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LOVE, MARRY, COOK: GENDERING THE HOME KITCHEN IN LATE SOVIET RUSSIA

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In March 1968 the Soviet women's magazine *Krest'ianka* (*Peasant Woman*) marked International Women's Day by poking fun at men's domestic ineptitude. In a short story entitled "The Loving Husbands' Surprise," a female narrator explains how it came to pass that all of the women at her collective farm spent *their* holiday behind the stove. The day began auspiciously enough, she recounts, with the women attending an awards ceremony and leaving their husbands in charge of the cooking. The men, however, quickly proved incapable of dealing with even the simplest kitchen tasks and began begging their wives to sort things out. Returning to her kitchen to assist a friend's husband who had somehow sealed his eyes shut with dumpling dough, the heroine finds a sorry sight: "What a surprise they're preparing! Something's burning in the oven, some genius moved the jellied meat from the window sill to the stove, the burner's going out—it's all such a mess, I can't even describe it!" All the women eventually ended up back at home, preparing their own meal, while the husbands accepted awards and praise in their place. And, once Women's Day had passed, the husbands appeared only too happy to declare that washing dishes could in no way be considered "men's work." Resignedly, the narrator concludes, "Maybe it's for the best—trust these louts with our dishes and they'd leave us with nothing but broken pieces!"[1]

As this story insinuates, the Soviet kitchen was very much a female space, and attempts to lessen these responsibilities did not always render the desired outcomes. In the kitchen, a woman became both servant and mistress, submitting to sometimes-extensive daily tasks, while also enjoying a strong measure of autonomy and control. In its broadest outlines, this experience mirrored that of women around the world. As Carole Counihan confirms, "women are almost universally in charge of reproduction: cooking, feeding, teaching table manners and gender roles. . . . This gendering of feeding and caring work defines women in ways that confine them and restrain their choices, but also give them a channel for creating important ties that bind." Food, she asserts, is a "double-edged sword," simultaneously "tying women to the home" while granting them means of attaining "social and economic power."[2] Yet even if this is a nearly "universal" characteristic of women's relationship to food, the practices, ideas, and images that govern this relationship remain largely specific to each cultural and political context. Uncovering such specificities can tell us a great deal about the dominant social norms and worldviews of a given society—in this case, Soviet Russia in the Brezhnev era (1964–1982).[3]

Scholars have already identified this as a time when "traditional" understandings of gender relations and domestic arrangements were simultaneously transformed and retrenched. During the 1960s and 1970s, the proportion of women in the Soviet workforce rose to new heights, yet gender discrimination proved pervasive, ensuring that women typically held lower-paying, lower-prestige jobs. A resulting decline in women's investment in labor productivity, coupled with the increased availability of single-family apartments in urban centers, led to the "reprivatization" of women's lives in the 1970s and after. Part of a more general trend toward "privatization" and social atomization, this represented a shift in attention on the part of female adults from work and public life (such as it was) toward domestic concerns.[4] The growth of a genuine consumer culture furthered privatization by both drawing attention away from the workplace and also offering new possibilities for personal expression through consumption. Public discourse and state policy also drove this trend by encouraging—sometimes even incentivizing—motherhood and domesticity.[5] Patriarchal social structures thus faced a challenge in the form of women's increased independence and earning potential, while simultaneously being reified through developments that celebrated a form of femininity that hinged on beauty, fertility, and devotion to the home.

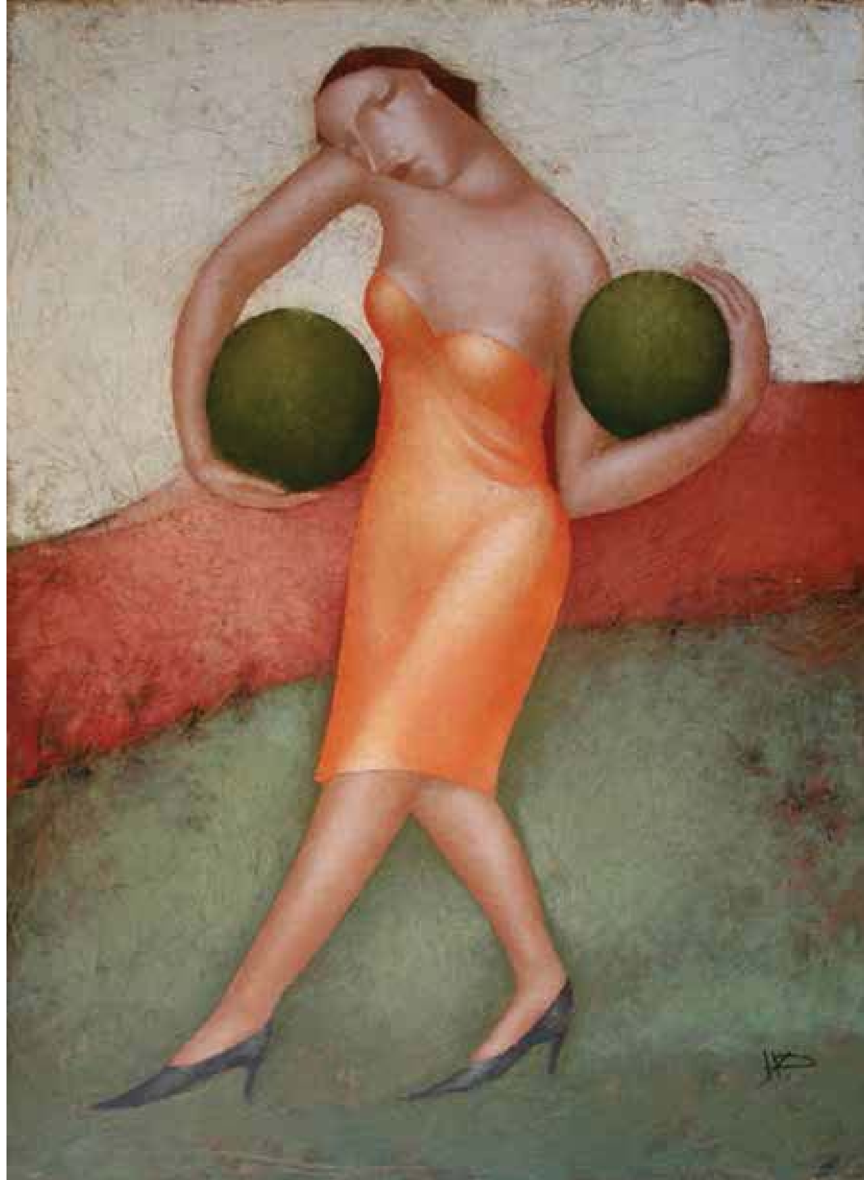

Figure 1.1. Nikolai Reznichenko (1958–), "Arbuzy"/"Watermelons," oil on canvas, 2006.

This essay expands our understanding of this “return to the home” by using cooking advice literature, the popular press, feature films, and memoirs to explore the social expectations surrounding gender roles and home cooking in Russia in the Brezhnev years. Digging into representations of the *khoziaika* (“housewife,” “hostess,” or “lady of the house”), it demonstrates that Soviet popular culture created for this type a complex identity that integrated affective ties, technical prowess, and an understanding of cultural traditions.[6] According to these representations, wives and mothers retained a great deal of power over their lives, particularly their personal relationships, thanks to their command of the kitchen. Popular culture and public discourse also alleged that women’s culinary prowess offered the best possible means of ensuring romantic fulfillment and familial harmony, which together formed the supposed bedrock of female happiness. Accordingly, failing in the kitchen could have dire consequences. Should a woman neglect her duties or prove incapable of effectively executing them, she could end up alone and miserable, with her shortcomings possibly even standing as evidence of poor character.

At first glance, this might appear at odds with the Soviet state’s famous declarations that it would “liberate” women from housework. Yet this seeming contradiction highlights the fact that in this context women’s emancipation did not necessarily entail a rejection of “traditional” domestic responsibilities. Rather, it offered guarantees of equality (before the law, in employment, and so forth) and services intended to ease women’s burden while respecting their “special” roles as wives and mothers. This appeared especially crucial in the 1970s and after, as the birthrate declined, divorce rates rose, and Soviet men slipped into a so-called crisis of masculinity, characterized by laziness, irresponsibility, and antisocial behavior. Women allegedly held the keys to collective and individual salvation: their unique talents in the home—and especially at the stove—would allow them to create the comforting spaces and wholesome relationships that society needed.[7] Popular culture reinforced and complicated this paradigm, not only providing clues to the authority women could enjoy in the kitchen but also hinting at ways in which men could reestablish their manliness by usurping that power and thus truly domesticating their women. In the culture of the Brezhnev era, laced as it was with neotraditionalism, the home kitchen served as a key site for building relationships, wrestling with malaise, and struggling for domestic power.

The Happy *Khoziaika*

Scholars agree that domestic kitchen labor remained primarily a "female" concern in Russia throughout the Soviet period. As Catriona Kelly asserts, "In nine homes out of ten, kitchen work was strongly gendered. Men might help with some outside tasks . . . but the business of preparing and serving food was generally left to female members of the household."[8] Indeed, according to Soviet time budget analyses, in rural areas female adults gave over as many as five hours per day to household chores in the 1970s, while their male counterparts allotted no more than thirty minutes per day for such tasks. Enjoying greater access to public dining and other conveniences, urban women clocked a decreasing amount of time in the kitchen, but they still spent more than twice as many hours as their husbands there.[9] As of 1965, women devoted 9.4 weekly hours to cooking, a task for which men allotted 1.8 hours per week. In 1986, the average urban household saw women devoting 7.6 hours per week to food preparation versus men's 2.5 hours.[10] Regardless of a modest increase in male involvement in the home, according to Natalia Vinokurova, Soviet women still "bore the brunt of family responsibilities and the burdens of resolving the day-to-day challenges of life in the Soviet Union," as "trends towards a sharing of domestic duties and responsibilities were more suggestive of a complementary than an egalitarian model of relations between the sexes."[11] In sum, although some Soviet social scientists crowed about domestic "democratization," observation and data demonstrate that men typically tended to "masculine" jobs, such as repairs and hauling trash, while cooking largely remained "women's work."[12]

Food experts reinforced this arrangement, in large part by simply targeting women. Throughout the late Soviet period, cookbooks intended for home use typically spoke to a female readership, while vanishingly few explicitly addressed men. In the late 1960s and 1970s, cookbooks for the "young housewife" (*molodaia khoziaika*) became common. These included *The Secrets of Good Cooking: Advice for a Young Housewife* (*Sekrety khoroshei kukhni: Sovety molodoi khoziaike*, 1969), *Advice for Young Housewives* (*Sovety molodym khoziaikam*, 1970), *Everything Made with Flour: For the Young Housewife* (*Vse iz muki: Dlia molodoi khoziaiki*, 1974), and *The Young Housewife's Kitchen* (*Kukhnia molodoi khoziaiki*, 1975).[13] These titles clearly echo that of Elena Molokhovets's prerevolutionary household management guide, *A Gift to Young Housewives*.[14] While Molokhovets's *Gift* carried a

"bourgeois" taint that prevented its republication between 1917 and 1989, it retained much of its renown throughout the Soviet period. By invoking the phrase "young housewife," these newer books created a sense of historical continuity and authority, while connecting the reader's present duties to women's age-old responsibility for food preparation. Yet even those home cooks who had never heard of Molokhovets could grasp the implication that an older housewife would not necessarily require cooking advice; it was the duty of the *young* housewife to master the skills that would make her worthy of the title *khoziaika*.

These texts spoke about more than simply cooking per se.[15] Concerned that the reader manage her family's health properly, *Advice for Young Housewives* offered extensive guidance on proper nutrition. In the eyes of author I. Kravtsov, a home cook had to comprehend everything from which foods one should avoid late in the evening (anything spicy) to the physiological processes involved in digestion.[16] Concerned more with ease than health, *Everything Made with Flour* by M. P. Danilenko and Iu. I. Emel'ianova promised that their recipes would allow the housewife to bake almost anything "without any special fuss [and] to economize on time and ingredients."[17] *The Young Housewife's Kitchen* also suggested economizing on time by doctoring a prepared cake, for example, instead of making an entire dessert from scratch.[18] Meanwhile, the authors of *The Secrets of Good Cooking: Advice for a Young Housewife* addressed the housewife as to a professional, insisting that she maintain "ideal cleanliness and order" in her "workspace" (the kitchen) and that she make use of such conveniences as pressure cookers to save time.[19] A good housewife emerged here as part chef, part scientist, part forager, and part cleaning lady. She could bake a festive cake, recall the quantity of vitamin C found in tomatoes, identify different varieties of mushrooms, and keep her kitchen clean and well stocked. And since she would also work outside of the home, she would need to know how to do everything quickly and efficiently. In Soviet parlance, after all, *khoziaika* did not imply that one stayed at home, as food writer Raisa Ivanovna Kosiak eloquently acknowledged in her *To the Young Housewife* (*Molodoi khoziaike*, 1985). Considering the constellation of skills and responsibilities embedded this identity, Kosiak thus asserted, "Every woman—whether she is an engineer or a doctor, a scholar or an actress, an agronomist or a teacher—when arriving home, dons an apron and becomes a housewife."[20]

This position in the home afforded some advantages, particularly by granting women a unique set of tools with which they could shape their

relationships. Recent memoirs by female émigrés shed light on this aspect of Soviet women's interactions with food.[21] Cookbook author Anya von Bremzen's autobiography revolves largely around the role cooking played in the development of her relationship with her mother. In von Bremzen's childhood in the 1960s, the two bonded in their tiny Moscow kitchen, even when (or perhaps especially because) they had little to eat. Reflecting on purplish stew meat, the cabbage soup her mother fancifully renamed *pot au feu*, and the fried black bread with eggs that signaled the end of their week's budget, von Bremzen expressed a sweet nostalgia for that "private idyll" in which she and her mother had been so "happy together."[22] Writer Elena Gorokhova similarly evoked maternal love through food memories. Growing up in Brezhnev-era Leningrad, Gorokhova saw her mother, an anatomy professor, as a powerful presence in the home. Gorokhova recalls her "presiding over the kitchen," maintaining "unquestioned rules," and pushing her daughters to finish their meals. While these tendencies irritated a young Gorokhova, she understood in adulthood her mother's overbearing nature as a product of a need "to control and protect," to shield her daughters from deprivation.[23] The Soviet kitchen thus served as a site for mother-daughter bonding, with food playing an important role in shaping girls' understandings of familial love.

By managing the family's food stores, a Soviet woman also gained the opportunity to use comestibles to manipulate her personal appearance and image. Articles in *Krest'ianka* and its urban sister publication *Rabotnitsa* (*Woman Worker*) thus taught Soviet women to dab oily skin with lemon juice and treat dryness with a mask made from sour cream and yeast. Plain table salt or even mashed potatoes could lighten skin that had seen too much sun, while egg yolks softened the appearance of facial wrinkles. Beaten eggs used instead of shampoo would maintain a permanent wave, allowing the frugal housewife to delay her next salon appointment.[24] Taken internally, certain ingredients and dishes promoted "good complexion" (a salad of tomatoes or cucumbers and farmer's cheese) or made the skin appear fresher and rosier (carrot juice).[25] Crafting and then posing alongside the right food item might further heighten a hostess's appeal, as one *Krest'ianka* article about International Women's Day suggested. When celebrating this holiday, the author insisted, a woman would want to prepare "special dishes, set the table beautifully, and, of course, be the most festive and the most beautiful," a task that she could accomplish in part by preparing a special cake that displayed her "taste and inventiveness."[26] The press thus suggested that

women ought to strive for external beauty while fulfilling their myriad responsibilities. Whether or not a woman embraced this advice remained her own choice. Yet these articles hinted that, regardless of any shortcomings in the cosmetics industry or a woman's natural appearance, having control over the larder meant that she possessed a special set of tools with which to render herself more alluring.[27]

Although they emphasize women's responsibilities vis-à-vis food, as well as the power that kitchen prowess afforded housewives, these sources do not address a key question: *why* did women dominate the home kitchen? What was the source of their authority? To get at this elusive aspect of the food-gender nexus, we can turn to the "national" or "ethnic" cooking genre. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the 1960s and 1970s saw the rise of a gastronomic trend that focused on the so-called national cuisines of the Soviet peoples, paying particular attention to the real or imagined historical roots of these customs.[28] In the 1970s, in particular, the slew of cookbooks and magazine articles that promoted this trend among Soviet home cooks placed special emphasis on the value of cuisine as part of a web of deeply rooted cultural traditions. William Pokhlebkin, a leader in the national cuisines movement, captured this ethos by describing ethnic home cooking as "our old, but sure, true bridge, which connects us to the culture of the past and with the historical traditions of our homeland, to the national customs of the people, and with our family, our loved ones."[29] From this perspective, dishes that grew out of accumulated wisdom ought to be prized more highly than the products of Soviet-era factories or the newfangled nourishment found in many public eateries.[30] Not only would "traditional" food provide a more satisfying and healthful alternative to mass-produced fare, but also its preparation and consumption allowed the individual to participate in a project of cultural preservation, protecting the traditions of the past from the depredations of modern life.[31]

Authors promoting traditional cooking seldom called explicitly for women's return to the hearth, but they did not need to speak openly about this topic in order to deliver a message about gender roles. Since Russians had long considered food preparation a female concern, readers could readily understand that "traditional" cooking signaled women's dedication to domestic labor.[32] This aligned with other images in popular culture (discussed below), which reminded the Soviet public of the "traditional" order, in which women did the cooking. Publishers of ethnic cookbooks also found subtler means of drawing connections between timeless culinary

Figure 1.2. Nikolai Reznichenko (1958–), "Son"/"Sleep," oil on canvas, 2017.

customs and female domestic labor. Illustrations often served this purpose, as in Pokhlebkin's hit 1978 cookbook, *The National Cuisines of Our Peoples*, which featured full-page, color drawings of women in ethnic dress at the beginning of each chapter.[33] The female readers of *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* further reinforced this linkage between women and "traditional" cooking by using these publications to share their own "old," "forgotten," and "national" recipes.[34] Women's culinary authority, these sources hinted, flowed primarily from their historical connection to food preparation, which cast them as vital carriers of cultural tradition.

Hungry for Love

While manifesting a strong correlation between home cooking and domestic bliss, Soviet popular culture and public discourse sometimes warned that the benefits of love and personal satisfaction accrued only to the worthy. Tied to fears of familial discord, the "masculinization" of Soviet women, and the degeneration of Soviet men, these narratives threatened

women who did not live up to their feminine potential with unhappy consequences. Failing in the kitchen could mean, essentially, failing at life. One might have appealing looks and a robust career, but lacking the ability or desire to treat others (especially men) to gastronomic pleasure could leave a good woman lonely or reveal a bad woman as an unfit partner.

Cooking advice literature suggested that girls must learn to cook, lest they destroy their chances for marital harmony. A female doctor writing in the parenting journal *Sem'ia i shkola* (*Family and School*) in 1973 issued such a threat, describing the fate of an acquaintance whose marriage ended in divorce because she felt "helpless with the child and with housework."[35] New wives, overwhelmed in the kitchen, flooded magazine editors with anxious requests for advice. For example, in 1976, newlywed Katya V. sent a plaintive letter to *Rabotnitsa* about her struggle with kitchen chores. She never learned to cook and now faced pressure from her condescending mother-in-law, who mocked the nineteen-year-old bride's inability to prepare salad *provençal* and napoleon pastries.[36] In fact, *Rabotnitsa* received so much correspondence from women who needed advice on cooking and housekeeping that this same year they launched a new section, "Household Matters" ("*Domashnie dela*"), which provided a space for experts to provide assistance to inexperienced homemakers.[37] Renowned food expert William Pokhlebkin reinforced the alleged connection between poor culinary skills and divorce in his popular culinary handbook, *The Secrets of Good Cooking* (*Tainy khoroshei kukhni*, 1979). Without citing any concrete sources, Pokhlebkin asserted that "more than half of all divorces occur in families where the wife cannot manage home cooking. Almost 85 percent of young husbands named the ability to cook well as the first characteristic of an ideal wife." "These facts," he felt, "speak for themselves."[38]

The press thus admonished women to teach their daughters the ways of the kitchen as early as possible. A special 1973 issue of *Sem'ia i shkola* pooled advice from parents, teachers, and physicians about how to properly raise young girls. Much of this wisdom centered on accustoming female children to housework and thereby transforming them into "good housewives." The magazine's editors warned against reacting to girls playing at cooking or sewing with either proud declarations of approval ("My little helper! A little homemaker!") or resigned sighs ("Oh, there's still so much labor ahead of you!"). Mothers ought to regard such games and efforts to help "calmly," because then girls "will not see women's domestic work as an exceptional virtue or as something oppressive, of secondary importance—[it] is just

necessary."[39] One L. Miutel, writing in this issue, described how she encouraged her daughters' participation in kitchen labor from an early age and later rejoiced in their abilities to whip up supper when she could not. Although her neighbors marveled at this, Miutel regarded the situation with quiet satisfaction, feeling that she had instructed her girls to properly appreciate the "great joy" of women's work.[40] Perhaps unsurprisingly, when *Sem'ia i shkola* ran an issue dedicated to rearing boys, the contributors addressed sport, military service, boys' fashions, and "the male character."[41] No mention was made of the food that would sustain these lads in their energetic pursuits, let alone of the individuals who would prepare it.

Fittingly, late Soviet cinema offers numerous heroines whose romantic fulfillment or lack thereof hinges largely on their ways with food.[42] One of the most telling examples can be found in the popular melodrama, *A Train Station for Two* (*Vokzal dlia dvoikh*, 1983). Here, writer-director El'dar Riazanov uses a lousy train station restaurant as the setting for a budding romance between two dissatisfied people. The quality of the food the two protagonists consume improves as their relationship grows, thus creating a strong connection between romantic love and physical nourishment.[43] Vera, an experienced waitress, has spent years suffering rude customers and ill-fated affairs, most recently with a handsome black marketer. This lover first appears on screen with a suitcase full of exotic, overpriced melons, and gradually demonstrates that he can bring Vera ill-gotten goods but refuses her any love outside of hurried trysts. Meanwhile, traveler Platon faces prison time, having taken the blame after his wife killed a man with their car. Subsequently the viewer learns that, although his wife allowed Platon to sacrifice his freedom for her, she refuses to cook him dinner. At the movie's outset, the low quality of the station restaurant's fare sets the plot in motion: Platon meets Vera when he causes a commotion over some repellent soup and consequently misses his train. Trying to make up for her role in this mishap, Vera also finds herself stranded overnight. To feed herself and Platon, she transforms her handbag into something akin to the magic tablecloth (*skatert'-samobranka*) of Russian folktales, producing from it plates, bowls, napkins, a bottle of champagne, and even an enameled cooking pot full of goodies.[44] Platon no longer faces the dining room's inedible borscht but enjoys olives and smoked fish, caviar and champagne, albeit secondhand. Later he learns that the restaurant is perfectly capable of producing good food; the staff members simply prefer to shirk their duties unless serving friends. Inevitably, the pair turns from one appetite

to another, sleeping together in an out-of-service train car and parting in the morning.

The largest, most satisfying meal that Platon enjoys in the film comes from Vera's own hands, though it is served in the unlovely setting of the Siberian prison camp to which Platon has been sent. Called to a cabin for a spousal visit, Platon finds the place silent and the table laden with food: pies large and small, ham, boiled eggs, and jars of vegetable and fruit preserves. Animated by a prisoner's hunger, Platon furtively stuffs several eggs in his pocket and tucks into the food. A surprise pauses his repast when Vera, rather than his lawful wife, walks through the door. Vera now transforms the room itself into her magic tablecloth, as she wordlessly reveals a pot filled with meat patties among the bedclothes and pulls a bottle of vodka from behind a houseplant. Instead of items held up as evidence of Soviet "abundance" (caviar, champagne), Vera offers dishes broadly considered "traditional": pies, soup, and so forth.[45] She now appears as a fine cook and a woman capable of deep affection. Although Platon notes, almost jokingly, that one of his cutlets is a bit burnt, he calls Vera's cooking "outstanding" and pulls her onto his lap when she laments, "I'm afraid there isn't enough food." Once he eats his fill, Platon takes Vera to bed. She never touches a morsel, however, having come to the camp hungry, not for dinner, but for love.

Vladimir Men'shov's *Love and Doves* (*Liubov' i goluby*, 1985) is a useful companion to *Train Station*, as it similarly pairs culinary ability and female romantic worth, while more overtly condemning women who deny their partners proper nourishment. The film's protagonist, a mild-mannered (some might say spineless) timber worker named Vasilii, sets the plot in motion when he seizes an opportunity to flee his native village and relax at a Black Sea resort. The trip affords a brief reprieve from the ceaseless nagging of his wife, Nadia, the needs of his three children, and the troubles of his unruly neighbors. Intoxicated by his freedom and the exotic locale, this naive rural everyman falls under the spell of the alluring urbanite Raisa, who eventually pressures Vasilii into abandoning his work and his family. He has to choose between his humble former life and a new, potentially more comfortable city existence. The two central female characters—Nadia, Vasilii's hysterical but morally steadfast wife, and Raisa, his flashy, flighty mistress—embody, respectively, the worlds of tradition and modernity; food helps guide Vasilii to (correctly) choose the former.

Raisa represents a world at odds with that from which Vasilii hails, full as it is with noise, pigeon coops, and the dust of the village. She dresses

fashionably, drinks and dances with abandon, and chatters on about telekinesis and extraterrestrials; single, childless, and alone at the resort, she demonstrates her financial and personal independence. Raisa's apparent sophistication initially entices Vasilii, but their passion fades instantaneously when the pair is removed from the near-magical resort setting. In Raisa's city apartment, Vasilii soon finds himself hungering for physical and emotional sustenance. Raisa cannot cook, so Vasilii dons a flowered apron and helplessly piles grated carrots, cabbage, and beetroot onto plates. Hunching over the counter, nursing a cut on his finger, he appears outsized, out of place, and tremendously uncomfortable, especially as he continues to address Raisa formally by her first name and patronymic. Meanwhile, the lady of the house paces the well-appointed living room, holding forth about her dietary restrictions. She calls salt "white poison" and sugar "sweet poison," even rejecting bread as "venom." Vasilii responds by mumbling about how he would love to have a crust to poison himself with.

While setting up a tension between the hero's desires and his mistress's habits, this scene also calls into question both Raisa's character and her Russianness. Her refusal to consume bread runs completely counter to her homeland's customs, as well as the standards of the day, by which both Soviet officialdom and much of the public regarded bread as "sacred."[46] Moreover, bread and salt served to a newly arrived guest represent a key element of historical Russian hospitality (or *khlebosol'stvo*, literally "bread-and-salt").[47] Instead of welcoming Vasilii into her home, then, Raisa throws up restrictions and demands. Her inability to cook, her icy home, and her lack of a family combine to mark her femininity as both ultramodern and deviant. Men'shov's film thus suggests that the independent urban woman represents an unwholesome phenomenon at odds with Russian identity and customs.

Hungry for comfort and a solid meal, Vasilii eventually skulks back to Nadia, the embodiment of hearty yet yielding femininity. Although Nadia initially shows resistance, the pair slowly reestablishes their connection, with food playing a key part. Vasilii first has to court Nadia, bringing forth the only items he can "provide" as a man alone in the world: vodka and pickles. As Nadia warms once more to her unfaithful husband, she makes her feelings manifest in a pot of wholesome soup she serves him on the riverside and then by giving in to his sexual advances. She appears both motherly—she cannot stand to see Vasilii going hungry—and womanly, offering love and nourishment in two distinct physical forms. While we

do not know what, exactly, Raisa consumes (beyond cocktails, that is), we know precisely how Nadia and her family dine. They rely on rustic fare familiar to all Russians: bread, soup, homemade pickles, and preserves. These foods appear throughout the film and, considering the household's rural setting, much of this produce likely comes from plots Nadia and her children tend with their own hands. *Love and Doves* imbues simple, characteristically Russian meals with almost mystical properties. Here, a humble pot of soup conveys genuine affection and had the potential to spark or rekindle romantic love.

Raisa's exaggerated concerns about diet and her inability to cook appear as extreme outcomes of the "rational" mode of dining celebrated by many Soviet food experts. This paradigm endorsed consuming specific quantities of calories and nutrients, taking meals on a regular schedule, and prioritizing the maintenance of bodily health and work ability over pleasure and conviviality. The public dining industry would ideally facilitate this mode of eating by providing "rational" meals to the public and eventually "liberating" women from the need to cook at home.[48] Raisa takes this a step too far, depending entirely on others to cook for her and becoming so concerned with her health that she eschews many common—even celebrated—products. If we set her rejection of bread alongside her other esoteric fascinations, Raisa appears quite alien. Her interests align with those of the New Age movement, which gained popularity in both the USSR and the United States during the late 1970s and 1980s.[49] Raisa merges some of the aspirations of socialist modernity—scientific diets, socialized dining, and consumer comfort—with creeping Westernization. *Love and Doves* thus hints that the path chosen by Soviet officialdom could ultimately lead Russians away from their native culture, leaving them, like Vasilii, famished and lonesome. The solution was a return to the Russian hearth and its wholesome traditions, as represented by Nadia. Although coarse, earthy, and sometimes unlovely, Nadia ultimately offered the warmth and stability that Vasilii needed and desired.

A Man in the Kitchen

None of this is to say that men had no place in the late Soviet home kitchen. Indeed, as a team of Soviet sociologists asserted in 1978, by this time male adults shared in domestic duties in upward of 55 percent of Soviet homes.[50] This number may represent an exaggeration, as the researchers set out to

identify advancement toward gender equality, but it still suggests that many men did involve themselves in tasks such as housekeeping and cooking. This was not a matter purely of logistical necessity arising from women's increased involvement in the workforce: post-Soviet culinary prose demonstrates that some husbands and fathers thoroughly enjoyed their time at the stove. Authors including Alexander Levintov, Alexander Genis, and Pyotr Vail have offered up reminiscences about their own happy cooking experiences, while von Bremzen shares in her memoir warm memories of her father's Georgian chicken in walnut sauce and the elaborate borscht he used to "impress" her mother.[51] Some Soviet men cooked, and some of them did so with pleasure and gusto.

The rise in men's participation in kitchen labor did not, however, dramatically alter the dominant view of cooking as a feminine task. Late Soviet popular culture frequently reinforced the idea that a man cooking at home constituted an exceptional event. For instance, Georgii Daneliia's popular comedy *Afonia* (1975) used male culinary incompetence to comic effect, while also hinting that cooking could prove emasculating.[52] The eponymous hero—a roguish, alcoholic plumber who cannot maintain a serious romantic relationship—dines at home only when his buddy Kolia does the cooking. Having been evicted by his wife for going on a bender with Afonia, Kolia plays the role of a concerned mother, dishing out relationship advice along with breakfast. Yet even taking on this matronly posture, Kolia still produces grim bachelor meals. His bread and bare noodles scarcely represented an improvement over Afonia's usual diet of vodka, dining hall grub, and canned fish. The disjunction between Kolia's feminine behavior and his apparent inability to produce a tasty meal highlights his maleness and implies that circumstances in which men cook are best avoided.

True, some episodes in Soviet film granted certain male heroes the ability to cook, but these still tended to carry a dose of heartache. El'dar Riazanov's *Old Robbers* (*Stariki-razboiniki*, 1971) thus features Nikolai, a retiree who feels comfortable enough at the stove to swap recipes and cooking tips with his love interest. Yet cookery does not represent a fun hobby for Nikolai, rather it signals feminine absence: Nikolai is a widower. Meanwhile, Riazanov's *Zigzag of Fortune* (*Zigzag udachi*, 1968) features a desperate husband who takes over all of his family's housekeeping tasks in an effort to lure his errant wife back home. She is too busy chasing a coworker who has recently won the lottery to offer her spouse love in any form; this shallow woman finds money infinitely more appealing than the homey comforts of

her husband's cooking. On screen, when men stepped up to the stove, they did so because their kitchen had no woman to oversee it. A man cooking at home not only represented an exception but also often indicated imbalance, misfortune, or unhappiness.

Fittingly, a cookbook meant exclusively and explicitly for men did not appear in the USSR until 1988, when Leonid Karpov published *A Man in the Kitchen* (*Muzhchina na kukhne*). This text presented food preparation as an opportunity for men to show their worth, abilities, and even their physical strength, as they "stand in line for scarce goods" or "crack bones" for broth. The author broke with the Soviet standard of suggesting that a homemaker's burden could be eased through the mechanization or socialization of domestic chores, stating instead that any "true gentleman" would take on some of the work himself and thereby "ease women's labor." In a conspiratorial tone, Karpov also informed his male readers that they were more capable than women of "objectively evaluating dishes and drinks," since males possess "more developed and precise taste."[53] Yet admonitions to lighten women's load and show off manly prowess belie Karpov's expectation that his readers would probably cook for themselves alone. Unlike the overwhelming majority of recipes found in Soviet cookbooks, Karpov's would produce only one serving, rather than three to four. He assumed that when men found themselves in the kitchen, they would be alone.

Karpov did not originate this understanding of cooking as a "manly" act, combining brute force and chivalry. This image also manifests clearly—and, from the man's perspective, more successfully—in one of the most popular films of the late Soviet era, Vladimir Men'shov's *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* (*Moskva slezam ne verit*, 1980). Known for ideological correctness and a commitment to traditional family structure, Men'shov's work sheds light on the more socially conservative moral and affective valences attached to popular concerns about domesticity, consumption, and gender roles in late Soviet Russia.[54] *Moscow* delivers its heroine, Katia, into the arms of a man who will grant her long-awaited emotional fulfillment, so long as she returns to the kitchen and respects his male prerogatives. Having moved to Moscow in search of love and professional success, by her middle age Katia had only achieved the latter. In spite of having a well-appointed apartment and a prestigious job as a factory manager, Katia cries herself to sleep at night, beset by loneliness and a series of ill-fated romances. The solution to her problems appears in the form of Gosha, a sensitive and intelligent worker who brings her world into balance. Presaging Karpov's

masculine culinary fantasy, Gosha uses food as one of his primary tools for seduction and dominance.

On his first visit to Katia's home, Gosha marches into the kitchen and prepares dinner, taking over an aspect of daily life this single working mother neglected. Seemingly from nothing, Gosha produces a meal far too large for three people, filling Katia's table with various salads and other wholesome dishes. This repast stands in stark contrast to the convenience foods—soup concentrate and instant compote—that Katia had instructed her daughter to fix for herself earlier in the film. Next, he whisks Katia away on a surprise picnic. He prepares *shashlyk* (grilled, skewered meat), declaring when Katia offers to help, "Shashlyk cannot stand a woman's touch!" Shashlyk represented for most Russians a "man's" dish: Ideally cooked outdoors on an open flame, its preparation took place outside the feminine space of the home kitchen and incorporated an element of danger not to be found in the closed cooking ranges now common in Soviet homes.[55] The association of this dish with the allegedly "wild" mountain peoples of the Caucasus (from whom Russians had adopted shashlyk more than a century earlier) also added an air of masculine thrill, calling up the past adventures of such heroes as poet Alexander Pushkin.[56] Shashlyk thus granted Gosha the power to assert the manly character of the culinary abilities he had previously demonstrated in Katia's kitchen.

By the end of the film, Katia has undergone a transformation. She has given up convenience foods, those outdated emblems of Soviet female emancipation, as well as a large measure of her independence.[57] Gosha has successfully domesticated this emancipated woman, and Katia appears sublimely happy in her role as his submissive lover. She is now the one preparing home-cooked meals, but in true Soviet fashion she also maintains a career outside the home, though Gosha forbids her to bring up the fact that she earns more money than he does.[58] Gosha has effectively used his abilities as a cook to assert his dominance in the feminine sphere of the home. Gosha manipulates whole foods—vegetables, meats, and so on—to demonstrate that he is not a weak, derogated Soviet male but an assertive patriarch who can cook, a skill he will not need once Katia comes to heel. Katia is allowed to return to her "rightful" place in the kitchen only once Gosha has made clear that he has the ultimate authority in the home and that he is not dependent on Katia for support or nourishment.

While this might appear to today's viewer as unappealingly sexist, it played differently in the USSR. As Irina Glushchenko writes in her essay,

"The public hardly noticed the film's depiction of the problem of an inappropriate male attitude toward a woman's success. Instead, viewers focused on the fact that a common girl, despite all obstacles, had made a brilliant career."[59] Moreover, many female cinemagoers found Gosha deeply attractive. As David MacFadyen has discussed, fans of *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* addressed letters fawning over this character to both Vera Alentova (who played Katia) and to the cinema periodical *Soviet Screen* (*Sovetskii ekran*). One woman thus sighed to Alentova about her "proud loneliness," having a good job but no man: "Katia was so lucky to meet someone like Gosha. . . . I wait and wait, but my prince just doesn't come." Recalling the scene in which Katia meets her man on a suburban train, others wistfully wondered where they could find their own "Goshas." A woman addressing *Soviet Screen* addressed the fictional hero, lamenting, "It's such a shame that you're only on the screen. . . . I'm 34 and still wait for you, but until then I'm in the next carriage." Clearly, these women not only identified with Katia, who remained lonely in spite of her comfortable professional situation, but also longed for a husband who could offer them Gosha's unique combination of tenderness, aggression, and competence.

The assumptions about women, men, and cooking found in these sources aligned neatly with a public discussion, emerging in the 1970s, about the "crisis of masculinity" allegedly afflicting Soviet society. Spurred on by concerns about public health and the USSR's "demographic crisis," this discourse sought to understand why Soviet men appeared so prone to "antisocial behaviors" (adultery, drunkenness) and so willing to shirk their parental and spousal responsibilities. Journalists and social scientists often explained this by pointing to the supposed "masculinization" of the female half of the population. The majority of Soviet women worked outside of the home and enjoyed some financial independence, while many educated women now rose to management positions, which put them in charge of male subordinates. According to the logic of Soviet public discourse, instead of fulfilling their "natural" role as nurturers, emancipated wives browbeat their husbands, denied them access to any real authority in the domestic realm, and even had the temerity to pose as men's equals in the once-masculine public sphere. As a result, men became weak, dependent, and shiftless.[60]

Scholars have cast doubt on this explanation, while acknowledging the reality of the problems this conversation addressed. Instead of blaming women for creating "deadbeat" husbands and "feminized" males, historians

and sociologists highlight the state's role in alienating Soviet men from the home. Most men could no longer play the sole breadwinner, since pay structures largely precluded the existence of single-earner families. Also, the government often undermined fathers' parental rights, while policies on parenting, child support, and family leave elevated mothers above fathers in terms of both responsibilities and rewards. Many men enjoyed neither authority at work nor meaningful influence in public life, and those who came of age in the late Soviet period further lacked the opportunities for heroism and adventure (read: revolution and war) that had defined their fathers' and grandfathers' generations.[61] Regardless of how we now understand the "crisis of masculinity," portions of the late Soviet public conceived of it as a very real phenomenon, one that was as much about women as men. The press and expert literature alike cast proper femininity as a pillar of familial harmony and social stability. Some cultural artifacts, such as *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*, even went so far as to suggest to men that they might be able to use food to coax modern women into fulfilling their traditional roles.

Conclusion

In 1923, Leon Trotsky declared, "One cannot speak of [women's] equality . . . if a woman is tied to her family, to cooking, washing and sewing."[62] By this standard, Soviet women never enjoyed full equality; cooking and many other household chores remained "women's work." Departing from the emancipatory rhetoric of the 1960s, Soviet public discourse on food during the 1970s and early 1980s reinforced a more old-fashioned understanding of a woman's role in the family. In the kitchen, a Soviet woman both exercised power and shouldered a heavy burden, using food to forge romantic bonds, enhance her attractiveness, show off her hard-earned skills, and strengthen family ties. This held true for women of all social classes. The magazines *Krest'ianka* and *Rabotnitsa* explicitly targeted female peasants and workers, and these women also appeared as central characters in the films discussed above. Yet similar expectations about gender roles also held up among portions of the intelligentsia. This is reflected not only in the recalcitrant insistence on the part of experts (themselves members of the intelligentsia) that all women had a "special" part to play as mothers and wives but also in the fact that such rhetoric appeared in cookbooks and parenting journals aimed at women in white-collar professions. This did not represent a

complete return to "tradition," of course, as both state and society believed that women would remain in the workforce and should take pride in their professions. Yet we do clearly see that the web of ideas and assumptions binding together food and gender in this period promoted an embrace of "traditional" sex roles within the framework of Soviet-style modernity.

At the same time, Soviet modernity itself came under criticism, as the neotraditionalism that marked discourse on home cooking suggests. Cinematic renderings of the food-gender nexus raised a wary eyebrow at the modern modes of eating that reigned in Soviet Russia. In the comedies and melodramas of the 1970s and 1980s, women could have their chances for happiness dashed if they relied too heavily on factory-made foods or succumbed to overtly rational eating. The "good khoziaika" earned satisfaction by cooking for her family, eschewing prepared foods, and nurturing her husband and children with Russian dishes, such as long-simmered soups and fresh baked goods. The cruel irony is that the Soviet state had long promoted the use of prepared products and public dining facilities as a means of enabling women to participate in labor and public life. Modern conveniences were meant to secure gender equality, but by turning to these resources, women ran the risk of appearing cold, venal, and unwomanly. As for men, Soviet popular culture suggested that they had the capacity to limit the power women could exercise through food and cooking. On screen, men might exercise temporary dominion over the kitchen as a means of taming an insufficiently feminine lover. Yet most scenarios that placed men in the kitchen aligned more closely with the near-disaster that opened this essay: on screen and in cooking advice literature, a man cooking at home was treated as something exceptional, an unlikely event that probably took place in the absence of women.

Although they cannot represent all experiences of life in late Soviet Russia, these narratives do express expectations that provide tantalizing insights into the broader culture of late Soviet era. Discourses on domestic cookery promoted ways of living that did not revolve around revolutionary fervor or a passionate commitment to building communism. Here, divorce, dishonesty, and loneliness seemed to stem in part from an individual's acceptance of Soviet-style modernity: dependence on state-provided products and services, striving to find satisfaction through labor and "activism." Real happiness could be found instead in personal relationships and the home, which became a refuge from the gray monotony of workaday life and the disappointments of attempting to take part in a rapidly ossifying political climate.

Yet this is not to say that the cozy—if contested—images of domestic harmony and gastronomic love that permeated this era's popular culture represented a complete departure from state ideology. By postponing the establishment of communism seemingly indefinitely, the doctrine of "developed socialism" paved the way for a renaissance in slow, intimate living. At the same time, policies providing incentives for families to have more children encouraged celebrations of fertility and family life. Rather than suggesting that these developments somehow precipitated the collapse of the Soviet Union, we might suppose that they mark the establishment of a way of life that might have persisted in the long term had political and economic conditions permitted. After all, this scheme promised that fulfillment lay not at the end of some ephemeral road to communism but in an eminently accessible and concrete space: the private home. In other words, this vision of contemporary life depended not on something revolutionary or extraordinary but on a kind of humdrum middle-class normalcy that would not have seemed out of place elsewhere in the developed world in the late twentieth century.

Notes

1. Mikula Bilkun, "Siurpriz liubiashchikh muzhei," *Krest'ianka*, March 1968, 29.
2. Carole Counihan, "Gendering Food," in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. Jeffrey M. Pilcher (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 104–5. Numerous scholars have examined the food-gender nexus from historical and anthropological points of view, as well as in diverse national contexts. See, for example, Carole Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Sherrie A. Inness, ed., *Cooking Lessons: The Politics of Gender and Food* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001).
3. I use "Soviet Russia" here to refer to the RSFSR, not the USSR as a whole. This essay focuses on Russian-language sources, the majority of which were produced in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. It does not presume to address the cultures of other Soviet republics.
4. Natalia Vinokurova, "Reprivatising Women's Lives: From Khrushchev to Brezhnev," in *Gender, Equality and Difference During and After State Socialism*, ed. Rebecca Kay (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 63–84. Vladimir Shlapentokh was the first to propose that Soviet society underwent a process of privatization in this period in *Public and Private Life of the Soviet People: Changing Values in Post-Stalin Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 153–63. More recent scholarship has both complicated and borne out this way of understanding late Soviet life. See, for instance, Alexei Yurchak's discussion of *obshchenie* in *Everything Was Forever until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 149.
5. Natalya Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era* (London: Routledge, 2013); Sue Bridger, "Heroine Mothers and Demographic Crises: The Legacy of

the Late Soviet Era," in Kay, *Gender, Equality and Difference*, 105–12; Barbara Alpern Engel, "Women and the State," in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 3, *The Twentieth Century*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 488–90; Gail Warshofsky Lapidus, *Women in Soviet Society: Equality, Development, and Social Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), chap. 4–8.

6. The *khoziaika* was by no means the only image of womanhood available to the Soviet public, though it was one of the most highly visible. It also emerges as the most common representation of women in discourses focusing on home cooking.

7. On the "demographic crisis," see Jo Peers, "Workers by Hand and Womb: Soviet Women and the Demographic Crisis," in *Soviet Sisterhood: British Feminists on Women in the USSR*, ed. Barbara Holland (London: Fourth Estate, 1985), 124–44. On sex roles and the "crisis of masculinity," see Lynne Attwood, "The New Soviet Man and Woman—Soviet Views on Psychological Sex Differences," in Holland, *Soviet Sisterhood*, 72–75; Elena Zdravomyslova and Anna Temkina, "The Crisis of Masculinity in Late Soviet Discourse," *Russian Social Science Review* 54, no. 1 (January–February 2013): 46, 53–55.

8. Catriona Kelly, "Making a Home on the Neva: Domestic Space, Memory, and Local Identity in Leningrad and St. Petersburg, 1957–Present," *Laboratorium* 3, no. 3 (2011): 80.

9. Since its inception, the Soviet state had promoted public dining and factory-made foods as resources that would ease women's burden. Officialdom's commitment to the socialization of domestic labor ebbed and flowed over the years, but the promise of lessened responsibilities for women in the home remained. Accordingly, the number of dining facilities and the quantity of prepared foods increased over the decades, reaching their highest point in the Brezhnev era. On public dining, food processing, and visions of the "modern" Soviet home, see Halina Rothstein and Robert A. Rothstein, "The Beginnings of Soviet Culinary Arts," in *Food in Russian History and Culture*, ed. Musya Glants and Joyce Toomre, 179–80; Mauricio Borrero, "Communal Dining and State Cafeterias in Moscow and Petrograd, 1917–1921," in Glants and Toomre, *Food in Russian History and Culture*, 162–76; Irina Glushchenko, *Obshchepit: Mikoian i sovetskaia kukhnia* (Moscow: Vysshaia shkola, 2010); N. B. Lebina and A. N. Chistikov, *Obyvatel' i reformy: Kartiny povsednevnoi zhizni gorozhan v gody nepa i khrushchevskogo desiatiletiia* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), esp. 235–43; Susan E. Reid, "The Khrushchev Kitchen: Domesticating the Scientific-Technological Revolution," *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 2 (April 2005): 289–316; Natal'ia Lebina, "'Plius destalinizatsiia vsei edy . . .' (Vkusovye prioritety epokhi khrushchevskikh reform: Opyt istoriko-antropologicheskogo analiza)," *Teoriia mody* 21 (Fall 2011): 213–42; Adrianne K. Jacobs, "The Many Flavors of Socialism: Modernity and Tradition in Late Soviet Food Culture, 1965–1985" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 2015), 86–87.

10. V. D. Patrushev, "Obshchaia kartina izmenenii ispol'zovaniia biudzheta vremeni gorozhan s 1965 po 1997/98 gody," in *Biudzhet vremeni i peremeny v zhiznedeiatel'nosti gorodskikh zhitelei v 1965–1998 godakh*, ed. T. M. Karakhanova (Moscow: Institut sotsiologii RAN, 2001), 15–16; T. M. Karakhanova, "Trudovoe povedenie gorodskikh zhitelei v bytovoi sfere i ego dinamika za 30 let," in Karakhanova, *Biudzhet vremeni i peremeny v zhiznedeiatel'nosti gorodskikh zhitelei*, 32.

11. Vinokurova, "Reprivatising Women's Lives," 81.

12. Sociologist V. D. Patrushev proclaimed advancement toward "democratization" in "Obshchaia kartina," 15–16.

13. V. I. Kapustina, S. M. Ziabreva, and T. V. Beznogova, *Sekrety khoroshei kukhni: Sovety molodoi khoziaike* (Moscow: Pishchevaia promyshlennost', 1969); I. Kravtsov, *Sovety molodym khoziaikam* (Odessa: Maiak, 1970); M. P. Danilenko and Iu. I. Emel'ianova, *Vse iz muki: Dlia molodoi khoziaiki* (Alma-Ata: Kainar, 1974); V. Mel'nik, *Kukhnia molodoi khoziaiki* (Kishinev: Kartia moldovenianske, 1975); A. G. Bendel', *Kukhnia molodoi khoziaiki* (Sverdlovsk: Sredne-ural'skoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1982). Also see M. P. Danilenko, *Kak prigotovit' doma konditerskie i drugie izdeliia iz muki, sladkie bliuda, varen'e, soki: Posobie dlia molodykh khoziaek* (Moscow: Pishchevaia promyshlennost', 1965); D. A. Korshunov, *Kak sokhranit' urozhai fruktov, ovoshchei i gribov: V pomoshch' sadovodam i domashnim khoziaikam* (Moscow: Pishchevaia promyshlennost', 1976); A. N. Kudian, *Khoziaike o produktakh pitaniia* (Minsk: Uradzhai, 1977); I. N. Rashchenko, *Domashnie solen'ia, varen'ia i marinady: Dlia molodoi khoziaiki sela* (Alma-Ata: Kainar, 1977). The majority of these titles appeared in relatively large print runs (sometimes in multiple editions) of more than 100,000 copies.

14. Joyce Toomre, introduction to *Classic Russian Cooking: Elena Molokhovets' "A Gift to Young Housewives,"* ed. and trans. Joyce Toomre (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 3–4.

15. In this way, as in many others, Soviet cookbooks in the latter half of the twentieth century mirrored those produced elsewhere in the industrialized world, including in the United States. For an excellent study of American cooking advice in American history, see Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

16. Kravtsov, *Sovety molodym khoziaikam*, 3–30.

17. Danilenko and Emel'ianova, *Vse iz muki*, 4.

18. Bendel', *Kukhnia molodoi khoziaiki*, 66.

19. Kapustina, Ziabreva, and Beznogova, *Sekrety khoroshei kukhni*, 3, 5.

20. R. I. Kosiak, *Molodoi khoziaike* (Minsk: Polymia, 1985), 3.

21. I concentrate on these émigré memoirs in particular because they deal extensively with food and cooking, having appeared as part of the recent culinary memoir boom in the United States.

22. Anya von Bremzen, *Mastering the Art of Soviet Cooking: A Memoir of Love and Longing* (New York: Crown, 2013), 161.

23. Elena Gorokhova, *A Mountain of Crumbs: A Memoir* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), 1, 213, 150, 304.

24. L. Dranovskaia, "Krasota i zdorov'e," *Rabotnitsa*, February 1965, 30–31; "Kosmetika iz kukhonnogo shkafa," *Rabotnitsa*, September 1967, 30; "Chtoby ne bylo morshchin," *Krest'ianka*, January 1965, 32; "Domashniaia kosmetika," *Krest'ianka*, January 1970, 32; "Novogodnii uzhin," *Krest'ianka*, December 1970, 32; E. Ryzhkova, "Ukhod za volosami posle permanenta," *Krest'ianka*, September 1968, 32.

25. "Meniu dlia krasoty," *Rabotnitsa*, July 1976, 30; T. Gurevich, "Leto, kosmetika i vitaminy," *Rabotnitsa*, May 1969, 30–31.

26. "K nashemu vesennemu prazdniku," *Krest'ianka*, March 1974, 31–32.

27. Factory-made cosmetics remained outside the scope of my dissertation and, to date, no studies of the Soviet cosmetics industry exist. It can be assumed, however, that if women had enjoyed satisfactory access to cleansers, moisturizers, and other beauty products, they might not have smeared their faces with sauerkraut or yeast paste. On women's historic control of food stores in Russia, see note 32 below.

28. As I discuss elsewhere, this trend mirrored similar developments across the world, notably in the United States, during the late twentieth century. See Adrianne K. Jacobs, "V. V. Pokhlebkin and the Search for Culinary Roots in Late Soviet Russia," *Cahiers du monde russe* 54, no. 1–2 (January–June 2013): 165–86; Jacobs, "Many Flavors of Socialism," chap. 2. On the national cuisines paradigm in the USSR, also see Ol'ga Siutkina and Pavel Siutkin, *Nepridumannaia istoriia sovetskoi kukhni* (Moscow: AST, 2013), 108–19. A number of scholars have noted the role that cookbooks play in constructing national cuisines as part of the project of forming an "imagined community." See Alison K. Smith, "National Cuisines," in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. Jeffery M. Pilcher (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 444–60, for an overview of this topic. For one of the earliest and most seminal works on the relationship between cookbooks and national identity, see Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (January 1988): 3–24.

29. V. V. Pokhlebkin, *Tainy khoroshei kukhni* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1979), 6.

30. Food experts and industry officials had promoted a vast array of "futurist" foods, factory-made products, and mechanized modes of food service throughout the Soviet period. See, for example, Rothstein and Rothstein, "Beginnings of Soviet Culinary Arts," 179–80; Glushchenko, *Obshchepit*; Reid, "Khrushchev Kitchen."

31. These ideas are similar, though not identical, to those of the Euro-American Slow Food movement. Jacobs, "V. V. Pokhlebkin and the Search for Culinary Roots," 183–84.

32. In Russia, women had long been in charge of the kitchen. See Alison K. Smith, *Recipes for Russia: Food and Nationhood under the Tsars* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008), chap. 6; Darra Goldstein, "Domestic Porkbarreling, or Who Holds the Keys to the Larder?," in *Russia*Women*Culture*, ed. Helena Goscilo and Beth Holmgren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 125–51; Toomre, introduction to *Classic Russian Cooking*, 3–89; Mary Matossian, "The Peasant Way of Life," in *Russian Peasant Women*, ed. Beatrice Farnsworth and Lynne Viola (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), esp. 19–20, 23, 25–27.

33. V. V. Pokhlebkin, *Natsional'nye kukhni nashikh narodov: Osnovnye kulinarnye napravleniia, ikh istoriia i osobennosti: Retseptura* (Moscow: Pishchevaia promyshlennost', 1978).

34. See, for example, "Sovetuiut chitateli," *Krest'ianka*, March 1965, 32; T. Pshenichnikov, "Ural'skie bliuda," *Krest'ianka*, February 1974, 31; "Kartofel': Iz starinnykh retseptov," *Krest'ianka*, April 1979, 31; "A ia delaiu tak," *Rabotnitsa*, September 1982, 30.

35. L. Miutel', "Kak ia uchila svoikh devochek khoziainichat'," *Sem'ia i shkola*, September 1973, 45.

36. S. Lapteva, "Kak ispech' 'napoleon,'" *Rabotnitsa*, November 1976, 26–27.

37. L. Orlova, "Tvoia kukhnia," *Rabotnitsa*, February 1976, 30. The first installment doled out basic information on organizing and managing a home kitchen, while later editions fell into a pattern indistinct from *Rabotnitsa*'s earlier discussions of housework, offering a combination of recipes and advice on other household chores.

38. Pokhlebkin, *Tainy khoroshei kukhni*, 6.

39. "Pomoshchnitsy, khoziaiushki . . ." *Sem'ia i shkola*, September 1973, 42.

40. Miutel', "Kak ia uchila svoikh devochek khoziainichat'," 45–46.

41. "Vospitanie mal'chika: Zhurnal v zhurnale," *Sem'ia i shkola*, June 1974, 17–48.

42. Irina Glushchenko makes a powerful case for the importance of film to Soviet popular consciousness and culture in her essay "'I Hate Cooking!': Emancipation and Patriarchy in Late Soviet Film."

43. *A Train Station for Two* won a viewer vote held by *Soviet Screen* [*Sovetskii ekran*] magazine for the most popular film of 1983. David MacFadyen, *The Sad Comedy of El'dar Riazanov: An Introduction to Russia's Most Popular Filmmaker* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 126. *Train Station* is Riazanov's second film in which the action revolves around a public dining establishment, although in his first such film, *Give Me the Complaints Book* [*Daite zhalobnuiu knigu*, 1965], food itself plays a minimal role. Rather, the plot focuses on the efforts of a group of dynamic, creative young adults who take it on themselves to modernize a dysfunctional and old-fashioned restaurant.

44. The magic tablecloth (*skatert'-samobranka*), or "self-victualler," can be found in a number of Russian folktales, including "Prince Ivan and Princess Martha" and "Horns," both of which are included in Aleksandr Afanas'ev, *Russian Fairy Tales* (Toronto: Pantheon, 1975), 79–86, 292–94. Afanas'ev originally collected these tales in mid-nineteenth century. Also see Darra Goldstein, "A Magic Tablecloth," *Russian Life*, May/June 2012, 60–61.

45. On Soviet abundance, see Jukka Gronow, *Caviar with Champagne: Common Luxury and the Ideals of the Good Life in Stalin's Russia* (Oxford: Berg, 2003); Glushchenko, *Obshchepit*; Edward Geist, "Cooking Bolshevik: Anastas Mikoian and the Making of the *Book about Delicious and Healthy Food*," *Russian Review* 71, no. 2 (April 2012): 295–313.

46. Brezhnev himself promoted this attitude to bread, reflecting on how he learned a "holy" or "sacred" attitude to bread in childhood. L. I. Brezhnev, *Vospominaniia*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury), 22. It was also not uncommon for members of the older generation to write in the press about the need to instruct the young to respect and cherish bread. For examples of such discussions in the parenting magazine *Sem'ia i shkola*, see E. Abramova, "Kusok khleba," *Sem'ia i shkola*, September 1975, 12; V. Kashutin, "Oskolok solntsa na moei zemli," *Sem'ia i shkola*, August 1975, 34–35; V. Galochkin, "Khleb," *Sem'ia i shkola*, September 1970, 12–13; "Beregite khleb!," *Sem'ia i shkola*, January 1971, 14. Also, for state propaganda encouraging the public to conserve bread, see "Beregite khleb," directed by A. Tatarskii, 1982, YouTube video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JxQ4P4_pErM. Accessed December 1, 2018.

47. Darra Goldstein describes this widely recognized custom in *A Taste of Russia* (Montpelier, VT: Russian Life Books, 1999), xiii–xiv.

48. On rational dining, see Geist, "Cooking Bolshevik," 300–301. On rational dining and early attempts to eliminate household chores, see Rothstein and Rothstein, "Beginnings of the Soviet Culinary Arts." On the Khrushchev period, see Reid, "Khrushchev Kitchen"; Lebina, "'Plius destalinizatsiia vsei edy . . .'"

49. Historian Philip Jenkins describes how New Age religion and counterculture fascinations (including health food and UFO lore) grew in influence and popularity in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s. Philip Jenkins, "Mainstreaming the Sixties," in *Decade of Nightmares: The End of the Sixties and the Making of Eighties America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 24–46. According to religious historian Emily B. Baran, New Age religion also began gaining notice in the Soviet Union at this time. Baran to the author, November 9, 2013.

50. E. E. Novikova, V. S. Iazykova, and Z. A. Iankova, "Women's Work and the Family," in *Women, Work, and Family in the Soviet Union*, ed. Gail Warshofsky Lapidus (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1982), 169–70. This article originally appeared in *Zhenshchina, trud, sem'ia* (*Sotsiologicheskii ocherk*) (Moscow: Profizdat, 1978), 53–78. On the division of labor in late Soviet households, also see Lapidus, *Women in Soviet Society*, 263–84.

51. Aleksandr Levintov, *Kniga o vkusnoi zhizni: Nebol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Ol'gi Morozovoi, 2008); Petr Vail' and Aleksandr Genis, *Russkaia kukhnia v izgnanii* (Los Angeles, CA: Almanakh, 1987); Anya von Bremzen and John Welchman, *Please to the Table: The Russian Cookbook* (New York: Workman, 1990), 43–45; von Bremzen, *Mastering the Art of Soviet Cooking*, 247, 318–20.

52. Afonia is the embodiment of the knavish, incompetent male that, in Irina Glushchenko's words, "took root in the average consciousness" beginning in the 1960s. In the present volume, see Glushchenko, "'I Hate Cooking!'"

53. Leonid Karpov, *Muzhchina na kukhne* (Cheliabinsk: Iuzhno-ural'skoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1988), 3, 5, 8. Karpov appears to be wrong about men's enhanced sensory abilities. Recent research suggests that women actually tend to be better tasters. C. Michon, M. G. O'Sullivan, C. M. Delahunty, and J. P. Kerry, "The Investigation of Gender-Related Sensitivity Differences in Food Perception," *Journal of Sensory Studies* 24 (2009): 934, as cited in Counihan, "Gendering Food," 104n28.

54. Anna Lawton, *Kinoglasnost: Soviet Cinema in Our Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 19. Also see Glushchenko's discussion of *Moscow* in her contribution to this volume.

55. This is similar to Americans' perception of grilling or barbecuing as a "manly" form of cooking. Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking*, 191–218; Kristin L. Matthews, "One Nation Over Coals: Cold War Nationalism and the Barbecue," *American Studies* 50, no. 3 (2009): 5–34.

56. On Pushkin's encounter with shashlyk, see V. V. Pokhlebkin, *Kukhnia veka* (Moscow: Polifakt, Itogi veka, 2000), 61. Pokhlebkin also sheds light on the origins of the name "shashlyk" in *Natsional'nye kukhni nashikh narodov: Osnovnye kulinarnye napravleniia, ikh istoriia i osobennosti: Retseptura* (Moscow: Pishchevaia promyshlennost', 1978), 118.

57. Convenience foods were often touted in Soviet advertisements and trade literature as tools for freeing women from drudgery in the kitchen. See Glushchenko's essay in this volume, as well as Glushchenko, *Obshchepit*, and Geist, "Cooking Bolshevik."

58. Glushchenko discusses this conflict in greater depth on p. 68 of this volume.

59. See Glushchenko, "I Hate Cooking," pp. 59–79 of this volume.

60. Zdravomyslova and Temkina, "Crisis of Masculinity in Late Soviet Discourse." Also see note 7 above.

61. Ibid.; Zhanna Chernova, "The Model of 'Soviet' Fatherhood: Discursive Prescriptions," *Russian Studies in History* 51, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 35–62; Marina Kiblitskaya, "Russia's Female Breadwinners: The Changing Subjective Experience," in *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*, ed. Sarah Ashwin (London: Routledge, 2000), 55–70; Sergei Kukhterin, "Fathers and Patriarchs in Communist and Post-Communist Russia," in Ashwin, *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*, 71–89.

62. As quoted in Rothstein and Rothstein, "Beginnings of the Soviet Culinary Arts," 178.

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