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Making and Unmaking Collective Memory through Food: A Case Study of Windsor, Ontario's Yugoslav Diaspora

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ABSTRACT

The preparation and consumption of food is not merely a physical act, but a deeply social one, conveying cultural meaning that functions to tie us to our identity and profoundly influence our memory. Drawing upon interviews done with members of Windsor's Yugoslav diaspora community, this research seeks to explore the ways in which this group has negotiated its collective memory within the host society through the use of food. I identify four central aspects of food's relation to collective memory within the diaspora. First, the use of food as a means of connection to the homeland, and therefore, to collective memory. Second, the use of traditional foods as a means of gaining acceptance and visibility through the exploitation of collective memory. Next, the alteration of traditional foods as a means of gaining acceptance and (in)visibility through a form of selective forgetting. Finally, the rejection of Yugoslav culture as a means of assimilating and thus of forgetting. Taken in combination, these various approaches provide a multifaceted, comprehensive account of how food acts in relation to memory and forgetting. The emerging field of food history, with its unique ability to grant insights into cultural memories of both the private and public sphere, opens the door to a fuller, richer understanding of the dynamics of migrant life.

DEDICATION

"When there's nobody but us we eat in the kitchen, which is maybe the most important room in our house, the room where everything happens, where things begin and take their shape and end."
James Baldwin, *If Beale Street Could Talk*

This work is dedicated to those with whom I eat in the kitchen, our sacred space. To my beautiful, resilient Yugoslav family and community who have taught me all I know about food and love, and how they're very often the same thing. And to Cameron, for not only eating in the kitchen with me, but dancing too.

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Thank you to Cameron. You are the very first person to read any of my work, and the best editor around. It is such a privilege to have my work read by the greatest writer I know. I am so inspired by you, and I am unbelievably lucky to have you by my side. I love you.

Thank you to my wonderful friends. You are the glue that keeps my life together. And finally, thank you to my cat, Félicette, for being by my side through it all.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Among the many subject populations examined in the field of diaspora studies, there are few cases as complex and revealing as that of the Yugoslav diaspora. Settled during different migration waves, with social relations regulated by ever-shifting ethno-national identities, members of the Yugoslav diaspora have been forced to contend with a completely unique matrix of memory both within, and outside of, their respective communities. Distinctive in that it is a country and political project that no longer exists, Yugoslavia presents itself as a case of particular interest to scholars of cultural reproduction and collective memory. As the diaspora population in Canada is largely concentrated in industrial centers, we can gain meaningful insight into the complexities of these migrants' experience through local level analysis. Along these lines, we can look to the example of the Yugoslav diaspora in Windsor, an industrial city of around 340,000 people located in Southwestern Ontario. This research will be based upon in-depth interview data with members of Windsor's South Slav diaspora.

How, then, is the collective memory of a diaspora constructed, expressed, and negotiated by people living in a new, unfamiliar host society? Although many are quick to point to things like language or religion, one fundamental manifestation of migrant memory is often overlooked: food. The preparation and consumption of food is not merely a physical act, but a deeply social one, conveying cultural meaning that functions to tie us to our identity and profoundly influence our memory. Migration is a process of inherent dislocation, one that entails a sense of loss, alienation, and forgetting. For migrants, foodways carry cultural significance and offer a link to group membership.

Food has the potential to remind migrants of home, and, in doing so, allows them to pass on tradition and resist the pressures of assimilation. But, it can also prove a main site of difference – one that invites judgment and conflict. Food is vital to the migration process, then, representing a symbolic challenge that each migrant faces differently: reconciling between retaining tradition and making adjustments in an attempt to fit into a new environment. This poses the question – how and when do migrants selectively choose to remember, and how and when do they choose to forget?

In my case, food is uniquely well-equipped to examine the extent to which members of a diaspora have maintained their connection to the homeland, and the extent to which they have assimilated. The study of food history allows us a unique glimpse into the stories that diaspora communities have to tell, and the ways in which they negotiate these dynamics. As Sladana, one of my interviewees put it:

> When I make something then people want to know how I made it, we chat, and people get to know about the culture. They all love the food. When there is food, it's the centerpiece of everything.

I will therefore be using food history as a lens through which to explore the distinctive case of the Yugoslav diaspora in Windsor, Ontario, with the aim of filling the gap in research of this often-overlooked immigrant community in Canada.

My research will be guided by the following question: In what ways has Windsor's Yugoslav community negotiated its collective memory within the host society through the use of food? To examine these processes of negotiation, I will expand upon

four main aspects of food's relation to collective memory within the diaspora. First, the use of food as a means of connection to the homeland, and therefore to collective memory of home. Second, the use of traditional foods as a means of gaining acceptance and visibility through the exploitation of collective memory. Next, the alteration of traditional foods as a means of gaining acceptance and (in)visibility through a form of selective forgetting. Finally, the rejection of Yugoslav culture as a means of assimilating and thus of forgetting. In studying these four overlapping yet contradictory processes, this research grants meaningful insights into the nuanced ways in which members of Windsor's Yugoslav diaspora reconcile their unique social position through the use of food.

II. HISTORIOGRAPHY

Balkan Identity

It is first instructive to critically examine what exactly is meant by "Balkan" identity, and more specifically, to probe the historical (and ongoing) stereotypes ascribed to it. Understanding these key dynamics of identity formation (and consequently of memory formation, as we shall see), will provide a point of departure for later discussion. What states exactly constitute the "Balkans"? Why are certain countries lumped into this broad "geographic" region? Are its boundaries physical, cultural, ideological? The contradictory nature of these questions can be gleaned from a quick Google search, which raises many more questions than it answers. It follows that trying to define the Balkans is a difficult, perhaps impossible task. Various historians from diverse methodological and

ideological backgrounds have attempted to uncover the arbitrary nature of such a categorization, and the purpose it serves.

In his book, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, Larry Wolff famously claims that the "invention" of Eastern Europe can be understood "as an intellectual project of Demi-Orientalization."[1] The original ideological division of Western and Eastern Europe was established during the Age of Enlightenment, with Western Europe denoting itself the intellectual centre, and thus authority and arbiter of the novel idea of "civilization."[2] Key to Western Europe defining itself was the discovery of its complement "within the same continent, in shattered lands of backwardness, even barbarism" – the adjacent Eastern Europe.[3] This formula of Othering had to be somewhat different from that of Europe and the Orient, due to Eastern Europe's paradoxical location.[4] Though it was located within the physical bounds of Europe (and its population located within the cultural bounds of whiteness), its actual "Europeanness" was ambiguous.[5] It was simultaneously included and excluded as "a realm in between," as "Europe but not you," as mediating between "civilization and barbarism."[6] Its adjacency to Western Europe aligned it with notions of underdevelopment and backwardness – as a matter of fact, "Eastern Europe in the 18th century provided Western Europe with its first model of underdevelopment, the concept that we now apply all over the globe."[7] While Wolff's work certainly adds nuance to our

[1] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 7.
[2] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 4.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 7.
[5] Though I make some cursory mention of whiteness here and elsewhere throughout the article, I plan on developing these ideas further in a future article.
[6] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 7, 15, 23.
[7] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 9.

understanding of Eastern European identity as a whole, it does not engage fully with the unique and complex array of social forces at work in the Balkans specifically.

Maria Todorova addresses this gap, scrutinizing Western notions of the Balkans in her foundational work, *Imagining the Balkans*. She too, locates the Balkans vis-à-vis its liminal position within Europe. Using Edward Said's seminal concept of "Orientalism," she derives the term "Balkanism": a hegemonic discourse that constructs the 'Balkans' as Europe's Other.[8] Said explains that this Other is not allowed to speak for itself – instead, the dominant narrative is controlled by the West, which brands the East as its inferior antithesis.[9] The West's authority, and hence, its possession of the Orient, enables it to justify the continued exploitation of its peoples.[10] Though these ideas are central to Todorova's conceptualization, it must be stressed that Balkanism is not merely a subgroup of Orientalism, but rather its own distinct category.[11] This is because the Orient is seen as being in direct opposition to the West, while the Balkans are geographically inseparable from Europe – thus serving the role of the Other *within*.[12] On the other hand, Milica Bakić-Hayden does see discourse regarding the Balkans as a reproductive variant of Orientalism. Within a "gradation of 'Orients'" that she terms "nesting orientalisms": "Asia is more 'East' or 'other' than Eastern Europe; within Eastern Europe itself this gradation is reproduced with the Balkans perceived as most 'Eastern.'"[13] As mentioned above, such categorizations of the Balkans, or "gradations" as Bakić-Hayden suggests, are subjective, and therefore subject to changes based on factors

[8] Maria N. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2009), 17.
[9] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Vintage Books, 1979), 3.
[10] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
[11] Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 8.
[12] Ibid., 188.
[13] Milica Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia," *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (1995), 917-919.

such as time and circumstance.

Indeed, as Vezovnik and Šarić argue, identity is not a fixed category, but rather a dynamic one – one that is constructed by both individual and collective factors, whose formation is entirely dependent on context.[14] This context is established through the "creation of difference," wherein generating one's own identity necessarily requires the generation of the (assigned) identity of the Other.[15] In emphasizing the purported differences of the Other, a national collective may more easily reinforce hegemonic commonalities among its own members. This often manifests in an "'us' versus them or 'inside versus outside' dichotomy."[16] Vezovnik and Šarić explore how this dichotomy has manifested in the development of a "European" identity versus a "Balkan" identity.[17] Western Europe has been able to construct a "positive self-image," one that is rational, civilized, and progressive – in binary opposition to the Balkans – a land of irrationality and violence.[18] This form of Othering, Vezovnik and Šarić claim, "seems nothing more than a practice of sliding signification that comes in handy during identity consolidation."[19] The grouping of the Other is not permanent, nor does the Other have a specific set of immutable features.[20] Rather, the Other is a blank, hollow signifier, whose meaning can be changed and reinterpreted based on construction of "difference."[21] Such changes are often influenced by the projection of the West's anxieties.

[14] Andreja Vezovnik and Ljiljana Šarić, "Introduction: Constructing Balkan Identity in Recent Media Discourses," *Slavic Review* 74, no. 2 (2015), 237.
[15] Vezovnik and Šarić, "Introduction," 237.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 238.
[19] Ibid., 242.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

For a particularly glaring example of this change, we can look to the fundamental changes Balkan identity underwent throughout the 1990s. As Šarić explains, the terminology of the "Balkans" was very rarely, if ever, adopted in the self-conceptualization of the former Yugoslavia.[22] Its widespread dissemination can be attributed to discourse surrounding the Yugoslav Wars and their aftermath.[23] Various works like this one demonstrate the wide spectrum of understandings of self-image and attitudes toward "Balkan" identity within the post-Yugoslav states. For example, Nicole Lindstrom's work traces Croatia and Slovenia's "exit from the Balkans" and subsequent "return to Europe" in the 1990s.[24] The two countries were able to employ various discursive practices to position themselves as democratic, liberal, hardworking *Europeans* (not intolerant and primitive like their Southern neighbours).[25] Likewise, David Norris argues that Slovenia and Croatia presented themselves as true Europeans by emphasizing an "affiliation to the Catholic rather than the Orthodox church," and an "essentially pluralist society with the same democratic traditions as elsewhere in Central Europe."[26] Again, in direct opposition to the "semi-Asiatic," tyrannical Serbs.[27]

These understandings of Othering as context-dependent are integral to understanding Balkan migrants' identity formation in a North American context. Moreover, the internal and external politics of identification with the "Balkans" seen heretofore are readily applicable to a diaspora context. As a result of their unique

[22] Ljiljana Šarić, "Balkan Identity: Changing Self-images of the South Slavs," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 25, no. 5-6 (2004), 390.
[23] Šarić, "Balkan Identity," 390.
[24] Nicole Lindstrom, "Between Europe and the Balkans: Mapping Slovenia and Croatia's 'Return to Europe'" in the 1990s," *Dialectical Anthropology* 27, no. 3/4 (2002), 317.
[25] Lindstrom, "Between Europe and the Balkans," 316.
[26] David A. Norris, *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth: Questions of Identity and Modernity* (London, England: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), 13.
[27] Norris, *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth*, 14.

transnational status, diaspora members must negotiate not only their own complex ideas of selfhood, but also their migrant status within the host society. Do they, like in the example above, choose to emphasize sameness with the host society (commonalities in religion, skin colour, taste, and so on), to avoid being cast into the role of absolute Other? Or, might some Orientalist ideas offer migrants a unique opportunity to establish themselves more favourably in the eyes of the host society?

We can gain insight into these processes of identity development through observing diaspora foodways. As migrants construct and reconstruct their identities in the host society, their connection to food as a critical feature of memory, home, and belonging is of particular historical importance.

Collective Memory

As James Wertsch & Henry Roediger discuss in their important contribution, "Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches," the concept of "collective memory" has emerged more recently as a topic of critical significance in social science circles, yet it continues to elude researchers.[28] This is mainly due to the fact that the subject is cross-disciplinary in nature – its exploration spanning the fields of sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, and literature. However, there remains "little contact, let alone coordination, among these efforts."[29] My research intends to bridge part of this gap by incorporating a sociological lens to my primarily historical approach.

[28] James V. Wertsch and Henry L. Roediger, "Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches," *Memory* 16, no. 3 (2008), 318.
[29] Wertsch and Roediger, "Collective Memory," 318.

However, David Blight cautions us against using such concepts and terminology interchangeably.[30] We as historians must be mindful of connecting collective memory to particular historical contexts.[31]

Though its definition is notoriously contested, collective memory can generally be understood as a group's shared representation of the past.[32] This common pool of understanding, information, and memory is a crucial aspect of this group's social identity.[33] Unlike analytic history, which aims to produce an objective account of the past, collective memory takes a more overtly subjective approach.[34] Though both are concerned with representing the past, collective memory is also a sort of interpretation of contemporary cultural discourse that may be adjusted to serve a group's ongoing needs or conflicts.[35] Here, the past is intimately connected with the present: as Jan Assmann puts it, "[t]he past is not simply 'received' by the present. The present is 'haunted' by the past and the past is modeled, invented, reinvented, and reconstructed by the present."[36]

Scot French calls attention to the ways in which contemporary social contexts shape contradictory versions of the past.[37] He explains that social memory demonstrates the variety of meanings that individuals attribute to shared experiences, along with the

[30] David W. Blight, "The Memory Boom: Why and Why Now?" in *Memory in Mind and Culture*, eds. Pascal Boyer and James V. Wertsch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 239.
[31] Blight, "The Memory Boom," 239.
[32] James V. Wertsch, "The Narrative Organization of Collective Memory," *Ethos* 36, no. 1 (2008), 120.
[33] Roediger, Henry L., and Magdalena Abel. "Collective Memory: A New Arena of Cognitive Study." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 19, no. 7 (2015), 359.
[34] Wertsch and Roediger, "Collective Memory," 324.
[35] Ibid., 320.
[36] Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), 9.
[37] Scot A. French, "What Is Social Memory?," *Southern Cultures* 2, no. 1 (1995), 9.

conflict that inevitably comes "over what to remember and what to forget."[38] This leads to an abundance of competing narratives – so who gets to create the dominant one?

Wulf Kansteiner introduced the distinction between what he calls "memory makers" and "memory consumers."[39] Memory makers are those "who selectively adopt and manipulate" hegemonic representations of the past, while memory consumers are those "who use, ignore, or transform such artifacts according to their own interests."[40] Applying Kansteiner's ideas to this article, we can position the host society as memory maker, and the diaspora as memory consumer. Yugoslav migrants are constructed as passive objects, not active subjects, in the dominant narrative – so they work to regain agency by engaging with these manifestations of memory to serve their own purposes.

Collective memory becomes a framework through which members of a group may shape and filter their retellings of the past – this could include physical markers such as monuments or memorials, or experience-based rituals like festivals or ceremonies.[41] Wertsch & Roediger frame these as a set of tools that group members use when reckoning with the past.[42] This article contends that food is a very powerful example of such a tool, even though it has thus far been treated with less legitimacy within collective memory.

Understanding these abstract and amorphous concepts is perhaps easier when they are applied to a concrete case. Looking to Yugoslav diasporic foodways, we can see these forces at play. As Todorova advances in *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, memory,

[38] French, "What is Social Memory?," 17.
[39] Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory* 41, no. 2 (2002), 180.
[40] Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory," 180.
[41] Christina Simko, "Collective Memory," *Sociology*, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199756384-0215, Abstract.
[42] Wertsch and Roediger, "Collective Memory," 324.

or more specifically, the manipulation of it, has often governed conflicts in the Balkans.[43] With drastic changes in identity and nationwide traumas having occurred at a lightning pace, collective memory becomes especially significant as a "principal tool of explanation, legitimation, and mobilization."[44] The pressure a Yugoslav migrant may feel to locate themselves within *some* collective memory surely feels all the more urgent when coming to terms with a seemingly unprecedented rupture in time and space.

Wertsch & Roediger explain that memory is essentially an identity project – "remembering in the service of constructing what kind of people we are."[45] As I have explored previously, the Yugoslav diaspora has reacted to the shock of the dissolution of their homeland and subsequent forced integration into an unfamiliar host society in two major ways: competing expressions of ethno-religious nationalism and a yearning for a shared socialist past that is often referred to as "Yugonostalgia."[46] These dual memory-informed identities offer Yugoslav people different frameworks through which to understand the past. As we shall see, the model of Yugonostalgia allows for a particularly useful form of identity building through remembering.

A number of works have been written about this, and other types of collective memory, in the post-Yugoslav states.[47] However, very few works have been written

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[43] Maria N. Todorova, "Introduction: Learning Memory, Remembering Identity," in *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, ed. Maria Todorova (Washington Square, New York: New York University Press, 2004), 2.
[44] Todorova, "Introduction: Learning Memory, Remembering Identity," 3.
[45] Wertsch and Roediger, "Collective Memory," 320.
[46] See Amanda Skocic and Robert L. Nelson, "Blood and Honey: Culinary Nationalism and Yugonostalgia in a Canadian City," *Global Food History* 8, no. 1 (2022): pp. 56-77, https://doi.org/10.1080/20549547.2021.2022393.
As this article draws on the same pool of interview data, there will inevitably be some overlap between these two works. That being said, this article differs meaningfully in its centering of expansive collective memory within the host society, wherein "Blood and Honey" focuses on two specific manifestations of identity among diaspora members themselves.
[47] See James Kennell, Metod Šuligoj, and Miha Lesjak, "Dark Events: Commemoration and Collective Memory in the Former Yugoslavia," *Event Management* 22, no. 6 (2018): pp. 945-963,

about the collective memory of Yugoslav people outside of these borders. Though some scholars engage with ideas of subjective national histories, they rarely do so explicitly through notions of collective memory. For example, in her study of Yugoslav integration into Danish society, Kristine Juul makes oblique reference to the consciously pursued strategy of diasporic remembering/forgetting, but the thrust of her article focuses more on the negotiation of in/visibility in the private and public realms more generally.[48] Another scholar worthy of note here is Ivana Bajic-Hajdukovic, who conducts a transnational study on the link between food and memory in her article, "Food, Family and Memory: Belgrade Mothers and Their Migrant Children."[49] Though her work focuses on mothers within post-Yugoslav borders, it incorporates the perspective of their migrant adult children as well.

Bajic-Hajdukovic's focus on both the home and host society offers a nuanced and comprehensive view of memory and diaspora. This marks an important shift in studies of both identity and memory, as Linda Basch explains in her innovative book, *Nations Unbound*. The concept of migration brings to mind a population exiled from a homeland, one that has abandoned its old sites and ways of being in exchange for new ones.[50] However, Basch and a growing number of scholars have pointed out that such notions

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https://doi.org/10.3727/152599518x15346132863247; Magdalena Rekść, "Post–Yugoslav Collective Memory: Between National and Transnational Myths," *Polish Political Science Yearbook* 45, no. 1 (2016): pp. 73-84, https://doi.org/10.15804/ppsy2016006; Wolfgang Hoepken, "War, Memory, and Education in a Fragmented Society: The Case of Yugoslavia," *East European Politics and Societies: and Cultures* 13, no. 1 (1998): pp. 190-227, https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325499013001006; Maruša Pušnik, "Media Memorial Discourses and Memory Struggles in Slovenia: Transforming Memories of the Second World War and Yugoslavia," *Memory Studies* 12, no. 4 (2017): pp. 433-450, https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698017720254.

[48] Kristine Juul, "From Danish Yugoslavs to Danish Serbs: National Affiliation Caught Between Visibility and Invisibility," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37, no. 2 (2011): pp. 237-255, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2010.521333.

[49] Ivana Bajic-Hajdukovic, "Food, Family, and Memory: Belgrade Mothers and Their Migrant Children," *Food and Foodways* 21, no. 1 (2013).

[50] Linda Basch, *Nations Unbound,* 1st ed. (London, England: Routledge, 1994), 4.

can limit our understanding of diaspora life. Some are using the term "transnational" in an effort to encompass the complex layers of identity and memory in diaspora communities.[51] Indeed, many migrants do not see themselves as belonging solely to a fixed home or host society, but rather to a fluid and perhaps multi-sited space that transcends national boundaries.[52]

Ideas of transnationality are integral to collective memory in that they engage with the rhizomatic and mutually constructive relationship between migrants' homelands and host societies. This article seeks to further develop this helpful transnational understanding of diasporic collective memory through its application to the foodways of the Yugoslav migrants in Windsor. The emotionally evocative nature of taste means that work looking to the confluence of collective memory and eating is ripe for the picking in the nascent field of food history. Yet, as the following section will show, while some scholars have engaged with the intersection of these syncretic ideas, there remains a significant dearth of literature on the matter.

Food History

When folks (read: my family) ask me about what I study, they usually blink in confusion or giggle in awe when I tell them, "the history of food." This is mainly because the study of food has only very recently become more mainstream. Food is an essential part of our survival as human beings – indeed, the preparation and consumption of food is a universal experience unlike any other. It is because of this seemingly ordinary and overwhelmingly quotidian nature that the act of eating is often taken for granted. Indeed,

[51] Basch, *Nations Unbound*, 4.
[52] Ibid., 5, 8.

in our late capitalist society, we have little time to philosophize about our food when our few free minutes are absorbed into bland ritualized meals at our desks, optimized for speed and efficiency. As Kirsheblatt-Gimblett explains, "[t]he capacity of food to hold time, place, and memory is valued all the more in an era of hypermobility, when it can seem as if everything is available everywhere, all the time."[53] It is for this reason that it is more important than ever to theorize about food – to ask questions about what we eat and why we consume what we do, the way we do.

The ontological power of food is uniquely capable of elucidating important cultural, political, and economic issues. As Jeffrey Pilcher compellingly explains in his edited volume, *The Oxford Handbook of Food History,* food is of course in and of itself a worthy subject of study, but it is also "a captivating medium for conveying critical messages about capitalism, the environment, and social inequality to audiences beyond the ivy tower."[54] Similarly, Watson and Caldwell claim that food history provides a renewed perspective of what has, until very recently, been considered a banal topic: close attention to the "most mundane and intimate aspects of people's ordinary lives."[55] A growing historiography shows how these seemingly minute details can shed light upon major political concerns like identity and state formation, nationalism, and globalization.[56]

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[53] Barbara Kirsheblatt-Gimblett, "Foreword," in *Culinary Tourism,* ed. Lucy M Long (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), xiii.
[54] Jeffrey Pilcher, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History,* ed. Jeffrey Pilcher (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), xvii.
[55] James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell, "Introduction," in *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader,* ed. James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell, 1st ed. (Hoboken, New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 2.
[56] Watson and Caldwell, "Introduction," 2.

As a versatile marker of power relations, food history is an inherently interdisciplinary field. As such, food has been written about since antiquity; however, its presence in so-called "official" accounts of history has remained peripheral. As Watson and Caldwell demonstrate, the study of food only shifted from the fringes of academia to the centre of intellectual discourse around the early 1990s.[57] Pilcher argues that this extended resistance to the recognition of food history as a valid academic pursuit stems from the "professionalization" of history.[58] This classification deemed the writing of history a scientifically objective project, meaning academics "carefully policed the boundaries of their masculine, nation-centred discipline and derided any deviations or attempts to write history as literature."[59] So, although food was of course a point of discussion, its consideration was always in reference to other, more "legitimate" matters.

Scholars of the French Annales school were among the first to discuss food seriously in their development of the *longue durée*.[60] Their conception of a "total history" favoured broader notions such as population analysis and nutrition over more detailed understandings of food's social significance in the private sphere.[61] This paradigm continued until the 1960s and 70s, when numerous anthropologists and sociologists began to take up the subject.[62] These works, as well as those of "non-official" food

[57] Watson and Caldwell, "Introduction," 1.
[58] Pilcher, "Introduction," xvii.
[59] Ibid., xvii-xviii.
[60] Ibid., xviii.
[61] Ibid.
[62] See Lévi-Strauss Claude, *The Raw and the Cooked* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964); Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Praeger, 1966); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979); Kwang-chih Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power* (New York: Viking, 1985).

writers, laid the groundwork for the rise of a "new cultural history" that began to flourish in the 1990s, and has since produced a burgeoning literature of food history.[63]

Much specialized work has been done since, especially concerning food as a key component of identity. Food has the potential to impart values, inform habits, and create social in- and out-groups. It is a deeply symbolic vehicle through which cultural identity is defined (and accordingly, through which cultural difference is then defined). Jennie Germann Molz explains that this expression and reinforcement of identity does not simply take place at the scale of the individual, but also at the scale of group identity.[64] Both personal and communal gastronomic traditions are often associated with particular moments in our lives – perhaps with memories of childhood, major events, or specific periods of time. Interestingly, though this aspect of identity formation is intrinsically linked to processes of memory, as Jon Holtzman shows, very few works on food are framed in explicit reference to memory.[65] David Sutton's noteworthy book, *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, is among the very first scholarly works to establish a theoretical framework linking food, culture, and collective memory.[66] Along these lines, he and other authors have advanced the claim that the embodied sensory experience of food is particularly relevant to its correlation to memory, a theme that can be seen throughout this article.

These sensory experiences can be exceptionally powerful during times of hardship and alienation, feelings that migrants are no strangers to. Donna Gabaccia's

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[63] Jeffrey Pilcher, "Cultural Histories of Food," in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. Jeffrey Pilcher (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 41.
[64] Jennie Germann Molz, "Tasting an Imagined Thailand," in *Culinary Tourism*, ed. Lucy M Long (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 65.
[65] Jon D. Holtzman, "Food and Memory," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35, no. 1 (2006), 362.
[66] David Evan Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (Oxford: Berg, 2006).

book, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*, shows that migrants' early resistance to American cuisine came from their need to adjust to a new host society, one over which they had little power or influence.[67] They did not have free choice over where they would reside, the type of labour they would perform, or the language they would need to learn. So, they clung onto something they had some degree of control over: their food.[68] Migrants had to contend with what Gabaccia terms the "food fight" that broke out from the late 1880s through to the 1940s concerning "what it meant not only to be, but to eat, American."[69] Culinary reformers in the host society (largely women) launched campaigns that worked to prevent the proliferation of ethnic foods and eating customs, seeking to Americanize migrant foodways.[70] These campaigns constructed ethnic foods and their enterprises as dangerous and threatening to the health and welfare of American consumers and the greater nation-state, and so it was considered the duty of educated American women to persuade ethnic communities to embrace the "scientific, modern, and patriotic diet" of Puritan New England.[71] Ideas of indulgence or pleasure derived from eating ethnic foods stood in stark opposition to the restrained, austere, and technocratically efficient values of the "national cuisine" that American scientists were trying to instill in the working class and immigrant population.[72] This site of political contestation, Kyla Wazana Tompkins argues, was instrumental in the production of a moral body:

[67] Donna Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), 48.
[68] Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, 48.
[69] Ibid., 121.
[70] Ibid., 131.
[71] Ibid., 122, 131.
[72] Ibid., 125-126.

> Within these local, national, and transnational discourses, the mouth became the focus of a disciplinary project within which the correct embodiment of the individual was understood to be of deep importance to the burgeoning nation. Such disciplinary models changed across the century, to be sure, as different cultural and political anxieties, as well as various transnational relations, occupied the cultural imagination.[73]

Her book, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the 19th Century*, is among the first and only works to focalize the interconnection between eating and whiteness, with reference to how these socially constructed boundaries shift over time. As cultural anxieties shifted, so too did the acceptable range of menu items.

Perhaps the most illustrative example of these vacillating parameters of social acceptability can be seen in the Chinese diaspora. As Yong Chen demonstrates, the Chinese migrant community had to overcome overwhelmingly negative stereotypes of its people, and by extension, of its food.[74] Profoundly unfamiliar to white palates and therefore particularly far out of the bounds of "good taste," Chinese food was perceived as being ridden with disease. Along these lines, newspaper and other media from the time show frequent imagery of filthy conditions and repulsive ingredients (most often of rats, another clear carrier of sickness).[75] Popular magazines claimed that the Chinese were

[73] Kyla Wazana Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the 19th Century* (New York University Press, 2012), 6.
[74] Yong Chen, *Chop Suey, USA: The Story of Chinese Food in America* (Columbia University Press, 2014), 15.
[75] Chen, *Chop Suey*, 16.

inherently un-assimilable due in part to their eating habits.[76] The Chinese had not only brought their "barbaric" foodways with them, but were serving that same food to the American people as well, thus corrupting the national body.[77]

While racist ideas about Chinese migrants and their foods certainly persisted throughout the twentieth century, changing economic conditions meant that they were no longer seen as a threat, and so were granted a new degree of qualified acceptance.[78] Hostile attitudes abated as "the perceived threat of the Chinese had been curbed and controlled," purged from small-town America and "[n]ow safely contained in the confines of a few urban blocks in major cities" in the form of ghettoized Chinatowns.[79] Simultaneously, and due in part to the same causes, America's ambitious culinary reformist program had already begun to fail by the 1920s.[80] The new accessibility of Chinatown, along with the prolonged attention paid to "the Chinese problem," had engendered a new perception of Chinese cuisine in the Western cultural imaginary – one that was exotic but urban, and that attracted curious visitors eager to experience a taste of the Orient.[81] The years following the Second World War saw a further incorporation of ethnic foods into the "big business" of being American – as yet another commodity to be bought and sold in a now definitively White American World.[82]

Importantly though, Lisa Heldke notes that the migrant Other is not a passive subject in this process, but actually plays a crucial role in delineating the boundaries of

[76] J.A.G. Roberts, *China to Chinatown: Chinese Food in the West* (London, England: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2002), 147.
[77] Chen, *Chop Suey*, 16.
[78] Ibid., 96.
[79] Ibid., 96.
[80] Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, 148.
[81] Chen, *Chop Suey*, 94.
[82] Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, 148.

the exotic.[83] This understanding of migrants' agency is an important point of departure for my own research. Migrant restaurateurs can indeed directly influence the tastes of their consumers:

> Perhaps they want to deflect consumer interest away from certain dishes because they are too labor intensive or require ingredients that are too difficult to obtain or too expensive; perhaps they want to encourage tastes for dishes that rely on abundant foods, are easy to prepare or that showcase something in a cuisine about which the restaurateur is particularly proud.[84]

It is thus both erroneous and disempowering to assume that Chinese migrants were helpless victims or mere puppets of American interests – as Heldke makes clear, migrants were able to engage in a wide array of strategies to influence the particular qualities their cuisine would take on in the "Euroamerican consumerist machinery."[85] For example, J.A.G. Roberts claims that many Chinese business owners made it their objective to refashion Chinatown to better represent the Oriental iconography Western visitors were hoping to find.[86] Chen considers the Chinese restaurateurs of New York and San Francisco as perhaps the most successful in their quest to draw in culinary tourists looking for a cheap and ready-made exotic experience.[87] An escapade to Chinatown was highly curated – customer reviews frequently went into greater detail about

[83] Lisa M. Heldke, *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 21.
[84] Heldke, *Exotic Appetites*, 21.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Roberts, *China to Chinatown*, 155.
[87] Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, 102.

restaurants' foreign, opulent architecture and decor than they did about their food.[88] Though some restaurateurs attempted to embellish traditional cuisine, Gabaccia contends that the majority found greater success in selling modified, Americanized versions of their dishes.[89]

In their edited volume, *Tourism and the Power of Otherness*, David Picard and Michael A. Di Giovine conduct an in-depth analysis of the construction of this particular type of space, and the reasoning behind it.[90] They claim that tourism allows for a temporary disruption of the status quo, a ritualized transgression that invites tourists to satisfy their repressed desires.[91] This gratification is seen as "a form of 'reward' for people's docile support of the constraints of work-life," a way to unwind and behave in ways that would elsewhere be seen as socially improper.[92] It was in part this dynamic that bell hooks was critiquing when she famously wrote: "Within commodity culture, ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture."[93]

Rituals of engagement with these seemingly separate, far-away worlds often involve participation in exaggerated or sensationalized scenes of obvious difference.[94] Lucy Long's edited volume, *Culinary Tourism*, expands upon how this notion of tourism

[88] Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, 103.
[89] Ibid., 102.
[90] David Picard and Michael A. Di Giovine, "Introduction: Through Other Worlds," in *Tourism and the Power of Otherness: Seductions of Difference*, ed. David Picard and Michael A. Di Giovine (Bristol, England: Channel View Publications, 2014).
[91] Picard and Di Giovine, "Introduction," 22-23.
[92] Ibid.
[93] bell hooks, "Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance," in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 21.
[94] Picard and Di Giovine, "Introduction," 22-23.

is negotiated through food in particular.[95] The foundation of culinary tourism is the premise that a group's foodways may serve as a stage on which their identity is performed.[96] Food offers a way in which "the culinary tourist can interact with the Other."[97] Because food is readily available to outsiders, it renders cultural difference uniquely accessible (in a way that is not possible with, for example, a foreign language or other such cultural practices).[98] Due to the position of privilege and power from which Americans partake in culinary tourism, this curated form of cultural exposure "does not challenge one's identity as an American."[99]

Understanding of their transient position in the American hierarchy of identity, Long claims that migrant groups make use of food as a tool "to 'sell' their histories and to construct marketable and publicly attractive identities."[100] They reconcile their status as Other by socially reconstructing their foodways within three particular realms of taste that Westerners are acquainted with: "the exotic, the edible, and the palatable."[101] Ethnic restaurateurs must maneuver within these realms when introducing their foods to a host society.[102] Along these lines, they can carefully craft memories of their food, and thus of themselves. It is worthwhile here to note that this process does not occur in the form of a simple binary of exotic or familiar, but rather can be dynamic – migrant group foodways often shift between the two, or even perform both simultaneously.[103] Further, this

[95] Lucy M. Long, "Culinary Tourism: A Folkloristic Perspective on Eating and Otherness," in *Culinary Tourism*, ed. Lucy M. Long (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004).
[96] Germann Molz, "Tasting an Imagined Thailand," 66.
[97] Ibid., 65.
[98] Ibid., 65-66.
[99] Lucy M. Long, "Introduction," in *Culinary Tourism*, ed. Lucy M. Long (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 14.
[100] Long, "Culinary Tourism," 20.
[101] Ibid., 32.
[102] Ibid., 34.
[103] Ibid., 36.

negotiation is based upon what Long believes are five central strategies: "framing, naming or translation, explication, menu selection, and recipe adaptation."[104] Throughout the article, we will see this collection of strategies being operationalized in the foodways of the Yugoslav diaspora.

These strategies must be understood as context-dependent, and therefore subject to redefinition in accordance with ever-shifting norms of ethnicity and whiteness.[105] It is necessary here to situate Yugoslav migrants within these localities to better understand how they negotiate this process. As the literature will demonstrate, whiteness is a relational concept, one that is socially constructed and changeable. We can look to the transformation of Irish identity in America as a prime example of this phenomenon. Noel Ignatiev's provocative book, *How the Irish Became White,* investigates how the previously oppressed group of the Catholic Irish evolved into an oppressing class themselves.[106] To become accepted as a member of the white race (and thus as an American citizen) was to gain access to a wide array of social and economic advantages, and so in many cases Irish immigrants consciously pursued this end.[107]

In David Roediger's *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past,* James Barrett explains that prior to their indoctrination into White supremacy, Eastern and Southern European migrants existed in the "inbetween": simultaneously positioned as being above more readily racialized groups like Africans or Asians, but still below true White people.[108] This immigrant class was referred to as America's "temporary Negroes."[109]

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[104] Long, "Culinary Tourism," 37.
[105] Ibid., 36.
[106] Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 1.
[107] Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 2.
[108] James Barrett, "Race, Nationality and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," in *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past,* ed. David Roediger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 139.
[109] Barrett, "Race, Nationality and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," 143.

Chen shows these dynamics at work in his study of Chinese migrants and their culinary exchanges with other, less racialized migrant groups. He points out that the Irish, in their relocation from the East to the West Coast, were able to effectively "whiten" themselves in juxtaposition to the decidedly less white Chinese that populated the region.[110] Likewise, Jews could feel more ostensibly American among the Chinese, who appeared to know even less about American customs and behaviours than they did, and who bore even less resemblance to the White American norm.[111] In effect, "[t]he Jews *became* American in Chinese restaurants."[112]

These blurred, capricious dividing lines of whiteness manifest in especially instructive ways in the case of the Yugoslav diaspora. As explained earlier, the Balkans finds itself at a crossroads of East and West, and this uniquely liminal identity informs the perception of its food in a variety of ways. Important insights into this and other related phenomena will be granted through a novel identity- and memory-based examination of the foodways of the Yugoslav diaspora. Indeed, this is the first work to examine the ways in which Yugoslav migrants construct collective memory through food in their host society.

III. METHODOLOGY

This essay is based on thirty-three interviews conducted between February 2018 and July 2020. Seventeen interviews were done with individuals involved in the Balkan food industry in Windsor, Ontario, as well as some in the neighbouring Greater Detroit

[110] Chen, *Chop Suey*, 118.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.

Area. This group of interviewees included food preparation workers and management at various Balkan food establishments. These interviews were conducted either in-person at the establishment or by telephone. Locations were found online, through word-of-mouth, or were recommended by participants themselves. Five interviews were done in-person with members of the Yugoslav diaspora about their individual experiences with food. These interviewees were known to the interviewers, either family members or friends. Eleven interviews were conducted via an online questionnaire. The questionnaire was shared through a personal network and within various online forums (Facebook and Twitter). Prospective participants were asked to submit their responses by email. These respondents did not have any connection to the food industry, but rather shared their personal experiences with food and identity.

The majority of the interviews were conducted in the individuals' native tongue and then translated into English. I, the main interviewer, am a mixed Croatian/Serbian Canadian woman. Three of the interviews were done by Dr. Robert Nelson, a male Canadian of Northern European descent. Immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and the wider Balkan region made up the majority of the participants. Individuals from Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Slovakia were among them. Although several of the respondents were not from Yugoslavia, they were included due to their affiliation with Yugoslav culinary establishments (for example, the Polish manager of the European Market). Some interviewees are referred to by aliases upon request.

These interviews were based on open-ended questions. The complete questionnaire can be found in the Appendix. It is important to note that although these

interviews were originally conducted for an identity-based research project, there is still much insight to be gained from the data regarding questions of memory. As we have established, memory and identity are deeply intertwined processes, and ones that exert profound influence on one another.

IV. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Attempting to retain memory and connection to the homeland

The first, and perhaps most obvious, way that the Yugoslav diaspora negotiates its position within Canadian society via food is by using it as a cultural touchstone and link to the homeland. Here we see that food is a powerful tool used by diaspora populations to remember the homeland and counteract the process of individual and collective forgetting that is inherent to the diaspora experience. So, re-creating the cultural and material practices connected to food proves a very powerful way to connect to memory through enacting a collective cultural identity.

We can begin this discussion by considering Ruba Salih's concept of the "transnational division of ritual space" wherein migrant groups use rituals to simultaneously connect to their homelands and to reconstruct this connection to their identities within the unfamiliar host society.[113] As Kristine Juul elaborates, "a 'we' group is defined vis-à-vis a 'they group'" when migrant groups come together to create a space where they can perform traditional rituals and establish a personal environment of

[113] Ruba Salih, *Gender in Transnationalism: Home, Longing and Belonging Among Moroccan Migrant Women* (New York City, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2003), 82.

belonging. [114] Often, these traditional rituals involve preparation and consumption of traditional cultural foods. Looking more closely at the case of Windsor's Yugoslav diaspora, many restaurant owners express that opening their businesses has helped them to maintain their identities, connect with their culture, and bond with other Yugoslav immigrants:

> Yugoslavian people come to the restaurant to eat every Friday and Saturday night because there is no other place where they can actually talk and mingle more. You can buy ćevapi at Marina's Deli, but there is no other place you can really sit and talk with our people. We are the only restaurant left that can provide that. (Edin)

Weller & Turkon point out that food acts as a sort of "bridge between immigrants and their homeland," allowing them to maintain a connection to the homeland through preparing and eating cultural foods.[115] This facilitates a social and psychological link to the country of origin by enabling members of the diaspora to "recall long-past memories" of "family, friends and places left behind."[116] These themes are apparent within the data:

> Food is very much connected to our culture. This is how we grew up, it's our way of living. Our food is how we live. When we're hungry we can eat

[114] Kristine Juul, "Performing Belonging, Celebrating Invisibility?: The Role of Festivities among Migrants of Serbian Origin in Denmark and in Serbia," *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 4, no. 4 (2014), 187.
[115] Daniel L. Weller and David Turkon, "Contextualizing the Immigrant Experience: The Role of Food and Foodways in Identity Maintenance and Formation for First- and Second-generation Latinos in Ithaca, New York," *Ecology of Food and Nutrition* 54, no. 1 (2014), 58.
[116] Ibid.

> anything, but we always come back to what our mothers cooked for us when we were kids. (Radovan)

Along the lines of food's key place within migrants' processes of remembering, Sutton notes the deeply nostalgic power food holds in diaspora communities. Sutton describes this as a longing for home – or a "returning to the whole" – wherein experiencing the smells and tastes of the homeland allows migrants to temporarily reconstruct and thus relive a time when their lives and identities were unfragmented. [117]

> My food does help me stay connected to my culture, because in many ways it reminds me of home. You know how sometimes a certain smell can remind you of a certain place? The aroma of food can sometimes instantly transport me back to Bosnia. Apart from speaking the language, I find that the food we eat is the second closest thing that we have to being exactly as it was back home. (Tamara)

To particularize this general connection between food and memory to the Yugoslav case, we can look to the ways in which Sutton's ideas of "nostalgia for an imaginary lost Eden"[118] echo manifestations of "Yugonostalgia" within the South Slav diaspora. The collapse of Yugoslavia disrupted processes of cultural reproduction, in turn disrupting processes of communal remembering.[119] Nostalgia thus emerged as an

[117] Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*, 73, 86.
[118] Ibid., 155.
[119] Zala Volcic, *Serbian Spaces of Identity and Belonging: Narratives of Serbian Nationalism by the Last "Yugo" Generation* (New York: Hampton Press, 2011), 128.

important mechanism through which Yugoslavs could maintain and protect collective memory.[120] This phenomenon has been termed "Yugonostalgia," described as collective "feelings of yearning for the socialist past."[121] Sutton's portrayal of an atomized migrant life is particularly well-suited then, to an analysis of Yugoslav foodways, filtered as they are through elusive understandings of ethno-national identity. Sutton's evocation of Eden dovetails with Mazzuchelli's sentiment that Yugonostalgia is "a sort of disjointed regret for what is lost forever, for a sort of Atlantis," and ultimately, "an incapacity of memory." [122] This singularly complex case of identity, taken in tandem with Sutton's helpful account of food's importance to memory, clearly has the potential to grant insight into the nuances of the Yugoslav diaspora's relations to home and the host society. Among the interviewees, we see instances of food memory manifesting through Yugonostalgia:

> My food is Balkan because we are very diverse, we include all Eastern European style food. I am not pro-Bosnian, pro-Croatian, or pro-Serbian. I was brought up in old Yugoslavia where everybody was the same. (Milan)

> I have all people come in. Here, it's like we are still in Yugoslavia. It is like the old Yugoslavia never stopped, Albanians come to the shop too, everyone can be together. (Mira)

[120] Volcic, *Serbian Spaces of Identity and Belonging*, 129.
[121] Francesco Mazzucchelli, "What Remains of Yugoslavia? From the Geopolitical Space of Yugoslavia to the Virtual Space of the Web Yugosphere," *Social Science Information* 51, no. 4 (2012), 636-637.
[122] Mazzucchelli, "What Remains of Yugoslavia," 637.

Undoubtedly, migrants use food to maintain a connection to the homeland through a variety of means. But, informed by the same knowledge that food is a powerful cultural tool, we can see that migrants also use this force to facilitate connection with the host society.

Using food to become accepted into Canadian society

Next, many Yugoslav immigrants use food as a means of gaining acceptance into Canadian society. Inherent to diaspora life is a degree of alienation that stems from the experience of having memories unique from and unknown to those in the host society. In sharing that experience, those memories become less isolated – there are now people to share them with. As a result, those memories of the homeland have a better chance of lasting over multiple generations, even in a new location. Since food is evocative of deep feelings of home, comfort, and belonging, it is seen by migrants as an attractive way to begin bridging the cultural gap and relating to the host society. For this reason, members of the host community are often introduced to a diaspora through its cuisine. It offers a way to build connections with members of the host society, while at the same time, sharing Yugoslav culture.

One of the primary ways in which this dynamic is demonstrated among members of Windsor's Yugoslav diaspora is the interpersonal sharing of food, the opening of restaurants, and the hosting of festivals. Through these mediums, South Slav immigrants can express a willingness to integrate into the host society's customs while still commemorating their ethnic individuality.[123] In other words, sharing food in this way allows members of the diaspora to "demonstrate belonging while, simultaneously,

[123] Juul, "Performing Belonging," 184.

maintaining difference and sameness."[124] These themes of pursuing acceptance and belonging while maintaining a sense of distant connection to the homeland were apparent in the data gathered from the interviews. Stories of personal belonging were particularly present in interviews with a more interpersonal focus:

> I like to share my food with everybody, so they can see how it tastes. When they try the food, they like us right away. (Snezana)

> I think food really helped the community integrate and become accepted. In the 90s it was very hard, but now it is easier to explain things, and everyone is willing to try the food. (Srle)

Here we can see clearly this idea of food being a universal entry point for migrants, beginning the process of integrating while at the same time ensuring some maintenance of the memory connection to the homeland. Similar dynamics can be found among restaurant owners who emphasize using their food culture as a means of educating others for the goal of integration:

> Everyone relates food to culture. By introducing ćevapi, people can find out more about our culture which therefore helps us become known, it helps to integrate more into the community when you first come since the best way to

[124] Juul, "Performing Belonging," 184.

find out about culture is through food. (Radovan)

> We are not opening this for our people, we're opening this to educate other people on food consumption. It is not for us Serbians, Croatians, who already know – we need to educate the Canadians and other cultures on food consumption. (Milan)

So, although public institutions of food preparation and consumption are opened to serve the diaspora, they also serve diaspora populations by performing the crucial function of creating a base level of unmediated knowledge of the homeland among members of the host society. This is an essential early step to assimilating without losing all connection to and memory of the homeland. In doing so, migrants open the door to participating in a society that is not entirely estranged from them – they can live in a world that perhaps remembers some of the same things they do:

> It started off with mostly our people, which included Serbs, Croatians, Macedonians, and even Italians. However, it is the ćevapi that bring in more Canadian people. (Radovan)

> We started to introduce the food to Italians, Greeks, Romanians, a little bit of everyone. I am trying to get everyone to try ćevapi. We want it to be like the way people started to eat gyros, and it became a popular, more mainstream thing that people ate. We are getting ćevapi to everyone. (Radovan)

Here we see Lucy Long's strategy of menu selection, the choosing of specific dishes presumed to appeal most to Western consumers.[125] For Yugoslav restaurateurs and businesses, this most often takes the form of ćevapi. A traditional dish in the Balkans, ćevapi are case-less grilled sausages made with mixed meats and seasonings, usually served as five to ten pieces in a flatbread. This choice of dish may be considered representative of the culture's cuisine, but it also takes cues from the tastes of its consumers.[126] Eminently accessible and easy to eat, ćevapi are served in a familiar-looking sandwich style, and so it's no surprise that the Yugoslav diaspora has largely picked the food as its entry point to Western stomachs. This is especially obvious when Milan juxtaposes this more "edible," and thus more readily marketable option, with other traditional foods:

> I know it's kind of gross, but we make krvavice (blood sausage), čvarke (pork rind), and other things like that. (Milan)

Restaurant owners in particular must be acutely conscious of their potential clientele's taste preferences and previous exposure to other migrants' foodways systems in order to stay in business.[127] As such, they are inclined to choose what is "safe" – something that does not challenge dominant perceptions of "good taste."[128] Next, we can see Long's second strategy of negotiation, naming or translation, in

[125] Long, "Culinary Tourism," 42.
[126] Ibid., 42.
[127] Ibid., 37.
[128] Ibid., 29.

Milan's identification of the product. Milan's ćevapi packages display the English translation, "Grandpa Louis," instead of the original "Deda Ljubo." Underneath the distinction of "ćevapi" we immediately see the English phonetic transcription of "(CHE-VAP-EE)," clearly placing the food within a framework accessible to North Americans. Below, a description reads "Euro-Style Premium Sausages," a broad and neutral distinction that plays on positive perceptions of Europe while avoiding the negative connotations of Balkan. There is also the issue of framing, another strategy which involves curating the context around a food item.[129] The product description emphasizes its family recipe, made by Grandpa Louis. This focus on family and tradition not only emphasizes the food's representativeness of the past, but also grounds it in the familiar to draw attention to its similarity to Western memory and foodways.[130] In presenting the mundane as somehow special, this strategy "personalizes, and therefore humanizes, otherwise exotic, potentially inedible foods."[131]

Inherent to this phenomenon is the fact that migrants rely on some pre-existing knowledge, or existing collective memory, of foreign foods in the host society. In doing so, they may use this collective memory to their advantage. Here, they interact with and take advantage of Western notions of the Balkans as being somehow different and exotic – allowing them to make a living through restaurants, but also to continue their traditions:

[129] Long, "Culinary Tourism," 38.
[130] Ibid., 38-39.
[131] Ibid., 41.

> One of my friends said that back in the 80s, it was the gyro that was the new big thing, in the 90s it was the shawarma, and now it's the ćevapi. We have to jump on that train, because it's something different and everybody wants to try something different. People are already sick of the Chinese food, Lebanese food, all these foods. But where is the Eastern European culture? (Milan)

For further insight into this dynamic of gaining acceptance through public displays of the homeland's culture, we can look to the diaspora's engagement with community festivals. Fredrik Barth suggests that public rituals are a "source of ethnic differentiation," wherein cultural meaning is created that can be co-created by organizers and attendees alike.[132] Juul expands upon this idea, claiming that such highly visible performances may then be deliberately undertaken to address the broader host society, becoming "important vehicles of strengthening group solidarity and re-appropriating urban space."[133] This enables migrant groups to showcase their contribution to the host society through an acceptable method of visibility, or "a celebration of having become invisible."[134] The manager of the Serbian Centre tells me about the Serbian Festival:

> We host a 'Carousel of Nations' where we showcase cultural food. The fact that we are seeing a lot of regular people going to these places shows that

[132] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1998), 323-324.
[133] Juul, "Performing Belonging," 187.
[134] Ibid., 184.

> something has changed to allow it to become acceptable to eat this thing I can't really pronounce properly. (Tim)

Sutton's concept of "tasting the Other" is plainly reflected here.[135] Heldke expands upon this idea, critically examining culinary tourists or "food adventurers" who reinforce Orientalist, colonial structures as "those people for whom eating is an expedition into the unknown, a pursuit of the strange."[136] In this pursuit, it is necessary to "whittle the exotic down to size," making it more easily identifiable, familiar to (white) normative standards of taste, and above all, controllable.[137] So, if migrants learn the correct Orientalist formula, they can make a living through restaurants, markets, etc. but also continue their traditions – albeit in a very specific, limited, and exoticized way. We can see then that Yugoslav migrants have the capacity to mobilize their cultural and individual memories of traditional foods in the public sphere as a means of connecting to the host society. Simultaneous though, is a parallel process of selective "forgetting," wherein interviewees alter their long held foodways in order to cater to the tastes and prejudices of the host society.

Changing traditional foods to appeal to mainstream Western culture

To move onto a sort of inverse of this last dynamic, a third way in which members of the diaspora negotiate their position within Western culture is by actively attempting to change or "whiten" their foods. This is done largely in order to avoid evoking the negative attributes associated with the host society's collective memory of

[135] Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*, 5.
[136] Lisa Heldke, *Exotic Appetites*, xxi.
[137] Ibid., 19.

Yugoslavia and the Balkans. As has been shown, the diaspora is acutely aware of how their food can influence the way in which they are perceived in the host society. In order to better assimilate and become integrated, diaspora members often engage in conscious acts of forgetting. This is relevant not only to restaurant owners who must maintain their businesses, but also to parents who must find a way to satisfy younger generations' increasingly Westernized tastes. This might take the form of altering things as foundational as a favourite meal from childhood or a grandparent's recipe in order to appeal to the tastes of the host society. When I asked restaurant owners whether Canadian culture has influenced their cultural habits and traditions, many gave me examples of changes they have made:

> I prefer to call my food Serbian or Croatian. I don't like the word "Balkan," it seems barbaric in a way. While trying to think of names for a new restaurant, we came up with "Balkan Bite" but decided it wasn't a good idea. Not everyone is too fond of Balkan people, and some may get turned off by that name. (Radovan)

Here we can see a real self-awareness of how "Balkan" is viewed in the Western cultural imaginary. This now-hegemonic discourse has led to the formation of a scapegoat identity, wherein Yugoslavs become denizens of "the darkest part of Europe."[138] These clearly racialized images have led Yugoslav food businesses to display their food in a way that they believe won't turn off Canadians. Indeed, when asked about

[138] Lisa Heldke, *Exotic Appetites*, 391.

the term Balkan, many of the interviewees expressed an awareness of their dubious racial status as being "not quite white":

> I do not consider myself white, though I am not a person a colour. (Marko)

> I only consider myself white in the colour of my skin, other than that, no. I look white, but I have an accent, I'm just a working-class man with an accent, and I don't see myself being Canadian middle class. (Radovan)

> My kids tell me that our nation is considered brown to others. (Sladana)

In response to this recognition that they do not fit into Western normative standards of whiteness, members of the diaspora are faced with the dilemma of adopting their foods to suit mainstream Canadian society. In turn, they often reject the term "Balkan" to describe their food in favour of individual labels (Serbian, Croatian, etc.), or even go so far as to eschew cultural indicators altogether. Krishnendu Ray describes this negotiative process as being filtered through a "global hierarchy of taste"[139] – one that is informed by white, Eurocentric notions of "good taste." "Ethnic" food is categorized lower on this hierarchy, and Yugoslav food in particular occupies a distinct rung of this ladder as a type of "ethnic" food that is uniquely positioned with reference to Western notions of the Balkans. In order to avoid the consequences of being labelled as non-white, and thus being categorized at the bottom of that hierarchy, Yugoslav migrants often

[139] Krishnendu Ray, *The Ethnic Restaurateur* (London, England: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016), 167.

emphasize sameness and assimilate their food to whatever is seen as likeable to the host society. Here, we can see Long's final strategy of negotiation at play: recipe adaptation. This comprises the manipulation of preparation methods, or more often, the changing of ingredients, to be more familiar to white palates.[140] For example, the traditional way of eating ćevapi has changed:

> Our traditional dish is eaten in a lepinja (a sort of flatbread), with onion and ajvar (pepper-based condiment). However, now in Canadian culture I am seeing ćevapi being put into hot dog buns, eaten as a finger food, mixed with garlic sauce, etc. which Croatians and Serbians have never used. Barbecue makes it likable for Americans. (Radovan)

> I work with Bubi's to create the new ćevapi. Typically, they are served with ajvar or kajmak (cream cheese spread) back home, but the ćevapi and garlic sauce just go hand in hand. Now when people come in to get ćevapi, they grab the garlic sauce too. Some chop it up and use it instead of meatballs in tomato sauce. Others purchase the ground meat mix and use it in chili. (Milan)

> Chicken ćevapi are not traditional, but now they are making them, as well as spicy & smoked ćevapi. It is not holding onto tradition, but fusioning current tastes. The spicy & smoked flavour was an explosion of what everyone is

[140] Long, "Culinary Tourism," 43.

> seeking, so Milan succumbed and made his ćevapi in a non-traditional way. The base is held to traditional standards, but we have fusioned off into a variety. We all do, because we get bored of the old traditions. (Buddy)

Again, we see this idea of trying to make traditional food more palatable to Canadian tastes. Indeed, this new altered food (ćevapi in hot dog buns) is an apt metaphor for the contradictory diaspora experience at large: keeping a base of tradition and memory, but still adapting to the conditions of life in a different country. This proves a complex balancing act – a kind of negotiated synthesis that entails keeping certain memories where possible while acknowledging that those memories cannot simply replicate the old ones. As is often the case, this contradiction flows from migrants' need to appease Western tastes.

> We try to integrate everything; the idea is to open a Serbian restaurant to everybody with really good ethnic food. So, our restaurants are for both. Businesswise, you cannot survive based on only one food, so you open it up to the public still hoping to attract mostly Serbian people. (Srle)

> When we started, our purpose was to give people who share the same culture, language and ideals a space together. Unfortunately, as generations grow up and start to dilute, like when a Serbian marries an English person, the focus has shifted from supporting the culture, to how do we make it relevant to a third or fourth generation immigrant - someone who has been culturally

> diluted. Any time there is a gathering, the community is retaining what we have, but also showcasing it to other people. (Tim)

Evidently, diaspora restaurateurs have little choice but to engage in a deliberate act of forgetting, or at very least of altering, memories of home and food. Even still, we can see that although this compromise is far from ideal, the practice of altering traditional foods allows migrants to prolong some sort of real (albeit altered) memory of the homeland. Some think it's better to have ćevapi in a hot dog bun than no ćevapi at all!

While we have seen aspects of these forces that deal primarily with migrants' relationship to food and memory in the public sphere, we can now turn to how this dynamic works its way into the private sphere of the home and family. Here, parents are forced to contend with the uncomfortable fact that in many ways, their children are products of the host society in a way that they never will be. In order to conciliate diaspora children's Westernized tastes, parents must acknowledge that their kids do not have the same memories, experiences, or preferences they do, and must "forget" by changing lifelong recipes in order to fit with their children's new tastes. One interviewee cooks at home and claims she's had to change her food to be healthier for her children:

> I have to change things so the kids will eat it. If I make it like my mom did, the kids won't eat it. I use different seasonings or more gravy in some foods. Kids don't eat that much carbs, so I make less pasta and more healthy rice, or less potatoes. (Sladana)

Bajic-Hajdukovic explores the ways in which mothers must adapt to migrant children's increasingly Westernized taste in food. She argues that in preparing cultural food for migrant children, mothers are able to connect emotionally to their families as well as foster memory of the homeland through the transmission of cultural rituals and traditions.[141] This unique social positioning allows mothers to assert power within the patriarchal family structure; however, Western acculturation of migrant children has significantly changed this dynamic.[142] When migrant children reject certain food products as too sweet, heavy, fatty, or greasy, mothers are "hurt and interpret it as a repudiation not only of their gift but of themselves," as well as a rejection "of the wider social network, of ancestors and traditions they shared in common."[143]

Clearly, migrants and members of the host society alike place great importance on food as a cultural signifier and source of memory. This knowledge, working in tandem with ever-present social ideals of whiteness and 'being a good immigrant,' manifests itself in the form of migrants altering traditional foods to better suit the host society's preferences, but also, more subtly, in the phenomenon of migrants themselves rejecting, and thus forgetting, their traditional foods and foodways.

Rejection of Yugoslav culture / assimilation into Canadian society

The final way in which the Yugoslav community negotiates its position within Western society is through the conscious rejection of Yugoslav culture, undertaken with the goal of assimilation into Canadian society. This phenomenon is often informed by feelings of guilt and shame, directed towards both the left-behind homeland and the

[141] Bajic-Hajdukovic, "Food, Family, and Memory," 46.
[142] Ibid., 53.
[143] Ibid., 53.

receiving society. As we have seen, food is a foundational and deeply meaningful site of memory, and so it stands to reason that diaspora members looking to distance themselves from the homeland (in order to assimilate, be accepted, or gain feelings of improved self-esteem) would apply these feelings to what they eat. Some interviewees shared difficult feelings of their loss of culture and need to adapt to Canadian society:

> Western culture influenced me in that it assimilated me completely so that I did not know my Yugoslav cultural traditions until I was a teenager. (Marko)

> Having grown up experiencing the desire to fit in and being made to feel very much like an outsider, I did alter aspects of myself to fit the Western mould. I am now spending my twenties trying to regain those cultural references that I blocked out as a child. (Katarina)

Here, we see foodways as a potent indicator of the degree of assimilation that a migrant group has undergone, and thus the degree to which they remember or forget. In particular, for many second-generation migrants, the foodways of the homeland have been eroded almost entirely, to the extent that the diaspora has 'forgotten' (by way of younger generations never learning in the first place) the foods of the homeland. Suárez-Orozco explains this as the byproduct of a process of "crafting a transcultural identity," where migrant youth combine various features of their separate habits and traditions to create a completely unique identity.[144] Children of migrants are faced with the challenge

[144] Carola Suárez-Orozco, "Formulating Identity in a Globalized World," in *Globalization: Culture and Education in the New Millennium* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2004), 188.

of growing up in Western society while being raised within a family and household that is culturally non-Western. Second-generation Yugoslav migrants are thus situated within a transnational inbetweenness: they act as the bridge between the memory of the old world and that of the new world. Yugoslav youth may feel a sense of connection to their homelands, but these emotional links are often complicated by external forces of acculturation within the receiving society. Fears of prejudice, discrimination, and exclusion all shape the identity formation and self-perception of second-generation immigrants.[145] This social pressure to conform to Western mainstream society and achieve standards of whiteness also actively works to disconnect second-generation youth from their cultural traditions and memories of the home. This leads to a feeling of alienation within both their homeland and the receiving society, the feeling of being an outsider to both: "Is their sense of identity rooted "here," "there," everywhere, or nowhere?"[146] A key way in which this dynamic presented itself within the interviews was Yugoslav youth being made fun of for their school lunches:

> Sharing food was never my way of finding acceptance as a kid. If anything, food I brought to lunch earned me some strange looks (I got made fun of for bringing a Nutella sandwich because the Americans called it poo. Imagine how mad I felt when a few years later liking Nutella became a personality trait for bland white girls). (Rebecca)

[145] Carola Suarez-Orozco, afterword to *In Facing History and Ourselves (Eds.), Stories of Identity: Religion, Migration, and Belonging in a Changing World*, by Adam Strom (Facing History and Ourselves, 2008).
[146] Ibid., 112.

Kids would – it would be like what's that smell? I'm not gonna lie, cabbage rolls do kind of smell bad out of the fridge. You're like, "what is that?" Trust me, if I heat it and eat it, you'll like it, but it's hard to get you know, twelve-year-olds to understand that if it smells kind of funky it's not really bad. So I remember, the specifically cabbage rolls, just opening that Tupperware and even myself, you know, like I feel embarrassed. Do I wanna eat this up and smell that, where all the teachers use the microwave can smell that? So I remember that was always this hesitation, should I take this to school? Even though I love cabbage rolls, they're probably my favourite food. (Milos)

And it got to the point where people, my friends started to notice. And in my eyes, I'm like "oh, pudding, Jell-O," something that I don't have at home, and they'd be looking at it like "oh, real food." So, for a long time, my dad realized then he'd feel bad. As a kid you want what you don't have, and I would trade people for like junk food and uncooked Mr. Noodles for my homemade bread sandwich. And you know, as a kid, sometimes you get tired of what you're eating. I remember scenes where I would find like moldy sandwiches in my bag because I forgot them since I'd be eating something else and they'd be at the bottom. And my dad would be like, "well, what do you want me to buy you?" (Milos)

Clearly, migrant youths are sometimes painfully aware of the inferior view of non-white cultures in the hegemonic Western gaze. This puts social pressure on diaspora

members to "forget" their homeland, and avoid traditional foods for fear of being denigrated, mocked, and seen as Other. Along similar lines, Juul explains that blending in with the dominant group in the receiving society is linked to success: "invisibility is associated with successful integration and with being an unproblematic migrant group."[147] To this end, immigrants will often emphasize similarities in skin colour, culture, and religion to stay invisible.[148] Migrant visibility is considered negative to many newcomers – some groups are "deemed to be 'out of place' and disruptive of the 'natural' or 'normal' order of things."[149] Some migrants point to similarities with the receiving society to distance themselves from other, "bad" groups of migrants that have not or cannot integrate as well as they have. This can be seen in an interview with restaurant owner, Mark, where he uses other immigrants (insinuating Muslims) as scapegoats to differentiate himself from the role of absolute "Other":

> The Canadian culture is perfect. For Christmas, I wrote "Merry Christmas" on the big windows of the store with a drawing of Jesus. A Canadian came in and said he wanted to see the owner. The Canadian said it is about time someone put Merry Christmas on their windows. The man said, 'we had this and they took it away from us, they want to take it away from us.' The Canadians are very good people. We came here, we have to be adapted with

[147] Juul, "Performing Belonging," 188.
[148] Anne Fortier, "Global Migranthood, Whiteness and the Anxieties of (In)visibility," in *The Social Construction of Diversity: Recasting the Master Narrative of Industrial Nations*, ed. Christiane Harzig and Danielle Juteau (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2003).
[149] Caroline R. Nagel and Lynn A. Staeheli, "Integration and the politics of visibility and invisibility in Britain: The Case of British Arab Activists," in *New Geographies of Race and Racism*, eds. Caroline Bressly and Claire Dwyer (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), 85.

this place. Even if we do have some traditional foods we want to keep inside. (Mark)

This erasure of traditional foodways in the public sphere in order to better fit into white Canadian norms stems from a belief that if migrants stay silent and invisible, they can avoid being Othered. Diaspora members consciously feel like they should *want* to forget and pursue this as a goal en route to being an unproblematic "good immigrant." So, we can see that another way Yugoslav migrants negotiate their position in the host society is through the active rejection of cultural identity and memory.

V. CONCLUSION

As we have seen, there are four distinct yet interrelated ways in which the Yugoslav diaspora negotiates memory in the host society through the use of food. Fundamentally, food is used as a way to connect to and maintain a memory of the homeland (be it real or imagined). This means of connection to the collective memory of the homeland also acts as a crucial bridge through which migrants connect to the collective memory of the host society with the aim of gaining acceptance and visibility. On the other hand, migrants also modify traditional foodways as a means of gaining acceptance and (in)visibility. Lastly, Yugoslav migrants may reject their culture and traditional foodways as a means of forgetting and successful assimilation. Taken in combination, these various approaches provide a multifaceted, comprehensive account of how food acts in relation to memory and forgetting. The emerging field of food history, with its unique ability to grant insights into cultural memories of both the private and

public sphere, opens the door to a fuller, richer understanding of the dynamics of migrant life.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Food Establishment Questionnaire:

- When did you start your business, and why did you start it?
- What cultural foods do you serve?
- Who prepares the food? Are the ćevapi (or whatever other foods) homemade or shipped in?
- Who is your customer base?
- Do you find that Windsor has a large Balkan food community?
- Would you consider the food you make to be "Balkan" or Croatian/Serbian/Bosnian/etc.?
- Is there a difference between these labels?
- Do you feel like there are negative/positive connotations surrounding the term "Balkan"?
- Do you find that Windsor has a large Balkan food community?
- Who is your customer base? Is it mostly people from former Yugoslavia? Do you have people of all former Yugoslavian ethnicities come in? Macedonian, Serbian, Croatian, etc.?
- Do you feel like there are still tensions around ethnic nationalism today between the ethnicities?
- Do you feel like the food you make is authentic cuisine? Why/why not?
- Do you feel like your food helps you stay connected to your culture? Is it the most important factor to you?
- Do you feel that Western culture has influenced your cultural habits and traditions? How?
- Have you changed your food to accommodate the Canadian culture?
- Do you feel your cultural habits and traditions have influenced Canadian culture?
- Do you have any connections to Balkan locations in the United States? Is the border different?
- Do you feel that sharing your food/culture helps you to become accepted into the community?
- Is the issue of acceptance a struggle to overcome for new Yugoslav immigrants?
- Would you consider yourself 'white'?
- Is there anything you'd like to add that I didn't ask you?

Appendix B

Individual In-Person/Online Questionnaire:

Please state your name (if you are comfortable doing so), and a bit of background about your immigration experience.

Answer the following questions if you find they are applicable to you:

- What kind of cultural foods do you eat/make at home?
- Who prepares the food?
- What kind of cultural foods do you eat outside of your home?
- Would you consider the food you make/eat to be "Balkan" or Croatian/Serbian/Bosnian/etc.? Is there a difference between these labels?
- Do you feel like there are any stereotypes/negative connotations surrounding the term "Balkan"?
- Do you feel like the cultural food you make/eat out is authentic cuisine? Why/why not?
- Do you feel like your food helps you stay connected to your culture? Is it the most important factor to you?
- Do you eat out at a Yugoslav diaspora community centre? If so, do you see people of all former Yugoslavian ethnicities eating out at community centres/restaurants?
- Do you feel that Yugoslav diaspora community centres are created more for the community itself or for others to experience the culture?
- Do you feel like there are still tensions around ethnic nationalism today between the ethnicities?
- How has Western culture influenced your cultural habits and traditions?
- How do you feel your cultural habits and traditions have influenced Western culture?
- Do you feel that any of these influences take away from the authenticity of the food?
- Do you feel that sharing your food/culture helps you to become accepted into the community?
- Is the issue of acceptance a struggle to overcome for Yugoslav immigrants?
- Would you consider yourself 'white'?
- If you live in Canada, do you have any connections to Balkan locations in the United States, or vice versa?
- (If applicable) If so, do you find that their food is different from yours?
- (If applicable) Are Yugoslav Americans the same as Yugoslav Canadians?

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