Review of:
Sameness in Diversity: Food and Globalization in Modern America
Laresh Jayasanker. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2020. Pp. xiv + 269, introduction, bibliography, index.

Review by:
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Laresh Jayasanker's analysis of the impact of globalization on American food rests on a simple thesis: as post-1965 immigration patterns increased choices available in the daily American diet, globalized market forces caused those choices to homogenize through increasingly small numbers of food purveyors. *Sameness in Diversity* is first and foremost a history: a cultural history of American food, and a business history of the globalized food industry. Jayasanker's approach consciously avoids the trite lament of the ways American corporate food has disrupted "authentic" non-American food traditions (McDonaldization 5); instead, he focuses on the way constantly evolving ethnic foodways—particularly Latin American, Indian, Chinese, and Italian—have shaped twenty-first century American purchasing and eating.

Jayasanker begins by outlining the premise that food is a lens through which to understand culture, and that American culture is driven by the twin forces of sameness and diversity. He approaches this paradox through four themes: 1) food purveyors (grocers, restaurateurs, and cookbook authors) as translators; 2) foreign corporate collaboration with American corporations and homogenized foreign cuisine in the American context; 3) globalization in the American suburb; and 4) "authenticity" as a contested but highly valued experience in the face of disorientation of globalization. The introduction shows U.S. immigration history, making the point to which he returns throughout the book that in 1970, only 4.7 percent of Americans were foreign-born—the lowest rate in nearly 200 years (6).

Chapter 1 describes the consolidation of fruit and vegetable trade in and out of the U.S. as globalization made shipping far cheaper while creating demand for new and unfamiliar products in new markets due to economically-driven migration patterns. Jayasanker lays the groundwork here for his emphasis on consumer valuation of both variety and consistency. Chapter 2 continues the study of consolidation and globalization in grocery stores, and the big four in the U.S. (Kroger, Safeway, Albertsons, and Walmart).

Chapters 3 turns the focus to the theme of translation and the role supermarkets played in marketing "ethnic" food, from Chun King and chop suey (started by an Italian in northern Minnesota) to La Choy and its partnership with Rosarita, the line of processed Mexican

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foods. Jayasanker draws on industry publications like *Progressive Grocer* to evaluate the strategies employed by grocery stores to educate consumers and provide exciting experiences that felt familiar, clean, and safe. Supermarkets broadened their range of products to meet both U.S.-born and foreign-born desires for both excitement and continuity, while at the same time they narrowed their suppliers. This shift is also reflected in changes to American restaurant to accommodate a changing America.

Chapter 4 focuses on the "ethnic" restaurant—particularly the menu—as a means of translating diversity. Jayasanker analyzes pre-and post-1960s menus and phone book listings to paint a picture of the rapid shift in American dining out, customer preferences, and common knowledge. The next step in translation is the American cookbook as historical source and diversity translator.

In Chapter 5, Jayasanker focuses on cookbook authors Madhur Jaffery, Julia Child, Jane Grigson, Claudia Roden, and Elizabeth Ortiz as successful cultural translators. Their multinational backgrounds and ability to communicate across boundaries made cuisine accessible to Americans. He emphasizes the role played by publishing house Alfred A. Knopf and editor Judith Jones in translating foreign foods, techniques, and traditions for American home cooks. Jayasanker focuses on the two major goals of ethnic cookbooks: using ingredients readily available in the U.S. and having "unusual and varied" recipes for a foreign cuisine (93). Throughout this chapter and the book as a whole, Jayasanker focuses on mangoes and cilantro: in the 1960s as foods requiring explanation, comparisons, and description and in the 2000s as unremarkable and familiar mainstream ingredients that have been successfully translated into American food.

In the final chapters, Jayasanker focuses on three cuisines. In Chapter 6, he charts the history of Indian restaurants in the U.S., from nostalgic colonial outposts (1960s), to invocations of the differently nostalgic Mughal Empire (1970s), to diverse Indian cuisines (2000s). Chapter 7 tracks the history of Chinese restaurants in the US, ending with the ubiquity of P.F. Chang's, while Chapter 8 tells the story of tortilla manufacture and distribution from the 1940s to the early 2000.

While the author engages racism in every chapter, the bulk of his analysis of racial prejudice and food is saved for the conclusion, titled "What is an Authentic Taco?". He describes his initial hope that food could transcend racism. He writes, "My thinking went like this: perhaps when we eat the food of 'other,' we are less likely to be prejudiced against that group" (143). It is also in this final section that Jayasanker confronts the role of immigrant labor in the American food system and performance in staging authenticity.

The seven chapters themselves comprise 150 pages, while the remaining 120 are extensive notes for each chapter along with a weighty bibliography of primary sources. Jayasanker's methodology incorporates archived material, including primary texts (menus, phone books, industry newsletters), newspaper articles, and academic food studies sources.

Folklorists will appreciate Jayasanker's recognition of and reminders that tradition is invented, culture is dynamic, and romanticized notions of static Others uphold colonial discourses. Since Jayasanker is a historian, folklorists will find few of their fellow folklorists cited in the notes and references. That said, Jayasanker's work is of great value to foodways scholars whose interests include the suburban, the mainstream, and the historical.