

MORE THAN A MIXER: A CASE STUDY OF KITCHENAID STAND MIXERS IN  
DOMESTIC AND PROFESSIONAL KITCHENS

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this project is to investigate the ways that KitchenAid stand mixers co-construct and reflect gender identities in the culinary spaces of domestic home kitchens and restaurant kitchens. This project draws on the scholarship of Actor-Network Theory, Science Technology and Society studies, and gender studies in order to comprehensively and sensitively discuss these connections. For the case study, I examined popular Food Network television programs, two as examples of professional kitchens and two as examples of domestic kitchens. These programs include *Chopped*, *Cupcake Wars*, *Good Eats*, and Rachael Ray's *Week in a Day*, respectively. The data suggests that KitchenAid stand mixers are co-constructing and reflecting multiple gender identities in these culinary spaces instead of just one, as it has historically done.

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Also, thank you to Dr. Reilly for her patience, encouragement, and investment in my project, my academic career, and my life.

Finally, thank you to my Grandma for buying my first KitchenAid stand mixer as a graduation present.

## DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my boss, Brian Stachowski, who taught me everything I know about KitchenAid stand mixers.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction:

“There’s stuff around your house, but we don’t make stuff. We make the mixer, the KitchenAid stand mixer. The one on every wish list. The one everyone knows so well.”

—David Norden

Or do they? In my gap year between undergrad and graduate school, I was an assistant manager for a local kitchen store. At the time, I thought it was just a job, but now, writing my Master’s thesis on KitchenAid stand mixers, I realize I could not have been more mistaken. More importantly, I thought I knew every detail about KitchenAid stand mixers: sizes, colors, watts, attachments; but again, grad school showed me I had much more to learn. A class entitled “Genders, Sexualities, and Technologies” taught me that relationships exist between gender and technology, something I never before considered. Consequently, I was compelled to investigate the relationship between gender and the technology closest to my heart, the KitchenAid stand mixer. This project provided me the opportunity to explore this idea and create this artifact of laborious love.

### Connecting the Dots: ANT, STS, and Gender Studies

#### ANT

This project draws from Actor-Network Theory, STS (science and technology studies/ science, technology, and society), and gender studies for theoretical foundation. Although ANT and STS emerged out of similar disciplines, it was not until the 1990s that gender studies scholars found it valuable to incorporate these theories into their scholarship (Oost 193). Because

of this hybrid genre's youth, this project draws from its founding mothers and answers their call to action for further research in this field.

Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is a highly controversial social theory developed in the 1980s by French philosopher Bruno Latour that redefines *what* can be social (Latour, *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* 125). Latour argues that human and non-human actors, when they act, form assemblages within networks. First, it is important to distinguish among actors, assemblages, and networks. Only then is it possible to address the three most controversial aspects of ANT: that non-human actors have agency, that ANT is not a theory, and that ANT does not posit anything. These fundamental aspects of ANT, however scandalous they are in the academy, are what make ANT useful for this case study.

Actors make up assemblages, and assemblages make up networks; actors thusly also create networks, but the difference between assemblages and networks is that the assemblages are only part of the whole network. When the actors change their actions, then the network changes as well. All it takes it is one actor in one assemblage to change the network. Without the actors acting, there are no assemblages and therefore no network. The network does not exist without the actors acting because the network is made up of actions, not spaces. For this particular case study, I follow specific actors, male and female professional and domestic chefs, in specific assemblages, domestic and professional kitchens, within larger networks. This terminology insinuates that there are other factors, other actors and assemblages acting, outside of the assemblages I explore in this case study. It is important to remember that there are other political, economical, and historical, factors that affect these assemblages and networks, and ANT's language is embedded with this idea that there are always more actors, assemblages, and

networks, at work than, for example, the assemblages and actors that this study focuses on. This is one of the limitations of this study.

The idea that non-human actors have agency is the most controversial aspect of ANT. It is not just that objects *reflect* social structures, but they can also *change* them; in terms of gender, objects can both solidify and deviate from gender norms, thereby changing the way other actors and assemblages (both non-human and human) act within that network. Essentially, do *we* influence objects or do *they* influence us? ANT's answer: both. ANT does not question *how* nonhuman actors have agency, but rather questions what they *do* with that agency and how society is changed as a result (Mol 255). Likewise, this study does not question or answer *how* KitchenAid stand mixers have the agency to co-construct and re-construct gender identities, but rather how they accomplish this with the agency they have and its effects on the network as a whole.

The other controversial aspect of ANT that makes it useful for this study is that ANT is not a theory. In fact, after ANT became such an intellectual sensation, Latour claimed that “There are four things that do not work with actor-network theory; the word actor, the word network, the word theory and the hyphen! Four nails in the coffin” (Latour, On Recalling ANT 2). ANT is more of a methodology than a theory and it cannot be emphasized enough that while ANT's method and language are borrowed, application of the theory is impossible as it contradicts one of its most fundamental aspects: ANT is not a theory. Observe Latour's response to a confused fictional student in *Reassembling*:

...ANT is first of all a *negative* argument. It does not say anything positive on any state of affairs...It's...about *how* to study things, or rather how *not* to study them

– or rather, how to let the actors have some room to express themselves (Latour, *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* 141-142).

ANT scholars have spent considerable time explaining what ANT is *not*, but what ANT *is*, is just as important to this case study. It is not a microscope; rather, it is a kaleidoscope, offering multiple perspectives (Sayes 261). It is “...an adaptable, open repository. A list of terms. A set of sensitivities” (Mol 265). It is this fluidity, not solidity, which gives ANT its strength (Sayes 253, Mol 265).

“So what can it do for me,” Latour’s frustrated fictional student demands (Latour, *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* 141). If it is not a theory, cannot be applied, used to illuminate, or answer any questions, why include it as the foundation for this particular case study? There are two primary reasons: its methodology and terminology. Follow the actors. See where they lead. That is the heart of ANT. It does not question where actors began or where they come from, “but rather where they go: effects are crucial. Not goals, not ends, but all kinds of effects, surprising ones included. Take a door: what does it do?” (Sayes 254)

By following the actors, patterns, or “links” as Latour defines them, emerge. However, these patterns or links are not definite; like ANT, they are fluid. Latour warns scholars, “‘don’t break it down first into neat little pots; try to follow the link they make among those elements...’ That’s all. ANT can’t tell you positively what the link is” (Latour, *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* 142). As a result, while this case study discovers common patterns in the data, they are not absolute; this project does not posit these links as universal. Like other scholars in these fields have said, “Thus we do not insist that our research as the answers but insist that we produce knowledge valid within certain contexts and frames of

analysis” (Berg and Lie 343). Likewise, this case study does not define the links observed, but true to ANT, simply follows wherever they may lead. In this particular case, my actors led me to even more theory, gender performativity theory.

## Gender Studies

“Gender is made everywhere” and “we live in a world in which gender is one of the important schemes in which we think and act” (McIntyre 292, Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 473). However, gender was not a part of ANT until scholars such as Vivian Anette Lagesen, Magdalena Patterson McIntyre, Anne-Jorunn Berg, and Merete Lie, made the connection. ANT was not, and to some still is not, popular among feminists and gender studies scholars because Latour did not address gender in his theory. As a result, the founding mothers that incorporated ANT into gender studies were seen as intellectual traitors by their fellow scholars. However, these founders pointed out that just because Latour himself did not include gender in ANT, did not mean that there was not a place for it, or that ANT could not be useful to inform gender studies as well. These women created what is commonly known as “feminist STS” or “technofeminism,” and it “characterizes the relationship between gender and technology as one of mutual shaping, in which technology is both a source and a consequence of gender relations” (Wajcman 781).

Butler’s theory argues that people, or actors, *do* gender; that gender is not inherent, but that it only has meaning when it is performed; the meaning of gender is constructed through actions. Combining ANT and gender performativity theory suggests that human and non-human actors also *do* gender, that actors can both perpetuate and re-construct gender norms simultaneously. Similar to how actors are never stagnant in assemblages and networks otherwise

the assemblages and networks would cease to exist, gender is also constantly being acted out, shaped, and constructed; in order for gender to exist, it must be acted out. This is how gender norms become solidified or naturalized into society. Butler asserts that “performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration” (Butler 16). The founding scholars followed their respective actors, observed their actors’ repeated behavior, and discovered how a temporary cultural norm was created as a result. Because what they were doing was so taboo, they first had to convince others that objects actually performed gender, and then they had to convince them that ANT and gender theory could be successful partners as a result.

Berg and Lie tackled the first obstacle arguing that “Artifacts do have gender and gender politics in the sense that they are designed and used in gendered contexts” (Berg and Lie 347). Lagesen and McIntyre addressed the second hurdle. Lagesen’s article, appropriately titled “Reassembling gender: Actor-network theory (ANT) and the making of the technology in gender,” affirms that there *is* value in ANT and gender studies. She found that “...ANT offers interesting possibilities for perceiving both gender and technology as heterogeneous and malleable objects...” (Lagesen 444). Similarly, McIntyre discovered that in the same way that humans perform gender, so do objects; “With this, gender is understood as a process, a doing, and through that process we are created and recreated. These doings are repeated over time and become conventions” (McIntyre 294). This is how human and non-human actors can reflect/perpetuate and deviate from/alter gender norms. Berg and Lie concurred with these ideas, asserting that “...to say that artifacts have gender implies talking about gender and technology as simultaneously negotiated and constructed within the metaphor of the seamless web or of the

cyborg” (Berg and Lie 347). By combining ANT and gender studies, the “asymmetrical treatment of gender and technology” was remedied and a new space for “feminist/gender STS” was created (Lagesen 443). As a result, a conversation about the relationship between gender and technology emerged and a new assemblage was created out of these three studies.

One of the most popular pieces of gender STS scholarship that came out of this was Cynthia Cockburn and Susan Ormrod’s *Gender and Technology in the Making*. They describe how the microwave was originally a high-tech “brown good,” created for and sold to men who were single and/or poor cooks. Brown goods “(music systems, TV, video recorders) [were] represented as interesting, important, and masculine” (Cockburn and Ormrod 15). When microwave companies realized they were not making much profit marketing to men, they redesigned microwaves as a “white good” for women. White goods such as (fridges and freezers, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners) [were described] as ‘family goods’ and as technically boring” (Cockburn and Ormrod 15). Because of this shift in marketing, store managers attempted a new strategy and hired women as sales associates in the hopes that customers would be more likely to purchase microwaves from other women rather than men (Cockburn and Ormrod). In these ways, the microwave’s origins parallel KitchenAid stand mixers’ beginnings.

Mapping KitchenAid stand mixer’s historical relationship to gender is also important and unique part of this study. Ellen van Oost’s study of gendered shavers determined that objects are not neutral and that they both reflect and construct gender (Oost 194-195). As a result, because “objects...can be perceived as actors that can direct meaning themselves,” it is important to pay special attention to these non-human actors and their meanings, especially overtime (Oost 196). This study does just that: that is to say it follows KitchenAid stand mixers from their inception to today, observing how their repeated action in their assemblages, whether that action is

perpetuating or re-constructing, creates meaning about gender in the context of their “body,” the mixer itself.

Nelly Oudshoorn, Ann Seatan, and Merete Lie’s exhibition of gendered objects in Norway and the Netherlands is also a prominent part of gender STS. Their exhibition included shavers, bicycles, and more. The purpose of their exhibit and published article was to “...get people to think critically about the gendering of the everyday objects around them, objects we so easily come to take for granted” (Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 472). These objects are so much a part of everyday life that they are ironically overlooked (Latour, *Aramis or the Love of Technology*). As a 2012 commercial put it, KitchenAid stand mixers are “the one on every wish list. The one everyone knows so well”; perhaps this is why no study has been done on them in terms of gender (Norden). Because of their strong traditional association with domestic space, kitchen objects are particularly implicated in processes of gendering. This study aims at remedying this and filling the gap in this field of scholarship.

While Margaret Johnson, a Master’s of Science student at the University of North Carolina Greensboro, has investigated the relationship between gender and KitchenAid stand mixers, only one-third of the case study is dedicated to KitchenAid stand mixers in which she focuses specifically on its use in home kitchens and the gender shift of advertisements, particularly in terms of social class. However, Johnson’s research is valuable and foundational to this study in that she explores the connection between KitchenAids and social status, such as why they are on so many wedding registry lists; its popularity and pervasiveness makes it a worthwhile text to investigate. Furthermore, her conclusion that “...[she] shifted [her] initial thesis of researching women’s gender reflected in the kitchen to actually seeing how masculinity...entered into this space; gender neutralizing this once heavily feminized space,”

parallels this study's conclusion (Johnson 79). However, while she observes this gender neutrality in advertising, this project observes how gender is constructed and co-constructs KitchenAid stand mixers. Essentially, Johnson followed one actor, the advertisements, down their path and it led to gender; likewise, I follow the mixers themselves, which leads me down a different path that also involves gender.

In all of these ways, this project follows in the footsteps of the founding scholars, answering their call to action for the creation of knowledge and thus the sustenance of the field. However, this case study does not simply cross another technology off the list of gender relations, but adds to and modifies it as well. This project does not focus on one general piece of technology, thus lumping brands together, but rather investigates one brand, the first stand mixer brand created and the one that is and has been present in an overwhelming number of domestic and professional kitchens since its inception. In this way, much like ANT, STS, and gender, this study both perpetuates and re-constructs current scholarship.

## Chapter 2 KitchenAid: A History of “the Way that it’s Made”

### The Mixer

The KitchenAid stand mixer has its roots in the first stand mixer ever made. In fact, before the KitchenAid stand mixer was dubbed with its famous name, it was known by another: Hobart. Its creator was Herbert Johnston, an engineer for the Hobart Manufacturing Company, and in 1908 the Hobart stand mixer was born to change baking and cooking as the world knew it (*The KitchenAid Stand Mixer: Ninety Years of Quality*). The KitchenAid mixer’s negotiations in both domestic and professional assemblages have varied in terms of gender throughout its evolution. (See Table 1). In order to evaluate the current exigency, we must analyze the past relationships between gender and KitchenAid stand mixers. What does gender have to do with, one of KitchenAid’s famous slogans, “the way that it’s made”?

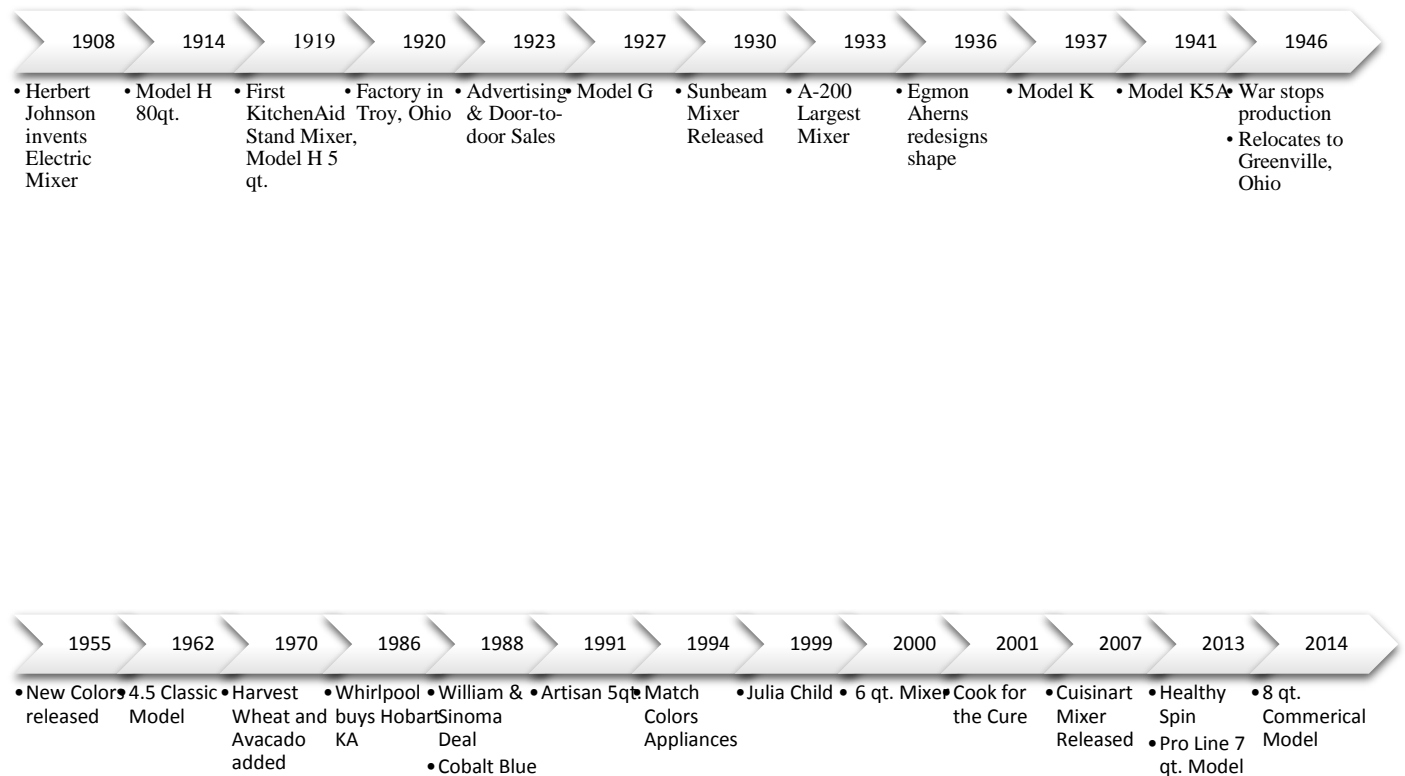


Table 1: KitchenAid Timeline

The Hobart stand mixer was designed as a solution to the laborious task of dough mixing. It was designed by a man in order to make another man’s jobs easier. It was used in large bakeries and on U.S. Navy ships, spaces dominated by men at this time (*The KitchenAid Stand Mixer: Ninety Years of Quality*). In the beginning, the Hobart stand mixer was associated with masculinity. The shift to such an iconic symbol of femininity and domesticity occurred when smaller versions of Hobart mixers were made and called KitchenAids.



Figure 1. Model H

The first official KitchenAid stand mixer, the Model H-5 (5 quart), became available to the masses in 1919 (See Figure 1). Hobart had wanted to launch their product on the residential market earlier, but World War I pushed it back. The Model H-5 was extremely heavy (65lbs.) and expensive (\$200 at the time, which is equivalent to \$2000 today) (The Great Idea Finder). The story goes that a Hobart executive took home a stand mixer model for his wife to test and she exclaimed, "I don't care what you call it...all I know is it's the best kitchen aid I've ever had," and the name stuck (*The KitchenAid Stand Mixer: Ninety Years of Quality*).

Men continued to be a critical part to the KitchenAid's evolution. In 1936 the KitchenAid stand mixer had a major makeover by designer Egmont Aherns. He was hired to alter the weight and shape to be lighter and easier to fit on counters; it was Aherns' design that gave KitchenAids their iconic shape that they still have today (*The KitchenAid Stand Mixer: Ninety Years of Quality*). The adjustments made to the look and feel of KitchenAid stand mixers at this time were crucial to the company's success, but are also important because they shifted the stand

mixer's gendered connotations, making them more physically accessible for housewives. The mixers were smaller, lighter, rounded, and white in color, which made them more appropriate and appealing to use in domestic kitchens. While each KitchenAid model mixer varies in weight, the 65lbs of the Model K compared to the approximately 22lbs of today's Artisan model shows how seriously KitchenAid designers took the light feature of the mixers. Originally sold to men in business industries, the first models were large, heavy, and very mechanical in appearance. Aesthetically, these characteristics could be intimidating to women and discourage them from purchasing a mixer. Furthermore, the original mixers were not as affordable to the average user, and their weight and design were not conducive to perform domestic duties. So Hobart changed direction and made the mixers more delicate on the outside, but just as powerful on the inside, satisfying both aesthetic and practical purposes. This was the first shift in the gendered design of KitchenAid stand mixers.

KitchenAid's most gendered milestone occurred in 1955 when they became available in vibrant colors such as Petal Pink, Sunny Yellow, Island Green, Satin Chrome, and Antique Copper (See Figure 2) (*The KitchenAid Stand Mixer: Ninety Years of Quality*). Up until this point, mixers came in standard white. While seemingly insignificant, the introduction of colors to KitchenAids encouraged individuality and self-expression through technology, albeit within a limited space; while colors could be chosen, customers could construct their identities more specifically around the palette that KitchenAid offered, making the mixer an object not only of utility but also personal expression. Today, KitchenAid mixers not only come in a variety of colors, but a variety of finishes as well, such as glossy, frosted, or diamond-plated. Though there are more color, size, and finish options, even today customers are limited and the illusion of

choice still exists. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why customizing KitchenAids has become such a popular trend lately.



a.

b.



c.

d.

Figure 2. a., b.) Green and Yellow Palettes  
c., d.) Red and Violent Palettes

The final feminine gender shift in KitchenAid's history occurred in 1962 with the Classic 4.5-quart tilt-head model. This was the second and last time KitchenAid mixers would be created in a smaller size. Classic models are still sold today and are one of the most popular and readily identifiable models sold (*The KitchenAid Stand Mixer: Ninety Years of Quality*). When the Artisan 5-quart tilt-head mixer was introduced in the 1990s, it became the new standard mixer model. In order to better transition customers, the Artisan internal attachments were created to work with the Classic model as well. The Artisan 5-quart stainless steel bowl with an easy-grip handle on the side was also made to fit the Classic model, whose bowl was not only one half quart smaller, but also did not include a handle.

Up until the 1990s, when new colors were introduced, such as Harvest Wheat and Avocado, KitchenAids were available in the Classic model. Afterwards, new colors became available in the Artisan models. Today, new colors are introduced every year in March; 2013 colors include Azure Blue, Canopy Green, Cranberry, Frosted Pearl White, Plumberry, and Watermelon (KitchenAid, Press Release). As a result, today Classic models are only available in extremely limited colors; as of this project, the KitchenAid website only offers classic White and Onyx Black (KitchenAid, KitchenAid Official Website). Finally, the Artisan model is 325 watts, as opposed to the Classic's 250 watts. The introduction of the Artisan model sent a new message in terms of gender: that because of their familiarity with KitchenAids now, perhaps female users could now handle a less delicate, more powerful mixer. .



a.



b.



c.

Figure 3. a., b., c.) Instructions for Use

More recently, newer, larger stand mixer models have been introduced that suggest more gender shifts are occurring. In 2000, the 6-quart bowl lift model changed people's perception of what a KitchenAid looked like and could do. Instead of the mixer's head tilting back and the bowl twisting into place, the bowl locks into place by two "arms" and the bowl lifts up and down via a handle on the mixer's side. The internal attachments are burnished instead of coated, suggesting a more heavy-duty product. And finally, has the new product has 575 watts. In 2013, KitchenAid released the 7-quart bowl lift as part of their new Pro-Line appliances, and in 2014 they launched an 8-quart commercial stand mixer. These larger sizes are only available in limited colors, but their extra bowl size and increased power has made them a crowd favorite.

However, not every KitchenAid feature is clearly masculine or feminine. The devolution of the instructions on KitchenAids is a prime example (See Figure 3). It is uncertain when exactly this change occurred, but the gradual dilution of the instructions proposes a significant gender shift from feminine to masculine. At first, instructions were etched on the top of the mixer and were extremely apparent, suggesting that female users needed help in adjusting their culinary needs to this new piece of technology. Additionally, the kitchen was not necessarily familiar territory for all housewives; this task sometimes fell to maids. Being able to find and afford a maid was difficult before the rise of consumer technology. Cowan describes the many factors that contributed to the decline in servants, such as the Depression and immigration restrictions (175). The age of consumer technology intertwined with these factors to nearly eliminate maid and servant household services; for example, by 1930 "only one quarter of the seven hundred urban households of college-educated women that were studied carefully by the United States Department of Agriculture employed a domestic servant," and another year later "only 17 percent of...three thousand middle-class families" had one (175). KitchenAid stand

mixers were a part this age of consumer technology and therefore contributed to this cultural shift.

In fact, one advertisement boasted that having a KitchenAid stand mixer was “like having a maid with a dozen hands” (Co.). Thus, instead of housewives investing their money in a servant or maid, if they could afford to purchase a KitchenAid stand mixer, then they invest in this new product that allowed women to do household chores themselves without relying on a maid or servant. The attitude changes towards domesticity by the 1930s emphasized the value of women doing housework themselves; “housework was to be thought of no longer as a chore but, rather, as an expression of the housewife’s personality and her affection for her family...Feeding the family had once been just part of a day’s work; now it was a way to communicate deep-seated emotions” (Cowan 176-177). It became important for some women to learn their way around the kitchen, and the bold instructions on the early KitchenAid models helped pave the way, showing housewives how to do it themselves.

Later on the instructions were moved to the side of the band, and instead of being etched into the product, instructions were printed. As a result, the instructions were less noticeable and could fade over time, thus suggesting that KitchenAid users were becoming more familiar with their new “maids.” Finally, on today’s mixers the instructions have been completely eliminated from the mixer itself and exist only in the instruction manual that accompanies the mixer, thus suggesting that the instructions are not necessary for users to decipher how to use the mixer.

There are many possible reasons for this design change in terms of gender. Perhaps female users became more acquainted with the product and therefore did not need the instructions to be so apparent on the mixer itself. Perhaps with men becoming customers and users of KitchenAids, they might need the instructions and therefore that this change suggests

that these mixers remain feminine in respect to this particular feature. Although this is a distinct possibility, it is also just as plausible that because KitchenAids are a “white good,” male users’ familiarity with technology could contribute to their aptitude of using the mixers. As a result, perhaps neither the male nor female users deemed the instructions necessary or even fashionable.

If KitchenAids are a way for male and female users to express themselves, they might not want their technological inexperience literally written all over their mixer. Furthermore, the existence of instructions suggests that there is a correct and incorrect way to use the mixer, that users must be shown how to use the mixer. Perhaps the devolution of the instructions on KitchenAids provides further evidence that users, both male and female, can make their mixer do what they want instead of being told how to use their mixer a certain way. All of these possibilities are equally valid, but more importantly, together they show that KitchenAids have never been exclusively masculine or feminine in any one respect or feature.

Similarly, in terms of gender and kitchen spaces, KitchenAid has continued to have one foot in each sphere: domestic and professional; the mixers have never been exclusively domestic or professional. For example, Julia Child, arguably the most famous celebrity chef, used a KitchenAid stand mixer on her cooking television series. She frequently requested a new KitchenAid stand mixer for her new shows and donated her previous mixers to the KitchenAid Museum in Greenville, Ohio (See Figure 4). At the same time, KitchenAid has partnered with retail stores, such as Williams and Sonoma and The Kitchen Collection. In fact, KitchenAid continues to make colors exclusively for Williams and Sonoma, and The Kitchen Collection is one of only a few retail stores officially licensed to sell KitchenAid refurbished products. The combination of celebrity chefs using KitchenAids on TV and retail stores selling them suggests that KitchenAid participates and/or contributes to the blurring of these two culinary spheres.



a.

b.

Figure 4. a.) Julia Child's Mixer  
 b.) Bon Appetite

### Advertising and Marketing

In 1919 when Hobart decided to launch their product to the residential market, they also had to devise new marketing tactics. Instead of targeting male-centric areas, such as the military and bakeries as they had done in the past, the company had to switch gears to advertise to housewives. As a result, instead of emphasizing the stand mixer's stereotypically masculine features, such as its capacity and power, the company focused on its versatility and time-saving capability, which they thought would appeal to women. For example, one magazine advertisement exclaims, "It's like having a maid with a dozen hands." Indeed, since its inception, the KitchenAid stand mixer has had dozens of external attachments along with the three basic internal attachments, the wire whip, dough hook, and beater blade.

Perhaps this is why Hobart hired women (shocking in and of itself at the time) as door-to-door sales representatives selling KitchenAid stand mixers (*The KitchenAid Stand Mixer: Ninety Years of Quality*). Remember how heavy the first stand mixer was and that women carried them from door-to-door! Having a saleswoman instead of a salesman demonstrated to other women how easy and convenient the mixer was to use proved to be a better sales strategy; how would a man know the needs of a woman in the kitchen? Paradoxically, Hobart's sales tactics here included removing women from the domestic space in order to keep them there, particularly using their product. Similarly, the ease and time-saving aspect of the KitchenAid stand mixer meant that women had more free time outside of the kitchen, albeit, to presumably do other domestic activities. In this way, the KitchenAid stand mixer simultaneously perpetuated and deviated from gender stereotypes of women.

Throughout its history, the relationship between KitchenAid stand mixers and gender has continually transformed through its design, advertisement, and marketing. It has not simply moved from Point A to Point B, from masculine to feminine; but rather, that it continues to evolve, travelling the gender spectrum, and blurring the lines of gender norms. This suggests that in terms of gender, KitchenAid is not necessarily gender neutral, but gender open, causing tensions to continue to exist in the midst of apparent fluidity.

### The "Refurbs"

The services provided at the refurbished center at the KitchenAid factory in Greenville, Ohio, continues to encourage customer loyalty. Customers who live near the area can schedule an appointment to drop off their stand mixer and have it diagnosed. One of only half a dozen or so Refurbished Specialists determine whether or not it is worth it for the customer to pay for

repairs. According to these Specialists, it usually is worth it considering how much it costs for a new stand mixer. However, if it is not, then customers are usually given some sort of “deal” on another mixer, usually refurbished. In fact, every refurbished stand mixer has a signature number on the bottom that corresponds to the Specialist who repaired the mixer. For customers that do not live near the factory, the same services are provided via mail.

KitchenAid explicitly explains what it means to purchase a refurbished stand mixer:

Factory refurbished products are remanufactured goods that have been returned from a consumer, retailer or trucking company. Refurbished products may, or may not have been used by a consumer. They have been cleaned and inspected to original mechanical and electrical condition. Refurbished products may contain cosmetic blemishes, which are not covered under warranty. KitchenAid does not represent or warranty refurbished products as first-line goods (KitchenAid, Additional Information).

Because of this, refurbished mixers are significantly discounted. Furthermore, of the retail stores that sell KitchenAid stand mixers, only a few are certified to sell the refurbished mixers, such as The Kitchen Collection. Additionally, because refurbished mixers are returned from customers and retailers, the models and colors vary as to what is available (See Figure 5). Offering repair services and refurbished products not only sends the message of product quality, but domesticity as well. It suggests that the average consumer does not know how to repair their KitchenAid if something goes wrong.



Figure 5. KitchenAid Purgatory

#### The “Hub” Attachments

But the name is not the only thing that stayed with the stand mixer for all these years. From the very beginning all KitchenAid stand mixers have had the “hub” on the front that changes the external attachments (The Great Idea Finder). In fact, the original attachments from the Model H-5 in 1919 will fit *any* model, and the newest attachments created today will fit any of the older models as well. This feature is unique to KitchenAid.

The KitchenAid stand mixer attachments are also advertised to easily replace other appliances (even other KitchenAid brands). For example, instead of buying a food processor, customers can invest in the slicer-shredder attachment; not only are the attachments less expensive than their rivaling appliances, but they are significantly smaller and easier to store as a result, leaving more counter-space, a domestic commodity. Many mixer attachments have been around since KitchenAid’s creation, such as the Ice Cream Maker and Food Grinder; they have simply been updated (See Figure 6). Others have been discontinued, such as the Pea Shucker and

Silver Buffer/Polisher (See Figure 7). Still others have been added to the attachment family, such as the recently released Sauce Maker. What makes these attachments so versatile is that they can be used on *any* KitchenAid mixer, no matter what the model or year, because the iconic “hub” on every mixer is the same.



a.

b.



c.

Figure 6. a., b.) Vintage vs. Modern Ice Cream Maker  
c.) Vintage vs. Modern Food Grinder



a.

b.

Figure 7. a.) Pea Sheller  
b.) Buffer

However, KitchenAid was not the first company to create a multi-faceted piece of domestic machinery. In the 1920s, people could purchase a home electrical motor that served as the base of other household appliances. Attaching one of the many devices to the motor powered those devices, thus transforming the motor into whatever women needed it to be; a lamp socket, fan, buffer, grinder, mixer, sewing machine, and even a vibrator. The home motor was one machine to attend to all a woman's domestic needs (Maines 6).

Yet today, KitchenAid is the only stand mixer that continues to utilize this versatile feature. In fact, in reality all KitchenAid did was add the mixing bowl feature to the home motor, making the mixer a part of the base itself rather than an attachment. The hub is what makes a KitchenAid so versatile; without the hub, it would just be a mixer. While women bought the electric home motor solely because of its transformability, men and women today do not necessarily purchase KitchenAid stand mixers for the same reason. Rather, customers may buy it

solely for the base, the mixer itself, what it can do for them as opposed to what they can do with it, like the electric home motor. This suggests a change in the way that human actors are negotiating with these nonhuman actors, providing further evidence of these nonhuman actors' agency.

### The Competition

Throughout its history, KitchenAid has been faced with various rivals including Sunbeam, Hamilton Beach, and even Hobart stand mixers. However, it's most recent and potent rival is the Cuisinart/Waring Pro stand mixer. In 2007, Cuisinart introduced their own 5.5 and 7-quart models, rivaling KitchenAid stand mixers on multiple fronts. Ever since, Cuisinart has been a serious competitor for KitchenAid in the culinary market. In fact, Cuisinart stand mixers have replaced some KitchenAid mixers on television programs aired on The Food Network channel. The Cuisinart stand mixers are significantly more masculine, with their boxier frame and monotone colors (See Figure 8). In some cases, Cuisinarts replace KitchenAids in domestic and professional assemblages; in others, they coexist together. Remember, according to ANT if new actors enter the assemblage, causing the current actors in that assemblage to negotiation with them, then the assemblage changes. Likewise, the Cuisinart invasion in professional and domestic kitchens changed the way KitchenAids performed in their respective assemblages.

### KitchenAid Today

Figure 9 shows the KitchenAid stand mixer's evolution from its inception to today. The first models were designed with men in mind as the consumer, but soon women became possible consumers as well and the mixer's design changed as a result. Consequently, the KitchenAid resided in both professional and domestic kitchens at an early age. Throughout its history

KitchenAids have had one foot in each culinary and gender sphere; it has not been exclusively in one or the other. The gender shifts that occurred were not simply reversals, but evolutions. Just as KitchenAids were masculine, they were also feminine; just as they were professional appliances, they were also household appliances. Its history suggests that the assemblages KitchenAids have acted in have been both fluid and tense, for in the same ways that these nonhuman actors perpetuated gender norms, they also deviated from them. But what about KitchenAids today? Has this changed or are the assemblages KitchenAid stand mixer act in still forced to negotiate this fluidity and tension? Aside from Johnson’s work, scholars have yet to answer these questions, and that is exactly what this case study aims at doing.



Figure 8. Cuisinart Stand Mixer  
Source: cutleryandmore.com



a.

b.

Figure 9. a., b.) KitchenAid through the Years

## Chapter 3 A KitchenAid Case Study

### Methodology

The purpose of this case study is to observe and analyze how the human and non-human actors, in this case chefs and KitchenAid stand mixers, co-construct and reflect gender in two culinary spaces: domestic and professional kitchens. I chose the Food Network television shows *Cupcake Wars* and *Chopped* to serve as the professional kitchen samples, and Alton Brown's *Good Eats* and Rachael Ray's *Week in a Day* to serve as the domestic kitchen samples. I watched one show at a time, in that particular order, and took notes of each episode, whether KitchenAid stand mixers were used or not. In the episodes in which KitchenAids were used, I specifically asked the following questions:

1. Who uses the mixer? Male, female, or both?
2. What color, size, and finish is the mixer?
3. Is it a bowl-lift or tilt-head mixer?
4. What is the mixer used for?
5. What episode is the mixer used in?
6. Which round is the mixer used in? (This question applies only to the professional kitchen samples.)

I also took notes of relevant and interesting comments about the mixers made by the contestants, judges, and chefs.

These particular assemblages were chosen for various reasons. First, I chose to sample television cooking shows because, while IRB approval would have been ideal for this case study, it did not suit the timeframe. Also, besides actually using mixers, the public also interacts with

KitchenAids through television, either through infomercials, commercials, or cooking shows. The ways in which the mixers and the chefs on these shows perpetuate or deviate from gender norms in their negotiation process influences viewers. Thus, television shows provide the best alternative to performing an ethnographic study. Additionally, the performances of television chefs and cooks' with KitchenAids can be seen as a form of advertisement. In this way, my study of KitchenAid stand mixers accompanies Johnson's study of the mixers and advertisements, but in a different vein: a digital one. While we chose similar actors for our respective studies, we chose to observe and analyze them in different assemblages. Thus, by choosing the assemblages of TV portrayals of domestic and professional kitchens, my study complements Johnson's work.

I chose to watch Food Network shows in particular, as opposed to PBS or the Cooking Channel shows, because of the Food Network's popularity, longevity, and variety. I chose to utilize the Food Network shows on *Netflix* in particular because they provide a random sample of the shows, rather than a linear sample. *Netflix* draws from multiple seasons of the same show to create its seasons. Table 2 shows this correspondence with S identifying the season and E identifying the episode. For example, *Netflix* Season 1 Episode 1 of *Cupcake Wars* is actually Season 5 Episode 1 of the actual *Cupcake Wars* that aired on the Food Network. As a result, the episodes in the *Netflix* collections are not necessarily in chronological order. Rather than being a limitation, this feature provides the benefit of obtaining the most accessible representation of these shows. The accessibility of the *Netflix* Collections of these Food Network shows potentially suggests more permeability of the shows or "advertisements."

Subsequently, I chose *Cupcake Wars*, *Chopped*, *Good Eats*, and *Week in a Day* because of the chefs' and cooks' gender and because of the kind of kitchen they work in. *Cupcake Wars* represents a traditionally feminine professional kitchen and *Chopped* represents a traditionally

masculine professional kitchen. Likewise, *Good Eats* was chosen because Alton Brown is a male home cook, and *Week in a Day* was chosen because Rachael Ray is a female home cook. Thus, the type of chef/cook and kitchen parameters of the study were fulfilled.

I chose these shows over other possible Food Network shows because they offered more opportunities for KitchenAids to be used in the shows and because of when the shows aired. In particular, I chose *Cupcake Wars*, which aired in 2007, because contestants had a choice between using the Cuisinart stand mixers provided and bringing their own KitchenAid stand mixers to use either in addition to or in place of the Cuisinart ones; I was particularly interested in seeing the data from this dynamic. I chose *Chopped*, which aired in 2009, because it is the counterpart to *Cupcake Wars*. Both shows have three rounds; the first round is judged on taste alone, while the second and third rounds are judged on taste and presentation; at the end of each round, one contestant is eliminated by a group of judges. Both shows offer a \$10,000 cash prize to the winners to pursue their culinary aspirations. However, *Cupcake Wars* is solely a baking competition; whereas *Chopped* tests its contestants' cooking and baking skills. Additionally, *Chopped* contestants are required to make enough food for the panel of 3 judges throughout the competition (4 plates each round). In Round of *Cupcake Wars* bakers must create one kind of cupcake for the panel of 3 judges (4 cupcakes total). In Round 2 bakers must make three different kinds of cupcakes (12 total). And in the final round contestants must make 1000 cupcakes (3 different flavors). As a result, *Cupcake Wars* contestants bring a baking assistant with them to the competition who is allowed to help them in any way in all 3 rounds; contestants are also given additional assistants in Round 3 provided by the show. Because both of these shows are also competitions, there is a greater pool of people to collect data from.

While Rachael Ray and Alton Brown are Food Network chefs, they are not *professional* chefs. Because Ray and Brown do not endorse a restaurant, they do not technically cook in professional kitchens. Rather, they cook in domestic kitchens, albeit fabricated ones for entertainment purposes. The contrived nature of the kitchens these cooks perform in perpetuates a standard or ideal domestic kitchen, from the food they make to the appliances they use, such as KitchenAid stand mixers, to their viewers. Because Ray and Brown are two of the few Food Network stars that act only in the “fictional” domestic culinary space, they best fit the criteria of male/female chefs in domestic kitchen assemblages for this study. Additionally, both Ray and Brown have been with the Food Network since its inception, and as a result they represent the company in a longitudinal way that other potential Food Network candidates did not for this study. The longevity and success of their respective shows suggests more opportunities for perpetuating gender identity (re)constructions.

Individually, Ray and Brown’s shows were also chosen for different reasons. First, *Good Eats* is Brown’s only cooking show, so by default it was included for this study; recently Brown hosts more shows than stars in them. However, there is certainly value in Brown’s solo show for this study. The scientific nature and eccentricity of *Good Eats* is what made it such a popular show, and there has never been another Food Network series like it. Its uniqueness suggests potentially intriguing data results. Additionally, *Good Eats* aired from 1999-2012, representing three different decades; *Week in a Day*, debuted in 2010s, and *Chopped* and *Cupcake Wars* both debuted in the 2000s; these final three shows all continue to air today. I chose Rachael Ray’s *Week in a Day*, as opposed to her popular series *30 Minute Meals*, because in this series she makes 5 dishes per episode instead of just one, giving her more opportunity to perform with her KitchenAid stand mixer.

It is important to note two aspects of this study: its limitations and methodology. By creating parameters based on my goals, I inherently limited the scope of this study because I chose actors and assemblages over others. Once I made the parameters, I heeded ANT’s foundation: follow the actors wherever they lead. However, I was particularly interested in determining if where they led answered two questions: 1. how does the data compare and contrast with the data from other gender-technology studies literature and my retail experience selling KitchenAid stand mixers; and 2. what does the data reveal about the current gender shift in KitchenAid’s history? Though it is a relatively new area of research, studies have been done providing possible answers to these questions, and scholars have discovered trends in terms of the relationship between gender and technology. One study in particular observed the following patterns:

Female	Male
“Prefer pastel colors” (Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 475).	“Prefer dark colors” (Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 475).
“Prefer round shapes” (Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 475).	“Prefer right-angled shapes” (Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 475).
“Don’t want to tinker with technological objects” (Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 475).	“Love technology and gadgets” (Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 475).
“Prefer to stay at home” (Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 475).	“Have a mobile lifestyle” (Oudshoorn, Saetnan and Lie 475).

Table 2. Recent Data Patterns

Furthermore, “visible screws enhance the association with technology,” and are thus associated with traditional masculinity (Oost 203-204); and “metallic and silver-colored materials represent technological innovation” (Oost 207).<sup>1</sup> For my study, “feminine” and “masculine” features of KitchenAids are defined according to this literature.

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<sup>1</sup> The inside of the Classic and Artisan stand mixers has significantly more internal hardware than the 6-quart stand mixers. According to the employees at the KitchenAid Store and Museum, the smaller mixers have 3 different gears to make the motor run, as opposed to the larger mixers that only have 1 gear. More internal hardware suggests masculinity, thus suggesting that the smaller mixers are more masculine and the larger mixers more feminine. However, that hardware is

My retail experience with KitchenAid stand mixers also parallels these expected patterns of “techno feminism” literature. In my experience, men usually preferred the 6-quart mixers because of the larger size and the bowl lift feature. Because the color selection is more limited with the larger KitchenAids, men usually preferred basic colors, such as black, silver, or white. Additionally, the men I sold mixers to preferred the flat or matted finishes over the glossy finish. Men were more concerned about the power/wattage of the mixer, the internal elements. The basic, clean looks of these mixers are similar to the appearance of other appliances used in restaurant kitchens. On the other hand, my female customers were known to purchase the Classic and Artisan stand mixers more because of their smaller size, variety of vibrant colors, and the tilt head feature. In addition, female customers were more concerned about the external elements, such as colors and attachments. For these reasons I am particularly interested in how the data from my study compares and contrasts with the data patterns from technofeminism literature, and my retail experience selling KitchenAid stand mixers.

<i>Netflix</i>	<i>Cupcake Wars</i>	<i>Chopped</i>	<i>Good Eats</i>	<i>Week in a Day</i>
S1:E1	S5:E1 (3-4/2012)	S12:E4 (5-8/2012)	S11:E17 (6/2007-5/2008)	S5:E1 (1-10/2013)
S1:E2	S5:E3	S12:E6	S11:E18	S5:E3
S1:E3	S5:E5	S12:E8	S11:E20	S5:E5
S1:E4	S5:E7	S12:E10	S12:E2 (6/2008-3/2009)	S5:E6
S1:E5	S5:E9	S12:E12	S12:E4	S5:E7
S1:E6	S5:E11	S13:E2 (9/2012-1/2013)	S12:E10	S5:E9
S1:E7	S5:E13	S13:E4	S12:E12	S1:E6 (2010-2011)
S1:E8	S6:E6 (8-9/2012)	S13:E6	S12:E15	S1:E13
S1:E9	S6:E8	S13:E8	S13:E10 (4/2009-2/2010)	S1:E15
S1:E10	S6:E10	S13:E10	S13:E13	S1:E17
S1:E11	S6:E12	S13:E12	S13:E14	S1:E19
S1:E12	S7:E1 (10/2012-3/2013)	S14:E7 (1-3/2013)	S13:E15	S2:E1 (2011)
S1:E13	S7:E3	S14:E8	S13:E16	S2:E3
S1:E14	S7:E5	S15:E1 (3-6/2013)	S13:E17	S2:E5
S1:E15	S7:E9	S15:E3	S13:E19	S3:E1 (1-2/2012)
S1:E16	S7:E11	S15:E5	S14:E2 (5/2010- 5/2011)	S3:E3

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internal and is therefore not seen, thus perpetuating the idea that technology can be intimidating to women and therefore must be hidden.

S1:E17	S7:E13	S15:E7	S14:E3	S3:E5
S1:E18	S8:E2 (4-7/2013)	S15:E9	S14:E6	S3:E9
S1:E19	S8:E4	S15:E11	S14:E15	S3:E11
S1:E20	S8:E6	S15:E13	S14:E16	S4:E2 (9-12/2012)
S1:E21	S8:E8	S16:E2 (6-8/2013)	S14:E19	
S1:E22	S8:E11	S16:E5	S14:E21	
S1:E23	S8:E12	S16:E7	S16:E4 (11/2011-2/2012)	
S1:E24	S8:E13	S16:E10	S16:E6	
S1:E25		S10:E11 (1/2012)	S16:E8	

Table 3. *Netflix to Actual Air*

## Results and Discussion

### *Cupcake Wars*

*Cupcake Wars* is a cupcake competition created by the Food Network that first aired in June 2010. Participants are cupcake bakers chosen from around the country, and sometimes the world, to compete for a \$10,000 prize to either open up a store front or expand their cupcake business in some other way. There are four participants per episode, and in order to win they must survive three fierce rounds of cupcake baking. Round 1 is judged solely on taste and bakers are required to create a single cupcake; Round 2 is judged on presentation and taste, and bakers must create a trio of cupcakes; and Round 3 is judged on cupcake presentation, taste, and display, and bakers are required to make 1000 cupcakes (3 flavors) and a display that fits the episode's theme. After each round one cupcake baker is eliminated by the judges until one contestant remains and is announced the winner.

At least two Cuisinart stand mixers are provided for contestants at their station at the beginning of each round; the brand name is clearly evident in every episode. Even in the judging portions of the shows in which the contestants' stations are cleaned, the Cuisinart stand mixers are still displayed on the tables. The square shape and standard silver color suggests masculinity and professionalism, which is fitting for this particular assemblage. Professional kitchens and

baking have long been associated with masculinity. Remember that KitchenAids were first created for male bakers. Professional kitchens are also spaces where men have dominated until recently (Cooper, 'A Woman's Place is in the Kitchen': *The Evolution of Women Chefs* 86).

Despite this overt presence of a traditionally masculine, professional stand mixer in the show, bakers are welcome to bring their own mixers to use either in place of or in addition to the Cuisinarts provided. While some participants bring hand mixers, KitchenAids are the most popular stand mixer contestants bring with them, as opposed to a Hamilton Beach or Sunbeam stand mixer. However, at the end of each round when the contestants' areas are cleaned, the contestants' KitchenAid mixers are not shown on the stations like the Cuisinart mixers. In fact, it remains uncertain where their mixers are since they are not shown anywhere in the *Cupcake Wars* kitchen during judging. The KitchenAid mixers are only shown when their respective bakers are using them; their existence on the show is completely contingent upon their human actors.

In the 25 episodes I watched from four *Cupcake Wars* seasons, KitchenAids are the *only* stand mixer contestants brought with them. Table 4 shows the correspondence between the *Netflix* Collection version of the show and the actual air date of the Food Network Show with the episodes bolded in which KitchenAid mixers are used. Additionally, Table 5 shows the data about each mixer used in these episodes. Of the 25 episodes, KitchenAid stand mixers were used in 15 of them (60%). Of those 15 episodes in which they were used, 6 episodes featured more than one KitchenAid stand mixer (40%). The data shows a sort of gender revolt by the contestants who brought KitchenAid stand mixers with them; by bringing a traditionally feminine, domestic appliance into a traditionally masculine, professional sphere, reveals the tensions that can exist between professional and domestic kitchen assemblages. These

contestants do not adhere to the gender norms and limitations of the *Cupcake Wars* assemblage perpetuated by the Cuisinart stand mixers. Instead, some contestants refuse to interact with the Cuisinarts and solely use their KitchenAids, which reveals even more tensions between these assemblages. Still other contestants choose to negotiate with both sets of non-human actors, thus making a space for these tensions to coexist together more harmoniously in this assemblage.

<i>Netflix</i>	<i>Cupcake Wars</i>
<b>S1:E1</b>	<b>S5:E1 (3-4/2012)</b>
S1:E2	S5:E3
<b>S1:E3</b>	<b>S5:E5</b>
<b>S1:E4</b>	<b>S5:E7</b>
S1:E5	S5:E9
S1:E6	S5:E11
<b>S1:E7</b>	<b>S5:E13</b>
<b>S1:E8</b>	<b>S6:E6 (8-9/2012)</b>
<b>S1:E9</b>	<b>S6:E8</b>
S1:E10	S6:E10
<b>S1:E11</b>	<b>S6:E12</b>
S1:E12	S7:E1 (10/2012-3/2013)
<b>S1:E13</b>	<b>S7:E3</b>
S1:E14	S7:E5
<b>S1:E15</b>	<b>S7:E7</b>
S1:E16	S7:E9
S1:E17	S7:E11
<b>S1:E18</b>	<b>S7:E13</b>
S1:E19	S8:E2 (4-7/2013)
<b>S1:E20</b>	<b>S8:E4</b>
<b>S1:E21</b>	<b>S8:E6</b>
<b>S1:E22</b>	<b>S8:E8</b>
S1:E23	S8:E12
<b>S1:E24</b>	<b>S8:E12</b>
<b>S1:E25</b>	<b>S8:13</b>

Table 4. *Netflix to Cupcake Wars*: KitchenAid Used Episodes Bold

Mixer Size (qt.)	Mixer Feature	Mixer Color	Mixer Finish	Gender of User	<i>Netflix</i> Episode	Round
6	Lift	Cobalt Blue	Gloss	Male	1	1, 2
6	Lift	Cobalt Blue	Gloss	Male	1	1, 2
6	Lift	Empire Red	Diamond	Female	3	2
5	Tilt	Empire Red	Gloss	Female	4	1
5	Tilt	Powder Pink	Gloss	Male	7	1, 2

5	Tilt	Powder Pink	Gloss	Male	7	1, 2
5	Tilt	White	Gloss	Female	7	1
6	Lift	White	Gloss	Female	8	1
5	Tilt	Empire Red	Gloss	Male	9	2
5	Tilt	Imperial Grey	Flat	Female	9	2
6	Lift	White	Gloss	Male	9	2
5	Lift	Cinnamon	Gloss	Female	11	1, 2
5	Tilt	White	Gloss	Female	13	2
5	Tilt	Almond Cream	Gloss	Female	15	1, 2
5	Tilt	Almond Cream	Gloss	Female	15	1, 2
6	Lift	Onyx Black	Gloss	Female	15	2
6	Lift	White	Gloss	Male	18	2
4	Tilt	White	Gloss	Male	20	1, 2
4	Tilt	White	Gloss	Male	20	1, 2
6	Lift	Caviar	Diamond	Female	21	2
6	Lift	White	Gloss	Male	22	2
5	Lift	Empire Red	Gloss	Female	24	1, 2
6	Lift	Silver Metallic	Gloss	Female	24	1, 2, 3
5	Tilt	Empire Red	Gloss	Female	25	1, 2

Table 5. *Cupcake Wars* Collection Report

While data distinguishing between these two groups of contestants would have been useful to further this point, it is difficult to determine which contestants used the Cuisinart mixers in conjunction with their KitchenAids and which contestants solely used their KitchenAids, because of the zoomed-in camera angles that focus on one contestant over another, the unbalanced amount of time given to each round, and because the allotted time contestants are given to bake in each round does not coincide with the amount of time that round is shown in the episode. Thus, contestants could be using one or both stand mixers, but the aired episode may not necessarily show it. As a result, there may be more contestants that use KitchenAid stand mixers in *Cupcake Wars* and more rounds that KitchenAids are used in than the data in this study. For example, KitchenAids are used more often in Round 1 when they must only make one

cupcake flavor (2 mixers minimum). KitchenAid stand mixers are used *most* often in Round 2, in which contestants must make three different cakes and three frostings, totaling 9 cupcakes per baker (6 mixers minimum). However, they are used *least* in Round 3, the round in which they must three different cakes and three different frosting flavors (6 mixers minimum), totaling 1000 cupcakes, the round in which logically the most mixers should be used because they are needed most then. Part of these inconsistencies could be a result of camera angles and the show's air time allotment. As a result, the data from this study may be a somewhat limited representation of the series.

Figure 10 shows the data breakdown of these two groups according to gender. Keep in mind that some of these contestants used both kinds of mixers. Subdividing the contestants in this way allows us to address two areas of interest: 1. A comparison of technofeminism patterns to the data; and 2. A comparison of how contestants' construction of gender identities with KitchenAid stand mixers contributes to or negotiates with the gender norm perpetuated in this particular space via the Cuisinart mixers. In addressing the first area of interest, while more women than men used KitchenAid stand mixers in *Cupcake Wars*, and women utilized a wider range of mixer colors than men, every other element of the data contradicts the patterns of technofeminist literature: men used the 4-quart mixers, while women did not use them at all; men only used the glossy finished mixers, while women used glossy, flat, and diamond finishes; and both genders used the tilt-head and bowl-lift features equally.

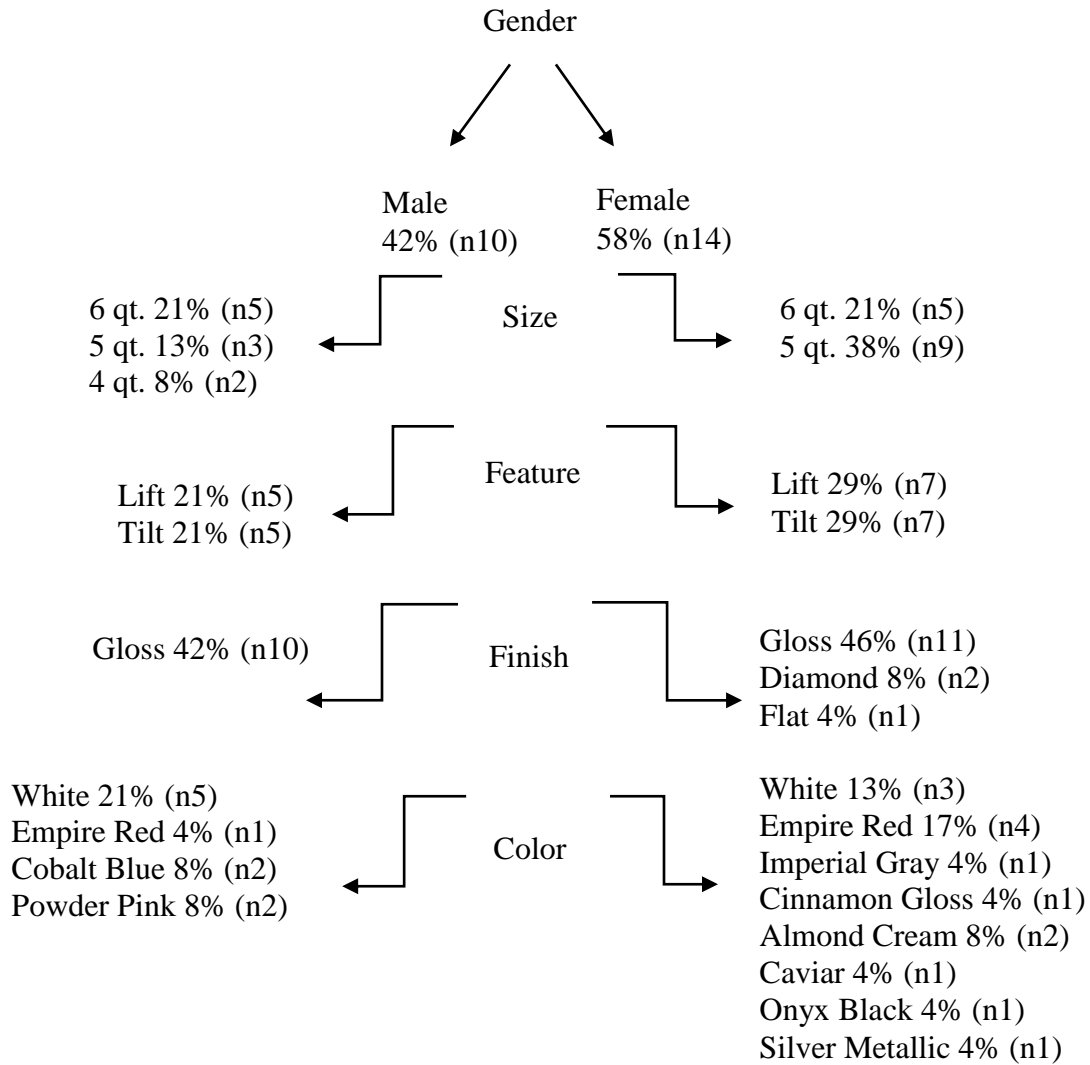


Figure 10. Cupcake Gender Breakdown

The two areas where the data aligns with the patterns technofeminist literature leads into the second area of interest. Although more women than men used KitchenAid stand mixers and used a wider range of colors in *Cupcake Wars*, 8% (n2) of the men used powder pink mixers, a color not typically considered masculine. First, the male users who brought their KitchenAids with them to the show, a traditionally feminine, domestic technology into a traditionally masculine space, create a traditionally feminine product (cupcakes); these men are negotiating with these conflicting ideas of masculinity and femininity as soon as they enter the kitchen.

Additionally, even more tensions are created when two of those mixers are a feminine color, such as powder pink, thus heightening the tensions between this masculine place and feminine object. More women using KitchenAids, a feminine object, in this competition is perhaps logical; more women may own KitchenAids than men; or it might just be more expected that women own this feminine technology. By bringing their KitchenAids, it could be interpreted that the women in this study were negotiating their gender identities in a typically masculine place, thus negotiating gender in this space in their own way.

Although women have been chefs since at least the 1840s, they have certainly been a minority and faced many obstacles creating a space and title for themselves as a result (Cooper, Appendix E 269). Cooper shows that women's progress in professional kitchens is extremely recent; only 4.3% of executive chefs in 1997 were women (Cooper, *'A Woman's Place is in the Kitchen': The Evolution of Women Chefs* 86). The *Cupcake Wars* data suggests that since Cooper's publication, women have made significant progress in becoming established actors in the professional kitchen assemblage because of their presence in this study. This is congruent with scholarship on women and baking; since the 1950s, the number of female bakers has significantly increased (Steiger and Reskin 257). Yet, what is startling about the data from *Cupcake Wars* is that the difference between men and women using KitchenAids in *Cupcake Wars* was only 16% (n4). Although this suggests that women may be becoming actors in this particular assemblage of professional kitchens, a space once dominated by men, the data also suggests that men are not being driven out of their culinary home. Like the contestants who use both Cuisinart and KitchenAid stand mixers in this study, the data from this study suggests that men and women are negotiating to coexist together in this particular assemblage.

## *Chopped*

*Chopped* is a culinary competition on the Food Network that first aired in January 2009. Participants are chefs, sous chefs, and home cooks from across the country who compete for a \$10,000 prize and the title of Chopped Champion. There are four participants per episode, and in order to win they must survive three intense rounds of culinary mastery in order to move on to the next round. Each round has its own basket of four mystery ingredients that the participants may or may not be familiar with. Their dishes must incorporate each mystery basket ingredient in some way. Round 1 is the Appetizer round and is judged solely on taste; Round 2 is the Entree round and dishes are judged on both taste and presentation; Round 3 is the Dessert round where the dishes are judged on both taste and presentation, but the winner is chosen based on their entire course. At the end of each round the contestants face the Chopping Block, and the panel of culinary genius judges “chops” one of them from moving on to the next round.

KitchenAid stand mixers are provided in the Chopped Pantry for contestants to use in any round. They remain among other appliances in the back of the Pantry and contestants must bring them to their stations themselves. The KitchenAids are the same: silver glossed Artisan 5-quart tilt-head models with the glass measuring bowl. The silver color and gloss finish of the mixers match the rest of the appliances in the Chopped Kitchen, rhetorically indicating that this space is a professional one. Additionally, throughout the season, the camera angles make it very apparent that the mixers are the KitchenAid brand; the name/logo is not covered up or removed, and the camera does not intentionally angle away from the logo. This also rhetorically reiterates that because KitchenAid is a brand for professionals, its presence in the Chopped Kitchen is part of what makes that space a professional one. Contrarily, because the KitchenAids match the other appliances in the Chopped Pantry, they have the potential to blend in. This coupled with the KitchenAids’ position in the Kitchen, in the back unlike the Cuisinart mixers in *Cupcake Wars*,

suggests the opposite: that the KitchenAids have little to no effect to the professional aesthetic of the *Chopped* assemblage, perhaps because they are feminine, domestic objects. Yet, the use of KitchenAids in this very apparent professional, masculine space chafes against the gender norm that the *Chopped* Kitchen perpetuates. In these ways, the KitchenAids used in this series are inconsistent in terms of professionalism and domesticity, because they can be perceived as both at the same time. These tensions contribute to the inconsistencies and tensions in terms of gender as well.

Table 6 shows the *Netflix* to actual air correspondence for *Chopped* with the episodes that KitchenAid mixers are used in bold. Of the 25 *Chopped* episodes in the *Netflix* Collection, contestants used KitchenAid stand mixers to aid in their culinary creations in 13 of those episodes (52%). In both *Cupcake Wars* and *Chopped* KitchenAid stand mixers are used in over half of the episodes, which suggests that these mixers play an important role in the professional kitchen assemblage in terms of (re)constructing gender identities; because they are used as often as they are, KitchenAids have a greater opportunity to perpetuate gender identities that the contestants must negotiate their identities with.

<i>Netflix</i>	<i>Chopped</i>
<b>S1:E1</b>	<b>S12:E4 (5-8/2012)</b>
S1:E2	S12:E6
S1:E3	S12:E8
S1:E4	S12:E10
<b>S1:E5</b>	<b>S12:E12</b>
<b>S1:E6</b>	<b>S13:E2 (9/2012-1/2013)</b>
S1:E7	S13:E4
S1:E8	S13:E6
<b>S1:E9</b>	<b>S13:E8</b>

<b>S1:E10</b>	<b>S13:E10</b>
<b>S1:E11</b>	<b>S13:E12</b>
<b>S1:E12</b>	<b>S14:E7 (1-3/2013)</b>
<b>S1:E13</b>	<b>S14:E8</b>
S1:E14	S15:E1 (3-6/2013)
<b>S1:E15</b>	<b>S15:E3</b>
S1:E16	S15:E5
S1:E17	S15:E7
<b>S1:E18</b>	<b>S15:E9</b>
S1:E19	S15:E11
<b>S1:E20</b>	<b>S15:E13</b>
<b>S1:E21</b>	<b>S16:E2 (6-8/2013)</b>
S1:E22	S16:E5
S1:E23	S16:E7
<b>S1:E24</b>	<b>S16:E10</b>
S1:E25	S10:E11 (1/2012)

Table 6. *Netflix to Chopped: KitchenAid Episodes Used Bold*

The subsequent breakdown of gender and KitchenAid stand mixers in *Chopped* is shown in Table 7. In this series significantly more male contestants (n12) used KitchenAids than female users (n5). This suggests that while women may be making head way in becoming acknowledged actors in the professional kitchen assemblage as Cooper argues, it may not be as considerable as the *Cupcake Wars* data suggests (Cooper, 'A Woman's Place is in the Kitchen': *The Evolution of Women Chefs* 86). The distinction between *Cupcake Wars* being a solely baking competition and *Chopped* being an overall culinary competition is also important to note because of the stark differences in their respective data numbers. More women used KitchenAids

in *Cupcake Wars*, a baking competition; and more men used KitchenAids in *Chopped*, a cooking and baking competition. As a result, the data suggests that women may becoming more prominent actors in professional baking kitchens than they are in professional cooking ones.

This parallels Barbara Reskin and Thomas Steiger’s study of gender and baking: “The occupation of baker has been feminizing since 1950. Between 1950 and 1980 men lost 40,844 baking jobs, while women’s numbers more than tripled, giving rise to a net gain of almost 31,000 women bakers. In 1988 women constituted almost 48 percent of this traditionally male occupation” (Steiger and Reskin 269). Reskin and Steiger’s study also affirms that although the data from *Cupcake Wars* shows more women than men using KitchenAid stand mixers in the context of the show, that does not necessarily mean that women are pushing men out of the baking industry. These scholars argue that “At first glance, these numbers suggest that women took jobs away from men. In fact, almost no direct replacement occurred” (Steiger and Reskin 269). However, they also assert that “Nor has the occupation undergone much sex integration. Instead, sex segregation persists within industry sectors: men still dominate production baking...and women continue to finish and package baked goods” (Steiger and Reskin 269). This study’s data set of *Cupcake Wars* disputes this idea because more women used KitchenAid stand mixers in production baking, thus suggesting that gender shifts in the professional baking assemblage has changed since Steiger and Reskin’s study.

Episode	Round	Gender	Use of User
1	3	Male	Mix
1	3	Male	Whip
5	3	Male	Whip
6	3	Male	Whip



though the mixers are available to contestants at all times throughout the competition. This element of the data is significant because the mixers, these feminine objects were masculinized, their gender identity reconstructed, in order to reflect and perpetuate traditional gender norms of professional kitchen assemblages. Furthermore, as Reskin and Steiger point out, these men use a masculinized feminine object in a traditionally masculine space to create a recently feminized product. This element of the data reveals that when gender shifts occur, they are not necessarily reversals, and that remnants of previous gender stereotypes of spaces and actors further complicate existing tensions in these assemblages.

In particular, KitchenAids are used to whip more than to mix; the wire whip internal attachment was used more than the beater blade and dough hook. This portion of data is significant because of the following conversations between the contestants and judges. In Episode 7, a male contestant in the final round refuses to use the mixer to make his whipped cream because says that he has “killed more cream in a stand mixer.” His comment suggests that either he is unskilled in making cream in a stand mixer, or that stand mixers are a poor technology to make cream in. In Episode 9, yet another male contestant refuses to make his whipped cream in the stand mixer, even though the judges beg him to use “the machine.” Instead he responds, “I do not use electric beaters to whip cream. Am I not a professional?” Here, this contestant’s comment asserts that KitchenAid stand mixers are not professional technologies necessary for whipping, and that their presence in the Chopped Kitchen does not add to the kitchen’s culinary caliber. His comment reveals how remnants of previous gender stereotypes, in this case the KitchenAid stand mixer as a domestic, feminized object, continue to exist. Professional chefs earn their title because of their lack of dependence on machines; part of the prestige derives from being able to do everything by hand. This is further exacerbated by the

longstanding relationship between women, KitchenAid stand mixers, and domesticity.

Professional cuisine's prestige not only comes from the food itself, but its preparation as well.

Ann Cooper explains that

“‘It’s the inseparability of women and domestic cooking.’ Mennell says that when socially prestigious cuisine appeared, it had to be differentiated from ordinary cooking. The way to do that was through disciplined technique and male cooks... This new ‘court cuisine’ reinforced the notion that what mothers, sisters, and wives did in the kitchen was ordinary, not professional cooking. In that way, male cooks and male cooks only came to be viewed as ‘instruments of refinement’” (Cooper, *A Woman's Place is in the Kitchen: The Evolution of Women Chefs* 86).

Rather than KitchenAids being viewed as an “instrument of refinement,” these two *Chopped* contestants view the mixers as unprofessional and unnecessary tools, because they themselves are the instruments of refinement. One of the reasons why both *Chopped* and *Cupcake Wars* contestants use KitchenAids and other mixers in the shows is because they are timed. Contestants are judged on taste and presentation in both shows, not their processes or techniques; if the processes or techniques do not create a tasty and well-presented product, then contestants will not move on to the next round. This is certainly one limitation of this study using contrived professional and domestic examples. Yet, these two particular *Chopped* contestants adamantly refuse to use the KitchenAids to whip their cream. This suggests that the value system held by actors in professional kitchen assemblages may thus be one reason why KitchenAids have been limited to domesticity and have had difficulty being taken seriously in professional kitchens. Further evidence of this is KitchenAid's recent release of 7 and 8-quart commercial stand mixers. This portion of data reveals, like Reskin and Steiger argue, that gender shifts are not necessarily immediate reversals, and that, like Cooper suggests, actors in these professional assemblages may still be faced and negotiate with dichotomous gender stereotypes.

## *Good Eats*

Moving into the domestic kitchens and home cooks of this study, it is important to remember that both of these actors are performing in a contrived environment. Both Rachael Ray and Alton Brown's kitchens are Food Network sets, not their actual home kitchens. Also, unlike the contestants from the professional kitchen examples, Ray and Brown are not limited by time. Although each episode is limited to under 30 minutes that does not necessarily mean that the dishes they make can be done in under half of an hour. This is one of the reasons I specifically did not choose to work with Rachael Ray's show *30 Minutes Meals*. For example, in *Good Eats* Brown makes a rack of lamb, a dish that takes a few hours; and many times after Ray puts a dish in the oven, she reveals the finished product to viewers. This is important to keep in mind because the time-saving features of KitchenAids may not be as relevant as the labor-saving features in domestic kitchens.

Airing first in July 1999, *Good Eats* was a home cooking show gone "Bill Nye" and starring celebrity chef Alton Brown. Brown not only made food from scratch, but he explained the hows and whys, the science, of cooking and baking in an entertaining way. From homemade rosewater and tomato vodka to from-scratch marshmallow fluff and mayonnaise, Brown showed viewers the molecular structure of foods and their chemical reactions with other foods using quirky props and skits with his crew. For example, Brown often used puppets and homemade inventions to illustrate his scientific explanations. When Brown conceived of *Good Eats*, he used three cultural touch points to describe its essence: Julia Child, Mr. Wizard, and Monty Python. Although the show retired in 2011, Brown has remained a part of the Food Network family, not as chef, but as host to shows such as *Iron Chef America* and *Cut Throat Kitchen*. Brown was also one of the first Food Network stars to customize his KitchenAid stand mixer (See Figure 12).

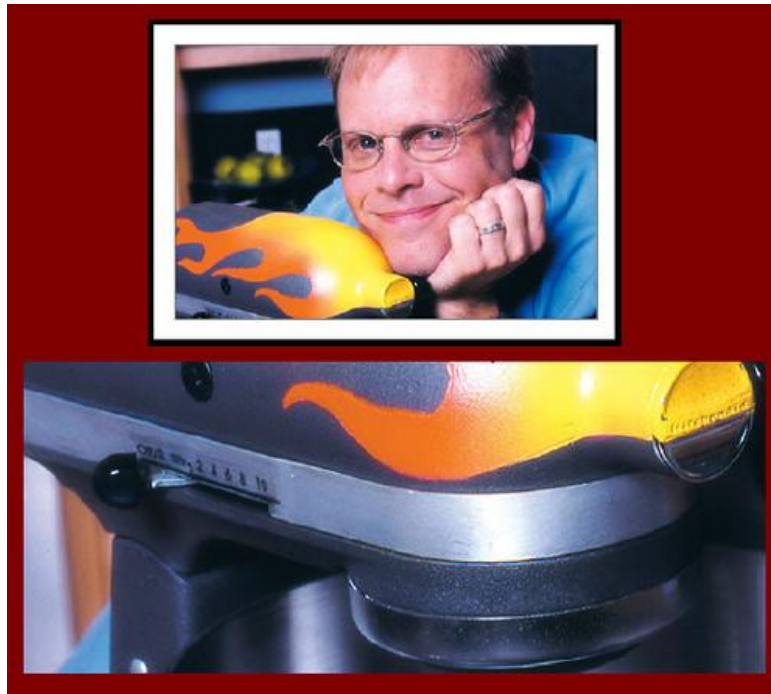


Figure 11. Alton Brown's KitchenAid  
Source: [wadechi.swalrus.org/?p=713](http://wadechi.swalrus.org/?p=713)

Table 8 shows the corresponding actual air to *Netflix* episode of *Good Eats* with the episodes bolded where he uses his KitchenAid. First and foremost, Brown's presence as a human actor in a domestic kitchen, a traditionally feminine space, and his use of a KitchenAid stand mixer, a traditionally feminine object, opposes stereotypical gender norms for this particular assemblage. As Table 9 shows, Brown uses his KitchenAid in 5/20 episodes (20%), which is significantly less than the professional kitchens. This suggests that KitchenAids are becoming more prominent in professional kitchens and among professional chefs. However, as there were 4 contestants per episode in *Cupcake Wars* and *Chopped*, there were more contestants and therefore more opportunities for KitchenAid stand mixers to be used in the professional kitchen samples, as opposed to a single chef in the domestic kitchen samples, such as Brown. This unbalance could account for these inconsistencies. Similar to the professional kitchen data

though, Brown always uses his mixer to make some sort of dessert, providing further evidence that the domestic and baking stereotype of KitchenAids still exists.

<i>Netflix</i>	<i>Good Eats</i>
S1:E1	S11:E17 (6/2007-5/2008)
S1:E2	S11:E18
S1:E3	S11:E20
S1:E4	S12:E2 (6/2008-3/2009)
S1:E5	S12:E4
S1:E6	S12:E10
<b>S1:E7</b>	<b>S12:E12</b>
S1:E8	S12:E15
S1:E9	S13:E10 (4/2009-2/2010)
S1:E10	S13:E13
S1:E11	S13:E14
S1:E12	S13:E15
S1:E13	S13:E16
S1:E14	S13:E17
S1:E15	S13:E19
S1:E16	S14:E2 (5/2010- 5/2011)
<b>S1:E17</b>	<b>S14:E3</b>
<b>S1:E18</b>	<b>S14:E6</b>
S1:E19	S14:E15
<b>S1:E20</b>	<b>S14:E16</b>
S1:E21	S14:E19
S1:E22	S14:E21
S1:E23	S16:E4 (11/2011-2/2012)
S1:E24	S16:E6
<b>S1:E25</b>	<b>S16:E8</b>

Table 8. *Netflix* to *Good Eats*: Episodes KitchenAids Used Bold

However, Brown’s customized KitchenAid clashes with this stereotype. First, although his mixer is clearly a KitchenAid, the logo on the front band is either blurred or has been completely removed, and the logo etched onto the hub, while somewhat still visible, is painted over. One possible reason for this is that the Food Network would have to pay royalties to use the KitchenAid name. However, rhetorically this omits KitchenAid from its longstanding domestic haven. Additionally, *Good Eats* is about the technical finesse of cooking, something that, according to Cooper, professional kitchen assemblages value; and by using his mixer as part of this technical finesse, his mixer becomes associated with skill and professionalism. This

coupled with the blurred logo deviates from KitchenAid’s domestic stereotype. Finally, Brown’s KitchenAid is only shown when he uses it; it does not remain on the counter or any other visible place throughout the series. This suggests that his mixer has little to on effect on the professional or domestic aesthetic in his kitchen, thus displaying how gender tensions coexist in these assemblages.

Episode	Use
7	Mix
17	Mix
18	Whip
20	Mix
25	Mix

Totals:

Episodes:	Mix:
5/25=20%	4/5=80%

Whip:
1/5=20%

Table 9. *Good Eats* Report

Brown’s customization of his KitchenAid stand mixer also diverts from the mixer’s longstanding association with femininity. When KitchenAid colors became available to women, encouraged them to express their individuality, albeit within a limited space. Brown certainly is not the only one to tailor his KitchenAid. Customizing KitchenAids is not a new trend, but it certainly has become more of a prominent one the past few years (Johnson 48). Brown is also not the only Food Network star to have a one-of-a-kind KitchenAid; Ree Drummond’s mixer is also well-known; she also frequently offers KitchenAid stand mixers as prizes on her website (See Figure 12). However, instead of Brown expressing himself within the limitations of the color scheme offered by KitchenAid, he expands his self-expression by reshaping his mixer’s identity

to more specifically construct his own identity; instead of just identifying himself in his mixer, Brown creates his identity, an extension of himself, through his KitchenAid.



Figure 12. Ree Drummond's KitchenAid  
Source: goodreads.com

Gender STS scholarship refers to this technological extension as “cyborgian.” The term, coined by Donna Haraway, is defined as “a hybrid of machine and organism...creatures simultaneously animal and machine” (Haraway 149). They are both a part of us and distinct from us; Haraway compares the relationship between Frankenstein and his monster (151). In this way, Brown's KitchenAid is particularly intriguing for this study because of its potential to perpetuate and inadvertently diverge from Brown's intended identity and values. Furthermore, this personalization highlights the relationship between actors in these assemblages, that actors re-invent themselves and are re-invented by other actors (Johnson 48).

As an extension of himself, Brown's KitchenAid not only constructs his identity, but also reconstructs the assemblage by renegotiating in it. His mixer is decorated in flames, an image that has long been associated with masculinity; flame decals on male users' cars is not unusual, for example. In doing so though, Brown masculinizes a traditionally feminine actor as if to say, "I'll work with this product in this space, but I'm going to do it in my own way." Thus, instead of adhering to the gender norms of KitchenAids and domestic kitchens, or the masculine gender patterns of technofeminist literature, Brown negotiates with these actors and constructs his own identity within this assemblage, thus altering the assemblage. As a result, the data from this study suggests that Alton Brown's KitchenAid stand mixer in *Good Eats* also serves as an example of gender tensions in this particular assemblage and how those tensions affect gender identity (re)construction.

#### Rachael Ray's *Week in a Day*

The final example of domestic kitchen assemblages, Rachael Ray's *Week in a Day*, produced significantly less data, but remained a part of this study because what is not present is just as significant as what is present in the data. Ray's series first aired in September 2010 and continues to air on both the Food Network and its sister station the Cooking Channel. In each episode, Rachael creates five meals that can be stored and served at any point during the upcoming week; essentially, she shows viewers how to make their weekly dinners, which she calls "make-ahead meals," in one day. However, Ray utilizes a KitchenAid stand mixer to do this in only 1 out of 20 episodes in the series, and like all of the other chef and cook examples, she uses it to mix ingredients for a dessert. Ray's KitchenAid is a 6-quart, bowl-lift, white meringue mixer, which both adheres to and diverts from the patterns of technofeminist literature.

Additionally, out of all the samples, Ray only uses her mixer once, a feminized object, in a feminized space, and in a feminized manner (baking). Since KitchenAids were first launched onto the retail market, they have found homes in domestic kitchens for decades. Yet, the domestic kitchen sample data suggests that this trend is no longer typical. Further evidence of this can be seen through Ray and Brown's position of their mixers in their kitchens. Both Ray and Brown retrieve their KitchenAids when they need them; if they are not used, then they are not shown, rhetorically suggesting that whatever it perpetuates, professionalism, domesticity, femininity, or masculinity, that that is not an important aesthetic to create in their assemblages. Even the limited data from Ray suggests gender tensions coexisting and negotiating in these spaces.

#### What about Me: External Attachments

What is missing from this data set is just as important as what is present. This is also the reason why the domestic kitchen assemblage samples are valuable, despite their limited data. In both the professional and domestic samples, the external KitchenAid stand mixer attachments were never shown or used. The internal attachments are more useful for baking, while the external attachments are more useful for prepping and cooking. Like the generator with various household attachments Maines discusses, the KitchenAid stand mixer's external attachments are meant to replace other more expensive, bulkier household appliances in order to save its users, time, space, and money. These users were primarily women in domestic kitchens. The absence of these external attachments in these Food Network shoes speaks volumes about the changes occurring in these assemblages. How did this happen? Why are these attachments missing from both culinary spheres in this data set? Maines' article focuses on the vibrator attachment in particular and how its introduction into pornography in the 1920s resulted in its elimination from

the home motor. However, not one external KitchenAid attachment is shown, let alone used, in this data set; i.e. this study does not address a single external attachment's disappearance, but the entire family of them. The history of the home motor does not bode well for KitchenAid. What happened to the home motor?

“Indeed, electric motor technology has become literally invisible, embedded inside thousands of everyday products, from hair dryers and pencil sharpeners to dishwashers and toys. Hardly obsolete, the Home Motor is instead a victim of its own success, ignored precisely because of its ubiquity. It has become a central - albeit invisible - fact of daily life” (Kline).

KitchenAid was a part of this “absorption”; a version of the home motor is what makes every mixer run. Because its base is a mixer, the attachments logically are culinary-related, as opposed to a lamp or a vacuum, other household appliances. Though the attachments are much more focused, the data from this study suggests that they are not used like the attachments connected to the original home motor.

One reason for this disconnect is what Ruth Cowan describes in *More Work for Mother*; as the title suggests, she discusses how the introduction and evolution of some technologies actually created *more* work for women despite that they were advertised to decrease housewives' workloads, because this kind of work was originally assigned to maids and servants, not housewives. The rise of consumer technology contributed to the idea that housewives should and, more importantly, *could* perform household duties such as cooking, with the disguised help of these technologies; KitchenAid stand mixers are advertised to save its customers labor, when in reality they create “more work for mother” and higher standards. Yet, these expectations conflict with KitchenAid's advertisement that “it's like having a maid” and the machine doing the work for housewives. It highlights that KitchenAid stand mixers were one of many technologies created during the rise of consumer technology that replaced a human being, and

the slogans and advertisements of KitchenAid humanize the product; instead of housewives *using* the mixer, it does the work for them. These expectations still exist today and create more work for home cooks in a different way. In a time where it is common for foods to be prepackaged, why do KitchenAid customers need a slicer/shredder or an ice cream maker when the local grocery store has bagged salad and pints of ice cream available, thus saving them labor, time, and money? In fact, why do they need the mixer at all when they can purchase store bought bakery items? In this way, KitchenAid stand mixers continue to advertise its labor-saving features and attachments, disguising the fact that in doing so they are perpetuating standards of cooking and creating more work, not less for their customers.

Again, this shows the dissonance between the professional and domestic assemblages, particularly their values. Professional chefs may value the labor of slicing and shredding because it shows their skills and contributes to their credibility as a chef. Thus, using the external attachments of a KitchenAid deprives them of this showcase. Consequently, while KitchenAids may save some professional chefs labor, those chefs may not want the product's labor-saving feature; and because KitchenAids may actually create more labor for home cooks, those chefs may not want the product either. The different value systems of these assemblages illustrates how KitchenAids negotiate within them in the data from this study, and potentially explains why none of the KitchenAid users utilize the external attachments, because they are more and less labor.

In the same vein, another possible explanation is that from their inception KitchenAid stand mixers have been associated with baking, not cooking. Even within the professional and domestic kitchen spaces, further distinction lies between baking and cooking chefs. The fact that *all* of the Food Network show participants utilized KitchenAid mixers solely for desserts is

further evidence of this. KitchenAid's recent commercial advertisements have been emphasizing the external attachments' usefulness in cooking; one says, "Sure it can handle cookies, but did you know it can turn garden goodies into salsa, and cool off a hot day by churning out fresh strawberry ice cream...it even turns out pasta like a pro...So now with all these attachments, you can do up a dinner party or make every day meals not so every day" (Norden). Additionally, the KitchenAid stand mixer web page emphasizes that "baking is just the beginning" (KitchenAid, KitchenAid Official Website). Though the company is trying to combat this stereotype, KitchenAids continue to negotiate with it in both domestic and professional assemblages as the data from this study suggests.

Another potential reason for this attachment predicament is that from its genesis, KitchenAid stand mixers have had one foot in professional kitchens and one foot in domestic kitchens, as well as one hand marketing to men and one to women; first KitchenAids were sold to male bakers and then sold to household women. This complex image is part of what has made the company so successful. However, as a result of this fluidity, it is difficult to categorize and especially to dichotomize, just like ANT and gender. For example, the presence of a KitchenAid in a domestic kitchen can either contribute a sense of professionalism or detract it; the same is true of professional kitchens. It all depends on the actor's perception of KitchenAid stand mixers in the assemblage. With this in mind, the results of the data set make more sense; it is varied and does not parallel the recent patterns in gender-technology studies, just like the KitchenAid image, because it is not just one thing. The relationship between gender and the human and non-human actors in this study's assemblages is more complicated than that.

## Conclusion

The data from this study both adheres to and diverts from technofeminist literature, suggesting that (re)negotiations to (re)construct gender identities among actors in these assemblages are constantly happening and being reshaped. The data also reveals that some human actors are not negotiating in dichotomous ways, but are (re)constructing their gender identities in a way that traditional masculinity and femininity coexist, sometimes harmoniously and sometimes not, thus creating alternative spaces and ways of thinking about gender that parallel gender studies literature; gender is both fluid and filled with tension.

I admitted at the beginning of this study that IRB approval for an ethnographic study would have been preferable, but I chose to work with Food Network TV shows as my samples of professional and domestic assemblages because of their popularity and accessibility, which provides opportunities to perpetuate gender ideas, thus permeating and influencing real professional and domestic kitchens. Although these samples contain contrived spaces and actor performances, KitchenAid stand mixers are still prominent actors in these assemblages, as evidenced by the data. As a result, instead of viewing these two elements as just limitations, I see them as valuable avenues to continue exploring. For example, would the data from an IRB approved ethnographic study parallel or dispute my idea that Food Network TV shows influence gender identities in real kitchens? Additionally, if I had chosen different Food Network shows to work with, how would that data compare with this study's data? There are certainly opportunities to expand and refine this kind of study.

Going back to where we started with ANT we must ask, what are these actors capable of? Where have they led us? The results propose that actors can change the way in which they negotiate gender in their assemblages; that KitchenAid stand mixers are capable of shaping, re-

shaping, and reflecting gender identities in the culinary spaces they are used in; that they are capable of influencing and contributing to the gender dynamics of other actors in their assemblages and networks. More importantly though, the data from this study highlights an important aspect of gender identity other than performance: perception. KitchenAid stand mixers can be feminine, masculine, professional, or domestic; it all depends on other actors' perceptions. Thus, other actors negotiate with those perceptions in performing and (re)constructing gender identities. Because of this, the way that KitchenAids are "made" in terms of gender is contradictory and complex, and as a result they are capable of being more than just mixers.

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