



National(ist) Cakes and (Non)Consumption

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Abstract: The economic uncertainty of the 2000s resulted in a rise of nationalism in many parts of Europe, including Hungary. The emerging popularity of the nationalist party Jobbik led to an excessive use of nationalist symbols in popular culture and consumption. Our paper explores one particular phenomenon: nationalist cakes. The analysis focuses on the content of a blog called nemzetitorta.tumblr.com, which has collected hundreds of pictures of cakes representing Hungarian national(ist) symbols (e.g. flags, national colours, and the imitation of traditional food). We explore the relationship between consumerism and nationalism and their reproduction in the Hungarian context. The essay draws on the notion that to be successful, ideology needs to rely on material reality (Althusser 1971, Varman, Belk 2009), and McClintock's (1993) interpretation of nationalist symbols as part of the necessary spectacle in nationalist discourse, which, at the same time, represents material reality. Based on the analysis, we argue that the production of nationalist cakes poses some challenges to consumerism, however, the spectacle still contributes to the reproduction of the dominance of the consumerist discourse.

Keywords: Nationalism, patriotism, Hungary, consumerism, spectacle, ideology, social media

The past decade has seen a sudden emergence of far-right and nationalist sentiments in many parts of the world. Hungary was no exception: the nationalist party Jobbik and other right-wing radical movements gained a lot of popularity from the beginning of the 2000s. The new political power inspired an excessive use of nationalist symbols in popular culture and consumption. Our paper explores one particular such phenomenon: nationalist cakes. In our analysis, we study nationalist cakes to explore what role mediation plays in their production and circulation in order to understand how nationalism and (non)consumption are related.

By nationalist cakes we mean cakes that celebrate being Hungarian and whose production can be connected to nationalist sentiment. Our definition of nationalist cake is

deducted from empirical analysis of the collected data. It means cake (or any material object) whose production carries a symbolic value by pricing the origins, the content, and the ideological meaning of the object. Our corpus consists of the content of a popular Tumblr blog called *national cake* [nemzetitorta.tumblr.com], which claims to have collected ‘the most national cakes in Hungary’.

Image 1. ‘The most national cakes in Hungary: Art and patriotism’



Source: nemzetitorta.tumblr.com (07.05.2017)

This Tumblr has posted hundreds of cake photos, many of which represent unambiguous Hungarian national symbols (e.g. flags, national colours, the Holy Crown or maps of the current and Greater Hungary). Another big group of the cakes depict sausages, paprika, stuffed cabbage, goulash, and other traditional Hungarian dishes. Others are somewhat less obviously Hungarian: lottery tickets, bills or license plates. While the admin of the Tumblr site refers to the cakes as ‘national’, we stick to the politically more explicit term ‘nationalist’ to emphasize our focus on the ideological work performed by texturing the cake’s production and media distribution. In this article, besides discussing the cakes as media for reproducing nationalism, we will also analyse the role of Facebook and Tumblr as platforms of mediation. Based on the analysis of inherent contradictions in the relationship of media and nationalism, we show how nationalism can adapt to new circumstances, and also how it might be compromised by globalized consumerist phenomena.

Methodology

For the purpose of this project we have been using multimodal analysis: a combination of critical, political and visual discourse analysis. The reason for engaging with this type of analysis is the aim to study the ‘ideological work’ done by texturing the photos of the cakes,

as well as the content of the cakes itself in the specific shapes and themes (Fairclough 2003: 58). Considering that, discourse analysis is helpful to understand the production of meaning in a given social context (Tonkiss 1998). Therefore, analysing the ideologies of the different discourses present in the case of national cakes is crucial if we attempt to take a critical and interpretative position towards the use of the images and language that are shaping the meanings of (non)consumption, nationalist drives, gender roles, and social positionality. In this sense, the use of language and images is seen as a social practice that is structured by, and involved in, the formation and maintenance of certain power relations that are reiterated as 'given' (Tonkiss 1998: 248). Unpacking this organization of the power relations is at the crux for examining the structures and the contradictions of the discourses we are exploring in this article.

Besides the multimodal analysis, our article also relies on an in-depth qualitative interview with the admin of *national cakes*. While the cake photos offer a rich body of material to analyse, Tumblr did not allow us to gain any information about the cakes beyond the visuals. The admin was extremely helpful in answering all our questions about her sources and motivations, which also bore implications on the entirety of our analysis. The history of the *national cakes* Tumblr started with the admin's interest in the rising popularity of nationalism in Hungary. As she told us, she 'wanted to understand these people and their ways of thinking', therefore she joined Facebook groups related to nationalism. Based on her account, she has been carefully observing several of these groups—some of which, interestingly, are also closely connected to cooking—and she started *national cakes* when the collection of national(ist) cake pictures she had come across in these became too numerous not to share with the public. While the admin's interest in nationalism has been non-academic, her detailed knowledge of these groups suggests meticulous online observation that can be compared to lurking as a form of ethnographic research (Garcia et al. 2009: 58). We did not attempt at repeating the admin's extensive long-term research project, but since she also shared her sources with us, we are relying on her impressions and opinions about the producers of the cakes throughout the analysis. Our primary sources, however, are the pictures of *national cakes* and the interview. In order to protect the privacy of the admin and the people she observed, neither she nor source Facebook groups will be named.

Cakes and the mediation of nationalism

Food and cooking have been largely discussed in anthropological and social work not only as a basic human need for existence, but also as a discursive issue (Sassatelli 2004). Food and its consumption are closely connected to one's social and economic status and social categorization. In this regard, food, its presentation, its production, and its consumption are often seen as related to one's nation of origin and sense of national belonging (Avieli 2013, Sassatelli 2004, Kania-Lundholm 2014). As Sassatelli argues, '[w]hile there may be no essential *national* food, food consumption has been implicated in the construction of national communities of taste' (2004: 176). Furthermore, cooking routines also take part in the development of a notion of community building and in marking a dichotomous line between 'us' and 'them' by positioning local products against ones imported from abroad (ibid.).

Therefore, food and related practices are worth discussing in relation to nationalism, since food often becomes the symbolic area of tensions and the expression of the nationalist sentiment.

Our analysis starts at the stage of the cakes' production to show the linear process through which these cakes take up different positions and elicit various reactions from different audiences. In this section, we are discussing the way nationalism is (re)presented and (re)produced by these cakes, focusing on the cake makers, their first intended audience (i.e. family, consumers, offline community) and the cakes themselves. As Smith (2009: 32) argues, symbols, such as those represented on these cakes can help to make 'the highly abstract concept of the nation [more] concrete ... , a visible and palpable creation'. Symbols help to define and see-hear-smell-touch their distinctiveness from the 'Others', creating 'unity and a sense of solidarity' (Smith 2009: 50-51, Eglitis 2002: 134). In that sense, Smith's discussion incorporates notions on a certain ideology that is able to translate its ideas into material reality. We argue that through the production of the cakes and their circulation among the primary audience, the cakes become a medium that facilitates this translation of the abstract ideas into closer everyday living social relations. The particular idea conveyed is that by using cakes as a medium whose content correlates with strongly Hungarian (nationalist) sentiments, a sense of belonging to the same community and sharing the same destiny is created. In order to see how this ideology works it is necessary to elaborate on the theoretical understanding of the notion of ideology we are drawing on.

Althusser develops the original (Marxist-Gramscian) conceptualization of ideology further by considering ideology a social practice in all fields of society that produces material reality (Althusser 1984, Howarth 2000). In that regard, he develops a twofold understanding of the concept in which ideology can be seen both as an oppressive state apparatus and as an everyday lived relation between the social subjects (Howarth 2000: 93). In this article, we apply this understanding of ideology since it can show how even the production of the national cakes, or the rural, familial gatherings common within the groups of the producers of these cakes—together with the media attention that the phenomenon of nationalist cakes have gained—are embedded in a particular ideology that has its own material reality.

However, these ideologies might engender different meanings in different settings. For example, while our claim is that the production and the media proliferation of the national cakes reproduce the nationalist ideology, the conscious reproduction of it is not visible in the setting of the small rural communities where these cakes are mainly baked and consumed according to the admin of the Tumblr. This phenomenon addresses another important question to the notion of reproducing ideologies and their material reality. While the production of the nationalist cakes is spread in small rural communities, the reproduction of the nationalist ideology is transferred on the internet. Hence, while one might expect some tension between living in a rural environment vs. having access to and actively circulating material on the internet, this conflict seems to have been resolved in this context due to technological progress. This progress enabled the circulation of the nationalist ideology on different levels and in different forms and settings.

Besides talking about reproducing the nationalist ideology, the banal reproduction of the nationhood and the nationalist ideology also need to be discussed. The term banal nationalism refers to the daily reproduction of the nation, which, being hegemonic and ideological,

but not directly forced, usually goes unnoticed. In order for this daily reproduction to occur, a complex set of ‘beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations, and practices must be reproduced’ (Billig 1995: 6). Billig calls these reproductions ‘ideological habits’ necessary for the generation of the ‘our’ versus ‘their’ nation—in any case always reminiscent of the nationhood and the unitary community. The production of the national cakes here is seen as one of the ideological habits that tend to reproduce the nation in a mundane, everyday style. The communal gatherings and mediated sharing of the cakes further reinforce this banal and continual (re)production of the nationalist discourse.

Nationalist discourses, furthermore, use the ‘ideology and symbolism of the nation’ (Smith 2009: 61) in a magnified manner. At the same time, nationalist movements employ a ‘straightforward understanding of the concept of “identity” and “sameness”’: ‘Members [of one nation] dress and eat in similar ways and speak the same language; in all these respects they differ from non-members, who dress, eat and speak in different ways’ (Smith 1991: 75). These practices need to be constantly repeated, since the nationalist ideology needs maintenance ‘which continually implies continuity’ (Spencer and Wollman 2002: 81). The use of symbols thus plays an important role, as they make the common identity tangible and help to mobilize and sustain masses which find the easily understandable and uncomplicated identity offered to them easily identifiable. In this way, we can explain why such banal objects as cakes contain nationalist symbols. The *national cakes* Tumblr uses exactly this banal reproduction of cultural products that can help the nationalist ideology in a twofold way. On the one hand, the Hungarian symbols on the cakes contribute to the sense of mutual belonging. On the other hand, the same symbols reproduced constantly through the production of the cakes maintain the nationalist ideology via the reiteration of the symbols that secures the implied continuity of the nationalist project.

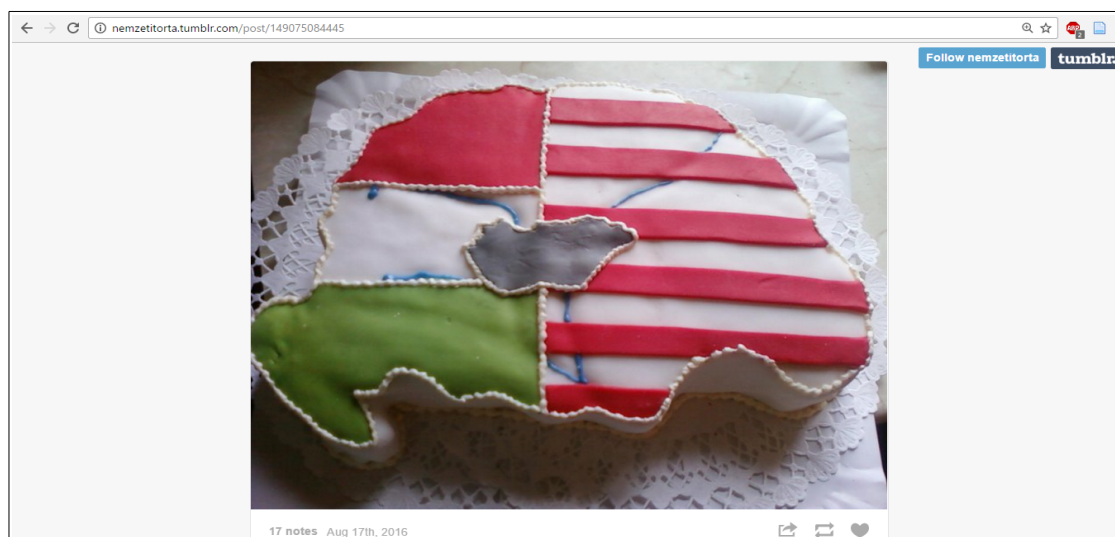
Numerous scholarly works have identified the resurgence of nationalism in post-socialist states. Furthermore, according to these scholars this resurgence could not be theorized in the strict frame of ‘bad nationalism’ vs. ‘good patriotism’ (Kania-Lundholm 2012: 15). Kania-Lundholm in her case study on Poland notes that the rhetoric of ‘attachment to nation and traditional values’ is seen as ‘patriotism’ (Kania-Lundholm 2012: 57). Despite various theories on the differences between ‘patriotism’ and ‘nationalism’, Kania-Lundholm found that the particular historic experience of Central Europe in general makes the use of these concepts inseparable in this region: ‘patriotism is synonymous with support for reproduction and preservation of the national community and is the only acceptable way to talk about the relationship to the imagined community. Patriotism thus provides the language to talk about the national unity and the “we”-community’ (Kania-Lundholm 2012: 57).

Additionally, researchers such as Eglitis (2002), Kapitany and Kapitany (2011), Gal (1996) and Renkin (2012) point out that after the collapse of the socialist regime, there has been an ambiguous relationship between traditional pre-socialist values and opening the borders towards Western values and capitalism. Eglitis, for example, describes this situation in his study on post-socialist Latvia. While he uses the term ‘normality’ to designate the state that people in Latvia were looking for after the collapse of the Soviet Union, he also concludes that this search for normality was directed in two directions: 1) returning to pre-Soviet social order and/or 2) turning towards ‘the modern West’ (Eglitis 2002: 8). Similar conflicting directions have been identified in Hungary too. Moreover, the pressures of globalism and

trans/inter-nationalism in Hungary have been interpreted as a threat to the distinctiveness of the Hungarian national identity (Gal 1996, Renkin 2012). One form of defence from this threat is seen to be the appearance of symbolic objects of ‘national cultural heritage’ (Kapitany and Kapitany 2011: 193). In their study on Hungarian habitation, Kapitany and Kapitany observed how items that represent some cultural legacy of the Hungarian nation were used to decorate Hungarian homes and were considered by the householders to be a counter-reaction to the anti-human effects of ‘modernization and globalization’s crackdown on national culture’ (Kapitany and Kapitany, 2011: 77).

Positioning the cake-baking and cakes within this political discourse reveals similar nationalist sentiments. The cakes depict different national symbols, starting from flags and maps of Hungarian territory and ending with gems of Hungarian national cuisine. Similarly, the production and the circulation of the national cakes in the rural environment could be interpreted as a way of resisting the structures of globalization and in that way reinforcing the sense of belonging to a specific Hungarian national culture. Like this, the cakes are seen as cultural products that should be consumed in order to sustain the feelings of humanity and the feelings of sharing similar destinies with the members of the ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1983) of the Hungarian nation. These notions were also confirmed in the interview with the admin who told us that the cake production and the cakes’ dissemination create a sense of membership among people who are otherwise forgotten in a world of massively spread globalized culture. Through the consumption of the national cakes these people find certain value both in their life choices and their political affiliations.

Image 2. The map of the Kingdom of Hungary before 1918 (informally also referred to as ‘Greater Hungary’) with the Hungarian national colours on the left and the flag of Árpád the ‘founder of Hungary’ on the right, and the current shape of the country in the middle.



Source: <http://nemzetitorta.tumblr.com/post/154157102875>, 7 December 2016 (07.05.2017)

Likewise, our case study provides an illustration of the gendered nature of nationalism. As McClintock (1993) and Peterson (1999) argue, women have a significantly distinctive role in the national project and thus 'all nationalisms are gendered' (McClintock 1993: 61). An important dimension of this distinction is based on the private-public binary that has been made intelligible through the idea of the 'Family of Man', whereby the woman (and the children) are 'naturally' subordinated to the man within a 'putative organic unity of interest' (McClintock 1993: 4). In this divided structure 'women are typically constructed as the symbolic bearers of the nation, but are denied any direct relation to national agency' (McClintock 1993: 62). Therefore, in such settings, women may seek alternative ways to claim national identity and active role in the reproduction of the nation. In the present case study national cakes are seen as possibilities for expressing and claiming gendered, national identity.

As it has been highlighted by scholars, including Peterson and McClintock, while the domain of private are conventionally considered female space, public space is associated with men and masculinity (McClintock 1993: 67). 'Ideologically (symbolically), the coding of public sphere activities as masculine allows all men to identify with power/authority' (Peterson 1999: 43). On the other hand women, as social reproducers of the nation are 'assigned the primary responsibility for inculcating beliefs, behaviours, and loyalties that are culturally appropriate and ensure intergenerational continuity' (Peterson 1999: 46). Scholars have observed the same happening in the re-traditionalist post-socialist states. The nationalist rhetoric in post-socialist states insists 'on the supposed sanctity of the home, and the need for women to remain in or return to the private sphere' (Spencer and Wollman 2002: 52). Such division is becoming increasingly relevant in the case of Hungary, as there is a(n increasingly) conspicuous resistance to include women in public political sphere especially in parliamentary politics and decision making. Limiting women's role into the domestic sphere is supported by statistics on the division of labour at home, which clearly follows the traditional gender structures. In 2006, Hungarian women spent twice as much time with unpaid domestic work than men (Aliaga 2005: 6-8). Indeed, the nationalist cakes depicted on the photos on *national cakes* seem to be mostly, if not entirely, the products of female labour. The watermarks on some of the cake photos bear women's names and the administrator of the page remarked that the photos she had posted can be directly traced back to women. According to her, women often bake for family gatherings for the delight of their pro-nationalist oriented family members and also for community gatherings. The case of cake-baking nationalist women does not only illustrate the gendered public/private dichotomy of nationalism, but also shows how women can claim national belonging and agency in the nationalist project.

Facebook and the mediation of communities

At the second stage the cakes are introduced to social media by their bakers and their primary intended audience. The photos of the cakes are shared, commented on and praised in several Facebook-groups dedicated to nationalist sentiment and traditional lifestyle, where members often post what they have cooked or baked. Facebook allows the often geographically marginalized rural communities to reconnect in a virtual public space as well as helps to facilitate a grey economy of the cake market. Both of these aspects evoke ideological ambigui-

ties and contradictions around nationalist sentiment and around anti-Western, anti-capitalist (non)consumption. Therefore, in this section, we would like to highlight the way social media is appropriated for nationalist strategies in the present case and thus, at the same time, inevitably feed into and facilitate globalization.

The literature on media and nationalism generally investigates two ways in which these fields are intertwined. One part of the literature is employed with the means of exploiting 'various mediated cultural forms', such as cinema and television industries, in order to reproduce the nationalist discourse (Mihej 2011: 10). In that sense, we see the actual national cakes as the cultural forms mediated and exploited in order to reproduce the nationalist ideology. Through the national symbols represented by the content of the cakes we see the 'fetishized objects' (McClintock 1993: 71) materialized in the everyday living relations encapsulated in the nationalist ideology.

The rest of the literature on media and nationalism is engaged with seeing how media institutions, such as TV companies and channels, newspapers, cinema industries, are politically instrumentalised (Mihej 2011: 10). In this case, we have Facebook with the cake groups as a media institution politically instrumentalised to serve the ideology of nationhood at worst, and the one of unity of the community at best. Even so, the union of a certain group of people tends to be a form of national community, if we consider the notion of 'imagined communities' that are the basis for nation-state formation in which people do not know each other but by representations in the media they get the feeling of shared identities, resources and destinies (Anderson 1983: 6). In the same way, the Facebook groups where the national cakes are shared could be considered as small invented communities that give sense of sharing similar life circumstances. However, this is not the case with the Tumblr site. The Tumblr site is instrumentalised politically but not to reproduce the nationalist ideology; rather to ironize it. In this way the Tumblr reproduces a certain ideology, though not necessarily nationalist, and it could be seen as media appropriation ironically subversive to the nationalist discourse.

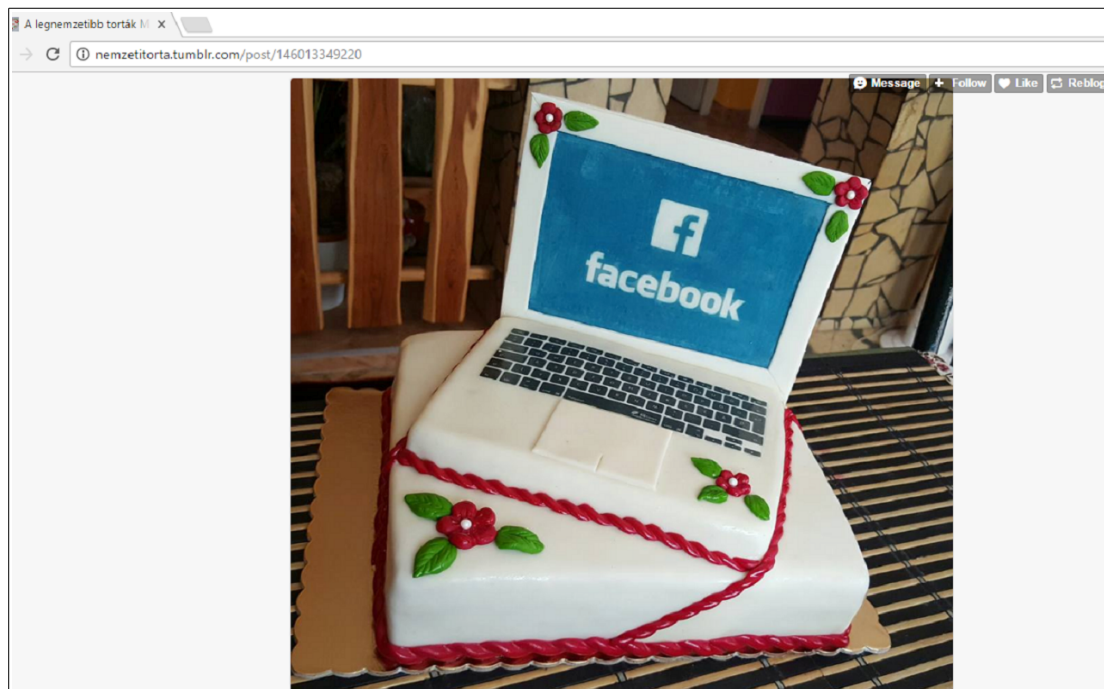
In order to see how Facebook is instrumentalised in order to convey certain ideological messages we need to go back to the notion of banal nationalism as a process in which the sense of nationhood is continuously reproduced. This process goes in a circle, because through the constant reminding of nationhood the 'nationhood provides a continual background for political discourses, for cultural products and even for structuring the newspapers [the media]' (Billig 1995: 8). Applying the same notion on the *national cakes* case it becomes clear that the way in which the dissemination of the cakes' photos, in the Facebook groups as a media space of digital data, reproduces the nationalist ideology in the banal way. The Facebook groups follow the same structuring of the media which Billig talks about, which is structuring for the service of the nationalist ideology and the banal reproduction of it. Although the media space such as Facebook is a neo-liberal invention, and it could be argued that it works in the service of globalization, which is considered to be one of the main challenges to nationalism, Billig argues even slightly this space must be appropriated by the nationalist ideology because a reminder of the nationhood is always necessary, even in the globalized world.

Support to this can be the modernist approach to the notion of nations and nationalism (Anderson 1983, Gellner 1983, Danforth 1995, Hobsbawm 1992). This school argues that nation-states are the product of the new capitalism that needed the realization of unitary com-

munions for the purpose of successful trading and division of labour on the more globalized market. In that way the media through which *national cakes* is represented might conceptually challenge the nationalist perspective, but nevertheless is politically appropriated in order to reproduce the nationalist ideology. However, the case with the Tumblr page shows a different pattern of political appropriation of the media, and in that sense we can talk about an ironic subversion of the nationalist ideology. This pattern will be shown later in this article.

Besides the appropriation of Facebook for national(ist) community reconnection, it is also a tool for facilitating a grey economy, where bakers can sell and promote their home-made cakes for their local communities, as the admin of *national cakes* also confirmed. This grey market of semi-professional cakes brings in again an interesting combination of (non)consumption, nationalism and anti-globalism. The community based on the dissemination of cakes (of nationalist cakes) ideologically resonates with the idea of ‘ethical consumption’ and at the same time faces the same ideological struggles. Like ethical consumption, the production and consumption of national cakes are based on anti-capitalist anti-globalization discourses aiming to use and promote local products. While the ideological bases of the two are very different (one being based on nationalism and the other more-or-less ‘cosmopolitan consumer choice’) they both aim to challenge consumerism, with often in fact reinforcing socio-economic differences.

Image 23. Hungarian patterns and a laptop with a Facebook logo



Source: <http://nemzetitorta.tumblr.com/post/146013349220>, 16 June 2016 (07.05.2017)

Duncombe (2012: 359) writes about a new consumer activism (referring primarily to different forms of ethical consumption), where the ‘fantasy element at the core of commodity is

not rejected' instead embraced 'through the commodity fetish itself'. That is to say instead of challenging and problematizing commodity fetishism at its core—'as Marx writes secret is its real history: the people who made [the commodity], the materials it is made from, and even the uses it will be put to'—commodity fetishism is facilitated for an assumed good, defined by the consumer activist, still ignoring what Marx calls the 'secret' of the commodity that is 'the people who made it, the materials it is made from, and even the uses it will be put to' (Duncombe 2012: 359). However, producers of the national cakes, while embracing the fetishization of the nationalist cakes, are not distanced from the production. In fact, the production itself is an important part of the whole process. In this sense the grey economy of the national cakes further interrogates and complicates the relation between nationalism and capitalist (non)consumption.

Tumblr and the mediation of irony

While the previous sections have showed how nationalism plays out on cakes and in Facebook groups, it is also important to discuss the role of Tumblr, the most direct platform of *national cakes*. Looking at the blog, one obvious question arises: is this all serious? On the one hand, the variety, creativity and elaborateness of many cakes suggest honest nationalist sentiment. On the other hand, the vast collection of cakes, many of which could be easily classified as kitsch gives an ambiguous impression about what the aim of the blog is. Analysing the role of irony on Tumblr as a medium adds another layer to the understanding of the phenomenon of nationalist cakes.

National cakes gives little clue about the aim of the blog: the heading says 'The most national cakes in Hungary', followed by the subtitle 'Art and patriotism'. The photos, however, are never followed by any commentary by the admin; still, when the pictures get reblogged, other users often add funny captions to the pictures, suggesting an ironic understanding of the cakes. The difficulty of determining where irony is created stems from the lack of verbal content on *national cakes* itself: studies of irony in new media often rely on verbal content primarily (even analyses of visual content might rely on accompanying captions) (Sanina 2014, Reyes et al. 2012). When we asked the admin, she claimed it was a conscious decision from her part not to comment on the pictures. In her opinion, the communities where she collected the pictures from are like families, and she also emphasized that the bakers of these cakes are 'good people'. Therefore, she 'wants to be nice' and does not want to 'hurt these people', even if she herself does not share the nationalist enthusiasm of the cakes. But if the cakes are not meant to be ironic, and the admin carefully avoids ironic comments, what happens to the cake pictures between the original posting and reblogging?

According to Reyes et al., '[s]ituational irony ... is an unexpected or incongruous quality in a situation or event' (2012: 242). In Sanina's words, 'situational irony occurs when our concepts and the world to which they apply are saliently out of sync' (2014: 14). When it comes to nationalist cakes, the products become ironic regardless of the intentions of their producers: the masculine symbols of nationalism in the form of the feminized medium of cakes, or traditional heavy, spicy Hungarian food made of sweet icing create a discrepancy resulting in situational irony. The situational irony of the *national cakes* Tumblr, furthermore,

can be understood by the analysis of a somewhat similar platform, an online political community studied by Sanina. According to her typology, *national cakes* represents ‘the irony of asymmetry’, which uncovers ‘an overly showy display of patriotic and religious feelings’ (18). These two are closely intertwined both in national symbols connected to Hungary’s Christian tradition and in direct references to God on some of the cakes. The mass of pictures also shows that the trend of nationalist cakes is not an isolated phenomenon of a few individual bakers: the spectacle is widespread and has left the private sphere, similarly to religious rituals. The typology also lists the ‘irony of disproportion’, which is ‘people’s attitudes towards their authorities, especially the worshiping of its leaders’ (19). In Sanina’s example, the irony is created by poor people worshiping Russian leaders. According to the admin of *national cakes*, many members of the observed communities live a poor rural life. Still, without reflection on their own situation and its relationship to oppressing powers, they adore authorities (e.g. pictures of cakes related to the police or tax collectors), political parties and the Hungarian nation. The national cakes Tumblr thus, subverts the political message of the nationalist cakes by revealing the irony of the phenomenon. While uncovering some of the inherent contradictions of nationalism, *national cakes* seems to be critical with the nationalist ideology. Tumblr is, however, still a globalized, capitalist platform (even if to users, it appears to be free) and contributes to the perpetuation of the consumerist ideology.

Conclusion

As the analysis has shown, the inherent contradictions in the relationship between nationalism and (non)consumption can be better understood by taking at the role of mediation in the case of the nationalist cake spectacle. First of all, nationalist cakes can take part in the production of a unified national community by perpetuating nationalist ideology and providing it with a material form, and our research found evidence that the cakes also reproduce the gendered division within the nationalist project. Secondly, Facebook plays an important role in the circulation of the material products of nationalism. While as a globalized platform, it is ideologically opposed with the anti-capitalist, anti-globalist nationalist sentiments, its technical potentials are exhausted in order to spread nationalist ideology by sharing photos of products like nationalist cakes. Facebook also has an important function of connecting people who often live in isolated, rural contexts, and provides a platform to create communities along the same lines of interest—in this case, nationalist values and traditional food and lifestyle. The third platform of mediation, Tumblr subverts the message of nationalist ideology. The vast collection of nationalist cake pictures on *national cakes* reveal the situational irony embedded both in the cakes and in people’s devotion towards nationalist values and authorities. While *national cakes* subverts nationalism and uses Tumblr as a medium for a rather different political aim, from the point of consumerism, it is similar to the nationalist Facebook groups by using a seemingly free platform, which is, at the same time, also part of the capitalist system. The way nationalism exhausts the potentials of different platforms even if they seem to compromise its underlying values shows the adaptability of the ideology. The nationalist cakes of *national cakes*, however, cannot seem to escape consumerism, regardless of where, how, and why they have been produced and circulated.

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