Slaughterers, chefs, writers and consumers: Men's contributions to African culinary culture.

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Introduction

In most parts of Africa the kitchen is women's domain and where they are often shown in a position of social inferiority. All over Africa women grow, cook and serve the food. Everywhere a similar pattern emerges and innumerable examples could be given. For instance, in one part of rural Tigray in Ethiopia, Diane Lyons has shown how "… only men plough and only women cook … men who enter kitchens become 'like a woman.'" In writing about Senegalese cuisine Pierre Thiam (2008:14) declares, "men … just don't cook". In Ethiopia, Abbebe Kifleyesus (2002: 252) shows how the "Argobba woman is answerable only to her husband, who considers cooking to be outside his domain of working." Françoise Ugochukwu, in looking at food and social identification in Nigeria, notes that "cuisine is a feminine function par excellence, tightly linked with fertility, as it is another way of giving life" (2000: 1). In Zimbabwe, among the Shona, we are told that men must be served first with the best parts of the meat. Women sit on the floor, while men sit up at the table (Bonzo et al. 2000: 3). Religions, including Islam, allow men to empower themselves by enforcing traditional religious doctrines justifying the subordination of women in the culinary sphere. Thus, for example, "the symbolism of serving food in the formal structure of Muslim meals in Argobba households seems to place the Argobba women at the bottom of social hierarchy" (Kifleyesus 2002: 253). However, it is clear that men do play a number of roles in African culinary culture, and in particular, in the promotion of African national cuisines.[1]

Men are the main slaughterers of large animals, they are hunters and fishermen, they are restaurant owners and professional chefs, ethnographic compilers, and they are the enforcers of ethnic or religious practices. Men also became involved in domestic tasks as soon as wages could be earned (see Hansen 1992). Thus in colonial times many men were employed as house-boys and cooks in settler and elite households and this continued after independence especially where there were large expatriate communities. For example, Reymond Deniel, discusses and interviews various 'boys cuisiners' in Abidjan during the 1980s and follows their progress from gardening, ironing and cleaning to becoming cooks in mostly expatriate households (Deniel 1991).

Men play a more extensive role in the construction of African national cuisines than might have been expected. For instance, male writers have incorporated national dishes into their novels which then form part the 'national literature'. For instance, the Angolan novelist Pepetela in his more recent works, such as *Jaime Bunda, Agente Secreto* has protagonists enjoying dishes such as *muamba de galinha*, one of the national dishes of Angola. In recent years, chefs emerging from Western-based hotels and restaurants have gathered together African and national recipes in a variety of

[1] It is not possible here to discuss the complexities of more general gender relationships in Africa. See, for example, Mikell 1997; Oyěwùmí 1997. For cuisine, see Cusack 2003.

cookery books often aimed at the cook in the Western kitchen and fellow nationals in the African diaspora. In the process they have been consolidating the national cuisine. Women have been important to this project, especially as the main compilers of African cookery books.

Men are also the main consumers of street food in many parts of Africa and in the Cameroon they have helped transform one of these dishes served on the street into the national dish. This paper explores how men contribute to the project of defining the national cuisine. This inevitably has to be a broad brush approach drawing on examples from different African countries at different times. I shall focus on two main areas: male contributions to cookery books published both in Africa and elsewhere and men as consumers.

African National Cuisines

In many African countries a recognised array of dishes and culinary practices have been assembled and mobilised to form a national cuisine (Cusack 2000). The word 'cuisine' itself comes with some baggage and carries with it a hint of elitism and perhaps an association with restaurants and male chefs. The building of a notion of a national cuisine is just one, but an important, contributor to constructing a national culture. Even if in some African countries only a small elite hierarchy actually consume the national cuisine many other people will be aware of the national symbolism of these dishes. The national cuisine may reflect that which is actually eaten by a large part of the population, as in Cape Verde or Ghana, but might also, in some other countries, be just an elite formulation. In all the infinite variety of different cultural milieus in African societies, there is certainly a great complexity of innumerable ethnic and regional cuisines and 'foodways' which will feed, in various ways, into any emerging national cuisine. Cookery books, radio and television programmes, restaurants and websites all proclaim these national cuisines.

Cookery books play a crucial part in the assembling of national cuisines as can be seen from the examples of India or Mexico (see for example, Appadurai 1988; Pilcher 1996, 1998). In recent decades, in the West, there has been a considerable interest in African cuisine and a great number of cookery books have been published: in the US, in Britain, France, Germany, Spain and Portugal. These African cuisines often include African-American, Caribbean or Brazilian dishes and indeed for African Americans, 'African' and 'African-American' dishes are often conflated. Again in the West, there are a growing number of country-specific cookery books have been published. For example, a Tanzanian cookery book has appeared in the United States and books on Ghanaian and Nigerian cookery can be found in the UK and US (Cusack: 2000: 223-225). Books on the cuisines of specific North African countries and on Madagascar, Cameroon, Congo and Mauritius have also appeared in France and at least one on Senegalese cooking in Spain (Cusack 2003: 294-296).

Some of the first cookery books from Anglophone Africa consisted of an assemblage of recipes contributed by numerous colonial women: *The Gold Coast Cookery book* published in 1933 has nearly ninety contributors and was compiled by the British Red Cross Society (Gold Coast Branch). Similarly, the *Kenya Cookery Book and Household Guide* was assembled by members of St. Andrew's Church Woman's

Guild in 1928.[2] Since then, in Anglophone Africa, a considerable number of cookery books have now been published: in Malawi, Zimbabwe, Liberia, Gambia, Nigeria, and especially in South Africa, Ghana and Kenya (Cusack 2003:223-225). Fewer cookery books have been traced from Francophone Africa although national dishes appear to be well-recognised, perhaps as an overseas extension of French esteem for regional delicacies, for the *terroir*, the rootedness of a regional cuisine to a particular stretch of land (see Parkhurst Ferguson 2004: 23). For example, Senegal has a number of national dishes including *le thiéboudiene* (rice and fish) and *Poulet Yassa*, from the Casamance region. The very dominance of French culture in its former colonies, and the importance of French cuisine as a component of that culture, may have originally suppressed the more widespread emergence of well-defined national cuisines in Francophone Africa.

The involvement of men

As Jeffery Sobal argues "Meat, especially red meat, is an archetypical masculine food" (2005: 135). Men eat more, sell and produce red meat. Carol Adams in her *The Sexual Politics of Meat* argues that "people with power have always eaten meat" (36). In Africa, as elsewhere in the world, men are the chief slaughterers of animals, especially for the larger animals, cows, sheep and goats.[3] Writers are often silent about gender but write of 'butchers' when they envisage men (for example, see Cohen 1965: 18). Kifleyesus (2002: 262) notes in his study of Muslims and meals amongst the Argobba of Ethiopia that "Slaughtering and butchering are done by men, while women prepare meat meals from what is given to them. In other words, men slaughter and slice and women stew and spice". Pictures in books on African cuisine or culinary practices often show men dealing with the carcases of dead animals. Of the twenty-two photographs in *Cuisine et Société en Afrique* (2002), most of *w*hich deals with various cereals and their production and use, one picture shows a man setting about the skinning of a sheep – using a papaya stack to blow air under the pelt so as to facilitate the process. In *Revue Noir's* 1997 edition, devoted to African Cuisine, it is men who are shown next to carcasses and slaughtered animals (44, 77).

In nineteenth-century Mexico, male chefs were the main proponents of the French influence on Mexican cuisine and Pilcher has pointed out that "Mexican elite men used cuisine as a symbol of the progressive western society they hoped to create" (Pilcher 1996: 211). However, Pilcher has shown how in the evolution of contemporary Mexican cuisine women played a crucial role in the late nineteenth century through the assembling of cookery books which included pre-Columbian recipes, and suggests that women were perhaps less concerned than men with the social stigma associated with the pre-Columbian dishes like tamales made of corn (1996: 211–14). It is possible that, similarly, in Africa, women may be more willing than men to assemble recipes from different ethnic groups than their own as they are less implicated in the power structures inherent to the maintenance of these groups.

A brief survey of African Cookery books shows that that it is mostly women, whether in the West or in Africa, who are collecting and collating recipes, appropriating

[2] These colonial books present a very traditional British colonial cuisine with occasional African twists.

[3] In a Danish study of slaughterhouse workers only a minute proportion were women (Kristensen 1991).

ethnic, regional and even colonial recipes into the national cuisine. Simon Baron-Cohen (2002: 248) in his argument regarding the "extreme male brain theory of autism" has argued that the "male brain is defined psychometrically as those individuals in whom systemising is significantly better than empathising, and the female brain is defined as the opposite cognitive profile". This suggests a male preference for rule-based, structured, factual information. Is it possible that such a tendency can be gleaned from those cookery books written by men?

Men's African "Ethnographic" Cookery Books.

It is women who have written by far the majority of cookery books. Of those cookery books published in Africa very few have been written by men. In this section, I will look at three of these, one from Angola, one from Cameroon and one from Nigeria.

One of the earliest 'cookery' books by men published in Africa was by the Angolan novelist and ethnographer, Óscar Ribas. His *Alimentação Regional Angolana* was published under that title in 1965, although it had been published as an essay in a book entitled *Misoso II* in 1964 (1989: 3). The twenty-one coloured photographs, mostly of food prepared by Ribas's two sisters, were taken by the photographer of the *Centro de Informaçao e Turismo de Angola*, showing an early link between tourism promotion and attempts at defining a new national cuisine. The originals of these pictures were lost during the upheavals of independence and for the 1979 edition ten more photographs were taken with the food prepared the author's niece, Maria di Céu, with pictures taken by her husband. Photography of African food is often a male occupation with a number of husbands providing pictures for their wife's cookery book. Perhaps the technical challenges of such photography permit it to enter the domain of what is accepted as men's work.

Ribas's book is not a cookery book with detailed food recipes and the quantities of ingredients required are rarely given. It consists of a short introduction, and an alphabetical list headed *Culinária e bebidas* [Cuisine and drinks] amongst which some rather rudimentary recipes are provided. Here, the author pays particular attention to the drinks, with descriptions of many Angolan regional spirits and beers along with some details of their preparation. These include the *aguardentes*, *capitica* made from bananas (Cuanza Norte), *caporroto* or *catombe* from maize (Malanje) and *Caxipemb*e from sweet-potato (Planalto central) and a type of beer made from sorghum called *macau* (Huíla) (23-4, 36) or another version called *Quitoto* from Cabinda (4). Following this list of food, dishes and drinks, there is a ten page *Elucidário* – an extract from a dictionary of regional Angolan terms, a kind of alphabetical glossary. This seems, as we shall see elsewhere, very much a male project, with a classifying, pedagogic and scientific approach, including the provision of Latin or botanical names such as, for example, *Mundondo* (Chlorocodon Whiteii *Hook. F.) s. m. Arbusto de caules lenhosos e flexiveis …* [a bush with woody flexible stems …] (63).[4] Despite this the main section includes some basic recipes including those for *Muamba, mufete, funge* (here *fúnji*) and *feijão de azeite de palma*, dishes which now make up a well-defined Angolan national cuisine (See Cusack 2010). It is clear that Ribas has made a contribution to this process and shows, perhaps unsurprisingly, how nation-building and the construction of national culture, can be traced back to the colonial era.

[4] 'Chlorocodon' is an alternative for 'Erica' – heather.

One of the first 'cookery books' from Cameroon, *Le Grand Livre de la Cuisine Camerounaise*, was published in Yaoundé in 1985 and was 'realised' [Réalisé] by Jean Grimaldi and Alexandrine Bikia. Jean Grimaldi also provided the photographs. On the cover is a fine picture of an abundance of multicoloured tropical fruit and vegetables amongst which nestles a clearly dead, and still feathered chicken, its legs spread-eagled either side of a basket of fruit. At the edge of the picture some black dead catfish lie next to some peanuts, manioc flour and spring onions.[5] The all-inclusive picture of food stuffs, some for eating as they are, and others for cooking, along with the disturbing proximity of the dead bird and fish, disrupt any appetite-inducing qualities that are typical of many pictures in cookery books. Perhaps this might be seen as a male contribution here, a classifying assemblage, not a picture of food ready to be eaten. As with Ribas's book this has a more scientific, botanical and ethnographic approach than most cookery books: a table of ingredients is provided with these ingredients named in French, Latin and then five 'national' languages. The book describes foodstuffs from different provinces of Cameroon with many tables with items listed in the local language or languages, French and the botanical names: thus Bisol, Bitom and Biwolet are varieties of caterpillars in Ewondo while Atou[6] is Taro, or *Colocasia esculenta* (178). Elsewhere we can find that this vegetable is called 'Dinde' in Doula, 'Pee' in Nufi-féfé and 'Ku'pèn' in Bangangté. The book presents a comprehensive description of how food is prepared in the different parts of Cameroon. Thus we are provided with eight ways of preparing dog. The method used by the Bameka on the coast is cooking with salt, pimento and herbs. Only men over twenty years old are allowed to kill, prepare or eat dog – women are not involved (125). This is not a typical cookery book for keeping on the kitchen shelf, but an encyclopaedic reference book or an ethnographic exploration, proving a detailed picture of the products and traditional culinary culture of the various provinces of Cameroon. Thus, unlike in nineteenth-century Mexico where men promoted French cuisine, Grimaldi and his co-author embrace ethnic diversity

Another strange cookery book is *Cook Book in Itsekiri (Warri Kingdom)* by Mac Oma Eyeoyibo which appeared first in 1993 and was revised in 2005. The author who had 'retired from the services of the [Nigerian] Federal Government" has many books to "his credit" including the bestseller *Hated for Her Beauty* (backpage). He makes clear that cooking is for women and declares that "In Iwere land the first and best legacy bequeathed to a young girl by her mother is the art of good cooking. This has gone a long way in earning our women honour and in giving them place of pride in their matrimonial homes" and then adds "This book … is a complete demonstration of what the Itsekiri women has to offer" (Preface V). Twenty-six "menus" are offered in English and then a summary of these is given in Itsekiri. The ingredients for each dish is provided in English along with the botanical/Latin names, as well as the equivalents in Itsekiri. In 'menu two', a main course is called *Igbagba Ikpogiri* and includes the 'spices', nutmeg, afromomum spp., justicia spp., xylopia spp. as well as tomatoes, bitter leaf, melon and sclerodendron, all added to a complex mixture of fish, shell fish

[5] If we compare this with the cover of a cookery book written by a woman, Tilly Jackson's *It's Not what you're eating It's what's eating you* published by Baobab books in Harare (1997) we can look at another cover picture showing a great variety of fruit in baskets (strangely European fruit) with only a bottle of drink as an addition.
[6] In another table this is given as 'atu' (244).

and meat (2-3). He thanks a retired forester, Dr J F Bamidele, for supplying the botanical names. This classifying tendency – yet again - emerges elsewhere in *Cook Book in Itsekiri*, for example, in the hints on the preparation of fresh fish: "in the case of scaly fishes, scales, innards, intestines, as well as gills and fins – pictorial (sic), ventral, dorsal, caudal and anal rays/spines are removed" (34) not exactly an appetite-inducing statement. Nor are the instructions for dealing with one particular fish, Clarias, where, in order to remove the worms that infest the fish, hot water is poured over the chopped pieces of flesh to remove the thin layer of mucous slime that covers the body (35). However, this is one of those African cookery books not aimed at the Western or Westernised cook and is a genuine attempt at presenting the cuisine of the people of Iwere land.

These three books, written by men from different times and different places in Africa have much in common. They are detailed descriptions of traditional African cuisines and customs. All provide the scientific names for plants. The pedagogic, ethnographic approach is very different from the typical cookery book with its the focus on preparing a dish and the quantities of ingredients that are to be used and where often the reader's gustatory juices are encouraged to flow by gastronomic descriptions and photographs of the delicious looking dishes.

The African Chef – and photographer.

As I have argued previously (Cusack 2000) books published outside Africa should not be excluded from the study of the project of defining a national cuisine. They will often be on sale in the African country concerned. They will also be read by members of the large African diaspora who will see the dishes of their home country contained between the covers of the book. They will nudge forward the project of defining the national cuisine as diaspora members come and go from home. In recent years a number of celebrity and hotel and restaurant chefs have published books on various African cuisines. Most of the cookery books published abroad are written by women but an increasing number are now the product of the African male chef.

A typical such a chef's book would be Benn Haidari's *Modern Zanzibar Cuisine* (2000). On the front cover of his book he is shown wearing a white cook's hat and jacket inscribed 'Executive Chef' (2006). He had studied as a hotel and restaurant manager in the Åland islands in Sweden, became a well-known chef and writer of articles in Finland before finishing his gastronomy studies in the *École de Ritz* in Paris. His book has many quite complex recipes from Zanzibar (and some from the Comores), a cuisine he claims is tastier than European ones. He describes the recipes as being a kind of gastronomic archaeology – a touch of the Óscar Ribas's ethnographic approach. However his is a typical chef's book. Thus his recipe for 'Coastal prawn soup with coconut cream begins: "I prepared this soup in 1989 in Helsinki" for a TV programme called *Good Morning Finland* (43). Whereas in many African cookery books recipes are provided as if by an impersonal narrator, most recipes here refer to Haidari's own experiences so that the celebrity chef himself is there at the centre of the recipe.

Another chef as author is the Cameroonian, Pierre Nya Njike who is again shown dressed in a white hat and coat and we are told he is a "diplômé de l'Ecole Hôtelière de Paris …" (1997: back page). As a professional cook, exhibiting a certain arrogance, he wants to allow young women to benefit from his culinary experience

(1997: 7). The book has an immediate scientific aura, starting with a list of the use and objectives of cooking and a few pages describing the various methods of cooking such as "cuisson a l'eau ou a l'anglaise" [cooking in water or in the English way](1997: 14). This is followed by a long list of definitions of culinary terms and condiments. The recipes themselves consist of a very detailed list of ingredients with exact weights and seem to be destined for the hotel or private Western kitchen with a particular French emphasis on meat-based dishes. There is little attempt to link any of these recipes to particular regions ethnic groups in contrast to Mun'a Yous's *Les Trésors de la cuisine Camerounaise* (1999). Mun'a Yous – Louise Augustine Wonje Dika-Kingue Akwa - has produced a book aimed at the cook in Cameroon, as well as those abroad in the big cities who are able to find the specialist ingredients and condiments (11). The recipes have a more 'authentic' resonance, with her two versions of Mbongo Tchobi (Fish in a black sauce) have thirteen different ingredients (1999: 60-63) whilst Pierre Nya Nkike's Mbongo Tsobi has only seven including some 'Mbongo spice' (1977:123). Lists towards the end of the Mun'a Yous's book tell us where the dishes originate. We learn that Mbongo Tchobi is a dish from the coast (Plats du littoral) (1999 393). Here, unlike most of the male-authored books above, we then have a pattern similar to nineteenth century Mexico, with male chefs promoting a hotel and restaurant based French-influenced cuisine, while the women provide detailed recipes of ethnic specialities.

Another chef to proclaim his national cuisine is the New York-based Pierre Thiam with his *Yolele! Recipes from the Heart of Senegal* with large colour photographs provided by Adam Bartos. Thiam opened his restaurant, *Le Grand-Dakar* in Brooklyn in 2004 (Thiam 2008: 190). When he had first arrived in America and found a part-time job in a restaurant, he had been "intrigued by the men in white moving in harmony around the flames and knives. Men cooking! … These men in white were sharing a secret: it seemed as if they must have gone through a rite of passage, an initiation to awaken some buried feminine intuition that makes one a good cook" (172). After years studying the French cookery classics, working in a number of restaurants as a chef, he turned back to the cuisine of his parents and introduced Senegalese dishes to the US. His book contains the recipes for the well-known national dish of Senegal, he terms *thiebou-Jen* (or more commonly *thiéboudiene*) and a version of Chicken Yassa he calls Yassa Ginaar (92), a Portuguese-influenced dish from Casamance in the south of the country, with the chicken cooked with many onions and lemons or limes. The glossy pictures showing street scenes, cooking and food from Senegal perhaps could be read as authenticating the recipes which are clearly aimed at the Western kitchen and served to customers in his Brooklyn restaurant.

Tropical Ghana Delights is written by the U.S.-based Charles A. Cann, also known as the 'Tropical Ghana Chef'. The recipes use an intriguing mixture of traditional and non-traditional techniques so they are not characteristic of a Ghanaian national cuisine – although built around Ghanaian dishes and with the use of a great deal of fruit, often tangerines. As with Jamie Oliver there is a sense of fun here ('Shrimp by Mango' serves 12 – or 6 Ghanaian fishermen while for 'Jumbo Fruity Shrimp' - serves five or two bus drivers) (22, 13). Here we have another example of that version of masculinity known as the 'new lad' (Hollows 2003). This is a cool masculine style of cooking, not 'slaving away at the stove', but more like having fun in the kitchen. Raymond Essang, a former restaurant owner in Nigeria, wrote *Principles of Cooking*

in West Africa (2006), a very different type of book. He urges obese African Americans to abandon their soul food and turn to African foods: "Eat it, it will make you strong and healthy" (xvii-xix). However, many of the 170 West African recipes must result in enormous portions. For example, *Asa iwa*, (grated cassava potage), serves only four, yet the ingredients listed include four pounds of cassava, two pounds of shelled periwinkles and two medium dried fish (41). With its extensive glossary, its lists of vitamins associated with foodstuffs (139-141, xvii-xvii) along with its precise, numbered recipe instructions it seems to follow the style of the male-authored books published in Africa.

The glossy photos are typical of many of these male chef's books, and indeed, some books appear to be vehicles for the photographer, not the cook. Thus Zarina Jafferji's *A Taste of Zanzibar* has full page colour photographs provided by Javed Jafferji and Phillip Waterman. *Zanzibar Style: Recipes* is another "richly illustrated volume" where the male photographer, Javed Jafferji again, takes the lead. *Cuisine de Côte d'Ivoire*, published by *Editions Profoto*, declares on the front cover that the photography is by Nabil Zorkot, while only inside the book do we find that the recipes are provided by 'Akissi': this is a book of fine photos accompanied by some recipes.[7] The detailed lists of ingredients, the allocation of dishes to specific regions and the glossary at the end perhaps reflects a dominant male input along the lines of the *Le Grand Livre de la Cuisine Camerounais.*

These cookery books by Western-trained African chefs, often heavily illustrated with bright colour photographs of food and country, could be seen as paralleling the numerous books of the Western TV and celebrity chefs. They tend to be geared to the Western kitchen but will vary greatly in the 'authenticity' of their recipes. However, they can be seen as part of the process of defining a national cuisine.

Men as Consumers.

All over Africa, women sell food on the street in informal restaurants. This street-vended food varies from country to country and plays an important role in many African economies. In one survey from Ghana a large majority (94%) of the vendors were women. Another survey in Zimbabwe in 2003 found that 81% of the sellers were women. In Lusaka, Zambia, there were 5,355 food vendors selling 81 million meals a year in 2003 (FAO/WHO 2005: 1-2). In Bangui (Central African Republic) a great rush of *fonctionnaires* (civil servants and officials) appear at the *gandas* or *maquis* for a mid-morning break at the riverside (Gotto *et all* 1994: 29). The majority of consumers were found to be male – in Benin, Senegal, Togo and Côte d'Ivoire. There is some evidence however of an increase in male involvement in food preparation as it has become a relatively lucrative trade (FAO/WHO 2005: 3).

It is nearly always women who serve in many similar outdoor restaurants all over Africa: grilled fish and plantain is served in the stalls along Garden Street in Limbé in Cameroon and delicious salads at the *Grand Marche* in Lomé or in the 'allocodrome' in Abidjan. Indeed, in most of sub-Saharan Africa, women emerge from the private sphere to sell at markets and serve 'street eats', an essential and indeed vital part of public life. Women in Africa, as in most parts of the world are often seen as the

[7] Profoto, in an email to the author dated 27 5 2011, have confirmed that the book was put together by Nabil Zorkot.

guardians of tradition. For example, Dogon Yaro, from Niamey in Niger, who wrote to the local newspaper, the *Sahel Dimanche*, complained that modern wives were no longer able to cook properly, unlike their mothers or grandmothers. So instead of returning home after work to the 'culinary platitudes' (such as a mush of millet) produced by wife or wives, the men preferred to go to the Gargotières, small street food stalls, run by foreign Yao women from the coast. Traditional cuisine culture was being lost and it was the 'Modern African Woman' who was to blame (Barrot 1994: 23–7).

What is now considered to be Cameroon's national dish, *Le poulet DG* (Chicken, 'Managing Director'), only emerged during the 1980s, emphasising how new some of these African national cuisines really are. This is not a traditional dish but one which first appeared in the *chantiers*, or 'on the circuit', improvised open-air restaurants runs by women catering for the busy PDG (*Président Directeur Général*, Managing Director) with a number of variants, including a vegetarian version (Barrot 1994: 30; Cuvlliez, Bella Ola and Tabuteau 2003: 78). It is normally a chicken, plantain and vegetable dish in a spicy sauce. It allowed these supposedly busy *hommes d'affaires* [businessmen] to eat quickly at lunch time. Whilst those preparing *le poulet DG* were and are nearly always women it is the businessmen who have propelled the dish to its present importance. We are told that women started serving it to their men so as to keep them at home (Cuvilliez, Bella Ola and Tabuteau: 74-79) and, in time, this became a meal served on Sunday at home and became one of the *plats de référence du Cameroun*. Even in books covering African cuisine in general Poulet DG is included as a classic African dish (Bella Ola 2010: 88). Men as consumers were crucial in the emergence of this national dish – although its conception and production originated with women in their open-air restaurants.[8]

Conclusions

Men clearly contribute in a complex variety of ways to African culinary culture, as butchers and slaughterers of animals, as colonial cooks, sometimes as actors under specific religious or ethnic constraints, as authors of postcolonial literature. Cookery books are one important component of defining national cuisines. It is mostly women who have written African cookery books both in Africa and abroad. Those few cookery books by men from different places and times en published in Africa and share a common ethnographic, pedagogic, technocratic and scientific approach. Recently a number of Western based chefs, and photographers, have produced books presenting their national cuisine for a Western audience. These books on sale in the homeland and read by the diaspora will contribute to the emergence of a national cuisine but often focus on the skills of the professional chef himself. In Africa men as consumers, and holders of power in most states, will tend to promote any element of national culture that will enhance a sense of national identity and will try to make a national cuisine part of that project.

[8] There are other African examples of such a process where men have promoted street food to become the national dish. Simple plantains cooked in palm oil, *alloco*, can be bought in the street market known as the allocodrome, in Abidjan. *Alloco* has been called the national dish of Côte d'Ivoire along with *fufu* and *garba*. Garba – a manioc couscous (attiéké) served with salted fish.

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List of Sub-Saharan African Cookery books published in Africa. This is not a fully comprehensive list but consists of those encountered by the author. Books covering North African Cuisine (Egyptian, Libyan, Algerian or Moroccan) have not been included and only a small selection of books published in South Africa have been included.

Women:

Boahene, Christine. 2003. *The Best of Our Foods.* Accra: Afram Publications.

British Red Cross Society (Gold Coast Branch). 1933. *The Gold Coast Cookery Book*. Accra: Government Printing Office. New Edition, 2007. *The Ghana Cookery Book*. London: Jeppestown Press.

Chitukuko Cha Amai m'Malawi (CCAM). 1992. *Malawi's Traditional and Modern Cooking*. Lilongwe, Malawi: Office of President and Cabinet.

Coetzee, Renata. 1977. *The South African Culinary Tradition*. Cape Town: Struik Publishers.

Dede, Alice. 1969. *Ghanaian Favourite Dishes. Accra: Anowuo Educational Publications.*

Eldon, Kathy (Collector). 1989. *More Specialities of the House from Kenya's finest Restaurants.* Nairobi and Kampala: Kenway Publications.

Gardner, Ann. 1992. Karibu. *Welcome to the Cooking of Kenya*. Nairobi: Kenway.

Gonahasa, Jolly. 2002. *Taste of Uganda*: *Recipes for Traditional Dishes.* Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Hurford, Elaine. 2000. *Simply South Africa. A Culinary Journey*. Cape Town: Struik Publishers.

Hayward, Yvonne (ed.). 1967 (reprinted 1973, 1978, 1980, 1987, 1990, 1993). *A Zimbabwean Cookery Book.* Gweru: Mambo Press.

Hyder, Samira. 1976. *Recipes from the Kenya Coast*. Nairobi: Longhom Kenya Ltd.

Jackson, Tilly. 1997. *It's Not What You're Eating. It's What's Eating You*. Harare: Baobab Books.

Jafferji, Zarina H. 2002. *A Taste of Zanzibar. Chaula Kizuri.* Zanzibar: The Gallery Publications.

Lee, H. Amala. (ed.) 1995. *African Cuisine: Liberian Cooking*. Liberia: African Consultant Service.

Karimbux, Adil. 1998. *A Taste of Kenyan Cooking*. Nairobi: Kenway.

Kimenye, Barbara. 1997. *The Modern African Vegetable Cookbook*. Nairobi: Kenway.

Kudonoo, Canice Enyonam. 2007. *The Ghanaian Colour Book. (A Taste of Ghana, Volume 1).* Accra: Sedco.

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