifer Jensen Wallach, eds., “Introduction,” *The Routledge History of American Foodways* (Routledge, 2016), 2.

13. Martin F. Manalansan IV, “Beyond Authenticity: Rerouting the Filipino Culinary Diaspora,” in *Eating Asian American: A Food Studies Reader*, ed. Robert Ji-Song Ku, Martin F. Manalansan IV, and Anita Mannur (New York University Press, 2013), 299.

14. Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (MIT Press, 1982); Karen Jones, “Unpacking Yellowstone: The American National Park in a Global Perspective,” in *Civilizing Nature: National Parks in Global Historical Perspective*, ed. Bernhard Gissibl, Sabine Höhler, and Patrick Kupper (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 35.

15. Christoph Grafe, *People’s Palaces: Architecture, Culture and Democracy in Postwar Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, November 5, 2014).

16. Lee Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1999), 29.

17. Chang-tai Hung, “A Political Park: The Working People’s Cultural Palace in Beijing,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 3 (July 2013): 556–77.

18. Chalmers Johnson, *Autopsy on People’s War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 23.

19. For more on post–World War II Maoism in the West, see Robeson Taj Frazier, *The East Is Black: Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination* (Duke University Press, 2014); Richard Wolin, *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s* (Princeton University Press, 2010); and Aaron J. Leonard and Conor A. Gallagher, *Heavy Radicals—The FBI’s Secret War on America’s Maoists: The Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Communist Party 1968–1980* (Zero Books, 2014).

20. Johnson, *Autopsy on People’s War*.

21. For examples of this, see Mark Padoongpatt, “‘Oriental Cookery’: Devouring Asian and Pacific Cuisine during the Cold War,” in *Eating Asian American: A Food Studies Reader*, ed. Robert Ji-Song Ku, Martin F. Manalansan IV, and Anita Mannur (New York University Press, 2013), 186–207, and Franny Nudelman, “Trip to Hanoi: Anti-War Travel and Transnational Consciousness,” in *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness*, eds. Karen Dubinsky and Ian McKay (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

22. Michael Carriere, “The Lessons of People’s Park for the Occupy Movement,” *History News Network/News Analysis*, June 6, 2012, reprinted in Truth-out.org, <http://truth-out.org/news/item/9634-the-lessons-of-peoples-park-for-the-occupy-movement> (accessed October 18, 2015).

For two examples using what would become a popular phrase, see Frank Cicciorka, "Let a Thousand Parks Bloom," poster (1969), All of Us or None Archive, Oakland Museum of California, reprinted online at <http://picturethis.museumca.org/pictures/let-thousand-parks-bloom>, and Leonard Lipton, *Let a Thousand Parks Bloom*, film, 16 mm (1969), in the Pacific Film Archive Film and Video Collection, Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, University of California, Berkeley, archived online at https://archive.org/details/cbpf_00002.

23. Brian Norman, "Crossing Identitarian Lines: Women's Liberation and James Baldwin's Early Essays," *Women's Studies* 35, no. 3 (2006): 241–64.

24. Deppe, *Operation Breadbasket*; Rose, "From the Fields;" Rose, "Women in the United Farm Workers."

25. For a longer discussion of this, see Lovell, "Radical Manifest Destiny."

26. Chester Anderson, "Two Page Racial Rap, In Memoriam: Malcolm X, Who Died to Make Us Free, Too, Baby," flyer (February 9, 1967), Box 1, Chester Anderson Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

27. "The Diggers State Simply," flyer (ca. 1966), Box 1, Chester Anderson Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

28. Michael William Doyle, "The Haight–Ashbury Diggers and the Cultural Politics of Utopia, 1965–1968" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1997), 5; also see Martin, *Theater Is in the Street*, 86–124.

29. See multiple flyers in Box 1, Chester Anderson Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

30. For a description of the group's anticapitalist, pro-love food philosophy, see Alex Forman, "San Francisco Style: The Diggers and the Love Revolution," *Anarchy* no. 78 (August 1967): 221–24.

31. Belasco, *Appetite for Change*, 18.

32. Although Berkeley's People's Park remains the most well-known activist-created park, my research documents more than forty examples of activist placemaking in the late 1960s and 1970s. See Lovell, "Radical Manifest Destiny."

33. Russell Rickford, "'We Can't Grow Food on All This Concrete': The Land Question, Agrarianism, and Black Nationalist Thought in the Late 1960s and 1970s," *Journal of American History* (March 2017): 956–80.

34. Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," *Daedalus* 101, no. 1, Special Issue: Myth, Symbol, and Culture (Winter 1972): 61–81.

35. "People's Park (Berkeley)," film, KRON-TV, San Francisco Bay Area Television Archive, <http://bit.ly/2d1wLDe>.

36. "Doing the Thing: People's Park," in "This Week's Issue" (Informal Student Publication, Merrill College, University of California, Santa Cruz, May 16, 1969), 1, McHenry Library, Special Collections, University of California, Santa Cruz, <http://bit.ly/2dvmGrz>.

37. Ron Powers, "Develop 'People's Park' as a Protest," *Chicago Sun-Times*, August 5, 1969, 3.

38. Steve Haines, "A New Kind of Rest: Work in People's Park," *Berkeley Barb* 18, no. 194 (May 2–8, 1969): 4.

39. Stephen Shames, Photo of stew, reprinted in *People's Park: Still Blooming 1969–2009 and on . . .*, ed. Terri Compost (Berkeley, CA: Slingshot Collective, 2009), 96.

40. While this is demonstrated in photographs of people's stews, another fictionalized narrative discussing a counterattack on a fenced park the month following the closure of Berkeley's People's Park also includes a scene of a people's stew. Told in the voice of an exotic Hindu narrative, the story begins with a discussion led by a godly male leader named Benya "eating People's Stew . . . with his fingers, as was his custom, [who] reached across the stew pot and grabbed the Deputy's glass, in one gulp draining it of wine" before smoking a joint. Benya goes on to lead a discussion with his forces and God, debating the merits of taking back "the soil of our native land" from the "pig power structure." See Lenny (sic) Lipton, "At the Flick," *Berkeley Barb* 8, no. 23 (June 6–12, 1969): 16.

41. Wendy Schlesinger, "The Creation of the People's Park (and Other Political Events)—A Love Story from a Leader's Point of View," unpublished manuscript (courtesy of the author): Chapter 5, 4.

42. "People's Park Mobile Annex (Berkeley)," archival film footage, KRON-TV News (Young Broadcasting of San Francisco, May 1969), San Francisco Bay Area Television Archive, <http://bit.ly/2d1wLDe>.

43. Lipton, *Let a Thousand Parks Bloom*.

44. "Peoples Stew," *Berkeley Barb* 8, no. 19 (May 9–15, 1969): 2.

45. For more work on the gender dynamics of labor, including food production, within people's parks, see Kera Lovell, "'Everyone Gets a Blister': Sexism, Gender Empowerment and Race in the People's Park Movement," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 46, nos. 3 & 4 (Fall/Winter 2018);

Lovell, "Radical Manifest Destiny;" and Schlesinger, "Creation of the People's Park."

46. Garry Tyler, "People's Park Built by Squatters," photographs (July 25, 1971), in Box 17a, Shoot 710173, *Daily Worker* and *Daily World* Negatives Collection (PHOTOS.223.001), Tamiment Library and Wagner Labor Archives, New York University.

47. David Giffey, "Madison UFW Benefit at People's Park," photograph, Image ID 90052, David Giffey: South Madison Oral History Project and Migrant Farmworker Photographs 1966–1971, 1999–2000 Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

48. WKOW 956.5. Features (Newsfilm), 1969 June, Madison, Wisconsin, Television Newsfilm, 1955–1981 Collection, Series: WKOW Television Newsfilm, Wisconsin Historical Society.

49. Hartman has argued in her analysis of hippie food culture how 1960- and 1970-era commune cookbooks included internationally inspired recipes like "China Stew, Tamale Pie, [and] Oriental Liver" that imagined international connections. See Hartman, "Political Palate," 36.

50. Schlesinger, "Creation of the People's Park," Chapter 4, 20.

51. Haines, "New Kind of Rest."

52. John Simon, "People's Park: Just the Beginning," *Liberation Magazine* (July 1969).

53. Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, third edition (Aunt Lute Books, 2007).

54. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, first Vintage Books edition (New York: Vintage Books, October 12, 1979).

55. Concept adapted from Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30 (Jan. 1988), 3–24.

56. For discourse on interrogating the search for culinary authenticity, see Monica Perales, "The Food Historian's Dilemma: Reconsidering the Role of Authenticity in Food Scholarship," *Journal of American History* (December 2016): 690–93; Amy Bentley, "From Culinary Other to Mainstream America: Meanings and Uses of Southwestern Cuisine," in *Culinary Tourism*, ed. Lucy M. Long (Lexington, KY, 2010), 209–25; Meredith E. Abarca, "Authentic or Not, It's Original," *Food and Foodways*, 12 (no. 1, 2004), 1–25; Allan S. Weiss, "Authenticity," *Gastronomica*, 11 (Winter 2011), 74–77; Rachel Laudan, "A Plea for Culinary Modernism: Why We Should Love New, Fast, Processed Food," *Gastronomica*, 1 (Winter 2001), 36–44; Gavin Benke, "Authenticity: The Search for the Real Thing," in *Republic of Barbecue: Stories Beyond the Brisket*, ed. Elizabeth S. D. Engelhardt (Austin, 2009), 90–95; and Lavanya Ramanathan, "Why Everyone Should Stop Calling Immigrant Food 'Ethnic,'" *Washington Post*, Aug. 21, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/food/why-everyone-should-stop-calling-immigrant-food-ethnic/2015/07/20/07927100-266f-11e5-b77f-eb13a215f593_story.html.

57. Hartman, "Political Palate."

58. Franny Nudelman uses this phrase to describe how white middle-class radicals described their trips to Vietnam during the war, in which they could use food and clothing to "play" the other through "imperial eyes." See Nudelman, "Trip to Hanoi," 243, and Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, 1992).

59. Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (Yale University Press, 1999).

60. Todd Gitlin, "Death Is Not Final. Only Parking Lots," *Nickel Review* (December 26, 1969): 7.

61. José Jiménez, Conversation with the author, February 28, 2016.

62. Terkel, Interview.

63. Padoongpatt, "Oriental Cookery," 189.

64. Doyle and Braunstein, "Introduction," 10.

65. Carriere, "Lessons of People's Park."

66. Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal."

67. Perales, "Food Historian's Dilemma," 691.