

Peruvian gastronomy as a tool for social development

An analysis of processes of identification, cultural commoditization and the impact of gastronomic grassroots movements



All photos are taken by the authors during the period of fieldwork in 2018



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Date: 27 June 2018

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Introduction	7
Theoretical framework	15
• Chapter 1 – Food and identification	17
Identification on different levels of community	17
National cuisine.....	18
Globalized food cultures	20
Food practices on a local level	21
• Chapter 2 – Cultural commoditization	22
• Chapter 3 – Gastronomic grassroots initiatives	25
Methodology	27
Context	37
• Empirical chapter 1 - Peruvian gastronomy: an unifying medium in a fragmented nation	43
Revalorizing Peru in the period of a boom	43
Peru’s fine-dining gastronomy	45
Peruvian is a <i>mistura</i>	47
National food culture.....	47
Global influences	49
Local diversity.....	50
• Empirical chapter 2 - Cultural commoditization: the double goal of cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets.....	55
Gastronomy & value	55
MIL Centro, an interplay of groups.....	56
Community involvement in MIL’s cuisine	63
Authenticity is created.....	64
The coexistence of two cuisines.....	67
• Empirical chapter 3 - gastronomic grassroots movements.....	73
Grassroots vs. government; cellular vs. vertebrate.....	73
High-value chains	75
MIL as a grassroots	75
Conclusion	79
Discussion	85
Literature	87
Appendix	91
Abstract.....	91

Introduction



Dish served at a market in Peru



One of the courses of the Elevations menu of Central

Introduction

What is for you Peruvian? Try to ask a couple Peruvian and you'll see that they find it a complicated and confusing question to answer. And of course, it's not easy to just define one's national identity. Having to answer this short question will push many people to think about the most typifying characterizations of their nationhood. But then still, there can be many aspects that embody one's national identity. So they will pick the ones that are most central in how they relate to their nationality. We have asked this question to many Peruvians during our fieldwork period, and most of them had to think about it before they hesitantly answered.

Interestingly, there were two aspects that stood out and everyone seemed to agree upon. First, people agreed that Peru is a complex mixture of ethnic identities and livelihoods, as a result of Peru's migration history, the country's economic situation and the many different geographical environments existent in Peru. Peru houses a mix of indigenous peoples, Spanish descendants, and migrants from Japan, China and other parts of the world. And the realities of people in Lima are very different from people living in the Peruvian Amazon and Andes. This vast diversity of identities that co-exist in a common national framework is resulting in that many Peruvians can't relate themselves very well with one another. Different local and social environments shape the way ethnic groups culturally construct themselves and the relational dynamics between these groups. Language, for example, is certainly a prominent factor in how the Peruvian population is divided, as there is still a significant number of people whose primary language is Amerindian, like people speaking Quechua or Aymara. Also, there seems to be a division between people living in urban areas and people in rural areas, where the former is distancing itself from the latter, regarded by many urban people as backwards.

The second thing that was mentioned by roughly every Peruvian we spoke to also has to do with this diversity, but specifically about the rich diversity of food and cuisines. Peru is one of the most biodiverse countries on earth, rich in fish, crop varieties, and environments. There are cooking techniques that date back to the Inca-times and culinary influences from all over the world, resulting from the history of immigration in Peru. This diversity of ingredients and food practices are what makes the Peruvian cuisine so rich, and their co-existence in Peru resulted in a number of interesting fusion cuisines. Quite paradoxically, this diversity of cuisines is what seems to be increasingly more the common ground for Peruvians to imagine themselves as a national unity. In effect, this is shaping policies of the government and induced goals for the Peruvian gastronomy that reach much further than the restaurant.

The Peruvian gastronomy has undergone significant changes over the last years, a process which is often referred to as the 'gastronomic boom'. This process was spearheaded by chefs who started cooking with Peruvian ingredients and food practices, and translated them in a fine-dining cuisine which has gained great global popularity over the past 20 years. Nowadays, chefs have obtained a star-like status, local food practices increasingly make their way into the kitchens of fine-dining restaurants and the number of gastronomy students has risen exponentially. The revalorisation of local food practices is also initiated by the government in an attempt to get the Peruvian national food culture recognized by UNESCO as cultural intangible heritage. The dual motivations behind the attempt to preserve Peru's food culture while simultaneously present the country globally, make this process of heritage-making interwoven with debates regarding cultural homogenization and heterogenization, in- and exclusion, and cultural property.

The global character of the national food culture, is highly influenced by the reputation of Peru's fine-dining restaurants, as three of Peru's top restaurants are placed in the top 50, and two of these make it into the top ten of the 'Worlds50best' list¹. Making use of the richness in products, food knowledges and materials that are to be found Peru's local communities, these restaurants are actively shaping the national food culture. In a country characterized by diversity, through its colonial and migratory history, multiple ethnicities and great biodiversity, Peruvians tend to relate more and more to the unifying power of food.

Peru's culinary revolution is intertwined with the strong economic growth Peru experienced over the past three decades. Though it should be clear that the new culinary movement in Peru was spearheaded by Peruvian chefs, not the government. Today, the Peruvian gastronomic sector has become very influential in the economic and social development of Peru and the way the country represents itself globally. Gastronomy is presented as a promising tool for development in Peru, but the real economic successes are mainly confined to a small group of elite-chefs in Lima. Some of these chefs, however, are truly concerned with extending their success to improve the livelihoods of more Peruvians and to create opportunities for people through their gastronomic movement. They took on the role of public figures and gained social and economic influence. This movement for change through gastronomy has been embraced by the Peruvian government, but they can't keep up with the pace of the movement's influence and the efforts of the actors standing at the forefront. Anna Tsing's (2004) notion of friction serves as a key concept for this thesis as an analytical lens. How we precisely use the concept of friction in our research will be discussed in the methodological section (p. 29). Here we would like to mention that Tsing uses friction as a metaphor for

¹ <https://www.theworlds50best.com/list/past-lists/2017>

understanding global interconnectedness, the co-existence of the global and local, the universality of local difference.

In this thesis we aim to connect our fieldwork findings in the gastronomic sector of Peru with anthropological theory and debates. We will discuss three frictions existent in Peruvian gastronomy that stood out to us. The first friction is the connection between food and identification in Peru, the dynamics between national, global, and local levels of identification. Here we argue for the context-dependency of identification and its hybridity.

The second friction focuses on the – possibly conflicting - dual goals of Peruvian gastronomy that are cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets. In this context, we will connect findings and theory regarding cultural commoditization, the change in value and meaning of food practices when derived from a rural community and transformed into the setting of a fine-dining restaurant. We will focus on the case-study of MIL Centro, a fine-dining restaurant in the Andes which is collaborating with local rural communities and seeks to be an interpretation of the Andean cuisine. We argue that the goals of cultural preservation and adaptation to international markets don't necessarily have to be conflicting, and that cultural commoditization can be beneficial for all groups involved, as long as there is space for community-involvement.

The third friction is between the government and grassroots movements within the Peruvian gastronomic sector. Appadurai's (2006, thesis p. 30) discussion of *vertebrate* and *cellular* modes of large-scale organization serves as a key lens of analysis for our focus on this friction. We argue that a gastronomic grassroots movement, to the extent that it operates as a *cellular* form of large-scale organization, can more effectively promote economic and social development than the government programs are doing, especially in a country as diverse as Peru. A top-down governmental approach to using gastronomy as a tool for development is here opposed to a bottom-up approach.

By analyzing these frictions and connecting them with each other, we aim to provide the context in which gastronomy can serve as a tool for development in Peru.

Our data was gathered during a three month fieldwork period in Peru. Our fieldwork period consisted of three stages, of which each roughly coincides with a month of our stay. In the first stage we stayed in Lima. During this month we interviewed a large number of people who were in various ways connected to Peruvian gastronomy. The main purpose of these interviews was to gain understanding and context about Peruvian gastronomy.

During the second period we stayed in the region of Cusco. We did a case study on MIL Centro, a fine-dining restaurant connected to a NGO (see context, p. 39). MIL collaborates with the neighbouring communities. This is precisely why our case study of MIL is essential to our research, as it is the perfect location to observe frictions between global fine-dining and local food practices;

cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets; and between the impact of vertebrate and cellular modes of organization.

The third stage was spent back in Lima, where we deepened our understanding of the data obtained during the first two months. We interviewed the team of Mater Iniciativa and got in conversations with several people related to non-governmental organizations (NGO) to discuss our findings at MIL Centro.

Relevance

In a globalizing world, many things are changing at a very fast pace. Foods and cuisines are unquestionably amongst them. The effect of globalizing processes on food and eating reaches far beyond the boundaries of ingredients, cooking techniques and cuisines. Globalization poses challenges in preserving food traditions and in the representation of cuisines on a global scale, forcing people to reconsider their culinary identity. Also in other broad societal processes, food can play a significant role. The potential of food as a powerful lens of analysis for a wide range of social phenomena, has not gone unnoticed by scholars (Counihan and Van Esterik 2012: 2). On the contrary, a whole field of food studies has emerged within anthropology. Mintz and Du Bois (2002: 100) argue that the anthropological study of food today “has matured enough to serve as a vehicle for examining large and varied problems of theory and research methods.” They also stress that many anthropological contributions in this field remain to be done (111). In many contexts, food has proved to be a very useful lens of analysing identities, nationalism, globalization, and localities (Counihan and Van Esterik 2012: 2).

What is happening culinary-wise in Peru has not gone unnoticed by scholars. However, there remains much to be explored in this field. As we found, many of the academic contributions on the topic focused on Peruvian gastronomy in connection to the government’s attempts to promote Peru globally. Also, in articles on the implementation of local food practices by fine-dining restaurants with a global following, the focus was very broad. There is a need for more in-depth case studies of the connection between local food systems and Peruvian haute-cuisine. We had the opportunity to conduct a case-study with MIL Centro, a particularly interesting new restaurant for observing the dynamics between local food practices and fine-dining. It should be mentioned that much more research can (and will) be done in this particular restaurant, and other Peruvian restaurants, as we were highly limited in the duration of our fieldwork period and the word-limit of this thesis. We nevertheless aim to connect our case-study to the frictions mentioned earlier, to show the importance of narrowing studies to the level of the restaurants that constitute the Peruvian gastronomy. Also, as discussed in the start of this introduction, Peruvian gastronomy is very diverse

and so are the Peruvian restaurants and their approach to gastronomy. Consequently, we hope for this thesis to be comparative material for future studies on Peruvian gastronomic restaurants.

This thesis will include a theoretical framework(p. 17), in which theory and debates surrounding the themes of food and identification, cultural commoditization, and grassroots movements will be discussed. This will be followed up with a section on the methodology (p. 29) of our research. Before the empirical chapter, a chapter on the context (p. 37) of our research will be provided. The empirical section is divided in three different chapters. In chapter one (p. 43) we argue that identification through gastronomy forms the basis or the possibility of using food as a social instrument. In chapter two (p. 55) we illustrate through the case of MIL Centro that cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets are two goals that can coexist. In chapter three (p. 73) we show the necessity of connecting grassroots movements to gastronomy in order to achieve this dual goal. The conclusion (p. 81) provides a recapitulation of the main arguments of each empirical chapter and concludes by connecting them, leading to the discussion (p. 85). This is followed by the list of the literature (p. 87) used. The appendix (p. 90) includes the abstracts in Spanish and English, and our personal reflections.

Theoretical framework



Office Mater Iniciativa in MIL Centro

Theoretical framework

This theoretical framework will discuss theories and debates surrounding the frictions within Peruvian gastronomy that will be analysed in the empirical chapters of this thesis. The themes of this theoretical framework are:

- 1) food and identification on the levels of the national, the global, and the local. The friction central in this part is between global and local processes, and between processes of hetero- and homogenization in the context of globalization;
- 2) cultural commoditization, the friction between goals of cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets;
- 3) gastronomic grassroots movements and the friction between vertebrate and cellular modes of large-scale organization; between the government and independent gastronomic movements concerned with development.

Anna Tsing (2004) uses the concept of friction as a metaphor for analyzing global interconnectedness. This serves as a key-concept in our thesis. The precise implementation of friction in the context of our research is further discussed in the methodology section of this thesis. The order of these themes is the same as the order of the three empirical chapters in which they will be connected to our fieldwork data. This selection of theoretical debates is made on the basis of these three frictions we chose to focus on throughout this thesis. Our aim is not only to discuss these frictions and the social structures they display, but also argue for the significance of using friction as a lens of analysis for further research on Peruvian gastronomy.

Chapter 1 – Food and identification

(Daan Overgaag & Jesper Nass)

Identification on different levels of community

As mentioned earlier, during our fieldwork we couldn't come to a clear-cut definition on the question: What is for you Peruvian? Some answers included feelings related to Peru on local level, others described the nation as a whole, while others saw Peru on a global level by comparing it to other countries. This illustrates that although a nation's borders are fixed, the way of identifying a nation and yourself as a citizen of this nation can happen on different levels depending on the perspective of oneself.

Benedict Anderson (1983) analyses the nation as a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group. A concept which he defines as "Imagined

communities". Anderson argues for the power of media and images as tools in creating imagined communities, and that the use of vernaculars in print-capitalism resulted in that readers speaking various dialects came to understand each other. In Anderson's view, the first European nation-states were created by their national print-language.

It could be argued that like language, cooking may also serve as a medium in the creation of imagined communities. As Lévi-Strauss (1964) put it, in a way cooking *is* a language. Bessière (1998: 23-24) explains that eating behavior follows the 'principle of incorporation', in which the eater "becomes what he consumes", and also "becomes part of a culture." "Both food and cooking, as they are culturally determined, place the eater in a social universe and a cultural order. Eating habits are the foundation of a collective identity and, consequently, of alterity" (Bessière 1998: 23-24). Wilk (1999: 244) agrees with such a view and points out that "many studies have demonstrated that food is a particularly potent symbol of personal and group identity (...)." Wilson (2013: 19) describes two factors that mark the relationship between food and nation, "first, that "the nation is a "fluid cultural construct," and second, that "food is one among many agencies which participate in its construction and the continuing process of its redefinition." By using food as a means of commodity, people can identify themselves as being part of a group, in this case a nation. Cuszak (2000: 208) describes this process as follows: "A national cuisine is a useful part of building a national culture, a 'prop' in the process, as Benedict Anderson describes it, of imagining the nation". In this context, food appears as a factor by which a nation can take shape. Chapple-Sokol (2013: 183) points to the power of food when transformed in a national identity, for "it is important in its most basic forms to keep humanity alive, and as it becomes manipulated and adapted by culture, it gains the potential to change populations' and leaders' minds and therefore national policies." The above shows that food carries a potency as an influential identity-marker for both local groups and nations. The question "what is for you Peruvian?" led to the description of a variety of food practices which are mainly to be found in a specific region while others mentioned food practices that the nation embraced as a whole in their national food culture (see empirical chapter 1, p. 43).

National cuisine

The variety of culinary cultural flows within and outside of Peru make it hard to come to a fixed definition of the national food culture. Despite the variety of food practices within Peru, the fluid construct of a nation could build around certain dishes, knowledge and traditions. "The development of a national cuisine will involve the summoning of a variety of dishes into the ambit of the discourse of the nation, and the very mention then [sic] of some national dish will quietly flag the nation" (Cuszak 2000: 209). In the case of Peru, a picture of ceviche is one of the first images that is displayed

when visiting the culture section of Peru's official website². Wilson (2013: 18) describes nationalism as being formed around the idea that it shapes itself daily at the most basic level, he calls this the concept of banal nationalism. "The concept of 'banal nationalism' (...) attempts to call attention to the types of nationalism that pertain to the everyday and that become so familiar that they are frequently taken for granted "(Wilson 2013: 18). The national cuisine could then become a marker by which people identify themselves, creating a seemingly vast link between the people of a nation and its food culture. " When certain food knowledges are being selected to become part of the national cuisine it undergoes a process of in- and exclusion. This makes food a contested area inseparably related with power structures: "Cuisines, whether national, regional, or 'ethnic,' should not be considered as neutral, innocent concoctions. Like most of material culture, they are clearly products of dominant ideologies and related power structures" (Cuszak 2000: 207). When selection occurs there are inevitably aspects that are being left out.

While discussing the creation of a national cuisine, Appadurai (1988) turns to cookbooks for a closer analysis. He notes that in the Indian case a national cuisine is emerging that is built upon its regional or ethnic roots (5). A comparable process is going on in the case of Peru. A national Peruvian campaign named 'Cocina Peruana para el Mundo' seeks to represent a national cuisine which includes the totality of regional food knowledges. As Willson (2013: 19) puts it, it "seeks to create a nation brand in which "banal" food and high cuisine become one and the same." Matta (2013) criticizes this blending of local food and high cuisine as being dominated by one side of the spectrum. He states that "Peruvian fusion would be better defined as a symbol of the hegemony, in Lima, of a market-oriented ideology that was able to reverse the historical perception of native culinary forms by accommodating them to the taste of the urban elite" (51). Rachel Wilson (2013) illustrates the contradiction that arises when one national project attempts to serve as an all including force:

"In a nation-wide initiative that claims to represent every citizen, there are unavoidably individuals or populations that do not fit within or under the constructed labels. Therefore, homogenizing rhetoric such as, "as Peruvians, we are proud of our cuisine" and all discourse that speaks of a vague and unqualified "we" risks glossing over and excluding certain populations. To whom, then, does "we" refer, and who does it (unintentionally or intentionally) exclude? (Wilson 2013: 19)

² <https://www.peru.travel/what-to-do/peru-of-today/food.aspx>

This debate illustrates the relevance of analyzing the processes of in- and exclusion in the case of the Peruvian national culture. There is friction within the Peruvian national cuisine because of its intertwinement with encounters of difference and inequality, leading to new power-balances and arrangements of culture.

Globalized food cultures

Appadurai (1990: 296) uses Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities' and makes the shift towards 'imagined worlds', thereby describing the increasing amount of affluence that people have to processes that go beyond the boundaries of communities or nations. He describes these processes as the global cultural flow and distinguishes five different dimensions which are a deterritorializing factor through their flow beyond nation's borders: the ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, finanscape and ideoscape. The globalization of these cultural flows, increasing processes of global interconnectedness, move independent from each other in hybrid ways. Crowther (2013: 9) extends the hybrid concept of Appadurai by including the foodscape, which causes local food knowledges to be introduced to a new audience on a global scale while at the same time their locality is being reconsidered. "It becomes apparent that globalization is equally capable of maintaining and creating cultural heterogeneity or diversity because it brings a defence of the local, the creative invention of tradition, blending old and new ideas, things, and practices" (Crowther 2013: 9). When stimulated by the flow of food practices within and across nations, local food practices are being reconsidered, questions of authenticity arise. In Peru the vast majority of fine-dining restaurants which are implementing food practices of a variety of regions throughout Peru are based in Lima. This revalorisation of local food practices within Peru leads to an increasing flow of food practices, such as crop knowledge and cuisines, towards their entry into new contexts and fusions with other food practices. Analyzing this friction can lead to insights in power balances and the changing of food cultures.

At first sight there seems to be a dichotomy, in which the reconsideration of the locality of food practices in Peru and the global character given to them seem two separate processes. Wilk (1999: 244) criticizes the scholarly trend of opposing local or national culture to global culture. He suggests an alternative approach, one that "recognizes that the strengthening of local and national identities and global mass-market identities are not contradictory trends but two aspects of the same process" (244). Studies concerning global cultural processes can find changes toward both homogenization and heterogenization (248). The dynamic direction of cultural flows within and outside of the fixed borders of Peru make the borders by which the nation is imagined hybrid depending on personal

perspective and give an explanation of the difficulties that arise of coming to a definition of what is Peruvian (see empirical chapter 1, p. 43)

Food practices on a local level

So far we mainly discussed the flow of food cultures on a local level towards a bigger scope of national and global processes. We will now look at food cultures on a local level and how they might react to globalization processes. By examining Belizean food, Wilk (1999) shows that tiny and unique places can remain their uniqueness while also being changed by their integration into the world market. Holt and Amilien (2007: 16) go further in arguing that “in many cases the globalisation process does not eradicate, but rather stimulate the rebirth or reconstruction of local and regional values.”

So what is the significance of local food cultures? Holt and Amilien (2007: 13) explain that it “holds the potential to bind and stabilise communities through continuing their histories.” They connect this to the concept of *terroir*, which basically means the sharing of soil and environmental conditions and how it’s used by a community over the years (13).

As mentioned by Crowther (2013: 9), globalization can offer a defence for the local. For example, the demand for local products, sold for high prices in distant markets, can provide an income for maintaining the resources needed for continuing a traditional way of life (Holt and Amilien 2007: 13). Tourism also provides such a strategy. Scarpato and Daniele (2003: 296) point out that food experience has increasingly become the principal motivation in the selection of a tourist destination. The modern gastronomic tourist is looking for a kind of authenticity that is bound to place, paradoxically one untouched by market forces (Scarpato and Daniele 2003: 299). Using such a stereotypical image may also generate an income by continuing food traditions. Bessière (1998) adds the concept of food heritage as an element of tourist development in local communities, effectively meeting the needs of the consumer “as identity marker of a region and/or as a means of promoting farm products (...)” (21). Food heritage can thus be an effective way of attracting the modern gastronomic tourist.

Here the friction of global and local flows is very relevant, because they above shows that they co-produce each other and flow in the same direction. However, there can also be contradictions in this friction, as these same flows may and do [sometimes] disrupt local food systems.

García (2013: 516) points out there is a downside to the demand for local foods. If there is a selection of traditional foods that generate a lot of money, the community may stop growing other, more nutritional crops, resulting in malnutrition of the community and disturbance of the local economy. In terms of defining food heritage, this follows a process of selection that displays a country’s power relations: “Heritage is not a mere collection of things and products but a real social selection; a

selection or a choice made according to the particular value accorded by the members of a social group” (Bessière 1998: 28). Local communities may be excluded by policy-makers in the defining of a heritage, while their cultural property is being used by outsiders without consultation (García 2013: 516-517; Matta 2016).

Another use of heritage in the preservation of local food culture is the Potato Park in Peru, which is an Indigenous Biocultural Heritage Area (IBCHA). It aims for “the protection of traditional knowledge systems within their cultural, temporal and spatial dimensions using a combination of positive and defensive protection tools” (Argumedo 2008: 43). The local communities involved draw legitimacy to their heritage-status by showing the significance of indigenous knowledge in the preservation of biodiversity and social sustainability. Argumedo (2008) shows that such a protected and community-led area can provide direct benefits to farmers if their needs and priorities are recognised. Uses of heritage can thus prove to be useful in preserving local food cultures, if there’s space for community-involvement. The friction of global and local flows displays the power relations in heritage-making (see empirical chapter 2, p. 55).

Chapter 2 – Cultural commoditization

(Daan Overgaag)

As described above, a contradiction could arise when food practices of communities on a local level are implemented by fine-dining restaurants and brought under global attention. On the one hand communities could benefit economically and it could positively influence the self-appreciation. The latter is a factor with significance in Peru as social inequality, discrimination and the history of colonial suppression are factors to be taken into account in the daily lives of people. At the same the decontextualization of food practices could lead to exclusion, food practices being displaced and the profit generated of the global attention not reaching the production part of food chains. The Peruvian Society of Gastronomy, APEGA, seeks to find a balance between valorizing the locality of food practices and promoting the food culture to a global audience. Their goal is to create sustainable food chains internally in Peru while simultaneously promoting the country globally. “The argument is that Peruvian culinary culture, if based on a balance between cultural preservation and adaptation to the international markets, could bring positive economic impacts to the country and lead to social reconciliation in a nation shaped by historical and contemporary inequalities of race, class and gender” (Matta 2013: 2). A double goal arises from the emergence of a cuisine that tries to connect geographic localism and globalizing cosmopolitanism. This double goal forms a friction that shapes power-balances and culture in Peru (see empirical chapter 2, p. 55).

The process of creating a cuisine that tries to connect the local with the global can lead to what Clare Sammells (2014: 142) calls “haute traditional” cuisine. She describes the “haute traditional” cuisine as creating dualities to pursue the double goal of heritage-creation and international promotion. ““Haute traditional” cuisines are distinct because they explicitly move between the two extremes of this idealized division - local/native/ancestral/ feminine vs. cosmopolitan/transnational/ innovative/masculine - in order to claim legitimacy both as heritage cuisines and as global elite commodities” (Sammells 2014: 143). It could be argued that the Peruvian gastronomy would fall under the category of “haute traditional” cuisines (see empirical chapter 2). Gastronomic tourists are in search for the authentic, Erik Cohen (1988: 373) explains this as follows: “Modern man is thus seen, from the perspective of a contemporary existential philosophical anthropology, as a being in quest of authenticity. Since modern society is inauthentic, those modern seekers who desire to overcome the opposition between their authenticity-seeking self and society have to look elsewhere for authentic life.” As gastronomic tourists are often seeking for authenticity, restaurants respond to this quest by promoting the concept that guests are eating the same as in domestic kitchens. “In other words, they are asked to believe certain dishes are “authentic.” This equation is in no way natural; ongoing cultural work must constantly recreate this equivalence between domestic/local cuisines and restaurant cuisines. The authentic must be made” (Sammells 2014: 142).

Creating authenticity is a process that Ranger and Hobsbawm (1983: 1) describe as ‘the invention of tradition’, stating that: ““Traditions ’ which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented”. As the gastronomic tourist is seeking for authenticity, the narrative created by restaurants could align with the distinctions between “traditional” and “modern” of “haute traditional” cuisine as earlier mentioned by Sammells (2014). This could be described as a form of staged authenticity. When authenticity is made in such a manner on a bigger scale, it can possibly change or, as Hobsbawm and Roger (1983) define it, invent traditions. “In fact, where possible, they (invented traditions) normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.” (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983: 1). This could be the case as certain aspects are highlighted and perceived in terms of economic value when their locality and cultural significance is taken into account to a lesser extent. The process where culture itself becomes a good valued primarily in economic terms, is defined by Cohen (1988: 380) as commoditization of culture: “ “Commoditization” is a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices form a market.” To get back to the case of Peru, the valorisation of food practices could be motivated by their economic value, dominating the valorisation of its cultural significance. Matta

(2013) questions the heritage-making of Peru when the gastronomy adapts itself to global markets. This could lead to creating cultural commodities that focus primarily on its economic aspects while disconnecting from local empowerment, rights of cultural property and the cultural importance of food practices in different geographic localities. “In other words, the “traditional” aspects of Peruvian food culture would be combined and displayed in commodities that tend, over time, to develop in markets more in terms of profitability than on relying on cultural, ethnic or communitarian attributes” (Matta 2013: 13).

Several social scholars have discussed the debate on cultural property and the appropriation of cultural practices, its negative impacts are often mentioned. “Cultural appropriation is held to be wrong for two main reasons. First, it is disrespectful of the cultural values of the source community, which rarely has sanctioned the imitation of its creations by outsiders. Second, it subjects that community to material harm, either by denying it legitimate economic benefits or by undermining shared understandings essential to its social health” (Brown 2005: 44). Without undermining the possible negative consequences of cultural appropriation, Cohen (1988) discusses the way that cultural appropriation is perceived by the ones involved in comparison to scholars. “Even where a cultural tradition still flourishes, its commoditization may well be emically perceived by its members as less of a change than it appears to an external analyst. While to the external observer, commoditization may appear to involve a complete transformation of meaning as a cultural product is being reoriented to a new, external audience” (Cohen 1988: 382). However, Cohen (1988: 380) adds: “The principal question in this context is, what happens to the other meanings (particularly religious, cultural, and social) of things (and activities) once they become commoditized, particularly under the impact of tourism.”

The trend of gastronomic tourists seeking for authenticity might result at times in highlighting the otherness of the culinary other. Cuisines connecting the global and the local can also emphasise the importance of locality and cultural significance of food practices for communities on local level. “Cuisines can and do, of course, have both local meanings and international followings; they can exist in both domestic kitchens and cosmopolitan restaurants” (Sammells 2014: 155). These different narratives don’t have to exclude each other, they can reinforce each other or generate new cultural practices. “Moreover, the two kinds of meanings are not necessarily mutually exclusive but could be additive: new meanings may be added to old ones, which persevere into the new situation.” (Cohen 1988: 382). The case of MIL Centro shows that cultural preservation and international promotion don’t have to be contradictory (see empirical chapter 2, p. 55). As Sammells (2014) notes, the interaction between gastronomic tourist and fine-dining restaurants implementing a variety of food

practices from throughout Peru can under certain circumstances create a learning space with emphasis on local values. “What is important to remember is that tourism and designations of intangible heritage create spaces for new kinds of social encounters. These new forms of sociality change how participants think about what constitutes the local, and what the importance of being local-and being recognized as local-is” (Sammells 2014: 155). By analyzing the friction of the groups of actors connected to MIL, power relations become visible (see empirical chapter 2, p. 55).

Chapter 3 – Gastronomic grassroots initiatives

(Jesper Nass)

In the third chapter of the empirical section we discuss the friction between the government and grassroots initiatives in the context of Peruvian gastronomy. A key lens of analysis in the discussion of this friction, and in our research as a whole, is Appadurai’s discussion of the clash between *vertebrate* and *cellular* modes of large-scale organization. The former organizational mode is governmental, the latter is grassroots. The use of Appadurai’s (2006) discussion of these organizational modes, can be found in the methodology section (p. 30).

Grassroots movements in general certainly are important in the anthropological research agenda. But what exactly is their significance? Seyfang and Smith (2007) argue that the innovativeness of grassroots in the field of sustainable development are under acknowledged. They refer to ‘grassroots innovations’ as “networks and organizations generating novel bottom–up solutions for sustainable development; solutions that respond to the local situation and the interests and values of the communities involved” (585). Through community action can sustainable innovation and development be fruitfully pursued by grassroots movements. Seyfang and Smith (2007: 599) argue for the important role that researchers play in the emerging agenda that is the promotion of innovative behavior at the grassroots. Seyfang and Smith (2007: 599) stress the importance of an approach to researching grassroots in the interface between the social and market economies. “On the one hand, we need research and policy that contributes to the creation of diverse grassroots innovations and engenders a variety of sustainable practices. On the other, research and policy is needed that learns from this wealth of alternative means of provision and embeds that social learning into the mainstream” (599). In chapter three of the empirical section we will situate MIL centro in the friction of social and market economies, and discuss how they pursue sustainable innovation from the grassroots.

Thiele et al. (2011) argue for the effectiveness of what they call high-value chains. These are food chains that link small farmers and stakeholders whose needs are unsatisfied by the regular food

market. By connecting small farmers to restaurants and other stakeholders, high-value chains seem to be successful in creating opportunities for small farmers. They directly link them to the businesses that have specific interest in their products and the means to pay a fair price for them. A platform which links stakeholders and small farmers can produce possibilities that the actors can't achieve on their own. However, Thiele et al. (2009) point out that the creation of such a food chain comes with difficulties, as the relationships between the various actors are complex and prone for conflict, and need a phase for establishing roles and relations. In a value chain, a space emerges for learning and joint innovation. Also, it can perform a governance function within the value chain to improve coordination of business activities by actors and reduce transaction costs (Thiele et al. 2009: 424).

Although many Peruvian grassroots initiatives in the field of gastronomy work independent of the government, collaborations aren't unheard of. However, as will become clear in empirical chapter 3 (p. 73), government programs operate slower and are less adjusted to diverse local contexts. Also there is a lack of trust in the government, often referred to as corrupt, and it seems that the grassroots are pulling the government in directions instead of the other way around. These power relations and dynamics between collaboration and opposition are what makes this friction very relevant for Peruvian gastronomy today.

Methodology



People from the communities of Mullak'as Misminay and Kacllaraccay sharing lunch in between their work at MIL Centro

Methodology

In the theoretical framework we discussed several theoretical debates, surrounding the three frictions we will discuss in the empirical section of this thesis. Before we move on to the empirical chapters, we will discuss the methodology of our research. First, we will discuss concepts that served as key lenses of analysis, and how they influenced our research methods and the way we observed our research field. Second, we will summarize the used research methods and their significance to the research. Last, we will discuss the value of our data, in terms of key-informants and locations.

Concepts

Friction

Anna Tsing (2004) uses the concept of friction for analysing the global interconnectedness, the co-existence of global and local phenomena and the universality of local difference. She defines this concept as follows: "(...) I stress the importance of cross-cultural and long-distance encounters in forming everything we know as culture. Cultures are continually co-produced in the interactions I call "friction": the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference." (3-4)

Applying Tsing's (2004) use of friction as a metaphorical image makes sense in the context of Peruvian gastronomy, as difference plays a central role in the connection between fine-dining restaurants and food practices on a local level. It is this friction that can serve as a catalyst. "(...) a study of global connections shows the grip of encounter: friction. A wheel turns because of its encounter with the surface of the road; spinning in the air it goes nowhere. Rubbing two sticks together produces heat and light; one stick alone is just a stick. As a metaphorical image, friction reminds us that heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power." (5) Using friction as a lens of analysis offers the possibility to analyse the social structures that underlie the encounter between different cultural flows.

Identification as a hybrid/mobile process

In our research, we chose to look through the lens of identification as a hybrid process rather than using the term identity which indicates a more fixed state. "Identity neither "grows out" of rooted communities nor is a thing that can be possessed or owned by individual or collective social actors. It is, instead, a mobile, often unstable relation of difference" (Gupta & Ferguson 1997: 13). Centralizing difference and inequality between groups in our view of identification, connects well to Tsing's notion of friction. This concept of identification influenced our research methods in that we asked

people questions based on the levels of national, global and local levels of identification and found that these could co-exist depending on the context. Also, we tried to find places where we could observe groups in which different levels of identification could simultaneously occur, of which MIL provided the perfect setting.

Appadurai vertebrate vs cellular

The Peruvian government and gastronomic grassroots movements are operating through different modes of organization. In his essay *Fear of Small Numbers*, Appadurai (2006) discusses a friction that has arisen in the process of globalization, a conflict between two systems, both global in scope. Although Appadurai implements this debate of systems on a phenomenon that is quite different than gastronomy – namely terrorism and ethnic violence - , this debate deserves attention nonetheless in the third empirical chapter on grassroots initiatives. Appadurai distinguishes two types of organizational systems that act on a global scale. The first are *vertebrate*, institutionalized organizational systems. “Modern nation-states recognize their common belonging to the vertebrate world (...)” (21). The Peruvian government thus operates through a vertebrate system of organization.

Appadurai then proposes *cellular* organizational systems as opposed to the *vertebrate*. These are modes of organizations that function through networks instead of centralized institutions, placing less emphasis on hierarchy. “The contrast, derived from biology, contrasts cellular with vertebrate forms and like all analogies, it is not intended to be complete or perfect” (25). Appadurai points to the proneness of these different modes of large-scale organization to clash, against the landscape of what he calls “the crisis of disjunctures” (29-30). Analysing food as a social instrument in Peru offers a way to see the impact of these new modes of organization in comparison to the way the government operates.

Appadurai concludes his essay by stressing the growing significance of grassroots movements, as “(...) they too work through the cellular principle, coordinating without massive centralization, reproducing without a clear-cut central mandate, working occasionally in the larger public eye but often outside it, leveraging resources from state and market to their own ends, and pursuing visions of equity and access that do not fit many twentieth-century models either of development or of democracy” (136-137). It are these movements that in Peru can lead to new arrangements of power as they can strengthen small food producers with bottom-up solutions.

Food practices

We use this term as an umbrella term to refer to the specific uses of ingredients, food production, ways of food preparation, food knowledges, commensality and meanings connected to food. The notion of food practices is based on our interpretation of Shove, Pantzar & Watson's (2012) way of structuring social practices, on the case of food. They distinguish three core-elements in which social practices can be divided: materials, knowledges/competences, and meanings (22-25).

Gastronomy

The oxford dictionary defines gastronomy as: "The practice or art of choosing, cooking, and eating good food"³. To us this definition is too limited, as gastronomy is happening in all layers of society and "good food" is very subjective. A definition of gastronomy that we heard during our fieldwork was: "The relationship between mankind with his culture, his way to feed"⁴. This is the definition we prefer.

Fine-dining restaurants

It is hard to come to a clear definition on what a fine-dining restaurant includes, as fine-dining restaurants exist all over the world and vary in form. The formality that comes along with a fine-dining restaurant has changed significantly. "In today's successful fine-dining restaurants, the stiff formality of the past has decreased significantly; the interior design is more contemporary, and the clientele has become younger" (Harrington, Ottenbacher & Kendall 2011: 273). What are elements that constitute a fine-dining restaurant? To come to a definition we analysed the following Peruvian restaurants which have a well-known reputation and are promoting the Peruvian fine-dining gastronomy globally: Astrid&Gastón, ámaZ, Central & MIL Centro. We label these as fine-dining restaurants. Elements that they shared and can contribute to the definition of a fine-dining restaurant are: serving multiple courses that transcend the order of starter - main course - dessert; attempting to provide a multi sensorial experience in the form of interior design, narrative presented and elaborate attention to the presentation of foods and beverages; and its exchange value, due to the creation of an experience that reaches beyond the necessity of eating.

Methods

We conducted *interviews* with many people who are variously connected to Peruvian gastronomy and asked them questions about identification, valorisation, the social and economic landscape of

³ <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/gastronomy>

⁴ Palmiro, chef/ director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 11-04-2018

Peruvian gastronomy, and the impact of the grassroots initiatives spearheading the Peruvian gastronomic movement. These interviews were mostly *semi-structured* or *small talk*. Through *participatory observation* we tried to experience the frictions that arise when dealing with processes that are both global and local form. We used this method in eating at various places, working in the kitchen of a fine-dining restaurant, working with Andean farmers, participating in gastronomic events, and *hanging out* with chefs, market people, farmers and Peruvians in general. We used the method of *mapping* to bring into view the food systems, actor relationships, and the process from plant to plate. Finally, we collected physical and visual data, which are important additions as they provide evidence for our arguments. Visual data can enable the reader to better imagine our findings and research field.

Value of data

The initial research design was based on a comparative study between fine-dining restaurants and local communities in Peru. Our experience during our fieldwork pointed out that, in the case of MIL, these two groups are much more interwoven than primarily thought. This resulted in that we merged our data instead of opposing them each other. In our thesis this becomes visible as most of the chapters written are the product of this co-production.

We conducted interviews with a people who are variously related to Peruvian gastronomy. During our time in Lima we interviewed among others directors of NGO's, gastronomic journalist, food influencers, chefs, people working at grassroots movements and scientist. These included some of the most prominent figures shaping the Peruvian gastronomy.

We worked closely together with Mater Iniciativa. Our key-informants were people related to this organization, and the people working at Central and MIL restaurants. During our period in the Cuzco region we lived together with the team working at MIL. The data conducted during this period therefore is the result of interactions between us and our informants within the time-frame of seven weeks. We gathered data during this period through participant observation, interviews, mapping and small talk. Jesper stayed within the communities of Kacllaraccay and Mullak'as Misminay for a period of a month at the homes of people working in the participatory project of MIL. We will leave these actors anonymous but two of the families at which Jesper Nass stayed, one in both of the communities, served as key informants. Most of the data obtained from these families was conducted during informal moments or semi-structured conversations.

The access we were allowed in doing research on MIL, offered us a unique chance to conduct research on both local food practices and Peruvian fine-dining, and to analyze how they interact with each other.

Anonymity

In regards to the research ethics of privacy, we made adjustments to the names of our informants. The people of whom we gathered data during our period in Lima are mentioned solely by their first name. We used pseudonyms for of all our informants at MIL and in the communities of Kacllaraccay and Mullak'as Misminay.

Context



MIL Centro, on the bottom-right of the picture, located next to the archaeological site of Moray at an altitude of 3500 meters.

Context

In a country as diverse as Peru being proud of food serves as an unifying factor. The powerful role of food is acknowledged by grassroots movements, which include among others restaurants and NGOs who are, disjunctive of governmental programs, trying to use food as a means to induce change in the country's conditions of social inequality, malnutrition and environmental degradation.

As will be discussed in chapter one of the empirical section (p. 43), Peruvians define their identity as being shaped around diversity. Peru holds 28 of the 32 existing climates on the planet, which partly explains the vast variety of food practices found in Peru. In addition, Peru's history of immigrants, most notably during the Spanish colonization and migrant flows from countries such as Japan, China and Italy, led to these food practices being intertwined with a variety of cultural influences.

During the 15th century, Peru was part of the Inca empire. The empire was at its peak from 1438 – 1533, spreading from southern Colombia until northern Argentina and central Chile. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Spaniards arrived to what nowadays can be seen as Peru, declaring it a colony of Spain until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Spanish colonization led to the arrival of European products into the country. This included the arrival of the lime, a cornerstone in the contemporary food culture of Peru. Before the Spanish conquest raw fish was already prepared by 'cooking' it in citrus juice, but nowadays lime is one of the main ingredients of this popular dish which came to be known as ceviche.

After Peru gained its independence in 1821, the country was open to a flow of immigrants. Illustrating Peruvian immigration history by the development of ceviche, the dish changed significantly when Japanese migrants started to enter Peru in the late nineteenth century. Where the raw fish of the ceviche used to be placed in sour in the morning to be eaten in the afternoon after 'cooking' for hours, the arrival of the Japanese in 1899⁵ and their food practice of eating sashimi led to a new way of eating ceviche just minutes after 'cooking' it. This fusion in food cultures evolved in what nowadays is called the Nikkei cuisine. Similar processes occurred with the arrival of Chinese, Italian and African immigrants, where food has served as an important factor in the integration process, broadening the diversity of food practices of Peru's food culture. Wilson (2013: 15) states "The Inca and pre-Inca heritage merges with the varied cuisines, unfamiliar culinary practices, and

⁵ Irie, T., & Himel, W. 1951. History of Japanese Migration to Peru, Part I. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 31(3), 437-452.

exotic ingredients that are the result of centuries of immigration from various parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa”.

A mixture of Chinese and Peruvian food practices led to the creation of the Chifa cuisine, where one of Peru’s most popular dishes, ‘lomo saltado’, evolved through the arrival of the wok and soy sauce. Similarly, pisco, regarded by Peruvians as their national beverage, originated from the arrival of the Italians and their grappa. These examples give a first insight into the diversity of cultural flows that influenced Peruvian cuisine, the importance of food in immigrant’s integration process, and the ambiguities accompanying the questions: ‘what is Peruvian?’ and ‘what is Peruvian food?’.

Although the pride of culinary practices is nowadays shared by the majority of Peruvians, this wasn’t always the case. As many Peruvians emphasized in the interviews conducted during our fieldwork, a period of inflation, political instability and internal conflict with terrorist movements preceded Peru’s recent economic growth and revalorisation of their culture. The Peruvian gastronomic sector was until the mid-90’s mainly concerned with French cuisine⁶. When in the twenty-first century the national economy started to improve, there was opportunity for a national pride to develop cautiously. These two phenomena led to fine-dining restaurants gradually started to make the switch from mainly European influenced cuisine towards the exploring and revalorizing of Peru’s diversity of food practices and incorporating them into their restaurants. Fine-dining restaurants have a very limited outreach in Peru, programs screened on national television like ‘Aventura Culinaria’ greatly contributed to this national exploration and valorisation of Peru’s diverse food practices. Coming from a period of instability, the increasing valorisation of Peru’s food practices opened the doors for Peruvians to develop pride in their nationality.

Peru is now fully promoting itself on the basis of gastronomy as it sells itself as ‘one of the world’s top culinary destinations’⁷ and Lima being recognized as the gastronomic capital of Latin America. The number of restaurants doubled in the last fifteen years to eighty thousand, with half of them established in Peru’s capital, Lima⁸. Peru underwent the transformation from being a producer of commodities towards attracting tourists with their food culture. Three of Peru’s restaurant are based in the top fifty of the ‘World 50 bests restaurants’ rating and scored in 2017 the best global average in this ranking⁹.

⁶ Diego, food critic, semi-structured interview, 14-02-2018

⁷ <https://www.peru.travel/about-peru/peruvian-identity/culture.aspx>

⁸ <http://www.futurecities.nl/cities/lima/#27>

⁹ <https://www.theworlds50best.com/list/1-50-winners>

Peru is home to multiple grassroots movements related to gastronomy. These initiatives, operating mostly independent of governmental programs, aim to tackle the problems related to malnutrition, social inequality and environmental issues that Peru is facing still. These grassroots movements include non-profit organizations like Amazónicas por la Amazonía (AMPA), Ccori, the International Potato Center (CIP) and La Revolución. They are seeking to create high-value chains between the producer and consumer, aiming to strengthen small producers throughout Peru. The ambition of fine-dining restaurants like ámaZ, Maido, Astrid&Gastón and Central aligns with the high value chains that grassroots movements seek to establish. These restaurants are re-exploring the variety of food practices that Peru has to offer and present them to global audiences through the implementation into their restaurants. As these restaurants are primarily business-orientated, this raises questions of authenticity, representation and cultural property.

To gain further insight into the above mentioned questions, this thesis focuses on the case study of MIL Centro, a fine-dining restaurant intertwined with the grassroots organization Mater Iniciativa. Mater Iniciativa is the research organization behind Central Restaurante, rated by the 'World's 50 best' list in 2017 as the fifth best restaurant worldwide¹⁰. The research organization initially focused on categorizing the biological properties of Peruvian ingredients. It has evolved into a multidisciplinary association that researches biological, social and cultural aspects related to food. Their research combined with the impact of the restaurants Central and MIL Centro, seeks to valorize and empower communities throughout Peru. Both these restaurants are cooking their interpretation of ecosystems and food practices in Peru with their menus based on ecological diversity according to altitude.

Central is based in downtown Lima, MIL Centro is located in the Cuzco region at an altitude of 3.500 meters above sea level. MIL Centro defines itself as an interpretation center and goes beyond fine-dining gastronomy as being fixed on what is happening on the dining table. Based on the research and work of the anthropologist working at Mater Iniciativa, MIL Centro initiated a participatory project, where they work together with the people of the neighbouring communities. MIL Centro's aim is to be a prototype of how to interact with the environment, both naturally and socially. They could be defined as a grassroots movement as they are working together with the surrounding communities to create high-value food chains, sustain crop varieties, be a source for employment and create a space for the mutual transfer of knowledge. At the same time MIL is unmistakably a business, sustaining their business has priority to keep their other activities going.

¹⁰ <https://www.theworlds50best.com/list/1-50-winners>

The empirical data presented in this thesis is based on ethnographic fieldwork in Peru, during a period of three months between 02/01/2018 and 04/25/2018. Within this period we conducted an ethnographic case study for seven weeks that focused on MIL Centro and the two surrounding communities. During this period Jesper Nass gathered ethnographic data among the communities of Kacllaraccay and Mullak'as Misminay, located in the near environment of MIL Centro. During the same period Daan Overgaag gathered data in MIL Centro by working in the kitchen of the restaurant.

While writing our initial research proposal we focused mainly on the role of food as implemented by the government in the form of gastrodiploacy. This could be defined as a governmental strategy in which food is used as a political instrument to promote a national brand (Rockower 2012). During our fieldwork in Peru we observed the ongoing processes in gastronomy being shaped mostly outside of the scope of the government. We therefore made the switch to focus more on grassroots movements instead of gastrodiploacy as we observed a big movement of actors shaping Peru's gastronomic boom independent from the government. The switch of placing emphasis on gastronomic grassroots movements led us to focusing on the project of MIL Centro as they provide the possibility of analyzing how a fine-dining restaurant and grassroots movement are intertwined and how questions of the commoditization of culture, cultural property and displacement are taken into account.

Empirical chapter 1

Peruvian gastronomy: an unifying medium in a fragmented nation



Olluco, a product native to Peru, presented in raw form in a fine-dining restaurant

Olluco transformed in a fine-dining dish at Central

Empirical chapter 1 - Peruvian gastronomy: an unifying medium in a fragmented nation

This first empirical chapter focuses on the friction between identification processes on a global and local level through gastronomy. The case of Peru shows an example of the interplay between accommodating global cultural flows in the national food culture while simultaneously reconsidering the locality of the countries food cultures, making the expression 'you are what you eat' in a contemporary society not as straightforward as it might suggest. By analysing different scopes of identification with national, global and local food cultures, this chapters illustrates the hybridity of the way someone can identify him or herself, depending, using Benedict Anderson's (1983) notion, on how the community is imagined.

Revalorizing Peru in the period of a boom (Daan Overgaag)

To gain a better understanding of the different ways of identification through gastronomy within Peru, we will first provide context on how Peru's culinary revolution arose, what fine-dining gastronomy engages with and how this is positioned in the Peruvian society.

The current discourse around the Peruvian fine-dining gastronomy is often circling around recognition of diversity and valorisation of food practices throughout the country. Numbers of restaurants have doubled over the last fifteen years (see context, p. 38), with the exploration of the variety of food cultures and their interpretation into fine-dining context as an important reason for the popularity of Peruvian gastronomy. As the magnitude of the gastronomy arose after coming from a period of inflation and political instability, it isn't to be seen as solely a recognition and celebration of diversity. A Peruvian gastronomic researcher notes, "the gastronomic boom is about money. When people have more money, there are more restaurants"¹¹. As Cuszak (2000: 208, thesis p. 18) mentioned, the national cuisine can be an important element in the process of imagining the nation. To have a profound impact on the identification of the Peruvian citizens as will be discussed later on in this chapter, the circumstances for the cuisine to become recognized as national have to be provided. In the Peruvian case the uplifting of the gastronomy went hand-in-hand with, and was stimulated by a boom going on economically.

¹¹ Rosario, historian, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2018

“So the gastronomic industry gave us a way of getting out that economic situation, that’s what happened. (...) But that has nothing to do with the real traditions or that we started using more our traditional food, or that we keep our culture. It was an economical thing going on”¹².

Gastón, one of the main actors reinforcing the uplifting of the Peruvian gastronomy mentioned that next to the economic situation of Peru, the process of valorising the diversity of food cultures was happening under the influence of global celebration of diversity¹³. In the Peruvian case a combination of both a Peruvian valorisation and celebration of local diversity while aligning to global markets provided the grounds for the gastronomy to develop to this magnitude. The global celebration of diversity points to the defence mechanisms on globalization as Crowther describes (2013: 9, thesis p. 21). As the world was celebrating diversity as a defence mechanism on the global mass market, it was paradoxically this way of defending oneself that stimulated the accommodation with the demand of the global market. For Peru this included valorising the diversity of the country as a reaction on global flows, while at the same time using this way of ‘defending’ itself to promote the country globally and align with the demand of the global market. Keeping in mind that Peru was recovering from a period of political and economic instability, it was this friction between the global and the local that served as a catalyst for the Peruvian gastronomy to develop. It is as Anna Tsing (2004, thesis p. 29) suggests, that at this intersection of cultural flows, processes can accelerate or in the Peruvian case a “boom” can occur.

“Friction makes global connection powerful and effective. Meanwhile, without even trying, frictions gets in the way of the smooth operation of global power. Difference can disrupt, causing everyday malfunctions as well as unexpected cataclysms. Friction refuses the lie that global power operates as a well-oiled machine. Furthermore, difference sometimes inspires insurrection. Friction can be the fly in the elephant's nose” (Tsing 2004: 6).

Getting back to identification it was this mutual process of distancing while aligning to global cultural flows that led to strengthening the ties of how the community among Peruvians is imagined. Peru is a successful case of having gastronomic diversity and being a country in growth, providing the basis for a nation to identify themselves with food.

¹² Karissa, director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 05-02-2018

¹³ Gastón, chef, semi-structured interview, 19-04-2018

Peru's fine-dining gastronomy

As mentioned in the context, the Peruvian fine-dining gastronomy made the switch from cooking European influenced cuisines towards focussing primarily on what Peru has to offer. This switch evolved in different ways of implementing food practices into fine-dining context. "It is very interesting, you have on one hand cooks like Virgilio (chef of Central and MIL Centro) who are very avant-garde and are pushing it way further and on the other hand you have great cooks who are working in the tradition but improving it (among others visible in La Isolina and La Picanteria)" ¹⁴. Both of these different types of kitchens are flourishing by the global recognition of diversity. The question that arises is where does the profit of the popularity of Peruvian gastronomy end up? The direct economic benefits currently are mainly sticking within Lima, this is one of the conflicting areas in Peru's food chains. As a chef notes: "The big contradiction actually is the most important contradiction. It's how we accelerate the benefits of the Peruvian gastronomy, while celebrating with connectivity of our small farmers that could finally receive the benefits of this process" ¹⁵. The contradiction arises as fine-dining restaurants are an important factor in the acceleration of the benefits of Peruvian gastronomy but also unmistakably business focussed. It is hard to imagine an exclusive sector as fine-dining sector to relate to the entire range of Peruvians. "The thing is that gastronomy is reproducing problems of the bigger structure, naturally. It is really hard to think that now a chef, or a bunch of chefs, can change all these structural problems. They're fighting to keep their restaurants packed up, full of people" ¹⁶. Matta (2013: 51, thesis p. 19) described the movement in fine-dining gastronomy as a symbol of the hegemony of Lima, accommodating to the taste of the urban elite. The impact of gastronomy is not reaching all Peruvians as the quote below illustrates:

"As great chefs are saying, we cannot speak of gastronomic boom in Peru that is fantastic when we have people dying from hunger. They don't know that we are talking about and use their products, make it 'cool'. We sent it to New York, the world applauds, but for us that's not really important" ¹⁷.

So fine-dining restaurants are on the one hand reinforcing the valorisation of what is Peruvian but on the other hand accessible for a constricted part of the Peruvian population. So how is fine-dining gastronomy positioned within the Peruvian society?

¹⁴ Diego, food critic, semi-structured interview, 14-02-2018

¹⁵ Gastón, chef, semi-structured interview, 19-04-2018

¹⁶ Javier, gastronomic journalist, semi-structured interview 06-02-2018

¹⁷ Renato, food influencer, semi-structured interview, translated, 07-02-2018

When analysing the case of Central, one of Peru's best-known restaurants who are solely cooking with products that can be found within Peru, the difficulties of defining what is Peruvian become visible. Although Central is using Peruvian products, the majority of Peruvians don't have a strong relation to the kind of gastronomy they're presenting. The constricted outreach of Central within Peru is of course to be explained economically as a visit to the restaurant is far above budget of most Peruvians. A gastronomic journalist quotes that economic resources are not the only motivation for the narrowed audience of the restaurant within Peru: "Virgilio (chef of Central and MIL Centro) has his restaurant packed with foreigners, and that is fantastic, but that doesn't speak to Peruvian people. Is it Peruvian cooking? Yes it is, but Peruvian people don't understand because they don't have the knowledge, the experience"¹⁸. A meal of this kind is a luxurious good transcending by far the necessity of eating. The people who are willing to pay this kind of price have, next to the possibility of actually paying, also a special kind of interest in a gastronomic experience of this kind. "It's a risky move when you don't have a lot of money. So it's like buying art. Who buys a 300 dollar painting in Peru? The people who would, would buy the meal"¹⁹. The avant-garde way of presenting Peruvian cuisine structured within a fine-dining concept does for a lot of the Peruvians not relate to their perception of Peruvian food. "Peruvian cooking is only about flavour, it is mostly about intensity and flavour. He (Virgilio) is more like an artist, it is actually to explain contemporary art to someone who is only used to Jesus portraits"²⁰. This illustrates the discrepancy between fine-dining gastronomy and domestic cooking, although it could both be referred to as Peruvian food. The way that the Peruvian food culture is perceived by Peruvians themselves has changed significantly over the last years and is an ongoing process.

"The first process was to feel like denying your kitchen, reneging on what happens in Peru. Now it's acceptance, you accept being there, you feel good, it's cool. But the step further, to also accept the Andes, a Peruvian going to a community and eat there, is still not so cool"²¹.

Although most of the visitors of fine-dining restaurants are foreigners and this format of gastronomy has a restricted Peruvian audience, there are attempts made by fine-dining restaurants to have an effect on a bigger part of the Peruvian population. The international status of fine-dining restaurants, and in effect their importance for the Peruvian government and the Peruvian sense of national pride, makes them powerful actors. As a Peruvian chef notes: "All people talk about is food and we can use

¹⁸ Javier, gastronomic journalist, semi-structured interview, 06-02-2018

¹⁹ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

²⁰ Javier, gastronomic journalist, semi-structured interview, 06-02-2018

²¹ Renato, food influencer, semi-structured interview, 07-02-2018

food as a social instrument”²². Fine-dining restaurants might have a small direct outreach in the form of customers, but they can serve as a social instrument as their impact reaches beyond the people sitting at their dining table. One of the people of Mater Iniciativa notes:

“The restaurant is not the actual platform. There’s only 100 people a day, food-wise it’s nothing. Try to think that Central has some sort of footprint that’s going to create a wave in a very long-term kind of way. So it helps with a few things: it makes people talk about some products, it makes a lot of chefs think about trying it and test it to interpret the ingredient, it’s more like an archetype”²³.

Peruvian fine-dining restaurants may not relate directly to all Peruvians due to their restricted accessibility and the different perceptions on what Peruvian gastronomy is. The impact of these restaurants can nevertheless exceed reaching solely their customers as will be illustrated in the following empirical chapters.

Peruvian is a *mistura*

(Jesper Nass)

*“Peruvian is a mixture of everything, it’s a mixture of different cultures in a super-rich territory, with a huge variety of micro-climates, culturally super deep and strong.. It’s really confusing.” – “Mistura, the gastronomic festival that has been going on for 10 years now, I think is the perfect name of Peru, Peruvian is a *mistura*, a mixture”.*

-Diego, chef²⁴

In terms of food, this mixture has to do with food practices, environments, and influences found at different levels. What constitutes the Peruvian food culture has to do with these levels, and how they relate to each other. During our research we looked at the national, global, and local levels. We will now discuss these levels that together form the landscape in which Peruvian food culture and Peruvian gastronomy exist.

National food culture

It’s hard to define what exactly is the national Peruvian cuisine, but it came to be a well-known cuisine nonetheless. A cuisine that is celebrated today in Peru and is increasingly gaining reputation

²² Palmiro, chef/ director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 11-04-2018

²³ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

²⁴ Diego, chef, semi-structured interview, 09-02-2018

in the rest of the world. However, as Karissa²⁵, the director of a NGO concerned with alternative education surrounding food and nutrition, stated: “We really have nothing in common. When you’re going to the rainforest there’s nothing in between. We eat different, have different traditions, value different things, we have different cultures and languages. We have different environments as well. We are all different, that’s the only thing I can say about Peruvians.” This aspect of diversity that seems so central in what many people regard “Peruvian” – the big majority of our informants agreed hereupon – doesn’t make it easier to understand how there can be such a thing as a national Peruvian cuisine.

Following Graham, the director of another food-concerned NGO, there is a Peruvian identity existent nonetheless: “There’s a Peruvian identity but there’s also diversity in taste and preferences. There is a sense of pride of being Peruvian but you can overstate it”²⁶. He also pointed out that: “There is also frustrations about being Peruvian. The differences and similarities are important for me as well, even cross-country between Bolivia and Peru. Those people might be more similar than regions in Peru. Peru is a relatively recent invention. The Andes goes way back. There’s many identities beyond that would be shared or different”²⁷.

As discussed in our theoretical framework, Cuszak (2000, thesis p. 18), Wilson (2013, thesis p. 18) and Chapple-Sokol (2013, thesis p. 18) stress the power of food in building national identity and the redefinition of the fluid cultural construct that is a nation, and may influence opinions of a nation’s population and leaders, and even national policies. The latter is very obvious in the case in Peru, as food has become the main thing used to promote the country globally, as becomes clear when visiting the website of PromPeru²⁸.

It should be noted, however, that there are many different things besides food that Peruvians can identify themselves with. Rosario, a food historian, explained: “people have a lot of pride in comparable things, like dance and music. Food is just one of those things. Many people think cuisine is the only thing but it’s not. It’s a myth for tourists, made by people who have restaurants. It’s marketing”²⁹.

However, in terms of food there are dishes of which many people said they are typically Peruvian, such as *lomo saltado*, *papa rellena*, and, perhaps most prominently, *ceviche*. This connects well to Wilson’s (2013, thesis p. 19) notion of banal nationalism, where a dish could serve as a flag for the

²⁵ Karissa, director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 05-02-2018

²⁶ Graham, director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 14-02-2018

²⁷ Graham, director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 14-02-2018

²⁸ <https://www.peru.travel/?internacional>

²⁹ Rosario, historian, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2018

nation. In line with Cuszak (2000, thesis p. 19), food and cuisines are a contested area, whether they are regional, national, or ethnic. In this sense, there is quite obviously an economic and political agenda behind the creation of a national Peruvian cuisine. Myth or not, food is becoming more and more a form of banal nationalism.

Bessière's (1998, thesis p. 18) concept of the 'principle of incorporation' addresses the power of food as it intangibly as well as tangibly places the eater in a social universe and cultural order. Eating habits are the foundation of a collective identity and, consequently, of alterity" (Bessière 1998: 23-24). The national Peruvian cuisine is incorporating aspects from outside the country, from the world of gastronomy, and from the vast variety of local food practices. And, in terms of the "national cuisine" Peru is promoting itself with, there is a change from local food to high cuisine. A group always defines itself in regard to other groups, so what does this mean in a country as diverse as Peru, what group is created and who doesn't belong? In order to understand the process of incorporating various cuisines and food practices into the national cuisine, we will explore the levels of global processes and localized food practices.

Global influences

To recapitulate, the Peruvian national cuisine has to do with marketing, strong tastes, mixtures, and a couple of signature dishes. But what do the ingredients, recipes and tastes that are included in Peruvian cuisine have in common? That they are all natively Peruvian? The answer is undoubtedly "no", to complicate things even more. As discussed earlier on in the context section, Peru has a rich migratory history, one that shaped the Peruvian population significantly. Karissa³⁰ explained the confusion of Peruvians about their identity: "I have mostly Spanish blood and if I would open an Andean restaurant it wouldn't make any sense, but it would make sense because I'm Peruvian. So I think people are getting things from somewhere else to nurture their identity. We're at a moment where we are more confused than ever about what we are. Everything that hasn't been solved about our identity plus everything that comes from outside." The adoption of ingredients and food practices that came with migrants led to the celebrated fusion cuisines that are also part of Peruvian cuisine. As Gonzalo, an economist related to gastronomy, said: "no one would argue that *comida criolla* is Peruvian. But *criolla* means mixed. It means we're too fucking lazy to mention all the nationalities, it's just from a lot of places. That's *criolla* food: it's food that was made by influences from different countries in Peru, in a time were nationalities and gastronomy were a lot more markedly different. Over time we created this mix"³¹.

³⁰ Karissa, director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 05-02-2018

³¹ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

These transnational influences on Peruvian cuisine connect well to the dimensions described by Appadurai (1990, thesis p. 30) through which culture flows, deterritorialized beyond country's borders. Also, it shows the relevance of Crowther's (2013, thesis p. 20) extension of the foodscape. The deterritorialization of food practices through globalization results in that local food practices are moving in global culture flows.

Local diversity

Holt and Amilien (2007, thesis p. 21), Crowther (2013, thesis p. 21) and Wilk (1999, thesis p. 21) are in agreement that globalization doesn't have to eradicate the local, but can even reinforce locality by offering it a defence. Scarpato and Daniele (2003, thesis p. 21) explain the significance of tourism, especially gastronomic tourism, as a defence for the local, as the gastronomic tourist is looking for authenticity.

The revalorisation of local food knowledge is spearheaded by fine-dining restaurants, who are implementing this knowledge in a very different context than it's derived from. One could argue that mixing these food knowledges and presenting them globally might lead to homogenization of Peruvian food practices, as these separate practices and knowledges are presented as belonging to a unified Peruvian cuisine. The director of a food NGO explained that: "cooking really is material transformed to food and put together in quite different ways. So the languages are different. The syntax of Central has almost nothing in common with the syntax of sharing a meal with farmers in the Andes. It's a different language. Syntax is the way you assemble, the logic of how words are put together"³². The implementation of local food practices doesn't necessarily have to result in the homogenization of practices, as the way the dishes are put together sends a completely different message. In other words, one could argue that the use of local food knowledge in fine-dining restaurants leads to creolization, cultural fusions that lead to something new, which would mean a process of heterogenization. Also, the interest of gastronomy in local food knowledges and practices might enforce their revalorisation. During our fieldwork there was a conference being held in Urubamba, organized by the ministry of culture and tourism, and with one of Peruvians top-chefs as special guests. The focus of this conference was discussing how gastronomy could be a tool to attract tourism to rural areas. The power of local food practices and culture were stressed. Local diversity was presented as a tool for attracting gastronomic tourists. Another strategy for defending local diversity is the creation of cultural heritage status, as Argumedo (2008, thesis p. 22) explains the case of the Potato Park in Peru. Rosario, a gastronomic historian we talked to explained that specific food practices would make a better chance in gaining an UNESCO intangible heritage status than the

³² Graham, director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 14-02-2018

Peruvian cuisine as a whole ever would³³. The popularity of Peru in terms of food could thus offer a way of valorising local food practices and using them for local development.

Global processes and local processes can thus happen simultaneously and don't necessarily have to be in conflict, which is in line with Wilk (1999, thesis p. 20). On the contrary, they can even reinforce each other, as will be discussed further in empirical chapter 2 (p. 55). We've found that local Andean communities identify themselves with aspects of the national Peruvian cuisine, as well as with localized Andean food practices and their home-grown products. It became obvious there was a certain hierarchy and/or selection of food practices that were more prominently in their identification, for example the sharing of chicha.

We looked at various levels Peruvians identify themselves through food, and have seen that Peruvians can identify themselves as Peruvians through all of these levels. As Gupta and Ferguson (1997, thesis p. 29) see it, identity isn't a thing that grows out of rooted communities or belongs to any individual. "It is, instead, a mobile, often unstable relation of difference" (13). This way of looking at identity, or as we prefer "identification", connects to Tsing's (2004, thesis p. 29) notion of friction, in which difference is the arena in which meanings are contested and new one's come into being. And as we found, identification in the case of Peru is very context-dependent. Gonzalo, an economist concerned with gastronomy, explained: "So what makes a dish Peruvian? Is it that the ingredients were grown in Peru? Or is it that the ingredients are genetically native to Peru but have been grown elsewhere? Is it that the person who cooks it is Peruvian? Or is the recipe Peruvian? So if we make papa huancaína with potatoes that were grown in Europe, with European cheese, and the chef is an European person, is that a Peruvian dish or is it not? I think that the question itself is stupid. YES, it is Peruvian, no it's not. It depends on what you're going to make Peruvian. The recipe has changed, but the essence of the recipe is still there. Like if I was Peruvian and sitting to a person making that, I'd say "that's a really Peruvian dish". But if you were served that dish and being told as an Peruvian "this is a traditional Peruvian dish", you'd be like "this is not fucking huancaína, go fuck yourself!"³⁴. So the context will determine whether someone will feel strongly about it being Peruvian." The way Peruvians identify with their cuisine is thus context dependent, especially in intangible aspects. Maybe because both cuisines and nationality are intangible, the connection between them is so hard to define.

³³ Rosario, historian, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2018

³⁴ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

In conclusion, the complex relationship between food and identity has to do with the fact that people can identify them with many things on many levels. Identification is a mobile force that has to do with difference, with how people differentiate themselves and connect themselves with others. Peru is a relatively recent invention and a mix between many identities. Diverse as Peruvians may be, they have one thing in common: their pride and love for their food. Although food might be a unifying medium, the question remains to which extent it can make Peruvians identify themselves with each other. This unifying character nevertheless holds potential for gastronomy to become a tool for development.

Empirical chapter 2

Cultural commoditization: the double goal of cultural preservation and adaptation to international markets



Above: varieties of corn in a community and varieties of corn presented at MIL.

Below: varieties of corn transformed in a fine-dining dish at MIL.

Empirical chapter 2 - Cultural commoditization: the double goal of cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets

In this chapter, we will explore frictions in the commoditization of culture in the context of Peruvian gastronomy by focussing on the case of MIL Centro. As explained in the context section, the implementation of local food practices is a significant aspect of Peruvian gastronomy, and raises questions of authenticity and cultural property. By turning cultural food practices into a commodity, this has implications in the value and meaning given to these food practices. We will explore friction between the duality in the goals of cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets when a fine-dining restaurant implements local food practices. Additionally, we explore the impact of the friction that arises in the interplay of three groups connected to MIL. We argue that the consumer has the most powerful voice and limits MIL in what they can and can't serve/show. Furthermore, we argue that a sense of authenticity is created by MIL through interpreting the Andean food practices and culture; we argue that the meaning of these food practises changes when implemented in the context of a fine-dining restaurant; and that the process of cultural commoditization can serve as a learning space for both the communities and the consumers, providing local valorisation and global visibility to happen simultaneously. We conclude in that the goals of cultural preservation and business development don't necessarily have to be contradictory, and that commoditization might actually be a way of heritage-making.

Gastronomy & value

(Jesper Nass)

“Virgilio’s (chef of Central and MIL) thing with value is critical. He’s trying to make things valuable by making them visible. He’s creating use value out of something that only had existence value. Once you put something in your mouth you wouldn’t really eat, once you tasted it, an experience with it, if it would disappear you’d really have lost something. Your experience with something is what makes your value informative for an economist”³⁵.

Creating an experience that’s worth a significant amount of money makes that the things that are part of this experience gain a certain value and even a price-tag. Also intangible things such as narratives and cultural attributes can gain value by being made visible through gastronomy.

³⁵ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

Anna Tsing's (2004, thesis p, 29) notion of friction, based on encounters characterized by difference and inequality is very relevant for the case of MIL, as the encounter between Andean rural communities and fine-dining gastronomy seems as different and unequal as can be.

So how is MIL Centro positioned within this friction? MIL labels itself as a research center and thereby exceeding the category of being solely a restaurant that focuses on consumption. Due to its location in the Andean mountain range and interaction with the surrounding communities, MIL creates a direct exchange of knowledge between the people working at MIL Centro, of whom the majority originates from outside the Cuzco region and the two neighbouring communities. The food practices of the Cuzco region are interpreted into a fine-dining experience consisting of an eight course tasting menu that focuses on the Cuzco region. MIL is intertwined with Mater Iniciativa (see context, p. 37), running a participatory project with the surrounding communities. The project functions as MIL and a delegation of the communities are working together on shared agricultural land where the harvest is shared equally among the two (see empirical chapter 3, p. 73). The direct contact with the producers is part of the food chain of the restaurant and part of the narrative presented to the consumers. The majority of these consumers are gastronomic tourists. The friction between cultural preservation and the adaptation to global markets becomes visible in MIL, as the restaurant aims to valorise and promote the food practices of the region while having to adapt these food practices to a fine-dining experience that copes with the expectations of the market.

MIL Centro, an interplay of groups

(Daan Overgaag)

At the base of our argumentation is the notion that MIL is inevitably a business and has to generate income to keep the project going. It is important to make clear that if the motivation behind MIL would be solely business-minded there would've been chosen a far more accessible location for a restaurant and they wouldn't be bothered with the participatory project they engaged. This illustrates the importance of the narrative presented at MIL Centro.

At MIL the experience for guests is an interplay between showing the food practices of the Cuzco region and adapting to the expectations and concepts related to fine-dining gastronomy. The decontextualization of the food practices by the restaurant within fine-dining context creates a space to expose an interpretation of Andean life within the comfortable range of the gastronomic tourist. As one of the people behind the idea of MIL quotes, a framed image is presented.

“We have to deal with whoever is making us survive and pay the bills though. I want to give the experience to these guys, it’s only four hours. For these four hours we are opening the theatre. When we open the theatre, we say to everyone it’s open, let’s start with the act”³⁶.

A notion that returned in interviews with the team of MIL is that they want to increase the visibility of the food producers to the guests. The narrative results in making the food producers visible in the food chain, not by only decreasing the geographical distance between the different ends of the food chains, producer – restaurant – consumer, but besides valuing and respecting what is being perceived as the food practices of the producers. As one of the cooks working at MIL describes: “It is transferring the love and care for the product, for the land and the respect for the people that work on these lands, which are the people of the communities. Thanks to them it is that we have what we’re having”³⁷. In the tasting menu this valorisation for the product and the producer becomes visible in the sixth course named: ‘Andes Central’ which is an interpretation of a huatia, a way of cooking in this case potatoes and mashuas in an oven made with the same dirt in which the potatoes were harvested, served with a sauce named Uchucuta. Cooking a huatia is a preparation that is typical for the food practices of the Andes, an aspect that could be perceived as the authentic that the gastronomic tourist is searching for (Cohen 1988: 373, thesis p. 23). The following quote describes a comment of a guest to one of the staff members about MIL’s interpretation of the huatia:

One lady said: “well, I was expecting a little bit more in the potato moment”. I said: “ooh, I receive your comment but let me explain you something. We’re more an interpretation center than a restaurant. She was comparing this to Central. “If you go to Central for example there is technique, there is a lot of techniques and process in the dishes. Here we do the opposite, we try to not disturb the product because it is an amazing product so we prefer to bring you it how it is and don’t *maquillar* (literally translated: put make-up on it) the potato in this case”. Then she said: “no, for the money that I’m paying I would prefer something in that potato”³⁸.

This comment shows how the food practices of MIL are an outcome of the interplay between different voices: 1) the people of the Cuzco region, their food practices and the way they present their own food practices to the team of MIL, 2) the perception and thinking frames of the team of MIL related to these food practices as they themselves are outsiders in the Andes, 2b) the perception

³⁶ Virgilio, chef/ director Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 11-04-2018

³⁷ José, cook MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 26-03-2018

³⁸ Alexandra, staff MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 27-03-2018



Upper-left: MIL's interpretation of a huatia, baked in the kitchen's oven.

Upper-right: A huatia made by the local communities.

Bottom-left: MIL's dish 'Andes Central', which is an interpretation of the huatia.

Bottom-right: A community-member trying MIL's interpretation of the huatia.

of the team of MIL on the thinking frames of their guests, and 3) The expectations of the guests of the restaurant. In this interplay the expectations of the consumers of the experience at MIL is ultimately the most powerful voice as without satisfying the consumers, the interrelatedness of the voices would fall apart. The interpretation of the food practices of the Cuzco region by MIL could be defined as a form of heritage cuisine, the way that this heritage is created is part of a selection ultimately based on the expectations from the consumers and of the expectations of the team of MIL on the thinking frames of these consumers. “Heritage is not a mere collection of things and products but a real social selection; a selection or a choice made according to the particular value accorded by the members of a social group” (Bessière 1998: 28, thesis p. 21).

A good example illustrating this selection process of heritage-making is the case of the guinea pig. Eating guinea pig is an important food practice in the neighbouring communities of MIL as one of the people from Kacllaraccay notes: “Guinea pig is a big part of our identity”³⁹. The initial concept of the tasting menu of MIL contained a course with guinea pig, but it didn’t made the actual menu presented to the guests of MIL. This is explained by one of the people behind MIL: “In some countries a guinea pig is a pet. I could serve guinea pig as an option, but I can’t make it obligatory. I cannot do a menu where you have to eat guinea pig. If you are into defending animals or so, that could be a problem. I’m just trying to be safe”⁴⁰. Despite its local importance of guinea pig this isn’t part of the experience of MIL. As MIL intermediates between the voice of the communities in Cuzco and the voice of the customers, guinea pig not making the tasting menu shows that the customers ultimately are the dominant voice in the selection process of what is presented at MIL. “The demand of the supply will influence a little bit. So it will limit, for instance, how exploratory a taste can get. So some of the very traditional Peruvian ways of cooking will be absent because the international community doesn’t want to be exposed”⁴¹. As a certain degree of experiencing difference can be uncomfortable, the restaurant tries to stay within a safe range. The imagined borders of this safe range are ultimately responsible for what is presented to the guests of the restaurant. As one of the people designing the menu says: “It’s also frustrating because I am not taking decisions, just thinking what I think is what people are eating, which is guinea pig and it’s pretty obvious”⁴². MIL adjusts the food practices of the communities to fine-dining context in order to create a space where the producers can become visible.

³⁹ Victor, resident of Kacllaraccay, semi-structured interview, 23-03-2018

⁴⁰ Virgilio, chef/ director Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview 11-04-2018

⁴¹ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

⁴² Virgilio, chef/ director Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview 11-04-2018

Matta (2013: 13, thesis p. 24) describes the process in the heritage-making of the Peruvian food culture as holding the risk of becoming valued more as economic commodities than by their cultural significance. In the case of MIL their valorisation and interpretation of the food culture of the Cuzco region could be seen as a form of heritage-making. The process of culture becoming primarily an economic commodity, as Matta (2013) mentions, doesn't relate directly to MIL as the adjustments to the food culture of the Cuzco region that MIL makes are not primarily based on economic development. Aligning to the expectation of fine-dining gastronomy also stresses cultural significance as it provides a space for the encounter of the gastronomic tourist valuing the locality of the food culture. Business remains the medium to meet this bigger goal of valorisation and promotion. The following section will illustrate with several examples how MIL adapts to the expectations of fine-dining gastronomy and their consumers. One of the cooks notes:

"I guess you have to sell, at the end of the day it is a business, it is not charity. So we have to sell things in a way that they look attractive. I guess that that is our job, that is the part that we put in. As to adjust the way so that they look appetizing to the clients that come here"⁴³.

The types of quinoa used in the restaurant illustrates these adjustments that are mentioned above. Our experience with Andean food is it isn't food with a lot of crunchy items, serving dishes that have different textures and a bite seems to be one of these aspects related to fine-dining gastronomy as five of the eight courses in the menu at the moment of opening contained a form of a crisp. The agricultural lands of the communities are home to a variety of quinoas, containing yellow, white, red and black quinoa. Only the yellow and white quinoa are eaten in the communities, the black and red quinoa are sold as they stay too hard or have to be cooked for too long. An interesting distinction is that MIL solely uses red and black quinoa, cooking them for respectively nine and eleven minutes to al dente so they have a bite. A quote mentioned in the previous chapter, "Peruvian cooking is about intensity and flavour"⁴⁴, textures are less important. The communities and MIL using different types of quinoa illustrates how the food practices of these different actors differ as they are cooking for different audiences.

A factor where MIL does align with the notion of Matta of culture as becoming a commodity valued primarily economically, is visible in the adjustments to MIL's tasting menu after feedback from the guests. The examples of the quinoa and guinea pig illustrate MIL's adaption of their tasting menu

⁴³ Marley, cook MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 22-03-2018

⁴⁴ Javier, gastronomic journalist, semi-structured interview, 06-02-2018

based on their expectation of fine-dining gastronomy and the thinking frame of their consumers. This could be motivated as adaptation to the expectations of their guests to provide a safe learning environment that matches with the expectations of fine-dining gastronomy. The examples described below are the result of MIL changing some parts of their tasting menu as they were critically commented on by their customers. These adaptations fall under the notion that Matta (2013) describes of culture becoming commoditized, as they were made after comments from guests expecting more for the amount of money they pay. These adjustments include a stew of alpaca in the fifth course 'Extreme altitude' being replaced for a stew of duck after it received some comments of the guests, and the toasted corn in the fourth course: 'Diversity of corn' was removed of the menu after it received comments of being too dry. Alpaca is eaten in the Cuzco region, although nowadays mainly by gastronomic tourists, the communities of Mullak'as Misminay and Kacllaraccay don't have alpaca in their diet. This aligns with the notion of the (gastronomic) tourist seeking for authenticity as Cohen describes (1988: 373, thesis p,). The toasted corn, in Peru referred to as 'Canchita', is part of the daily diet of the neighbouring communities of MIL. One of the people of MIL reflects on these adjustments in the food served at MIL: "For example before there was served a lot of toasted corn, now not anymore. Here they eat a lot of toasted corn. Where you represent a place how can you not serve toasted corn. But the people didn't receive it well, like eating a lot of alpaca. The people don't receive it well and they're changed" ⁴⁵. These adjustments show the dominant voice of the customer. As these changes are the result of feedback grounded by the amount of money that customers pay, these adjustments are a way of valuing food culture primarily in terms of exchange value.

The case of the alpaca besides shows how the perception of the team of MIL on the food practices of the Cuzco region, influences the tasting menu presented at MIL. One of the cooks of MIL who originates from the Cuzco region explains how people in his surrounding reacted on the way that the alpaca was presented at MIL: "He said that: 'I don't ever heard about the alpaca how you use the alpaca in that way'. Probably it changes in many things. For example I talked with Maria (Kacllaraccay) and said: 'try it, this is alpaca'. She didn't believe it. She thought it was lamb or maybe cow" ⁴⁶. As the majority of the team originates from outside of the region, the food practices presented are influenced by their interpretation as outsiders of the region.

⁴⁵ Lionel, staff MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 29-03-2018

⁴⁶ Renato, cook MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 24-03-2018



A remarkable event: a group of representatives from the communities of Kacllaraccay and Mullak'as Misminay experiencing the fine-dining experience of MIL Centro.

Community involvement in MIL's cuisine

(Jesper Nass)

Next to the space provided by MIL for gastronomic tourists to experience an interpretation of Andean life, MIL creates a space for Andean producers to experience the structures in which fine-dining gastronomy is operating. Aligning with MIL's aim to be a prototype of how to be working together with the environment, a delegation of sixteen people of the neighbouring communities of Kacllaraccay and Mullak'as Misminay were invited to MIL for the fine-dining experience in actually the same manner as gastronomic tourists. Argumedo (2008, thesis p. 22) shows a form of community-led heritage-making in the case of the Potato Park. The heritage created in the potato park isn't exposed to an international audience in the form of a commodity as is in the case of MIL, nevertheless is MIL creating a space for the involvement of the communities in the process of heritage-making. As MIL creates this space for interaction it also distinguishes itself from category of haute traditional cuisines as Sammells (2014: 143, thesis p. 23) describes, as this is categorized by creating dualities between the local and the cosmopolitan, in opposition to the interaction created here.

The arrival of MIL attracting a global audience in a region that historically was subject to suppression and the communities not being fully recognized by the Peruvian government has an impact on the self-appreciation of the communities. As one of the people from Kacllaraccay, present at the lunch of the communities at MIL, notes: "We have to start valorising that what we are working" ⁴⁷. MIL positively influences this feeling self-appreciation, this is also based as certain values are shared among the restaurant and the communities. There was commented on the lunch by one of the guests from Kacllaraccay that the dishes at MIL were a big surprise for him. He didn't expect the use of all the products from the region and the nutritious aspect of the lunch. It is very important that MIL is concerned with nutrition as this is a representation of the region, it is also very important here in the region ⁴⁸. Although MIL aligns to a certain extent with the food practices of the communities as this comment illustrates, the voice of the consumer is eventually dominant. The following quote is the interpretation of one of the team members of MIL on the lunch of the communities, it illustrates how the food practices differ in the interpretation towards fine-dining context:

"The first time we invited them for lunch they didn't get anything. They say: "Hoo, the granita is too cold, why are you giving me ice?", and they were asking me: "Hey, what is this?!" This is chicha, "noo

⁴⁷ Victor, resident of Kacllaraccay, semi-structured interview, 23-03-2018

⁴⁸ André, resident of Kacllaraccay, semi-structured interview, 05-04-2018

this is not chicha”, yeah we’re making some changes to the chicha for the rest of the people, “but you’re talking about chicha and this is not chicha, what is this? This is a juice, it’s too sweet” ⁴⁹.

The reactions evoked by the coldness of the granita which is served together with an ice cream of potato at the seventh dish: ‘Frozen Cordillera’ are to be brought back to differences in access to facilities between MIL and the communities. In the communities the people lack the possibility of cooling and freezing, no one owns a fridge. This difference in food practices due to access was besides illustrated as some of the community members refused to eat raw meat, presented in the form of a lamb tartare in the second course ‘Plateau’. Interestingly, the ice cream of potato changed into a sweet cream of potato, the tartare and the granita are still part of the tasting menu. The direct contact between producers and MIL resulting in the changing the ice cream after the lunch of the delegation of the communities at MIL shows the involvement of the communities in the food practices of MIL. As MIL is business-related they don’t align with the community-led heritage-making as Argumedo (2008, thesis p. 22) describes. But it does show that efforts are made to create a space for community involvement.

Authenticity is created

(Daan Overgaag)

“We try to change a little bit and not expressing the same things that these people feel from the communities. For example they eat a lot of soups. For us as chefs, serving to clients from other places of the world, we can’t serve them soup. (...) We are trying our best to maintain the integrity of what they feel you know when they eat, but we have to evolve a little bit” ⁵⁰.

‘We can’t serve them soups’, quoted by one of the cooks of MIL, relates to the expectations that come with fine-dining gastronomy. Probably most people having experience with fine-dining gastronomy can see that soups might not be the first thing to think of in a restaurant of this kind. As Cohen (1988: 373, thesis p. 23) notes that the (gastronomic) tourist is in quest of authenticity, a contradiction arises as guests are searching for the authentic while having their expectations of a fine-dining format. What MIL does is creating a narrative as their menu is based on what can be found in certain ecosystems and they’re moving beyond serving simply that what is found to be the most tasty, but nonetheless within the structures of fine-dining gastronomy. One of the owners of MIL quotes:

⁴⁹ Armando, staff MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 28-03-2018

⁵⁰ Marley, cook MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 22-03-2018

“I could say that I want to educate people. We want to have something intense, maybe experimental or deep, sensual or emotional. In order to achieve all these levels, having a tasting menu, having people for three hours at the table, you have to tell a story of course”⁵¹.

The story that MIL creates is a framed image of Andean life, their interpretation. The consequence of the safe learning space of Andean life created by MIL comes along with the possibility of people perceiving that image as the authentic. As Sammells (2014: 142, thesis p. 23) describes, the authentic must be made. Friction arises when the image that MIL presents is framed as directly being derived from the neighbouring communities. As MIL is inevitably tied to the structures of fine-dining gastronomy, they operate through the exchange of value with guests, the guests pay an amount of money and want something in return that matches their expectations. This shows that the equation between domestic cuisines and restaurant cuisines is in no way natural, as Sammells (2014: 142, thesis p. 23) describes.

MIL is an interpretation of the Cuzco region. However, when the narrative presented is linked directly with the neighbouring communities, MIL makes a representation of these communities instead of interpreting the entire region. The following quote shows that MIL tries to represent the communities instead of making clear to be an interpretation: In the ‘central Andes’, the potatoes, I say: “this is a presentation of when they harvest the potatoes, part of the community use those potatoes that they just harvested for huatia and share chicha”⁵². This can lead to inventing traditions that attempt to align with a suitable historic past as Hobsbawm and Ranger mention (1983: 1, thesis p. 23). MIL interprets and frames the narrative around the huatia as a celebration of the potato. Although this can be part of the image around the huatia, the people of the neighbouring communities of MIL see the huatia mostly as a convenient way of cooking. They’re working with ten to twelve people on one piece of land during harvest season and they don’t have time to go home to eat.

The different narratives of the huatia, as a celebration of the potato and being a convenient way of cooking co-exist. One can understand that a fine-dining restaurant that is tied to customers chooses to frame the image around the former narrative, the reality of being a convenient way of cooking aligns less with an idealized image of authenticity that consumers are looking for. One of the people

⁵¹ Virgilio, chef/ director Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 11-04-2018

⁵² Alexandra, staff MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 27-03-2018

related to MIL explains this as follows:

“I understand it like this: we sacrifice that little bit of romanticism to get to more people and more people will get the concept that we are trying to share. So there’s like a knowledge chain, I learn, I apprehend, make it mine and then I share it”⁵³.

In this process of making mine, the interpretation of MIL happens. As MIL is seeking to overcome the distinctions of haute traditional cuisine, the food practices presented have to be framed as their interpretation in order to make clear the distinctions between domestic and restaurant cooking. Although gastronomic tourists might be seeking for authenticity, they have to be aware that, as Sammells (2014: 142, thesis p, 23) describes it, the authentic is made.

Although MIL may be merely an interpretation of Andean food practices, used to create a sense of authenticity and tradition they communicate to the consumers, this doesn’t necessarily have to imply any tension with the communities involved. When we were hanging out with some community-members working at MIL, one of the cooks gave them a *huatia*-potato, prepared in the restaurant’s kitchen. The potato wasn’t prepared in the way the communities would prepare a *huatia*, it was covered with salt clay and baked in the oven. The confused expression of the community-members and that they said the *huatia*-potato was in their opinion not a *huatia*, had us questioning whether they actually approved of MIL calling their interpretation a *huatia*, and if not, whether they felt comfortable with communicating their disapproval to the restaurant.

However, we soon found out that the communities didn’t care too much about MIL’s interpretation of a *huatia*. This doesn’t mean the possible negative consequences of cultural appropriation that Brown (2005, thesis, p. 24) warns for should be neglected. But in line with Cohen (1988, thesis, p. 24), we found that the commoditization of culture was perceived as less of a change by the communities than it appeared to us as externals. One of the community-members explained that the communities do things their way and that he thought it wouldn’t really matter to them MIL does it differently. Wilder and Victor, who are the spokesmen between MIL and their communities, expressed that they felt affection to MIL and were satisfied with the agreements between them⁵⁴. One of the researchers working for Mater Iniciativa added: “But it’s not based on these two communities. It’s based on the idea that they (MIL) have from rural communities, or peasant communities. A generalized way. It is as we’ve talked, an interpretation”⁵⁵. In this view, MIL isn’t

⁵³ Francesco, anthropologist Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 20-04-2018

⁵⁴ Wilder & Victor, residents of Mullak’as Misminay & Kacllaraccay, semi-structured interview, 23-03-2018

⁵⁵ Francesco, anthropologist Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 20-04-2018

commoditizing the culture of the involved communities directly, as the coverage of their interpretation of Andean cuisine reaches further into the region, where there are many differences to be found within. However, as earlier mentioned, MIL at times shifts to represent these communities directly. This shows an interesting discrepancy, but regarding the limited word-count of this thesis, we won't analyze this further.

The coexistence of two cuisines

(Jesper Nass)

Placing MIL in the dual goal of Peruvian gastronomy, namely cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets, the question remains what happens to the meaning of things when culture commoditized, whether adding exchange value to things overshadows its cultural meaning, a question also posed by Cohen (1988, thesis p. 24). Our argument is that cultural preservation and adaptation to global market are two goals that can be pursued next to each other. The reasons are twofold: a) two meanings of the same thing can exist simultaneously without having to be exclusive but the one could even enforce the others, and b) in the process of cultural commoditization there is potential to create a learning space between consumers and local communities which could be mutually beneficial.

Sammells (2014, thesis p. 24) argues that cuisines can and do have both local meaning and international following. Domestic kitchens and cosmopolitan restaurants can exist at the same time. Cohen (1988, thesis p. 24) goes further in arguing that two meanings can be additive: "new meanings may be added to old ones, which persevere into the new situation." Our data suggests a similar coexistence of two meanings behind a cuisine. For example, a Peruvian top-chef explained: "I don't think that they will change the meaning. If I use the huatia in my restaurant, they will still use the huatia. Huatia for them is part of the culture, part of the way of living. The way that they understand it is not going to change by a person using it. Actually it is going to make that huatia having more value and sustaining it. If you don't know about huatia, it is going to be lost. If you don't give value to huatia, it's going to be lost. That is how we lose knowledge"⁵⁶. He explained that a lot of rural communities are losing their traditions because they think the modern society doesn't value them. Some of the informants working at MIL explained that although MIL's food might be different than local food, they do try to communicate information to the guests about the local reality. For example, Renato said: "I think that the restaurant makes food that you can find in your house maybe. People

⁵⁶ Pedro, chef, semi-structured interview, 20-04-2018

who live here have the similarities between the food. For me it is a kind of expression that Virgilio wants to show to the world”⁵⁷.

There is attention at MIL to provide the guests with information to understand the realities of local communities in the Andes, but it’s limited. But there are plans to challenge consumers more. As Malena, one of the directors of MIL, explains: “You can push it as far as taking them out and doing a huatia outside. And you have to be just around with a *manta Andina* and there’s not going to be seating, not going to be cutlery, there’s just potatoes from the huatia. That’s why we made the huatias outside. We just haven’t tried them because. It’s kind of putting your toes in the swimming pool and just try it, so that’s what we’re trying to do. So when we feel secure we will try taking them out, and that’s the big challenge. That’s the moment when people are just surrendering, they don’t know anything about this, it’s just another world. I think that’s going to be a highlight”⁵⁸.

The intentions of bringing the experience more to the local reality are there, but when these changes are actually made depends on the confidence of MIL regarding their customers. As explained, the presentation market has it that the consumer’s voice is the most powerful one, and in this case the consumer is often foreign, rich, and from an urban environment. This has MIL always occupied with the question of how far they can go. Francesco, an anthropologist working at Mater Iniciativa, said: “I would like to help so that people can lose fear of mud for instance. I wouldn’t have a salon that is that clean but that is like what we were talking about, contradictory. If a French guy comes and sit down and he sees mud on the table, he is like: “this is dirty”. That’s why Virgilio is like breaking his mind trying to figure out how to serve mud for a guy that is not used to dirty places”⁵⁹. It’s hard to copy local food practices precisely when implementing them in a fine-dining restaurant. But Francesco also pointed out that they don’t have to: “And if we start or they start imitating what people in the communities do exactly the same, it is going to be a touristic place, it is not going to be MIL, an exclusive restaurant with objectives of sharing values and working with the communities (...)”⁶⁰.

So although the “Andean” cuisines of a fine-dining restaurant and of Andean communities might be very different in meanings, we agree with Cohen (1988, thesis p. 24) that these meanings can be additive in the sense that MIL can make local food practices visible to people who might never come across them otherwise. A fine-dining restaurant is limited herein, for it always has to live up to the

⁵⁷ Renato, cook MIL Centro, semi-structured interview 24-03-2018

⁵⁸ Malena, director Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 12-04-2018

⁵⁹ Francesco, anthropologist Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 20-04-2018

⁶⁰ Francesco, anthropologist Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 20-04-2018

customer's expectations of a fine-dining restaurant. But when the intentions and consciousness are there, adaptation to global markets could even reinforce cultural preservation. A good comparative are the touristic home-stays in one of the communities, where it becomes visible that even right in the centre of an Andean rural community, safe learning spaces for tourists are created. The home-stays were adjusted to the comfortability of tourists, like cleanliness of the rooms and kitchen, and no noisy animals grazing around the house.

And this is precisely the second point of why cultural commoditization could actually be beneficial for cultural preservation: it creates a learning space where the communities can get in contact with the consumers (Sammells 2014, thesis p. 24-25). Graham said: "Sometimes when people go to rural areas, people organize stupid things for them. But here for people to learn about how food is produced, many people are going to be fascinated not just to eat the products but to actually see how these things are grown, and see maybe the technologies people are using. That would all be very fascinating for anybody going there and add value to the experience in the restaurant"⁶¹. Some community-members expressed to us they felt that they could learn a lot from their experiences of working at MIL, in terms of agriculture and working in the restaurant, and also that they were glad more tourists would come to the area and see how they work the fields, maybe even help out. Multiple cooks working at MIL said they noticed a willingness from the communities to learn "They are interested in what we're doing. We share a common interest in food and cooking. It's good for them to know that we appreciate their work. Sometimes that is very important because if you just buy from them and don't give them feedback as to: "hey your products are amazing and what you are doing is very good". And them getting recognition as well, I think that that is very important because they are the people who are not seen usually and they have to be seen"⁶².

The case of MIL Centro provides a great example for the argument of Sammells (2014, thesis p. 24-25), that cultural commoditization can create a learning space which might be beneficial for cultural preservation. To us, it seems that the biggest benefit for the communities apart from labour, is that they learn how to value their own locality and how to transform their knowledge into exchange value, improving their livelihoods and providing them the resources to continue their way of life.

In conclusion, we looked at the friction between cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets, which arises when culture is commoditized. In the case of MIL, this friction becomes visible in the interplay between the hopes and needs of various groups. In this interplay, the consumer

⁶¹ Graham, director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 14-02-2018

⁶² Marley, cook MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 22-03-2018

eventually has the most powerful voice, without satisfying the consumers the interrelatedness of the voices would fall apart. MIL is an interpretation of the food practices of the Cuzco region and the authenticity the gastronomic tourist is looking for is made. The equation between a domestic and a restaurant cuisine is in no way natural, due to the interrelatedness of these voices. The main argument is that there doesn't have to be a contradiction between the goals of cultural preservation and adaptation global markets. MIL provides a safe learning space for the encounter between tourists and local communities, in which local food practices are visibilized and their value is being acknowledged. In this safe learning space, MIL can make local food practices visible to people who might never come across them otherwise. Also, it can make the communities aware of the value of their locality. To get back to the friction analyzed in this chapter, the case of MIL shows that two meanings can co-exist.

Empirical chapter 3

Gastronomic grassroots movements



Community-members working in the participatory project are taking a break to share chicha. This sharing holds significant value in the Andean concept of ayni, a form of reciprocity.

Empirical chapter 3 - gastronomic grassroots movements

(Daan Overgaag & Jesper Nass)

As described in the first empirical chapter, it is hard to fit the totality of food practices of Peru into one all-including definition of Peruvian gastronomy. It may be unsurprising to say that difficulties arise when applying a centralized governmental program on the diverse regions of Peru. A notion that stood out during our fieldwork: “One size doesn’t fit the whole of Peru”. This third empirical chapter focuses on the friction between the Peruvian government and grassroots movements seeking to use food as a social instrument. The Peruvian case shows the effectiveness of grassroots movements in comparison to the institutionalized organizational form of the government in tackling social problems. The possibility of a fine-dining restaurants as a grassroots movement will be analysed on the base of MIL Centro. The main argument is that engaging with grassroots movements is essential for fine-dining restaurants in order to extend the benefits of Peruvian gastronomy to small food producers. Together, they can create high-value chains and respond to the interests of the producers.

Grassroots vs. government; cellular vs. vertebrate

As mentioned earlier, Peruvian fine-dining gastronomy was at the forefront of stimulating the period of the current economic growth and the uplifting of feelings of nationalism (empirical chapter 1, thesis p. 43). The unifying power of food in Peru makes gastronomy and politics closely related. “Chefs are probably as important as politicians and just as visible, they’re everywhere”⁶³. The case of Peru illustrates that fine-dining restaurants are important actors in shaping governmental policies and evoking social change. The former chef of one of Peru’s most well-known restaurants notes: “I think sometimes the ideas of chefs and restaurants are what makes the government move, instead of the other way around. The government is not thinking as fast as a chef or a restaurant would like to see”⁶⁴. This quote shows gastronomy operating outside the scope of the government. The whole of Peruvian gastronomy functioning as a tool for development aligns with Appadurai’s (2006 thesis p. 30) notion of cellular systems of organization. They operate in a decentralized manner, independent of governmental programs, to reinforce the valorisation of that what is Peruvian. This is in contrast with the vertebrate organizational mode in which the government operates. The following quote by a chef working directly with Amazonian producers shows the difficulties that arise when organizing a country as diverse as Peru through a vertebrate system. “So when we work with the government, we are the ones that open the eyes of the people, because they are in the ministry

⁶³ Graham, director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 14-02-2018

⁶⁴ Diego, chef, semi-structured interview, 09-02-2018

but they have never been to the Amazon. They don't know the reality of the products or the community or whatever" ⁶⁵. As the quotes above show, this vertebrate system is found to be inefficient in using the unifying power of food as a social instrument. Cellular systems can adapt more easily to the diversity of local situations, making them more efficient for development in Peru. The cellular system of Peruvian fine-dining restaurants is nevertheless tied to the voices of their customers, as analysed in the previous chapter. As discussed in empirical chapter one, the big contradiction of Peruvian gastronomy, as mentioned by Gastón Acurio, is how to accelerate the benefits of the Peruvian gastronomy while connecting these benefits to the small farmers. Within the friction of global and local flows, Appadurai (2006, thesis p. 30) stresses the importance of grassroots movements. In the Peruvian case it are as well these grassroots movements that can reinforce small producers. Although fine-dining restaurants can use their outreach as a tool for development in Peru, our argument is that these restaurants on their own don't fall under the category of grassroots innovations as defined by Sefyang and Smith (2007: 585, thesis p. 25). Their definition includes: "Solutions that respond to the local situation and the interests and values of the communities involved". Although fine-dining restaurants are increasingly exploring Peruvian products and working with small producers, the food chains created are often temporal or limited in extent. The director of the International Potato Center (IPC) (see context) notes:

"When they (restaurants) do go out and make expeditions it's not really an expedition, it's more like they arrive for a day and take all this stuff and bring it back. But if you're locally based I think you can establish a long-term relationship with the community, which could be much richer" ⁶⁶.

During a brainstorm session exploring possibilities of collaboration between IPC and a fine-dining restaurant which is connected to a NGO, IPC questioned the experimental side and temporality of the projects the restaurants engages in. If the Peruvian gastronomy structurally wants to involve small producers in the benefits of Peruvian gastronomy, grassroots movements are necessary to develop bottom-up solutions. As the country is home to severe social inequality, it are these bottom-up solutions that are necessary to empower small producers in the development of Peru. As Sefyang & Smith (2007, thesis p. 25) argue for the effectiveness of grassroots movements to create sustainable innovation and development. They add the importance of community action in fruitfully pursuing sustainable innovation.

⁶⁵ Pedro, chef, semi-structured interview, 20-04-2018

⁶⁶ Graham, director of a NGO, semi-structured interview, 14-02-2018

High-value chains

The question that arises is to what extent can a fine-dining restaurant be regarded as a grassroots movement, when it's concerned with responding to the values and interests of involved communities, but is inevitably business-orientated? Seyfang and Smith (2007: 599, thesis p. 25) explain that when analysing grassroots, it's important to place them in the interface between social and market economies. "Research and policy is needed that learns from this wealth of alternative means of provision and embeds that social learning into the mainstream" (599). Fine-dining restaurants are effective in generating income for sustaining innovative and developmental projects, but as businesses they bring along the risk of benefits sticking within the hegemony in Lima, not reaching people in the more remote places of Peru.

One strategy that can channel the benefits of Peruvian gastronomy to remote places, are the creation of high-value chains. These are food chains that link small farmers and stakeholders whose needs are unsatisfied by the regular food market (Thiele et al. 2011, thesis p. 26. These chains can successfully create opportunities for small farmers. During our research, we've seen some promising examples, like a restaurant serving Amazonian food receiving products straight from communities, and the IPC created a chips-brand made from varieties of native potatoes.

MIL as a grassroots

Seyfang and Smith (2007: 599, thesis p. 25) argue for the important role that researchers play in the emerging agenda that is the promotion of innovative behaviour at the grassroots. What makes MIL so interesting is its intertwinement with Mater Iniciativa, a research NGO tied to MIL and Central restaurants. As the case of MIL Centro illustrates, such a combination functions as an effective way of accelerating the benefits of Peruvian gastronomy while linking these with small producers. It also aligns with the interface between social and market economies explained by Seyfang and Smith (2007: 599, thesis p. 25). MIL Centro provides through the work of Mater Iniciativa bottom-up solutions to involve the neighbouring communities in their food chain, while the fine-dining format of MIL generates income and an audience to keep the project going. In this sense, the case of MIL Centro and Mater Iniciativa stresses the effectiveness of a grassroots movement that is being sustained by a fine-dining restaurant.

The project-director of Mater Iniciativa said their main aim for the future is to establish a healthy research environment in Peru. "So whatever we want to do in 20 years, we need to adapt now. And to do that, we need to have people here, producing knowledge here, about what's going on here. It's not nationalistic shit. You guys are welcome to come here, I don't care where the researchers are



Community-members working in the participatory project of MIL Centro are educated by an agricultural scientist about how to grow potatoes organically.

from, I only care that they study here. Because whatever goes on in the Andes is not going to happen elsewhere”⁶⁷.

In connection to MIL, one of the cooks explained: “Something like this has never existed before that I know of. A restaurant or a place that allows other people from other disciplines to come and give their feedback to what this place is about. It is more than just a restaurant. Our medium of expressing is food but we are not just expressing great gastronomy, it is more than that”⁶⁸.

We exemplify MIL as a gastronomic grassroots movement because of the research provided by Mater Iniciativa, the direct contact between the restaurant and communities of producers, and the concern for the values and interests of the communities.

The collaboration between MIL and the two neighbouring communities is shaped in what they call ‘the participatory project’. This project is designed and maintained by an anthropologist who is part of the team of Mater Iniciativa. His research provides understanding for adapting to the values and interests of the communities. The project is based on the Andean concept of *ayni*, which basically means a form of reciprocity in helping each other out with working the fields. An example of *ayni* is MIL providing *chicha* for the community-members who are working in the participatory project, as the sharing of *chicha* holds an important value for reciprocal relationships in the communities. Until now, the project mostly included community-members farming the fields of MIL for a compensation consisting of a pay and half of the produce. Also, they received a workshop to learn how to farm organically, and some people were allowed jobs within the restaurant, like cleaning and washing dishes. Interestingly, about half of the community-members working at MIL consists of women. “In the rural communities, there are clearly established roles of what a man can do and what a woman can do. So I want to show the men actually that the women can work the lands and can get paid. It’s just to give an opportunity”⁶⁹. The community-members expressed their content about the project with us, but it has to be clear that Francesco is the single person forming the bridge between the communities and the restaurant. We’ve observed hardly any deep contact between the cooks and the communities, so this relation is quite fragile until now.

However, the project is just in its early stages. Mater Iniciativa has plans to further develop the project. The director of Mater Iniciativa said: “In the future I see them making chocolate, I see them distil beverages, I see them cooking, *very well*. I can see that happening easily. We just need to learn how to do that more. To learn how to teach, and to get involved in a more fluent way. I think at this moment, it’s not fluent enough”⁷⁰. The project-director of Mater Iniciativa explained that he sees

⁶⁷ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

⁶⁸ Marley, cook MIL Centro, semi-structured interview, 22-03-2018

⁶⁹ Francesco, anthropologist Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 20-04-2018

⁷⁰ Malena, director Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 12-04-2018

MIL as a testing ground for experimenting with mixing traditional and innovative farming-practices, but also to research the replicability of such a project. “I would really like to create a very standardized kind of project, that can be replicated in other places. In particular I’m thinking about the possibility to create a type of restaurant that is in fact an innovation that has to do with nutrition and waste management, possibly also energy. So the idea is that if you will introduce a restaurant that can have enough traffic anywhere, you can create certain dynamics that, if the restaurant is well designed, can push groups into desirable directions in terms of nutrition and waste management. For example, organic waste from the restaurant can be used to feed animals, which is a great opportunity for people that can’t have animals because feeding them is too expensive”⁷¹.

This idea of replicability connects well to Appadurai’s (2006, thesis p. 30) notion of cellular modes of organization. Opposing MIL as a cellular organization as opposed to a vertebrate organized government, MIL may be more competent in creating sustainable innovations by adapting to the specific local environment. The people of the communities were also excited about what MIL is doing. André, a man from the Kacllaraccay community, said that governmental programs such as PromPeru are not thinking about the environment and the economy of the communities⁷². As Gonzalo stated: “We are hoping that MIL will help us to understand how a restaurant can become a focal point for services, for a community that usually the government can’t reach because they cannot fund”⁷³.

The potentials of grassroots movements in creating sustainable innovations and development through gastronomy are certainly there, and may be more fruitful than governmental programs. However, the outreach of one restaurant is very small. MIL as a replicable project throughout Peru is very promising, and may provide an answer to the question of how gastronomy can be a tool for development in Peru.

⁷¹ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

⁷² André, resident of Kacllaraccay, informal conversation, 04-04-2018

⁷³ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

Conclusion & discussion



Community-members sitting in the dining room of MIL.

Conclusion

We discussed three frictions within Peruvian gastronomy. Before we link the conclusions of the chapters with each other, and end with concluding thoughts and discussions, we will provide a brief recapitulation of the main points of each chapter.

In the first chapter we looked at the connection between food and identification. We explained that the Peruvian gastronomic boom has much to do with economic growth, clearing the way for people to get out of the bad economic situation. However, the national cuisine can also be an important element in the process of imagining the nation (Cuszak 2000: 208). The implementation of local food practices in the development of a gastronomy that meets the standards of the global markets, is where friction occurs between the local and the global. It is as Anna Tsing suggests, at this intersection of cultural flows processes can accelerate or in the Peruvian case a “boom” can occur. It is questionable, however, whether this boom reaches many Peruvians. Many Peruvians don’t relate to fine-dining gastronomy. The amount of consumers in fine-dining restaurants is very limited because of the expensiveness. The real impact of gastronomy is its use as a social tool, to spread a message that goes beyond the restaurant. During our fieldwork we noticed a friction between the national, global and local levels of identification. Quite paradoxically, the national cuisine is built around a rich diversity of food practices making it hard to define what does and doesn’t belong. Yet food is a unifying medium on the basis of which Peruvians can relate themselves with one another. Food does hold power in building national identity and the imagination of the fluid cultural construct that is a nation. It may influence opinions of a nation’s population and leaders, and even national policies (Cuszak 2000). The boundaries of what food practices belong to the national cuisine are not clear-cut, but there are some signature Peruvian dishes that came to be a form of banal nationalism (Wilson 2013). The Peruvian cuisine is also highly influenced by the global, as immigrants brought their food practices to Peru and started fusing them with local practices and ingredients. Things from outside the country are used to nurture people’s uncertainty about identity. Over time, some of these differences became less clear and got mixed up, resulting in cuisines like *comida criolla*, which is an umbrella term for the many nationalities that influenced this mix. This may indicate a process of homogenization of local food practices that comes with globalization. However, it was discussed that global processes don’t have to eradicate, and can even reinforce the local. The way Peruvians identify with their cuisine is context dependent, especially in intangible aspects. Maybe because both cuisines and nationality are intangible, the connection between them is so hard to define. In conclusion, Identification is a mobile force that moves through the levels described. The main unifier of Peruvian cuisine is the pride it brings to Peruvians, as the complexity of the cuisine became celebrated world-wide. The question remains whether this is merely a shared celebration, or has a unifying impact that goes beyond.

In the second chapter we looked at cultural commoditization, and its role in the friction of the dual goal of using Peruvian gastronomy to aim for cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets. The connection between gastronomy and giving exchange value to things, both tangible and intangible, was pointed out. Then, the case of MIL Centro was introduced. What's happening at MIL has to do with an interplay of voices, of the communities, the team of MIL, and the consumers. The interplay also includes the expectations of the groups regarding the other groups in this interplay. We explained that the voice of the consumer is the most powerful in this interplay. Without satisfying the consumers, the interrelatedness of the voices would fall apart. This constricts MIL in how far they can go with serving Andean food, like the example of the guinea pig illustrates. It influences what can be seen as the heritage cuisine MIL is creating. Business remains the medium through which bigger goals of valorisation and promotion are being pursued. The dominance of the consumer's voice at MIL is mainly seen from the point of exchange value, as the changes in the menu resulted from feedback in the form of that consumers expected more for their money. Meeting the limitations imposed by the dominance of the consumer's voice, MIL provides a safe learning space for the encounter between tourists and local communities, in which local food practices are visibilized and their value is being acknowledged. In this safe learning space, MIL can make local food practices visible to people who might never come across them otherwise.

The big majority of the team of MIL consists of people who are outsiders to the Andes, making that the dishes of MIL should be regarded as their interpretation of the cuisine of the Cuzco region. However, there was a space for community involvement created when they were invited to experience the whole tasting menu. After their feedback, some adjustments were made. There is thus space for involvement, but this space is limited, making the creation of MIL's heritage-cuisine not community-led.

The food practices of MIL are the result of their interpretation of the Cuzco region within a fine-dining format. It should be noted that the sense of authenticity that gastronomic tourists are looking for as Cohen (1988) describes, is made (Sammells 2014). The equation between a domestic and a restaurant cuisine is in no way natural, due to the interrelatedness of these voices. We did point out that when the team of MIL connects dishes directly to the neighbouring communities, they are presenting these communities rather than being an interpretation of the whole region. This is a point of critique, as the space is limited for the communities to give their consent on the way MIL's presenting them.

Our argument is that cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets are two goals that can be pursued next to each other. Two meanings can exist at the same time. Cohen (1988: 382) goes further in arguing that two meanings can be additive: "new meanings may be added to old ones,

which persevere into the new situation". The process of giving value to food practices through gastronomy can be beneficial in their continuation. In other words, adaptation to global markets could be beneficial for cultural preservation. This is also the case when there is a learning space created, as is the case with MIL (Sammells 2014). The communities can learn the value of their locality and use that as a way to continue their way of life.

In the third chapter we discussed the friction between the government and gastronomic grassroots movements in using gastronomy as a tool for development. The case of Peru shows that gastronomy and politics are closely related, and that under certain circumstances chefs are as important as politicians. This results in that gastronomy sometimes moves the government in certain directions, instead of the other way around. We connect this friction to Appadurai's (2006) notion of cellular systems of organization as opposed to vertebrate systems of organization. The Peruvian government is operating as a vertebrate system and gastronomy as a cellular system. Cellular systems can adapt more easily to the diversity of local situations. This highlights the effectiveness of grassroots movements in the use of gastronomy to promote development in Peru.

Fine-dining restaurant can make use of their outreach as a tool for development. We argue that fine-dining restaurants on their own can't be regarded as grassroots movements. Long-term relationships between small producers and fine-dining restaurants can only be established if the restaurants are locally based. Fine-dining restaurants are business-orientated, and due to their experimental characteristic their food chains are often temporal.

For the small producers of Peru to receive the benefits of the popularity of Peruvian gastronomy, grassroots movements are necessary in cooperation with fine-dining restaurants to create high-value chains, creating opportunities for small producers and responding to their interests. As Peru is home to severe social inequality, bottom-up solutions generated by grassroots movements are necessary to empower small producers in the development of Peru. On the other hand, fine-dining restaurants are particularly potent in reinforcing grassroots movements, because of their outreach, their global reputation and the means they can generate. As illustrated through the case of MIL Centro, it is this combination of a fine-dining restaurant and a grassroots movement reinforcing each other, and found to be an effective way of using food as a social instrument. The importance of researchers in the promotion of innovative behaviour at the grassroots was stressed and connected with the aim of Mater Iniciativa to establish a healthy research environment in Peru. The focus on research, the direct contact with communities, and the concern for their values and interests, are why we argue that MIL can be regarded as a gastronomic grassroots movement.

MIL's concern with sustainable development is displayed in the form of a participatory project with the neighbouring communities. This project was developed based on research conducted by an

anthropologist, showing the significance of research in promoting innovative behaviour (Seyfang and Smith 2007). Nevertheless, most of the interaction between MIL and the communities is depending on the anthropologist working for Mater Iniciativa. This makes the relationship between these groups fragile. However, the project of MIL is part of an ongoing process and still in its early stages. There are plans to develop the participatory project in the future, involving the communities more in the work of MIL. Although we regard MIL Centro as a gastronomic grassroots movement, their direct outreach and the size of communities they're impacting is relatively small. As a member of Mater Iniciativa explained, MIL's aim is to develop a project that interacts with the environment, which is replicable in other places. Such a project is a perfect example of a cellular system of organization, and shows the potential of a this mode of organization as opposed to the vertebrate system in which the government is operating. "We are hoping that MIL will help us to understand how a restaurant can become a focal point for services, for a community that usually the government can't reach because they cannot fund" ⁷⁴.

These three frictions in Peruvian gastronomy are the ones that stood out most to us. Together they show that Anna Tsing's (2004) notion of friction is a very useful lens of analysis for research on Peruvian gastronomy, as the encounters between fine-dining restaurants and local food cultures are characterized by difference and inequality. As Tsing (2004: 5) suggests, these encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power. It could be argued that this can also be the case in the frictions discussed in this thesis.

As mentioned by Gastón Acurio, the big contradiction is how to accelerate the benefits of the Peruvian gastronomy while connecting these benefits to small farmers. As described in chapter one, local and global levels of identification can reinforce each other. Gastronomy can offer a way for shared identification to create unity in Peru. "For a very short period of time we have this opportunity in which gastronomy can be a grow-bar that opens doors. In this little time we feel collectively the same way and we imagine ourselves together in the same way, around the same things. We can use this imagery to make significant social change" ⁷⁵.

As was argued in chapter two, within the adaptations to global flows and markets, communities can be strengthened and cultural preservation can be pursued. But only if, as chapter three illustrated, the friction between goals of cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets is tackled by the involvement of grassroots movements, providing bottom-up solutions for sustainable innovation.

⁷⁴ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

⁷⁵ Gonzalo, environmental economist working at Mater Iniciativa, semi-structured interview, 18-04-2018

It are these grassroots movements that provide an answer to the contradiction described by Gastón Acurio, and can efficiently make the benefits of Peruvian gastronomy reach small producers.

Discussion

Covering the whole of the Peruvian gastronomy and its effects on social-cultural processes goes way beyond the scope of our limited research period and thesis. Yet we aimed to discuss three important frictions on the basis of our data, as we gathered an abundance of data connected to these frictions. When deconstructing the ongoing processes within Peruvian gastronomy, these frictions are what we interpreted as forming the core-elements. Looking at bigger processes through the lens of fine-dining restaurants is relatively new, we aimed for our research to be exploratory because this can show relevant aspects for future research. Because we are discussing multiple processes and frictions that go way beyond the scope of the limited space available in this thesis, we are aware that there remains much more to be explained. Each of these frictions could easily provide enough content for a thesis on its own.

The identification processes described in chapter one are limited as the data was only gathered in Lima and in one specific location in the Cuzco region. As earlier mentioned, “one size doesn’t fit the whole of Peru”, illustrating that there are probably far more examples of identification can be found throughout Peru. Also, an aspect of identification through Peruvian gastronomy that deserves more scholarly attention are gender differences, as the switch from domestic to restaurant cooking often includes a switch in gender.

There remains a lot of research to be done in MIL as well. We were present at the very opening of the restaurant and conducted our research during the first month of operation. The restaurant could change significantly in the coming years, as its owners mentioned to us. It would be interesting to return to MIL to see what has become of the participatory project with the local communities, what changed about the restaurants’ interpretation of Andean food, and the impact of the restaurant on the lives of the people living in the area. Also, our data was limited in the sense that we were only able to concern ourselves with the feedback of the consumers towards MIL and the expectations of the team of MIL in regards to the consumer. We didn’t engage directly with consumers as the format of a fine-dining restaurant offers restricted possibilities of interacting with consumers.

We are aware that we analysed the groups connected to MIL mainly as uniform groups, although there might many differences within these groups. For example, there are certainly differences between the two communities MIL is working with. The concept of friction also displayed underlying social structures, for example between Mater Iniciativa and the restaurants they’re connected to. But

as we chose to discuss three frictions, we simply don't have the space to include all these differences in this thesis.

We weren't able to analyze for ourselves a governmental program concerned with gastronomy and development. Our data in this regard was based on the experiences of others. As the concept of MIL is a new and unique form of interaction between a fine-dining restaurant and a grassroots movement, the long-term impact and the possibility of such a project to be replicated in different locations are still open for future research.

MIL is a very unique restaurant in the way they developed a participatory project with the neighbouring communities; the aim to translate Andean food into a fine-dining while trying to change it as least as possible; the research-branch of Mater Iniciativa that is a central part of MIL; and its remote location on an altitude of 3500 meters. We are not certain if there's any comparable restaurant in the world, but if there is, it could be very interesting to conduct a comparative study. This could lead to interesting insights in the replicability of this approach to fine-dining in other locations.

The key aim of MIL is to analyse how a restaurant can be in balance with the natural and social environment. Future anthropological research could be important in analyzing the possibilities of replicating of a project such as MIL in a different location, in the sense of how it could be adjusted to the values and needs of the communities of that location.

Because fine-dining restaurants are finally business-oriented, there is always the risk of them valuing food practices more in their exchange value than in their social significance. The importance of grassroots movements herein is that they provide bottom-up solution for development and promote innovative behaviour. The connection between grassroots movements and fine dining restaurants is interesting and deserves more scholarly attention, as such a collaboration can have serious impact in other locations and contexts in the world.

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Appendix

Abstract

What is for you Peruvian? Try to ask a couple Peruvian and you'll see that they find it a complicated and confusing question to answer. In a country as diverse as Peru, food serves as unifying factor. This thesis focuses on the role of Peruvian gastronomy as a tool for social development. The Peruvian gastronomy has underwent significant changes over the last years, a process which is often referred to as the 'gastronomic boom'. The unifying power of food makes it a powerful lens of analysis for a wide range of social phenomena. In many contexts, food has proved to be a very useful lens of analysing identities, nationalism, globalization, and localities. Anna Tsing's (2004) notion of friction serves as a key concept for this thesis as an analytical lens. Tsing uses friction as a metaphor for understanding global interconnectedness, and the co-existence of the global and local, the universality of local difference.

We conducted an ethnographic case study on the impact of Peruvian gastronomy on the society by analysing this from the perspective of fine-dining restaurants. We gathered our data during a period of three months in which we among others interviewed different actors related to gastronomy and used participant observation as a way of gathering data within different interrelated groups. One of the researcher worked for a month in the kitchen in one of Peru's best known restaurants and one of the researchers lived during this period with two Andean communities connected to this restaurant. In this thesis we aim to connect our fieldwork findings in the gastronomic sector of Peru with anthropological theory and debates. We will discuss three frictions existent in Peruvian gastronomy that stood out to us. The first friction is the connection between food and identification in Peru, the dynamics between national, global, and local levels of identification. Here we argue for the context-dependency of identification and its hybridity. The second friction focusses on the – possibly conflicting - dual goals of Peruvian gastronomy that are cultural preservation and adaption to global markets. In this context, we will connect findings and theory regarding cultural commoditization, the change in value and meaning of food practices when derived from a rural community and transformed into the setting of a fine-dining restaurant. We will focus on the case-study of MIL Centro, a fine-dining restaurant in the Andes which is collaborating with local rural communities and seeks to be an interpretation of the Andean cuisine. We argue that the goals of cultural preservation and adaption to international markets don't necessarily have to be conflicting, and that cultural commoditization can be beneficial for all groups involved, as long as there is space for community-involvement. The third friction is between the government and grassroots movements within the Peruvian gastronomic sector. Appadurai's (2006) discussion of vertebrate and cellular modes of large-scale organization serves as a key lens of analysis for our focus on this friction. We argue that a gastronomic grassroots movement, to the extent that it operates as a cellular form of large-scale organization, can more effectively promote economic and social development than the government programs are doing, especially in a country as diverse as Peru. A top-down governmental approach to using gastronomy as a tool for development is here opposed to a bottom-up approach.

By analysing these frictions and connecting them with each other, we aim to provide the context in which gastronomy can serve as a tool for development in Peru.

As mentioned by Gastón Acurio, one of the main actors shaping the uplifting of the Peruvian gastronomy, the big contradiction is how to accelerate the benefits of the Peruvian gastronomy while connecting these benefits to small farmers. We argue in chapter one that local and global levels of identification can reinforce each other. Gastronomy can offer a way for shared identification to create unity in Peru. A researcher of a gastronomic NGO notes: "For a very short period of time we have this opportunity in which gastronomy can be a grow-bar that opens doors. In this little time we

feel collectively the same way and we imagine ourselves together in the same way, around the same things. We can use this imagery to make significant social change”.

The argument discussed in chapter two is that within the adaptations to global flows and markets, communities can be strengthened and cultural preservation can be pursued. But only if, as chapter three illustrates, the friction between goals of cultural preservation and adaptation to global markets is tackled by the involvement of grassroots movements, providing bottom-up solutions for sustainable innovation.

It are these grassroots movements that provide an answer to the contradiction described by Gastón Acurio, and can efficiently make the benefits of Peruvian gastronomy reach small producers.

Resumen

¿Que es para ti Peruano? Cuando te vas a preguntar eso a algunos Peruanos, verás que es una pregunta complicada para responder. A un país como Peru que es tan diverso, comida sirve como un factor que crea unidad. Esta tesis se enfoca en la posibilidad para la gastronomía Peruana para ser un medio de desarrollo. La gastronomía Peruana ha cambiado significado en los últimos años, un proceso se conoce como el 'boom gastronómico'. El poder de la comida para crear unidad, lo ha hecho un perspectiva muy fuerte para el análisis de los fenómenos sociales. En distintos contextos, comida ha demostrado ser una perspectiva de utilidad para analizar identidad, nacionalismo, globalización, y localidades. Anna Tsing's (2004) noción de fricción es un concepto de importancia en esta tesis para analizar los procesos. Tsing utiliza el concepto de fricción como una metáfora para analizar la interconexión global, la coexistencia de la global y local, y la universalidad de la diferencia local.

Hicimos una investigación etnográfica en el impacto de la gastronomía Peruana en la sociedad del perspectiva de restaurantes de alta cocina. Acumulamos nuestro data durante un período de tres meses. Entrevistamos a personas con diferentes perspectivas sobre la gastronomía y utilizamos el método de observación participativo para recopilar datos de dos grupos conectado. Uno de los investigadores trabajó un mes en la cocina de unos de los restaurantes mas famosos en el Peru y uno de los investigadores vivió en el mismo periodo con dos comunidades en el Andes. En esta tesis nuestro objetivo es conectar los datos de nuestro trabajo de campo con teorías antropológicas. Enfocamos en tres fricciones que nos encontramos en la gastronomía Peruana.

La primera fricción es la conexión de la alimentación y identidad en el Peru, la dinámica entre los niveles de identificación nacional, global y local. Enfocamos en la dependencia del contexto y su hibridez en el proceso de identificación.

La segunda fricción analiza dos objetivos de la gastronomía peruana, posiblemente contradictorio, la preservación cultural y la adaptación a los mercados globales. En este contexto conectamos nuestro data con las teorías de la comodización del cultura, y analizamos el cambio de valor de los practicos alimentarios cuando se tranforme el contexto de cocina doméstica a un restaurante de alta cocina. Enfocamos en el caso de MIL Centro, un restaurante de alta cocina ubicado en los Andes que es una interpretación de la cocina andina. MIL está colaborando con los dos comunidades vecinas. Nuestro argumento es que los dos objetivos del preservación cultural y la adaptación a los mercados globales, no necesariamente están en conflicto. La comodización del cultura puede desarrollar en beneficios para todos los grupos involucrados cuando cuando hay un espacio para la participación de los comunidades.

La tercera fricción en la gastronomía Peruana es ente el gobierno y organizaciones de base. Utilizamos La discusión de Appadurai (2006) sobre los modos de organización, vertebrados y celulares, para analizar este fricción. Nuestro argumento es que las organizaciones de base puede ser mas efectivo para el desarrollo social y economico en comparación del gobierno, especialmente en un país tan diverso como el Peru. La manera de organización verticalmente esta en comparación con la manera de organización horizontal para usar la gastronomía como un medio de desarrollo. Nuestro objetivo es proporcionar el contexto en que la gastronomía puede servir como un medio para el desarrollo en el Perú, con la análisis y conexión de los tres fricciones

Como Gastón Acurio mencionó, la grande contradicción de la gastronomía Peruana es acelerar los beneficios y conectar estos beneficios con los pequeños productores. Nuestro argumento del capítulo uno es que los dos diferentes niveles de identificación, el global y el local, puede reforzarse mutuamente. La gastronomía es una manera de compartir aspectos de identificación y puede

generar unidad en el Perú. Un investigador de una ONG gastronómica explica: “En un período de tiempo muy corto, tenemos la oportunidad de gastronomía para desarrollar y abrir puertas. En este momento sentimos un colectivo, nos imaginamos en la misma manera, con las mismas aspectos. Podemos usar este momento y sentimiento de unidad para hacer un cambio social de significación”.

En capítulo dos, nuestro argumento es que con la adaptación de lo mercado global, comunidades pueden fortalecerse y se puede seguir el objetivo de preservación cultural. Pero únicamente, como explicamos en capítulo tres, la fricción entre los objetivos de preservación cultural y la adaptación de lo mercado global hay involucrados los organizaciones de base para proporcionar soluciones de abajo para la innovación sostenible.

Son estas organizaciones de base que puede responder a la contracción como Gastón Acurio mencionó y pueden conectar los beneficios de la gastronomía Peruana con los pequeños productores.