

Women and Culinary: From Domestic to Public Kitchen

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Abstract

The widespread culinary programs in television has brought domestic activity into the public sphere. When start to be shown at public domain, such as shops, hotel, restaurant and even television, the activity which was originally conceived as women's work in the house begin to be possessed by men. The emergence of men as host chef in the culinary program confirms the dominance of men in public spaces, which is packaged as a television performance that shown how men as it is but also show their ability in food processing. This is different when we enter the era which women host no longer placed as a mother who cooked for the family, but as chef and host with 'catchy' packaging. This paper highlights how the culinary program seen from the sex based job classification, how male dominance in the culinary program on television, as well as how women compete to fight for culinary stage on screen.

Keywords: Culinary Programe, TV Industry, Domination

Introduction

Cooking is a human effort in fulfilling their need upon food as a means of survival. Generally, the cooking and kitchen activity, since it's firstly found until current advanced world, is only seen merely as a domestic-household matter which becomes the daily duty of women. It has been a duty and responsibility of women in serving and cooking the food for the entire family. And cooking actually has no economical value.

From the cooking itself, its creativity triggers the development of cooking concept from merely as a food cooking activity becomes the art of cooking (culinary). According to http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Index_of_sociology_of_food_articles, culinary art is the art of serving and/or preparing the food. The word "culinary" itself is defined as all thing related to the cooking. Culinerian is the people who works in the field of culinary art and known

as chef. They're demanded not only knowing how to serve and cook the food but also understanding deeply the science of food including the knowledge and information about its nutrition.

The knowledge of ingredient, the characteristic of ingredient, and nutrition become the essential key in determining the ability of chef in choosing the ingredient to cook. At least there are three important creativities when we talk about culinary. First, creativity in choosing the ingredient. Second, creativity in mixing and creating various food. Three, creativity in serving the interesting food to attract people to eat it.

This activity which had no economical value in the beginning then develops into the art which has economical value as well as the other commodities. It becomes the interesting reality when it comes to the domestic scale. Apparently, it only becomes the women authority to handle it and men are considered taboo to step in. However, when it comes to the public area,

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cooking is dominated by men. Take a look at the chef who work in hotel, restaurant, cafe or even the “Nasi Padang” seller are all well-dominated by men. They are responsible for all process starting from preparing raw ingredients until the last touch of serving the food.

The growth of television industry in Indonesia contributes a significant value toward the development of culinary in Indonesia. It's a place where culinary can broaden up the range of cooking into wider public area. Television also helps bringing the culinary program into the competition among TV stations. Culinary becomes one of TV programs which survives until now.

However, the way of how that program is presented and packaged becomes unique attraction to be seen. Programs which in the beginning were always guided by female-like Enita Sriyana (Santapan Nusantara in TPI) and Sisca Soewitomo (Aroma in Indosiar)-who are positioned as mother to serve the food for the family changing along the increasing of audience's entertainment interest. The presence of Rudy Choirudin broke that tradition. He showed the people how to be a proficient male in serving delicious food for the family. Rudy's success triggers the culinary programs which are guided by men then dominating the the culinary show on TV. Bara Pattirajawane and others make the cooking not only merely a cooking but they are chef cooking for everyone combining with the entertainment. The men domination in culinary program decreases the number of female host in culinary program on TV. It means that Culinary program on TV which was dominated by women in the past begins to be approached by men.

It's actually an attempt to take back the culinary program in domestic area in the hand of women when in November 2008, Trans TV broadcasted “Ala Chef” guided by Farah Quinn. Farah Quinn's presence seemed to fill up the missing part with his success in attracting the public attention. This program ensures the other TV station to broadcast the similar programs. Trans TV broadcasts “Cooking in Paradise” guided by Ririn Marinka, Global TV broadcasts

“Kitchen Beib” guided by Rima melati who is replaced by Raline Shah.

Through observation to the culinary program that aired in May 2010 this paper will explain the competition between men and women in culinary program on TV. First, how culinary as the sex based job classification is. Second, how the domination of men in culinary program on TV is. Third, how far women can compete with men in getting the culinary program market and how representation of women in the culinary program on TV is.

Culinary and Sex Based Job Classification

Culinary can not be separated from the long history of sex based job classification. Arif Budiman (1981) quoted Gerald Marwell that in every culture, women and men are given different roles and behavior patterns to complement each other physically. This role division functioned as complement effort upon the lack between men and women, so that the problem faced by the society can be solved in a better way. Women play the function of householder because women must bear, then take care of their new baby born, and it would be dangerous if they work too hard. They better work in household, and men work outside.

That background seems to be the justification and attached in the women then giving the obligation for them to just do household matter. As the one who work in domestic area, women do not get proper payment because it has a little economical value. Their mobilization is limited only in a household and has no challenging action to do. This statement is supported by Budiman (1981:35), he said that women's job in a household has no market and bargaining value, though it's totally useful. The women's job is not the part of the market system. Thus, it has no value because it can not be counted based on market system. The job of women in a household tends to be seen as a profession which is less valuable than men's who produce the money. Because in capitalist system, the social value of someone tends to be assessed to their effort in gaining money, hence the job of women which has no market value will make

women feel worthless compared to men which are able to look for money in market by selling themselves as worker. Piliang (1998: xiii) stated that term “works” in patriarkhi society has conotation as “masculine”. “Work”, rationally, is limited by time, for example eight hours within a day. Whereas women who do their housework along the noon and night (washing the clothes, cooking, sweeping, taking care of the kids) is not defined as ‘work’. The product as a result of housewife job is used directly by the entire family, not for sale so that they have never been paid for their work. They are only paid especially for the work which make them as ‘commodity’ in economics, like industry ‘imagery’, entertainment and show. (Piliang (1998: xiii)).

According to Irwan Abdullah (2003b), gender divides the attribute of work into masculine and feminine. This social reality indicates that the division of labour based on gender creating an unbalance situation when women subordinated by men. Moore (Abdullah, 2003a) cited some experts who stated that subordination of the women is not only characterized culturally, but also rooted at the gender. This division of labor comes from symbolic association between women with nature and men with culture. Woman with its reproduction character associated to be domestic and men in public area finally creates the relation of hierarchy, men as superior and women as inferior.

When public space’s rapidly growing, women are left behind in competing against men. Even in social system, that becomes more capitalist, where all things are always related to economic principle which in domestic area is done by women, getting shifted to be men’s. This is actually in line with the idea of Abdullah (2003), that woman is so jailed in the domestic field, whereas man who freely involves in the public field, is a sign from such a lame social structure. Particularly, through open competition, it’s giving bigger opportunity for men entering sector which is believed as women domain in the beginning. This concept by irwan Abdullah was called as “masculinization”.

The concept of “masculinization” which refers to a tendency “colonization” men to

women, where previous sectors owned by women gradually taken over by men. This thing becomes the friction of the shift of the wide economics structure, and at least has two implications, that is friction of macro economics structure that directly sacrifices woman. By the time of the job opportunity for men starts decreasing, men then take over or expand to the sectors that is initially handled by women. Second, the change of economics structure also directly limits the involvement of women in so many economic sector because the segmentation is increasingly more complicated. If there is a chance, men will be prioritized. If the opportunity for men is limited, they will insist in marginalizing women (Abdullah, 2003a:12)

The increasing number of more opening public space triggers the change in the division of labor related to culinary. When entering the public space, which is expected having high degree and economics, the division of labour between men and women is shifted. Men do not only become ‘warung padang’ seller, hotel and restaurant chef but also come to the TV industry. Chef on TV which initially was for women, start giving more space to men. Refers to masculinization (Abdullah, 2003a), it comes as a form of men expansion in various areas of life, hence it’s actually culinary masculinization as a sign upon the coming of men into culinary which in the past considered as feminine world. Up to this point, men are not only developing their ability and range in the area which becomes their domain for all this time, but also stepping into the kitchen which is assumed as a taboo.

Observation done by bourdieu (2010) upon qubail people indicates that men cannot demean themselves without being affronted (assuming that men are too dignified to do that). However, that affronting duties can also be respectable and regarded to be difficult if they are done by men. And the duties become not important, not necessarily being known, easy and has no value if they are done by women. We can clearly see it in the difference between cuisinier (male chef) and cuisiniere (female chef); couturier and couturiere, we can conclude that if the duties are expected to be respectable and transfigured,

men just need to take those feminine duties over feminine and do it in public.

Division of labor among public and domestic becomes unbalance. There is an ambiguity here. When it comes to the household, cooking, which offers no payment, is done by women, but when it goes to the public, men compete over it. It is because economic law sets the rule in television industry. Television practitioners will create the programs which can attract the audience attention in a purpose of collecting advertisement as the supplier of financial advantage for the TV stations.

Culinary Program in TV Industry

Talking about culinary in television cannot be separated from capitalistic industry. Television industry has become the part of modernity which does not only function as the idea conveyor but also brings strong influence for the social life. Television comes everyday in our life, and it has become essential part in the modern life.

Television is one of human being product which is able to change the world through its features of audio visual acting as a magnet supporting capitalistic industry. As the majority notion, Piliang (2004) sees television as a strongest media in taking people's attention, so that it has a big potential to enrich and in the same time manipulating and exploiting mind, perception, time, and consciousness. Television is a place of natural selection for ideas, signs, images, and meanings. The ideas, signs, strongest images and meanings in taking people's attention and idea (rhetorical politic, charismatic figures, mystique paranormal, selebrity, sensual artist) will find a place to life in influenced people and tend to grow up on it.

The idea of piliang being implemented by TV practitioners exploiting it as a beneficial machine in accomodating for various interests. Various programs are broadcasted to attract audiences. The audiences are categorized according to types of program being made and advertisement market. the categories then likely becomes the rule of how program TV is packaged. even for the time being, TV does not only transmitted through satellite but also through

cable channel, parabola, and internet. Genre program on TV which is growing during broadcasting glory, which daytime audience is assumed as housewife, still gets wide influence from contemporary media culture in United States (Dines and Humez, 2003). Dyne and Humes also adds that commercial TV is developed after war when women who fought becoming the target of messages insisting them "returning to the home" to manage not only life of entire family but also consume new products available. thereby, industry develops schedul and program whic represent (and even enlarged) gender division of labor and ideology separating the space competence of domestic/feminin and publik/masculin. women are assumed as daytime audience, while the whole family, which at least is predominated by father, is assumed as nighttime audience. this assumption becomes the key to determine subdividing of daytime TV program and prime-time TV program (Dinez and Humez, 2003). whereas mellecamp (Fiske, 2003) in year 1950an notes the beginning of "gender based" television, in which sports news for men, culinary and fashion show for women, and kidvid for children.

Based on a such TV audience sorting, there are various programs created, one of them is culinary program. Bugge quotes article Brinch stating that in Norwegian, for example, program related to kitchen and how to prepare food was begun in 1960s. leader of this program was Ingrid Espelid standing as TV cheff and at the same time acting as Master of Ceremony (host). guests in the program were dietician and nutritionist, or cooking expert (master chef). this program always was broadcasted till the end of 1990s (Bugge, 2003)

The same program also becomes one of the programs offered to the audience in indonesia, particularly when television industry in indonesia rapidly grows up. this thing brings the implication toward some sort of firm competition. positive aspect from the competition are 1) pushing creative efforts of television industry to present programs attracting the attention of audience; 2) various broadcasting programs give wide option

to the audience to choose the program they like most.

The coming of culinary program in Indonesian TV industry fulfills two aspects above and changes kitchen image, which is hidden and closed in domestic region, shifted into more open kitchen and becomes part of public attention as its characteristics. The area that is initially hidden, becomes visible area for all people. Brinch (Bugge, 2003) states that the new TV program is telling how food must be served. traditionally, kitchen was completely workroom in the past, separated from place where the food is presented, like eating and leisure room

In the beginning, culinary programs in Indonesian TV were guided by women as cooking mother in the kitchen serving the meal for family. for example like "santapan nusantara" in TPI guided by "Enita sriyana", broadcasted since 1995 in TPI and "aroma" guided by Sisca Soewitomo broadcasted in Indosiar. in the hand of both hosts, culinary is more emphasized in the activity to cook done by housewife.

The change began when Rudy Choirudin guided the culinary program entitled selera nusantara in RCTI. Men came as the host and in the same time became chef in TV offered a new fascination. The ability of Rudy in combining the cooking skill with the entertainment made this program coming up in the first line and taking the public attention. in 2005, Bondan Winarno became the host of Bango Cita Rasa Nusantara (BCRN) in Indosiar. There was a program also called 'Wok With Yan' in RCTI.

The presence of men in taking the culinary got more attention since Bondan Winarno hosted 'Wisata Kuliner' in Trans TV. In the middle of its glory, this program strippingly broadcasted from monday until saturday. Even there's a special episode in saturday, it showed 'Wisata Kuliner Pilihan'. This program at the same time, introduces widely the term of culinary to the public.

It commonly happens in TV industry, the success of a program will be imitated by other station. It also happens in culinary program. The next was Embers Pattiradjawane with program 'Gula-gula' in trans TV. Metro TV also came up

with the program entitled 'cooking adventure with William Wongso'. Then changed its name becomes 'cerita rasa William Wongso' guided by culinary expert william wongso and 'foody with rudy' ANTV (initially trans 7). Trans 7 offered different packaging by "cooking 911", that the chef helps people finding out the difficulties in serving the food for particular events(arisan, difficult-eating child, etc)

The increasing number of TV stations in indonesia stimulates the creativity in creating an interesting name and packaging for the society. If we observe carefully, there are various packaging and content. From the packaging, there is a culinary which is inserted into other programs such as "selamat pagi" (Trans 7), "Reportase siang" (Trans TV), Liputan 6 (SCTV) etc, and also there are the stand-alone program like "Santapan Nusantara" (TPI), "Resep Oke Rudy" (RCTI) etc. In terms of content, we can differ between cooking activities like "Bango Selera Nusantara" (Indosiar), "Gula-gula" (Trans TV), etc and gourmet food program as "Kamus Kuliner" (TV one) etc.

Currently, there's sort of change in presenting the program. at first, cooking activity is only done inside the room (studio) and only had a single activity (cooking itself). now, culinary program does not only have cooking or tasting food in food court , restaurant, or hotel, but also combine it in a closed room, but like in the beach, hotel yard, even in the "jungle" covered up in the program of adventure (harmony alam in Trans TV guided by Haryo Pramoe). the appearance of the hosts also does not show the attributes as chef but using casual outfit: T-shirt, trunks, casual shoe, etc.

The same change happened since long time ago in Norway. Now, the program is no longer marked in promoting of popular culinary, but rather as a journey of culinary experiences. In the middle of the 1990s, the program was broadcasted like this. For example, norwegian broadcasting company bought British TV serial presenting TV chef keith Floyd (Bugge 2003)

The change in packaging aspect also shifts the role of host and targeted audiences. In the beginning, culinary program is guided by

woman and segmented to the female audience. As its development, the hosts become men and the target is woman. But now, whether the program is guided both by men and also woman, the targeted audience is not only woman, but also men, although the biggest audience of culinary program is still woman.

Fight for Domination, Capture the market

The TV industry understands so well upon the limitation of program popularity. The dynamic of television industry requires the ability in overcoming the degradation of program popularity. After a few years culinary program in television dominated by men with a firm competition, Trans TV broadcasts new culinary program 'Ala Chef' guided by Farah Quinn. this program likely becomes the balance, if not regarded as a new lance to win competition with the other culinary programs. The Data of ABG

Nielsen shows the rating and share of Ala Chef surpasses the rating of other culinary program rating.

The success of Ala Chef inspiring the other stations to present the similar programs. Trans 7 broadcasts 'cooking in Paradise' guided by Ririn Marinka. Since february 6, 2010 Global TV offers 'Kitchen Beib' guided by Rima melati Adams, who later replaced by Raline Shah which is broadcasted every Saturday at 11.00 PM.

Those three stations have different standards. For Trans TV and Trans 7, regardless their effort in gaining the audiences and advertiser market, the presence of young and beautiful host not only gives new and different atmosphere from previous program, but also tries to meet the demand of professionalism as a chef. If Farah Quinn and Ririn Marinka have the background of Culinary educational background, Rima Melati Adams-singaporean Artist who was

The Rating of Culinary Program
All people 5+, 10 cities

No	Program
1	Dapur Aisyah
2	Resto Sedap
3	Bango Citra Rasa
4	Cerita Rasa Wiliar
5	Healthy Life
6	Santapan Nusantar
7	Ala Chef
8	Benu Buloe
9	Harmoni

Source: AGB Nielsen

born in Hong Kong and Raline Shah-Miss Indonesia being the culinary host because of their hobby in cooking. Rima Melati and Raline Shah acting as the host is totally TV Chef because they do not play this role professionally in their daily life.

'Ala Chef' Program is the combination of cooking and tourism program (in waterfalls, parks, beaches, and so on). In every episode, it presents three kind of menus. With the tag line 'sexy food', the simple traditional snack is packed beautifully, like 'Gemblong Ala Chef Farah Quinn'. Initially, she demonstrates how to cook particular menu by herself, but it gives variation by asking common people to cook (from the cracker factory owner, official's wife, and even the children). Once, Farah Quinn teaches how to cook, the other time, she act as if she learns from her guest. She also asks those she meet to taste her cooking.

'Cooking in Paradise' also combines the cooking with traveling activities. Overall, its packaging is not much different and rather imitates what is presented in Trans TV. It seems to be the consideration that those two satations are in one corporation, Trans corporation.

Slightly different packaging offered by 'Kitchen Beib' Program. This program is packaged in four sections, divided into cooking main course, reading comments on social network like facebook and twitter, eating in restaurant with the guest star, and cooking the special menu with the guest star. The cooking activity done while listening to the song played by the host.

In simple packaging, those three guides have the neat outfit, complete makeup, even using high heels and ready to the restaurant after cooking in the kitchen like host in 'kitchen beib'. Those programs are not only interesting in that matter, but there's another interesting part which is the covert resistance against male domination in culinary program in TV.

Physical Beauty as a Showcase

Observing this development, we need to give appreciation in building up the proper balance by presenting women as the host of

culinary program in new packaging, even though its main spirit is to create new program in winning the rating and share which always becomes the parameter of success in TV programming.

Supported by strong competition among TV stations, it actually encourages and tests the creativity of TV crews in creating entertaining program as part of the showbiz culture which is unavoidable in a massive industry. Kellner (2003) in the showbiz culture said, commercial corporation must entertain the audience in pursuing the welfare and as the opinion of Micheal J. Wolf (Kellner, 2003) in the 'entertainment economy', the business and pleasure are melting down, so the E-factor becomes an essential aspect of business. Through 'entertainmentization' of economy, type of entertainment like TV, movies, amusement park, video games, casino, etc becoming the major sector of national economy. In US, the entertainment industry currently gives US\$ 480 billion, and consumers spending more money for fun than for clothing or health care.

The principle of entertainment broadcasting in all aspects of life keeps continuing. According to Douglas Kellner (2003), during the last decade, the cultural industry develops becoming spectacle media growing up in the novel and sites, and the spectacle itself becomes one of the principles of economic management, governance, society, and everyday life. Spectacle deploys the internet-based economy as a means of promotion, reproduction, distribution, and commodities trading. Media culture is developing as spectacle industry by the coming of the advanced technology capturing the audience's attention and improving the media power and profit. The entertainment format absorbs the news and information, and the entertainment tabloid culture increasingly gets more popular. The Kellner thought about spectacle media then being developed by the concept of 'society of the spectacle' found by Guy Debord in 1960s.

The concept of 'society of the spectacle' has brought significant impact on the various theories of society and contemporary culture. In the view of deBord, spectacle 'unifying and

explaining the diversity of the real phenomena'. These conception keep continuesly on being spreaded out through the internet and scientists, and currently in subcultural sites. It explains the media and society which is managed surround the image production and consumption, commodities, and stages event. (Kellner 2003)

Kellner said that entertainment has always been a major part of spectacle, but in the current infotainment society, entertainment and spectacle have entered into the domain of economic, political, social, and dialy life in important new ways. Building the tradition of spectacle, forms of contemporary entertainment in TV comes to the stage combining contemporary spectacle culture into their enterprises, changing movies, TV, music, drama, and the othe cultural domain, as well as producing spectacular new cultural forms like cyberspace, multimedia, and virtual reality.

As a stage, television then mixes all contents in the entertaining package, even if there's an element of information, education, social control inside it, still they can not be separated from the element of entertainment. In the context of culinary program in TV, the audience is not only offered how to choose, process, and serve the food but also the beautiful views and interesting atmosphere. The presence of the host itself is the attraction helping the program become more popular. Farah Quinn uses a tagline associating the sexy food in a sexy body. Though according to Farah Quinn, when the women can mix and match the cooking, make the new type of cuisine, and show the ability in serving the cooking, that's what we call sexy. but the point is, the sexy here relates to the appereance, because it will be better if women can cook and look pretty (warta Kota February 27, 2010-<http://batavia.co.id/node/111349>)

Regardless the opinion coming from Farah Quinn, generally we can see the effort done by TV station in attracting the audience through the beautiful chef with the attractive makeup as well as their own culinary content. The effort in presenting the culinary program does not only give the knowledge about culinary. The entertainment aspect is so prominent as the

attempt to dominate the room back which previously captured and controlled by men.

At least, there are two important things coming in that culinary program, which is about culinary content itself and the appereance of the host. The content is not much different from similar program, showing how to choose, process, and serve the cuisine by adding up a little knowledge about the nutrition of the food. The hosts's appereance who are usually attractive, uoung, and beautiful becomes the main attracting factor in cooking program. They do not only guide, but also act as the showcase, display, and packaging to attract the audience straring TV screen before watching the whole program. It must be interesting and attracting all the attention the audience so that they will stop doing their activity and watch the program.

The catchy appereance of the hosts makes the program has the high attraction. But on the other side, the 'spirit' of TV industry is the entertainment, so what is presented is actually to fulfill the entertainment needs. For the women who host these three culinary program- even if they are regarded as the subject controlling the program- in this context, physical appereance becomes the part of attraction program. They play more as the object using their body as an attraction, which according to Abar (1998) women in such positions, will be seen merely as biological figure, which is the beauty of the face and hair, and the sensuality of the hair and voice, etc.

Physical appereance which is beautiful, young, fresh and proportional becomes important in the television industry. Only a few of programs guided by women outside these criteria. According to Pilliang (2004) body appereance is important aspect so the age will be also determined as essential part. The women in age of 18 up to 35, visually have the relatively high sensuality and paly as the center and favourite figure in capitalistic system, and the sexy, sensual, slim, and tall body are the requirement in creating the meaning of sensuality.

The success of the culinary program packaging which much more colorful and vivid, actually strengthens how the women positioned in the culture of capitalistic system. In Piliang's

view (2004) in the capitalistic culture, body becomes the part of a body politic. First, the political-economy of the body, that is how the body used in capitalism, based on social or ideological construction of capitalism (and patriarchy). Body, as a physical entity, is exchanged in the economy system, by exploring its exchange value based on all the economy potential owned by the physical body, such as the young, beauty, and sensuality, which can be exchanged at the existing exchange system. Second, the political economy of the body sign, that is how the body produced as the signs within a sign system of capitalism, which creates their own image, meaning, and identity inside. Their presence certainly is not merely as a guide or host but also as a 'seducer' for the audiences and advertisers. It's easy to understand that through the achievement of the rating and share, a program will determine the number of the coming advertisement which is not only preserving their program but also as the beneficial and promising source for the TV station.

Conclusion

In capitalistic culture where the ownership of the capital is totally important and dominant, then all power and effort are deployed to get double benefit. No exception in television industry in Indonesia which is increasingly assertive to its direction and purposes in gaining more benefit. In the culinary program, which was originally broadcasted for women as a complimentary segment of the overall program and guided by women also, currently being focused more to 'sell' that program in attracting the audience which will encourage the income from the advertisement. The program originally guided by women then replaced by men as the icon of professional chef and almost all TV stations broadcast the similar programs because of the society and advertisement demand.

It's such a courage when Trans TV broadcasted a culinary program in the new packaging providing more space as an effort to remove the male domination of the kitchen in TV through 'Ala Chef' culinary program, hosted by Farah Quinn, a professional female chef. The

move apparently wants to take back the culinary in the sexual division of labor dominated by women.

But, behind those effort, there is an action which is legal in an industry principle, where the women are presented in such a beauty who are not only hosting the program but also becoming the part of the program itself. This physical beauty of the host automatically becomes the showcase in attracting the audience and it really increases the rating.

This fact shows that physical beauty plays a very significant role in culinary program which also strengthens the women stance in a system of capitalistic culture. It means that women are still displayed as a tool to sell the program to the audience and advertiser through their physical beauty and sensuality, though in that culinary program is packaged with the professionalism of that women.

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