WE ARE WHAT WE EAT?
The Resurgence of Traditional Colombian Cuisine and its Implications for the National Identity

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INTRODUCTION

Winds of gastronomic change have taken over Colombia. Over the last decade, significant presence of the message of diversity, in demographic as well as biodiverse terms, is voiced by the public and on the institutional level as a strength. This research analyses the phenomenon of the recent resurgence of traditional Colombian cuisine related to national identity construction from a decolonial perspective. More specifically, the investigation assessed the dialogue between the Ministry of Culture regarding their mission to reassess the country's culinary heritage in terms of salvation of collective cultural patrimony, and the realization thereof throughout the past decade. This attention for food related to sociopolitical context is not an isolated occurrence and exists in many forms. For example, over the past decade, such expressions have taken the shape of the acknowledgement of traditional Colombian cuisine as intangible heritage by UNESCO (2011), and the articulation of a search for a 'more just society' propagated by 'Fogón Colombia', a collective of fifty Colombian chefs that have promulgated their manifest on national cuisine in 2015. Furthermore, agricultural strikes, and protests such as *Dignidad Agropecuaria Colombiana* [Colombian Agricultural Dignity], *Movimiento por la Defensa y Dignidad de los Cafeteros Colombianos* [Movement for the Defence and Dignity of Colombia Coffee Workers] (2013) and the like contributed to the expansion of the subject on a national level.

The way this movement contributes to the image of *colombianidad* [the national identity], and its received governmental response will be the point of departure for this thesis. The political effort put forth by the Ministry of Culture to erect a project for the protection and salvation of cultural immaterial patrimony, puts the culinary realm high on its agenda. The incorporation of culinary heritage into public policy fortifies the position of gastronomy as a societal factor that transgresses the realm of consumption, ascending in significance for cultural identity of the nation (Delfín, 2013; Schlüter, 2006). The analysis will be driven by curiosity in the urgency to promote ''traditional'' culinary practice onto the national culinary stage, and the necessity behind the need to construct a new narrative of culinary Colombian patrimony.

This thesis contributes to the debate surrounding national identity formation in Colombia, evaluating the revision and revalidation of its respective culinary and socio-political landscape. The research project relies on the rootedness of food research in social processes visible across disciplines such as history, and sociology and therefore mainly relies on the fields of social anthropology and food studies as sub-disciplines of anthropology. In order to assess the case study, the investigation is founded within the theoretical framework of the relatively new discipline of food studies, which has been a secondary part of anthropology and similar social sciences for a long time. Although food is one of the most necessary and central aspects of human life, it has been investigated considerably little outside of its biological realm. Many cultural rituals, practices and religion have specific roles and rules for food items due to their symbolic value, but it has not been a main theme regarding its connection to identitary matters until rather recently. Nevertheless, while historically culinary traditions belong to a certain social group, they are inherently indicative of the dynamics of inclusion or exclusion of social groups as well. Therefore, the hypothesis of this investigation is that the governmental reaction to include culinary traditions that are in danger of disappearance is a response to the culinary movement. This culinary movement intends to break with continued social hierarchies, belonging to historical racial and colonial profiling with the aim of diversification of the national narrative.

This thesis acknowledges the significance of cultural food studies in general, and attempts to mediate the lack of applied analysis within the field regarding the matter of identity construction in the Colombian context. This is executed by evaluation of the Ministry of Culture's narrative in terms of individuation of regional cultures – the different Colombia's – under the emblem of intellectual inquiry, knowledge and mutual respect, viewed as moving particles of a whole rather than a homogenous

assimilated construction in a transcultural fashion (Ortiz, 1940). More specifically, it assesses whether the current return to roots of Colombian cuisine as part of the culinary movement in Colombia could be a response to the threat of its (culinary) identity by imposed models of modernity that have damaged (culinary) identity, and the subsequent reassessment of Colombianness by the State.

       As the proof is in the pudding, the existing relationship between culinary traditions, politics of belonging, the local and identity, the governmental response to the situation will be dissected, analysed and pasted onto its social and contemporary context. Chapter one functions to lay out the necessary ingredients for theoretical assessment of food studies. The presented framework will be centred around the intersection between construction of *tradition, (collective) identity*, and *(national) cuisine.* Chapter two will illustrate the historical and cultural situatedness in which the object of analysis is rooted. Themes like Latin-American Identity and Colombian Identity related to cuisine will be contextualised to make sure the table is set for analysis. Chapter three provides a reading of culinary heritage through the lens of global interconnectedness, tradition, imagined communities and collective (culinary) identity. This framework will be methodized through application to a selection of recipes with hybrid roots which originated in precolonial times yet managed to survive until today and were put forth by the culinary archive *La biblioteca básica de las cocinas colombianas tradicionales* [The basic library of traditional Colombian cuisines]. Methods of food genealogy and deconstruction will be deployed to retrieve the roots and corresponding symbolism connected to the dishes. Secondly, the analysis will provide a gastronomic journey throughout time in which the elected recipes, representative of the governmental archive, have endured various dynamics in terms of national representation. Lastly, the (symbolic) significance of these recipes will be contextualised within contemporary society and viewed through the concepts of gastronomic multiculturalism and culinary colonialism to evaluate the hypothesis.

CHAPTER 1
Food and Identity Construction: A Theoretical Approach

In order to benefit the digestion of the complex dynamics of culinary practices and their implications for national identity, several core theories home to the studies of food must be assessed. This chapter functions to entice the palate of the reader by plating the main ingredients that theory has provided thus far regarding the intersection between construction of *tradition, (collective) identity*, and *(national) cuisine*.

1.1 Anthropology of Food

Mentions of food within the context of cultural dietary patterns have been recorded since the 1900s, however, very briefly and frequently in the form of descriptive lists rather than analytic (Marak, 2014). While academic interest on the nutritional and biological side of food in society has long existed as a focus of study, the cultural sphere connected to the role of food in society has often been posited as simply pertaining to everyday life, or briefly mentioned within ethnographies that entailed entire cultures (Wilk, 2013). Therefore, within literature regarding research approaches or methodology of the field of food studies, the central role of interdisciplinarity as is constituted in the field is emphasized (Chrzan & Brett, 2017; de Garine, 2004; den Hartog, van Staveren & Brouwer, 2006; Macbeth & MacClancy, 2004; Miller & Deutsch, 2009). Nowadays, there is a common understanding that the study of food owes its credibility as a focal point of study and as an independent field in academia to its ability to provide insight on matters that go beyond its nutritional value. It pierces into the social realm and subsequently carries potential to shed light on issues inherent to the matrix of domination such as gender, sex, religion (Walker Bynum, 1997), ethnicity (Lockwood & Lockwood, 2000, Marak, 2014; Murcott, 1997), place, and class (Bourdieu, 1979, 1993; Goody, 1982), which play crucial roles in identity (Crenshaw, 1991; Messer, 1984) and politics (Appadurai, 1988; Chrzan & Brett, 2017; Counihan & van Esterik, 1997). This can be identified at the level of the personal, the regional, the national and the global.

This investigation follows the trend of food studies in anthropology which is centred around the cultural sphere of food as laid out by Richard R. Wilk who elaborated on groundwork established amongst others by Audrey Richards (1932) and Sidney Mintz (1985). Namely, that food studies is:

> grounded in history and political economy, emphasizes the mutual interaction between global and local instead of seeing them as opposites, treats authenticity as a complex and constant process, rather than a steady-state or a quality of goods or products, views the nation state as an only partially successful entity, one that is often resisted, undercut, and even destroyed and looks at ways that flows and movements of culture may create or challenge boundaries (Wilk, 2012: 53-58).

1.2 Traditions of Tradition

As this research project starts out with the notion of ''traditional Colombian cuisine'', it is important to assess what the term traditional actually entails. While the terminology of tradition is frequently used as if it were something fixed and identifiable, it is actually dependent on the positionality of each individual and may diverge immensely within the group that is the supposed defined ''ingroup''. The

essence of the term is the passing down of something, from past to present, installing continuity and connection between time and space (Shills, 1981: 12-22). What exactly is to be passed down can be applicable to a myriad of possibilities pertaining to practice as well as knowledge (Ibid. 16). Independent of its content, by re-enactment of past praxis, a connection between the past and present is made, establishing a link between the present enacting group and their precursors (Green, 1997: 800). Tradition enjoys strong ties with politics of belonging and is central to group formation and construction of collective identity. It is exactly through this route, that a cultural practice such as food preparation can make its way into becoming an identity signifier of the collective.

Outlining a summary of the debate regarding the concept within the historical and ethical argument surrounding the value of tradition in modern life, there is a general opposition between rationalist-secularists, who ignore dictations of a fixed historical tradition and claim Descartesian individualist sovereignty, and conservatives-traditionalists who abide by dictations of 'tradition' (Oakeshott, 1962). The notion that ''tradition'' is a fixed historical given has received much critique from academic spheres, providing a post-secular turn, adding that the term holds a dynamic nature which is skewed depending on the narrator and the intersection of time and place (MacIntyre, 2006; Taylor, 1995). For instance, tradition supposedly contrasts with new foods, which can be divided into two new categories. Firstly, referring to those foods that have been introduced in the past which do constitute part of national cuisine, while not having integrated into the definition of traditional or indigenous and secondly, recently introduced foodstuffs that have not undergone a widely distributed hybridization with the local cuisine. Tradition continuously forms and reforms our pasts, and is therefore meaningless without its actual, contemporaneous interpretation and its application by individuals and communities (Douglas, 1986; Taylor, 1985; Yadgar, 2013).

Hence, in this analysis, the term "tradition" is to be read between apostrophes, due to the dynamic and inherent bias of its definition depending on the narrative. Despite the contingent character of tradition, Shills (1958: 156) states that the concept remains a relevant factor for understanding present or future events. While inherently collective, it is also inevitably essential to the shaping of the individual identity through practice of repetition, signifying meaning. Therefore, both enabling and limiting our ability to apprehend reality, underlining our positionality as a precondition of our own understanding. Thus, intrinsically, "tradition" reflects present understandings of the meanings of the past and plays a large role in the social construction of reality in society (Yadgar, 2013). Due to its situatedness, the practice of "tradition" means an interpretation of what is perceived to be traditional and by whom. Besides, connected to the case study, while food and cuisine in the present can be based on that of the past, they can never be perfect reconstructions (Montanari, 2006; Wilk, 2012).

National symbols and rituals are frequently posited as if they were baked into the blueprint since the beginning of time within a nation, while often they have not been around very long nor enjoyed wide practice. The purpose of this is to legitimize cultural practices which enables the solidification of a collective identity of the nation in times of turbulence and major changes (Giménez, 2003). While this historical fraud can be the result of innocent incomprehension of the history of a practice, more often than not claiming false tradition is not unproblematic and is often strategically deployed for ideological, economic or political purposes (Brulotte & Di Giovine, 2014; Handler, 1988; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1997). This phenomenon, coined *invented tradition* by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), is oftentimes part of the process of nation-building that took off in the nineteenth century and really set foot in the twentieth century. As "tradition" is always dependent on what side of the story is told by whom, it is inevitably altered by either conscious or unconscious manipulation or skewedness, it passes on a narrative that includes and excludes representations or other narratives of "traditions". Subsequently, certain groups tied to those excluded narratives fail to be represented on national level, threatening their traditions and identities. A narrator claiming a specific narration of ''tradition'' is more often than not characterized by telling the story on a stake-holder base (Calhoun, 2006; May, 2006;

Stengers, 2007; Vandana, 1993). Moreover, the invention of traditions frequently occurs as a response to a changed ideology, responding to large and fast societal changes. Hobsbawm and Ranger have established three different types of invented traditions: 1) those whose main purpose is socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviours, 2) Those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and 3) those symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of communities. The reformed narrative of the State on ''Colombian cuisine'' and the institutionalization of ''tradition'' will be evaluated in the light of these types of invented traditions, subsequently testing the objective of the national narrative.

1.3 Shaping Nations, Constructing Identities

Traditions, organic or strategically invented, belong to a certain collective and carry the potential to strengthen group cohesion. This process of in and out group identification takes place on multiple levels, the epitome thereof being the institutionalized act of nation-building and branding. The (spiritual) connection between people that have never met through the socio-political construction of the State, is to be elucidated by what Benedict Anderson (1983) coined *imagined communities.* Anderson posits the nation as a community that is socially constructed by the imagination of those who consider themselves as part of that group. The relationship within the community is perpetuated in the group through items and practice of a shared history, reifying the unification of the State. This sense of unification, despite the great divide within social hierarchies that are visible in this nation holds ground due to the greater cosmology of the time, bound by the awareness that the group collectively moves along the same trajectory (Anderson, 1983: 188).

The process of nation-building is situated within government programs that are installed to construct the national identity. The State has the powerful means and position to propagate and foster certain ideals and to install infrastructural development to maintain the governability of the masses, through their usage of these means. The initial instalment of such projects date back to decentralization of political governance. Newly independent nations that for example had previously been under colonial rule for a considerable amount of time, had to refurbish the governmental make-up of often re-defined spatial and ideological territory. Redefinition of policy regarding amongst other things ethnicity, religion, education, and military called for the creation of a national framework for collective identity. Redesigning policies of inclusion and exclusion, yet frequently still maintaining socioeconomic divide, customs and folklore of lower class and indigenous groups entered the stage of the national narrative within this process. Through the establishment of national commonalities such as flags, anthems and myths, nations attempted to mould the colonial aftermath of rule and divide into one new coherent narrative. Within former colonial societies, the demographic make-up is usually rather heterogeneous. With the colonial rule off the official record, a power vacuum frequently takes place between present (ethnic) groups, which results in internal conflicts, corruption and divide rather than harmonious re-building of society (Mylonas, 2013; Wimmer, 2018).

The project of constructing a nation and a collective identity is usually paired with a propaganda of what defines ''us'' as a nation on the agenda of nationalist discourse. The assumption made in nationalism is that a State as a political entity amounts out of a historically grown social-cultural entity. The establishment of an ingroup, of a ''Self'' inherently supposes an outgroup, an ''Other'' which embodies the opposition (Said, 1978). This exceptionalism takes place on the level of nations versus each other, but is also existent within national boundaries. Namely, while nationalism can be applied to enhance social cohesion within the nation, the inherent element of affirmative action carries a dark side to it. Not fulfilling the role that is sketched to be the ingroup bears segregational consequences, risking social isolation in the national narrative (Anderson, 1983). The scope of nationalism ranges from innocent chauvinist emotional attachment to one's country versus extreme mutants driving genocide

and National Socialism as for example experienced in the Second World War. Before the construction of the nation, there were no state-specific semantics for the national cuisine as these were also constructed to define the ingroup, and to establish this new ''we''. For the first time, lower class and indigenous cultural practices were acknowledged bit by bit and incorporated into the usage of a collective identity. The kitchen, as a collective space with shared cultural practice is one of such cultural practices that generally endures a primary role in construction of the nation, evolving from simply food that one is nourished by, or dietary habits, into a national cuisine.

1.4 Main Ingredients of a Cuisine

For the purpose of understanding this process, it is important to assess what is historically meant by the term *cuisine,* building the foundation of this investigation. Is cuisine merely the act of physically cooking in the kitchen space? Or is its crux situated within the social context thereof? Before the twentieth century, (local) food was generally not thought of as culinary. That is, outside elite spheres where French food ruled the culinary realm, featuring in weddings, baptisms and other special occasions not only in Europe but overseas as well. It is in the twentieth century that culinary narratives take ground, and that the construction of identity and tradition in a national context includes the lower classes. Cultural cuisine, as defined by Paul Rozin (1981), entails the food-related customs and norms of a given culture, existing out of four main elements. These elements include:

> The selection of a set of basic (staple or secondary) foods, the frequent use of a characteristic set of flavourings, the characteristic processing (e.g. chopping and cooking) of such food, and the adoption of a variety of rules dealing with acceptable foods and combinations, festival foods, the social context of eating, and the symbolic uses of foods (p. 234).

The usage of spicing unfamiliar foods with particular flavours and spices is often a way to alter and mark the cultural identity of their foods (Marak, 2014).

Mennell (1985) includes, besides which foodstuffs are consumed and the way foodstuffs are prepared as essential to the definition, the associated "attitudes" that are tied to these activities such as the sociability, degree of emotions – positive as well as negative – regarding the item as well as the form of assimilation, or a society's sense of collective identity. While Mennell further fails to specify what is meant by "attitudes" as an overlapping category, it seems to convey the outcome of various human experiences that intersect nature and culture – the social, economic and political experiences of people.

Building upon Mennell, Fischler (1990) agrees that the definition transgresses the mere items and techniques used in the kitchen space. Yet, he stresses the significance of the foodway – the trail of of foodstuffs before they arrive in the kitchen space – elaborating the following:

> Each culture possesses a specific [type of] "cuisine" which implies classifications, particular taxonomies, and a complex set of rules that apply not only to the preparation and combination of foodstuffs but also to their cultivation, harvesting, and consumption. It possesses, too, meanings which are closely tied to the way in which culinary rules are applied (1990: 34).

Sidney Mintz (1996) emphasizes the dimension of identity within the notion of cuisine through the process of consistency in food patterns and sharing what is cooked with each other. He attributes the necessity of self-identification as part of the group and caring about that position: "active production of food and opinion about food, around which and through which people communicate daily to each other who they are" (p. 97). For a cuisine to be genuine, it has to have common social roots, and be a food of

a community.

Modern literature within food studies builds upon the aforementioned canon, yet points out gaps in their definitions. Amongst these authors, Cruz Miguel Ortíz Cuadra (2016) criticizes the lack of attention to the evolution of circumstances under which the solidification of meaning was established within the creations of collective culinary culture within the aforementioned definitions. Quoting Cuadra: "this book [*Eating Puerto Rico: A History of Food, Culture and Identity*] elucidates these particularities, identifying elements that, over time, slowly and gradually helped to set in place, or disrupt, or replenish the culinary "actions" and their meanings" (p. 8).

Upon hearing the word ''cuisine'', the image of fancy specialty chefs immediately pops into one's mind, however, it is the specialized labour carried out on a daily base at home based on the generationally handed down information through practice and imitation, more often than not by women of traditional societies, constituting the bulk part of what the word cuisine actually entails. Especially those that include the burdens of actually having to butcher, grind or pound the meat.

According to sociologist Goody, critic of the Lévi-Straussian emphasis on culture and the lack of consideration for the differences between individuals and their social relations, the cumulative increase of knowledge placed at the heart of cuisine only flourishes in centralized areas with a historical written tradition, referring to societies like Europe and Asia. Goody praises material tangibility of history and dismisses the authenticity of information solely based on oral tradition (1982). Montanari (2006) adds to the discussion that whereas the retrieval of written knowledge on culinary practices are easier to recover, these texts have only come into existence through social elites for their peers. Although modern day investigators do not have tangible materials that reference the practices of those without means for textual culinary productions, one could hardly make the argument that claims that lower classes and indigenous groups did not engage in the construction of the national cuisine. However, these groups and their respective practices remained invisible to the Eurocentric canonical cuisine during the nineteenth century.

Ingredients or dishes are able to be artificially modified by changing its peasant nature at the moment of upscaling its social stance through incorporation into another dish of high stance such as meats or as a side component thereof. Borrowing from Sabadino degli Arienti: "Garlic is always rustic food, but at times becomes artfully civilized when thrust into the body of a roasted duck" (Nucili, 2018: 49). In this fashion, foods that enjoyed an image connected to peasantry in the collective mind-set were modified by the elite and made compatible with their zone of privilege, subsequently arriving in elite cookbooks. As a peasant dish can be enriched by adding other components of higher stance or serving it on the side of upper-class produce, a base of culinary culture can be dissected within food practices as cookbooks have indirectly, but not less visibly, incorporated culinary peasant tradition that was formerly passed on orally into material documentation of higher class contexts. This, allows one to dissect the base of a culinary culture within food practices and aids the retrieval and reconstitution of historical oral and popular culture.

1.5 Culinary Semiotics: Nature vs. Culture

In what way does culinary practice fit within the national framework of tradition and collective consciousness? While the significance of culture within identity politics has been widely acknowledged the focus mostly lies in cultural practices such as music and dance (Bhabha, 2004; Wade, 1977). Remarkably food culture seems to be the changeling of the equation in cultural studies, whilst at the same time there is a unanimous agreement amongst scholars that the act of cooking has marked the very first instance of distinguishing humans from the animal realm, leaving behind a state of savageness and constituting civilized man. Namely, by transitioning something raw out of nature into something cooked

through a medium [pot or grill], the product morphs from the natural to the cultural sphere (Douglas, 1974; Fischler, 1983; Montanari, 2006). This is especially the case with boiling food, as the process of using a receptacle to hold water is not entirely natural (Lévi-Strauss, 1968). Fischler distinguishes two dimensions of the relationship between humans and food. The first consists of the biological versus the cultural, carrying nutritional versus symbolic meanings. The second regards the individual versus the collective, carrying psychological versus social characteristics. Two highly influential concepts that have been coined by Fischler in his essay "Food, Self and Identity" (1983) include *the principle of incorporation* and *the omnivore's paradox*.

The principle of incorporation lays out the ground rules for the symbolic importance of food for identity construction and is based on the premise that with incorporating elements from the outside world into our bodily sphere by the act of eating, associated representations of those elements are also incorporated into ourselves. Quoting Fischler: "To incorporate a food is, in both real and imaginary terms, to incorporate all or some of its properties: we become what we eat" (p. 279). Fischler's conclusion, bridging food with identity, is in line with what German philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach has written over a century before him, stating in 1862: *Der Mensch ist, was er ißt* [The Human is, what it eats]. In sum, Feuerbach and Fischler draw a line between food being the essence of a person's identity and self-awareness.

The second concept, the omnivore's paradox, encompasses the ability of humankind to adapt diets as a simultaneous liberty and constraint. Namely, embedded anxiety in the tension between the neophobia and neophilia, being resistant to change and fearful of the unknown while being reliant on a varied diet in order to survive. This is supported and elaborated upon by Montanari in *Food is Culture* (2006), where he states that even the hunter-gatherer methodology in itself functions as a cultural rather than a natural sphere. Namely, mankind does not instinctively, like the animals, know what foods are a threat to their life as they are poisonous, but man acquires this knowledge by those who are already familiar with the produce and its potential, orally passing on this information (p. 45).

Lévi-Strauss (1968) and Barthes (1997) compare cuisines, whose symbolic values transgress their material realities, to language in that each has its own grammar to constitute meaning, rendering some messages difficult to understand for others that have been brought up in a different spatial and cultural context. Barthes adds that, as in the contemporary globalized era of plenty, the so-called accessory signifiers of meaning have become at least as important as the nutritional value of foods, if not more so (1961). Thus, in order to identify accessory signifiers of a culinascape, the intersection between the geographical and socio-political context in which a cuisine is based, one needs to dive into the situatedness of natural as well as cultural factors. French historian Fernand Braudel coined the primary grains for each continent – corn in the case of the Americas – "the plants of civilization", as entire societies had structured their lives surrounding the product, in cultivation and consumption as well as in religious practices and as protagonist in legends and narratives. Economic and political relationships rested on this product and in order to ensure abundance and fertility, the product would star in iconography and rituals. In Latin America, the message of the legend surrounding corn and the role of corn in society originating in Mexico and nomadically passed onto neighbouring countries equates that without corn there would be no man as in the Mayan legend, the gods have created man out of corn (Walden, 1966).

Montanari formulates that culture is the interface between the notion of tradition, which is based on knowledge, techniques and values that are passed down from generation to generation versus innovation, existing where the traditional is modified into a new reality (2006). Such innovation resides within the ability to prepare a product, for instance the product of corn, instead of as a simple mutation from its natural form – cooked or baked corn – into evolved artificial foodstuffs that do not exist as such in nature, representing the epitome of civil man. These products are often flour-based products, such as corn flour *tortillas, arepas* and *empanadas* and embody man's way out of the animal realm and install

a state of civilization by dominating a process that adapts nature to their own benefit. In fact, innovation is often born out of necessity and poverty rather than for the sake of luxury (van Esterik, 2006). Therefore, products that are nowadays perceived as produce of heritage and delight were born out of a need to prolong the expiration date of the natural state of the product (Montanari, 2006; Garth and Schacht, 2013).

On the micro level too, power relations are to be perceived in food dimensions. For instance, as sharing a table signifies membership within a group, a seat is not to be assigned at random, but according to differing hierarchic roles. This group can exist out of family, associations, guilds or anything else, who affirm their collective identity while sharing a table and playing their part. Mary Douglas elaborates upon the function of food as a sign in her influential article "Deciphering a Meal", she states:

> If food is treated as a code the message it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries. Like sex, the taking of food has a social component, as well as a biological one (1972: 72).

She illustrates how ordinary meals reveal a lot about the cultural system that surrounds the dish including many of their beliefs.

Goody takes issue with Douglas's approach in his influential book Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology (1982). He claims that Douglas fails to incorporate internal factors and material elements into her analysis. He acknowledges the significance of culture in food studies, but argues that Douglas and many others overlook the importance of the political economy at the microlevel, visible in the household in relation to the macro level, happening at the level of the State. Namely, "the hierarchy between ranks and classes takes a culinary form" (p. 113) as one's positionality in social hierarchy can be revealed through the content and quantity of food as well as under whose accompaniment. Furthermore, as the economic behaviour of individuals is deeply rooted in social relations networks, all economies are interwoven with social relations and cannot be viewed as "a separate, autonomous sphere vis-à-vis society as a whole" (Polanyi, 1944: 108). This economic relevance is supported by Mintz (1985) who points out that patterns in diet underwent many alterations due to the development of the market economy.

1.6 Modernization, Massification and Identity

One of such important economic influences on the food industry took place in the long nineteenth century (1789-1914) alongside the process of nation-building within the phenomena of industrialization and modernization. In the early modern period, the industrial revolution which was initiated in Great Britain enabled an accelerated mode of automatization, communication and transportation, of goods as well as of peoples (Arrighi, 2009; Mumford, 1968). This technological advancement sparked the expansion of capitalism and globalized networks. It paved the way for instalments of neoliberal models all over the world as the Eurocentric initial model of modernity was an aspirational model with the promise of economic advances as an alluring omen. Unfortunately, the quest for better financial times often effected the opposite, and enlarged the gap between the rich and poor (Gandler, 2000). Nevertheless, the access to food supplies did increase.

Globalization and modernity enabled food supply that was formerly locally unavailable in their natural sphere. Historically, methods of preservation were key because transportation took a lot longer than nowadays as many products would not have survived the trip and would have gone bad before arrival. Besides faster transfer, mass-produced consumer items as well as mass produced food with long

shelf life entered the stage. Fischler goes on to state that absence of consciousness of the origin and history of the product that one consumes creates a state of difficult identification of the product, especially applicable nowadays with easy access to mass produced foods. According to Fischler, the autonomy to decode the items ourselves, puts people under pressure leading to uncertainty regarding what to eat as "there are no clear-cut and coherent criteria, as there were within rural society of earlier times" (1988: 781). Additionally, the artificiality of many of the available produce renders a problematic relationship between the present and the past as with the erosion of high presence of culinary tradition and culinary identity, the identity of the group enjoys a transition as well.

This metalevel of food in terms of symbolism and semiotics – the fact that consumption patterns and the place of certain foods in groups can shape identity – works both ways. Namely, the loss of identifiability of the produce deteriorates awareness of culinary history and its corresponding meaning, disturbing modern identity. Fischler states: "If one does not know what one is eating, one is liable to lose the awareness of certainty of what is oneself" (1980: 290). Thus, this transformation can be problematic and has the potential to constitute a crisis of identity on the individual level as well as on that of the group. The intersection between the wish for individuality within the contemporary society of abundance and massified consumption can render a search for new identities amidst consumer markets (Benjamin, 1968).

Simultaneously, in many tradition oriented societies, especially in the case of former colonies, where the process of nation-building takes place alongside the quest for modernization, a conflict of ideologies takes place. As modernization is aimed at progress and therefore pointed at change and the future rather than holding onto historical cultural practices and tradition, it renders a clash between interests and a crisis of identity (Duara, 2014; Larraín, 2000).

1.7 Culinary Cosmologies

A cuisine or a culinary order as a socially constructed reality belongs to a cosmology or culinary ideology if you will (Appadurai, 1986; Bestor, 2004; Bourdieu, 1984; Douglas, 1966; Sánchez & Barrena, 2013) and reflects change or consistency in contemporary politics, mirroring periods of tranquillity or distress (Pilcher, 2006). Moreover, cuisines help define places, societies, nation-states and ethnic origins (Mintz, 1996). It is no coincidence that the Spanish term for diet, *régimen*, is a synonym for regime or government as we govern our diets correspondingly to what is found acceptable and "good to eat" within our cultural surroundings. Moving away from the mere quest to find what is edible, to what is culturally acknowledged, encouraged and customary. Restrictions within diets would not exist if it would not be for the edibility of the food product, as eating something that is commonly perceived as poisonous is unsurprisingly a very unpopular act (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). Academics point out that a huge range of edible food items have been rejected, varying in every culture, solely on the base of cultural beliefs and norms (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999; Curtis and Biran, 2001; Douglas, 1966; Harris, 1985). Montanari is in agreement with Harris that food choices are weighed by people according to the acquired advantages versus disadvantages, leading towards resignation of certain foods as "bad" or "good", with the exception of those in poverty who mainly classify their food produce by its ability to do away with hunger. Quoting Harris: "Food, so to speak, must nourish the collective mind before it can enter an empty stomach" (1985: 15). For instance, in modern day Peru, contemporary understandings of class, ethnicity, and social identity code whether the consumption of a guinea pig is a delicacy or an unsavoury indigenous food item (de France, 2006). Hence, why certain foods are by some perceived as treats and disgusting to others yields the food as a product of context and syntax.

Namely, besides the ingestion of the properties of food by incorporation, the consumer is incorporated by this very act into a culinary system, which posits them in a group of practitioners. Many societies classify between ''our'' and ''their'' food (Marak, 2014). Studies have indicated that food is

an exceptionally potent symbol of personal and group identity, shaping one of individual as well as communal identity (Counihan, 1999; Douglas, 2002). This group formation can be pertaining to a nationality, such as nicknaming the French frogs and Germans krauts, but can also be of religious food practices such as the abstinence from pork in Islam, feasting, fasting, or the consumption of special Matze for Pesach in Judaism as well as vegetarianism or veganism (Fischler, 1983; Harris, 1985; Montanari 2006). Moreover, "the organ of taste is not the tongue, but the brain, a culturally determined organ through which are transmitted and learned the criteria for evaluations" (Montanari, 2006: 61). A cuisine can thus be interpreted as a cluster of practices, rules, norms and representations founded on classifications (Douglas, 1966, 1974), with its main purpose to settle the omnivore's paradox (Fischler, 1980, 1983; Rozin, 1976).

Food functions to bring people together. Ranging from humble physical get-togethers around the family kitchen table, cafés or restaurants to metaphysical collectives that share a common ideology shining through in people's dietary consumption, constituting imagined communities through food. This is to such a degree that specialist in food history Jeffrey Pilcher (2006) elaborates that people's food habits are a reflection of cultural evolution throughout world history. As mentioned earlier, food is situated in both the material dimension as in the metaphysical realm, as it signifies meaning (Barthes, 1997). While food transgresses borders, its signified meaning can diversify immensely within different spatial and social contexts, but the essence of food as a driver of group cohesion is a universal characteristic (Pilcher, 2006). Accordingly, it is not coincidental that within attempts to create friendships or political allies, dinner parties and banquets have risen to the occasion to gain trust or make amends to establish bonds.

The symbolic value of cultural products changes throughout time, and when transferred between societies just like cultural norms for social behaviour is prone to adapt to alternating contexts. For instance, in the Dominican Republic, the plantain has grown to become a sign of resistance from a sign of poverty and slavery. It has symbolically been used to revalorize Dominicanness in several conflicts with the authorities (Marte, 2013; Nina, 2004). Food is not merely a marker of identity but also that of social action, exposing strategic political choices regarding self-validation and cultural memory that aid the process of self-making which helps to form groups or alliances (Abarca, 2007; Bentley, 2008; Bourdieu, 1979; Marte, 2008, 2013).

Conveying the culture of its practitioner, food culture is recognized as the repository of traditions and of collective identity (Garth, 2013; Montanari, 2006). Food's ability to function as a means for self-representation and identity renders its common position as an entrance point to cultural exchange, piercing into the function of mediator of cultures and open to adaptation and invention. Cultural exchange is often posited as the barrier to preserve the identities of the involved cultures and its corresponding cultural patrimony. Cultural identities are often viewed as if it were metaphysical realities, imprinted in the genetic inheritance of a society whereas they are constantly redefined and adapted when in contact with different cultures, spaces and times. Quoting Montanari:

> Within this intricate system of relationships and exchanges, it is not the roots but ourselves who are the fixed point: identity does not exist at the outset but rather at the end of the trajectory. If we really want to speak of roots, let us rely on the metaphor all the way, and let us imagine the history of our food culture as a growing – not a shrinking – plant. It gradually burrows into the earth, seeking vital nourishment wherever it can, implanting its roots precisely in places as distant as possible. The product is on the surface – visible, clear, and well-defined: that is us. The roots are underneath – generous, numerous, and diffuse (2006: 134).

1.8 Decolonized Kitchens: Food, the Nation and Identity Construction

McDonaldization, the increase of domination of sectors of the fast food business that maintains calculability, control and efficiency as operational principles clashes with the Baroque modernity on the Latin American continent, and conflicts with local culinary identity (Ritzer, 1993). Academics identify that uncertainty of modernity as well as anxiety about food insecurity "induces movements of reaction or re-equilibrium" (Fischler, 1983: 290) and health consequences of dietary decisions, turning toward new guidelines that rely on a period before massification, attempting to avoid loss of basic principles of cooking amongst the public as well as its emotional attachment thereto, often grasping traditional knowledge (Cuadra, 2013; Warde, 2016).

The phenomenon of unification through food as a political tool has existed over time alongside nation-building. In the transitional period from medieval to Renaissance Italy, shortly after the establishment of Italy as a political entity, the declared purpose of Pellegrino Artusi's book *La Scienza in Cucina e l'Arte de Mangiare Bene*[1] (1891) was to unite Italy as a culinary state as a political project. Montanari writes that "regionalism" is what constitutes the power of current Italian cuisine, turning its fragmentation of "Italia-nazione" into its strength (2006). Similarly, Adair and Richard-Greaves have investigated this phenomenon within the case study of Guyana, concluding that the Guyanese are "keenly aware of the symbolic strife and history they jointly share through their microcuisines" and that Guyanese food is used to deliberate and consume "the colorfulness, the deliciousness, and the difference that is characteristic of Guyana as a nation, albeit a fragmented one" (Adair, 1986; Richard-Greaves, 2013). Along the same lines, a contemporary example would be Gastón Arturio's mission to equate Peruvian gastronomy with the essence of Peruvian identity and politics of nationhood, and Appadurai's account *How to Make a National Cuisine* (2017) which observes a current trend in Indian culinary literature which "highlights a specific historical tradition that is represented as constituting a unified whole. Or assemble a potpourri of recipes in which by focusing on some product unique to a local repertoire of dishes, we are meant, or persuaded, to find a common thread or unity" (p. 9) which is in line with Hobsbawm's and Ranger's definition of invented tradition.

Theoretically, through regionalism, when the paradigm of cuisine is defined by space, anyone would be able to occupy that position: the upper class, the city-dweller, as well as the peasant. Within this fashion, new nations of former colonies could move one step closer toward decoloniality, breaching with Eurocentric imposed models of hierarchy. The paradox that is to be found within this notion is that in the historical fragmented state of being, the aspiration was to create a universal model of consumption – aimed at those who could afford to desire this – that functions as a mirror of their position in society. In contrast, in the globalized world we inhabit nowadays, the quest for diversity and inclusion is sought for – especially in the realm of gastronomy – by turning to historical knowledge and traditions, while actually this is not nostalgia for the past but an objective for present and future time.

Furthermore, dishes can function as historical roadmaps of a nation and the inhabitants of its territory through the influence of ingredients beyond the native ecologically available ones, and their resonance with for instance European imperialism and slavery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or the increased movement of goods in the globalized society. Recognition of popular cuisine within the national framework does not automatically equate with acknowledgement of equality of the groups that are protagonists for the existence of those dishes. The fame that the dishes enjoy as representational for the country, having traces that point at slave cuisine, indigenous preparations and other, often finds her origin within appropriation of knowledge and practice on a stake-holder base (Subercaseaux, 2014).

For instance, a major stakeholder of appropriated knowledge and practice is the tourist industry. The role of food in tourist industries can make up an important aspect of upscaling the importance of

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[1] Translation by author: The science of cooking and the art of eating well.

culinary identity of the nation (Caldwell, 2006; Hall & Mitchell, 2002; Richards, 2002). The expansion of national cuisines has often been driven by a desire to establish economic growth through the tourism industries, generating gentrification of popular cuisine. As the tourist's unattainable desire is to experience local authenticity in food, expecting a regional or national dish that personifies the identity of the region or nation, the construction work of local governments on this road rises to the occasion, trying to live up to the tourist's anticipation (Culler, 1988; Pratt, 1992; Urry, 1990). In this very conception of tourism which enjoys the State as a primary stake-holder, the risk of invented tradition and appropriation is situated, deployed to legitimize the national narrative. Assessment of which incentive and objective drives the Colombian government in their recent reassessment of the national culinary identity and their promotion of ancestral knowledge is required. Namely, in the words of Fischler: ''The way any given human group eats helps it assert its diversity, hierarchy and organization, and at the same time, both its oneness and the otherness whoever eats differently" (1988: 27). Concluding, food studies are apt to be deployed in this investigation as its crux is situated in unveiling hidden meaning within dynamics of exactly those factors of group assertion.

CHAPTER 2
Colombian Food Identity - *Mise en Place*

Before evaluating the current reassessment of Colombia's food tradition as cultural heritage, it is necessary to sketch the historical and cultural context in which this event is rooted. In order to adequately accomplish such an assessment, themes such as Latin-American identity, and more specifically, Colombian identity in relation to major historical events and the construction of their cuisine and collectivity will be discussed.

2.1 Latin American Identity Construction

To properly assess whose narrative is in or excluded, the concept of *national identity* enters the stage. In order to grasp *colombianidad* [Colombian identity] it is important to first zoom out, reflecting on the collective experience of development on the Latin American continent. Namely, whereas obviously all countries enjoy their own specific route within history and cannot be ascribed simply to their shared histories, Spanish America has certain fundamental commonalities and diachronic benchmarks which are essential to formulations of identity on the national level. Similarities in geography, major historical events, and language have fed the coexistence and coincidence of national identity construction alongside the construction of a shared Latin American identity.

Historically, great ethnic divides have been central to the Latin American continent ever since the sixteenth century upon the arrival of Spanish and Portuguese colonizers. Haitian academic and anthropologist Trouillot even goes as far as to state that the Caribbean cannot be culturally or socially accounted for or even described without reference to colonialism (1991: 22). There is undeniable correspondence regarding the exploitation and oppression of the white European elitist minority over the masses, mainly existing out of Indian and black populations. Indigenous contributions to national identity and diversity have more often than not gone without acknowledgement. During the colonial era, the relationship between the Old and the New World was founded on binaries. Within this relation, the Old World equated with the (Spanish) Peninsula, the administration and the civilized versus the undiscovered and savage Other which was embodied by the New World. Moreover, these differences between the ''civilized Self'' and the ''barbarous Other'' were perceived as a direct internal threat and in need of salvation. The racial stamp initiated by colonial Spain which characterized colour of skin with a corresponding hierarchical position within society constituted a Pigmentocratic State (Isla, 2018; Lipschütz, 1975; Young, 1995). The colonial administration monitored behaviour according to religious ideals. This missionary mode, aimed at the ''normalization'' of the public maintained military rule as an efficient measure against the perceived chaos (in the colonies) which, according to the administration, needed to be overcome (Isla, 2018).

These dynamics underwent significant change during the early nineteenth century, eroding the colonial establishment and installing decentralized independent nations in search of their own identity. During the quest for independence, territory is both redefined in the literal sense of shifting borders drawn up by war as well as in terms of the refurbishment of the new territorial units on the spiritual and psychological level (Isla, 2018; Keen & Hayes, 2013). Within a process of re-appropriation of the past in an attempt to do away with colonial impediments by legitimization and foundation of local mythology, new nations find themselves challenged by the need to redefine the internal Self [Us] and Other, broadening the definition of its people. The formulation of the new ''we'' infiltrated many aspects of society. Incorporated within the educational system and diffused throughout museums, academia, libraries, folklore and national celebrations, the construction of the national identity evolved, gaining a

pretence status of tradition, while actually, it was mainly an operational invention (Isla, 2018). National identity discourse has been quite successful as national identity is internalised and naturalised. Moreover, despite the myriad of intersections of the different identities that are fundamental to people's personal realities, national identity is rather complementary to these identities than in strife with them (Ibid, 2018).

Even nowadays, as Amerindians do not conform to the national model, they are often openly perceived as a hindrance to development (Schacht, 2013). While the existence of (masked) racism in Latin America is recorded, such as *blanqueamiento* [whitening] projects aimed to "whiten" the population in the past and spatial segregation in the present, it often fails to be assessed within the realm of social sciences and has not been prioritized by governmental restructuring programs due to clientelism (De Imaz, 1984; Larraín, 2000). As institutional power has been dependent on patronage of an elite group which has tightly held onto their privileges, it is almost impossible for those outside of this group to penetrate and create change. The polygenisist and eugenist belief that racial supremacy of the white is legitimate and biologically justifiable which was applied by the elites to substantiate their approach is nowadays almost unanimously acknowledged by academics as false rhetoric. Nevertheless, the remains of these outdated sixteenth century power structures are still visible today as the native Americans and black population have continuously occupied the position of Other (Larraín, 2000; Mignolo, 2007; Said, 1978).

The Latin American story has for a long time been told by external narrators, lacking native production compared to the abundant theoretical accounts by Europeans. The fact that the Latin American subject was handled by the external rather than the internal has added onto the paternalistic relationship with the Occident on the global scale. This white knight type of phenomenon dealing with the continent as if it were a child too immature to decide for themselves has fed a problematic liaison. Additionally, academics point out that ever since the early nineteenth century, modernity has been presented on the Latin American continent as an alternative to identity (Larraín, 2000; Subercaseaux, 2004; Giménez, 2003; Zapata Silva, 2006; Casullo, 1997). As identity was considered fixed in the conventional and religious colonial mould, it was perceived that modernity after independence could only be accomplished at the expense of modernity (Ferré, 1981; Morandé, 1984). The complexity with this conception is that the term modernity is often closely tied to the Western interpretation thereof with its corresponding features (Wagner, 2001). Despite some critics arguing that Latin American modernity is peripheral due to their reproductive model of frequent imitation of North American or European institutional models (Caturelli, 1961; Murena, 1954; Parker, 1993), Larraín (2000) argues that while modernity did find its outset in Europe, it is not monopolized by its origins. Furthermore, Larraín and Subercaseaux distance from the European model as the only possible mould for modernity, stressing that Latin America experiences its own adapted version. Noteworthy, the circumstances under which Caribbean peoples with diaspora identities have intermingled and lived besides each other, conscious of cultural differences and diversity yet open to the Other and able to rethink their lifestyles brought about what Sidney Mintz (1993) coined "the first modernized peoples in world history" (p. 191). This conception of modernity illustrates the individual's positionality in the world and the way they are influenced by the ongoing change (Hall & du Gay, 1996; Ortíz, 1940).

Although generally speaking Latin American modernity in the nineteenth century was rather restricted, alongside the supposed contradiction between modernity and identity, the modernizations that were introduced quadrate a restructuring of cultural identity in which values such as democracy, racial equality, lay education and science progressed. Borrowing from Larraín:

> This was particularly notable in comparison with the prevalent values of colonial times that were heavily influenced by a monopolistic Catholic religion, closely related to political authoritarianism, not very open to scientific reason and steeped in slavery, racism and the Inquisition (2000: 24).

The tension surrounding modernization on the continent compiled a problematic ideology for progress. Sarmiento, often regarded as the most representative writer of his time whose positivist vision was more or less shared on the continent, posited the struggle that Latin America was having as one between barbarism and civilization (1945: 58). In his equation, barbarism was represented by Latin America as a result of its supposed ''racial inferiority'' and Europe and North America serving as the model for civilization. The quest to achieve modernization by replacing their colonial and racial heritage and the eradication of the colonial cultural identity held a prominent position on the nineteenth century Latin American authors' agenda. Obviously, dismantling such an embedded racism and elitism rendered a difficult task. Even after the colonial era, Latin American identity discourse remains reliant on the binary between the Old and the New World. Namely, the Latin American subject continues to endure definition by opposition to the modern, Western, white European (Isla, 2018). Some Latin American intellectuals raised their voice against North American expansionism, and criticized *nordomanía* [the Latin American tendency to imitate western models] and called for a return to local reality (Rodó, 1993; Vasconcelos, 1927). Some, like Varcárcel (1925) even went so far as to campaign Indian values and customs as opposed to European cultural heritage. Discontent on the matter led to two extremes, containing propositions ranging from total rupture (Murena, 1954) to total fusion (Caturelli, 1961; Mayz, 1959; Paz, 1981).

Economic crisis in the nineteen eighties paired with a crisis of identity (Franco, 1997; Larraín, 2000; Xirau, 1992). Public discontent with the applied North American and European models of modernity provoked a quest to return to the "original cultural identity, recovering the knowledge of ancestors and to make use of that knowledge" (Lumbreras, 1991: 22). The issue with resorting to such "forgotten cultural patterns" that have presence in indigenous communities lies within the application to a cultural and spatial context that has changed drastically over time. Aníbal Quijano (1988) critiques this contemporary reliance on alternative historical rationale that originated in ancient Indian communities. He does not attack the perception that this rootedness can be perceived in: "the solidarity, collective effort and reciprocity in the mass of the urban poor, in their forms of organization to survive and in their popular kitchens" (1991: 35), which often go hand in hand, nor does he doubt that ancient knowledge can be useful. Rather, he warns for the underlying aspiration that can be grasped from this reliance that the future of Latin America will flourish under yet another historical model pasted onto current day society instead of deploying a customized model that can carry all the luggage that they have been carrying thus far.

In terms of nation building, a national discourse came into being as a product of mixture between the State, the elite and the market. In order to solidify identity markers of the nation, mass processes of folklore and tourism were deployed to produce tangible artefacts of identity and culture. Latin American identity construction, originally controlled by the elites and the State, has been aimed at an ideal unification. Culturally speaking, the State lost some of its say to the market which gained ground considerably as it increased the presence of mass culture opposed to high culture which remained State property. However, these areas joined forces in the creation of a new identity canon which accommodated a more inclusive character regarding the definition of the population. Folklore idealized and promoted a rustic image of the rural and embedded a more profound national spirit that was interlinked with nostalgia for the past with an ingrained fear of detachment or loss thereof (Booth, 2008; Isla, 2018). The national model of the modern Colombia evolved into a hybrid, pertaining to the local as well as the cosmopolitan, yet still illustrating a rather whitewashed version of the local.

In this manner, through the deployment of folklore, the image of the masses strategically shifted from an internal threat and Other to a virtuous and respectable representative of the nation. Nevertheless, while in general folklorization drove normalization of diversity, the indigenous and African aspect(s) remained outside the scope of this process. Nationalist merchandising brought about representation of the ancestral, the rural and exotic national spirit on the global stage. This type of nation branding *avant*

la lettre was disseminated through tourism amongst other things in the shape of souvenir production (Barbero, 2011; Isla, 2018). These objects reflect upon the construction of national identity *mise en scène*: stereotyped and fossilized. Evidently, where advertisement of the nation takes place as representative of their characteristics, the process of which elements are included or excluded within the narrative is a very conscious selection (Errázuriz, 2008; Isla, 2018).

2.2 National Identity in Colombia

Following Antony Smith's definition of national identity as a "continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the patterns of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements" (2004:198), it is rather difficult to place Colombian national identity within this framework. The national sentiment has been a historical ordeal as amongst other things its internal natural borders contributed to the fortification of the regional rather than the national. Building upon Smith's claim that the essence of nations is situated within the premodern forms of collective societies that were present in the territory, ethnic myths and symbols are key ingredients for the nationalist agenda (2004: 57). He adds that the myths are adapted to the temporal ideology within each generation, subsequently constructing new meaning, and altered national identity discourses. Therefore, theoretically, modern nationalism should consist of a contemporary derivative representation of the premodern ethnic myth of a territory.

Within the project of nation building, an inherent paradox is apparent. Particularly, while the project of nationalism aims to construct a homogeneous unity, a hierarchy is established within the narrative of the nation which favours certain class, culture, and race, consequently excluding those who do not match the preferred profile. In order to refurbish the imagery of the ideal nation for the sake of unification, the dominant ethnic group draws up the disparity between those included in the nation's representation and those who are perceived as internal Others. Natural divide due to geographic separation only added onto the differences in terms of socioeconomic and cultural practices within the regions. Subsequently, this sectionalism has greatly impeded the first attempts at political organization of Colombia. Moreover, the difficulty for other regions to reach the capital city Bogotá where historically institutions and governmental practices are born and carried out has increased the distance between the ruling and the ruled (Bushnell, 1993). Within the reinterpretation of original myths, negative stereotyping is deployed by the ingroup to reduce their perceived Other as a menace to society, contributing inferior characteristics to them (Hall, 1997: 258). The danger of the need to have an external party against whom to define the ingroup is situated within the notion that this outside party is viewed as a threat. Even more so in the case of internal outgroups, like the case of Colombia and many other Latin American countries where the indigenous majority turned into a minority group, and became a perceived peril to the status quo.

Colombia's nation and national identity sprouted from their independence from Spain's colony New Granada in 1819. The white elite was very aware that they were outnumbered by the lower class that included *mestizos*, *indios* and blacks. As they feared that the Other would endanger their privileged position, they tempered the potential for political upraise of the lower class.[2] Presumably, this is why Colombia is no exception to the rule when it comes to the inherent paradox of nationalism (Bushnell, 1993). Contradictory to the supposed universal values of the fight for independence against Spanish colonial oppression, ideals of equality were not aimed at the entire populace. On the contrary, it pertained to the white elitist minority and excluded the lower class and subordinate non-white population. By the

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[2] Nueva Granada at independence was 33% white, 43% mestizo, 17% Indian, and 6.5% slave (Centeno, 2002).

time independence from Spain was achieved, this became rather clear as these groups returned to their status as internal Other and primary suspects of fear (Anderson, 1983: 48). As Marco Palacios (1983) accentuates, the ideal regarding the construction of Colombia in all institutional and cultural aspects of society was envisioned by its founding fathers, who perceived themselves as the legitimate successors of the colonial civilization project and the patriarchy, positioned themselves as "the chosen ones" and missionaries of Christianity (Smith, 1999: 130), as culturally white. Borrowing from Anderson, this strategy was "to permit the empire to appear attractive in national drag" (1983: 72). As the constructed national identity was mainly a veil rather than legitimate representation of the nation as a whole, those excluded from the narrative as well as different elite groups contested the new nation's organizational structure.

Ernest Gellner sheds light on the usage of ethnic myths for addressing collective peculiarity as a means to stress racial and cultural superiority of the white elite. The nation's past was reflected upon in the light of the nationalist project, underlining their traditions and value system (1983: 55). He states that myths were carefully deployed to establish "a high, standardized culture which will engender nations" (p. 55). In order to pierce through the realm of the ''civilized'' ingroup, *mestizos*, *indios* and blacks were required to discard their own system of beliefs and convert to Christianity (Wade, 2001). The incorporation of Christianity imprinted in the Constitution of 1886 as well as foundational for social order and the educational system rendered an authoritarian centralist government which underscored Colombian politics for a long period of time, especially emphasized in the Conservative Party. The Liberal Party on the other hand, had contrasting views regarding the involvement of the Church in State matters and channelled the individualistic and democratic European ideals to their supporters. Consequently, the great opposition between parties brought about a considerable divide between their followers while in fact the ideological differences were not that vast (Dennis, 2006; Pearce, 1990).

However different, both Party narratives held the promise to inclusion within the national narrative. Both parties lured their potential adherents by claiming to envision pure national interest, reasoning through what Anderson coined as "political love" for *la patria* [the homeland]. This strong sentimental connection to either political Party resulted in an increasingly greater hatred for the oppositional Party and often translated into political violence. Many scholars have argued that, as opposed to neighbouring countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile, Colombia lacked an external enemy (Bushnell, 1993; Deas, 1999) to base internal collective identity on which made it even more difficult to resolve the internal conflict and achieve hegemony. During the ''Conservative Republic'' which lasted from 1885 until 1930, economic development was boosted by the increase of coffee production as an export product. This made way for slight economic growth and relative increase regarding inclusion and peace for those subordinate groups working in the industry within regions that were very eligible for coffee production such as Antioquia, rendering *antioqueños* [inhabitants of the Antioquia region] to gain positive stereo typification, including productivity, tradition and order. However, adverse stereotyping happened regarding regions that were less eligible such as the coastal regions, rendering inhabitants of those areas, which for a large amount existed out of indigenous and black population, to be negatively stereotyped as lazy and deficient (Bushnell, 1993; Dennis, 2006; Wade, 2001). This negative stereotyping even went so far as to legitimize the military force at the banana strike of 1928 where banana labourers organized a strike against their poor discriminatory working conditions which was shut down by the conservative government in the shape of bloody massacre carried out by the army. Colombia's economic dependency on their single export product, coffee, and the dependency on its purchase by the United States as their sole importer put the country in a difficult position. Additionally, the inadequacy in labour conditions paired with inability to resolve internal conflict in a peaceful and sustainable manner triggered long lasting public discontent of the labourers and others that felt excluded from the national narrative, regardless of which party they were affiliated with, contesting the legitimacy of the State (Bushnell, 1993; Dennis, 2006).

Incapability of the elite to provide a positive reconstruction of the original myth reached its epitome in the period nowadays aptly called *La Violencia* (1948-1954) [the violence]. Dehumanization efforts of the Conservative Party included stigmatization of the Liberal Party leader as *El Negro* [the dark-skinned] or riffraff, and the initiation of a cleanse of Liberals in form of genocidal measure. Spread of hatred and fear of the Other is a common process in the power vacuum for the construction of collective identity (Snyder, 1987), which in the case of Colombia led to a trend of political violence, following the assassination of Conservative Party leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948. The urban poor and displaced *campesinos* were drawn into the conflict as pawns of the party elites, only to come out of the clash as the appointed culprit, and demonized scum (Bushnell, 1993; Deas, 1999). As fear and hatred in such conflicts are products of social construction, fueled by those who own institutions for the production of knowledge such as the educational system, museums and media, indoctrination of the public for their advantage is channeled. As Colombia endured a very unstable social climate during this era, with many civil wars and military confrontations nearly every ten years, it is fairly imaginable that in this time, there would not be an abundance of available produce to bring to the table, causing women to be innovative with whatever was at hand. Undoubtedly, the civil wars have postponed the modernization process of the country and its ties with international markets. As a consequence of the unstable period, national integration was scarce and regional and local customs were reasserted.

Therefore, the reproduction of the ethnic myths is in need of diffusion in a less divisive manner in order to establish a more cohesive and inclusive society, capable of achieving a more or less homogeneous collective identity. The lack of a solid national identity is linked to the inconsistency between the promise and ideals of the State regarding equality and democratic values on paper versus everyday life where a large gap exists between the minority elite who does enjoy these promised elements versus the majority group that is excluded from them (Deas, 1999). In summary, Colombia did not qualify according to Holsti's axes for a legitimate State. In terms of vertical legitimacy, the attachment to the State and institutions and authority in the Colombian case is rather solid. However, it does not equate with the horizontal axe which requires a genuine community in which the interaction between the State and the practices of groups within the State are in accordance and harmonious with each other (1996: 84).

While some constitutional reforms such as that of 1991 have altered the political path in a positive direction, its capacity is strictly limited by clientelism and economic divide, and sociopolitical cohesion still leaves a considerable space for improvement. Quoting Malcom X (1965): "Just as a tree without its roots is dead, a people without history or cultural roots also becomes a dead people" (p.323). Building upon this logic, the necessity to retrace the original ethnic myth in contemporary Colombia can be linked to the need to establish a collective identity that will ease division of the populace and possibly tame the violent repression that has become part of the country's make-up. As territory and food are known instruments of oppression as well as emancipation, the retrieval of culinary history can display a history on a plate, and perhaps even mend some old wounds.

2.3 Colombian Food Traditions

Despite agrarian exploitation and serious agrarian unrest reflecting the burden of rural population growth – due to internal rural to urban migration that did not equate with the existing land tenure systems of the early twentieth century – el campo [the rural] underwent idealization and personification. El campo featured within the representation of the nation alongside tradition and nostalgia in spheres of society such as popular music and local cuisine (Bushnell, 1993). Viewing Colombia in terms of its cuisine, it has been shaped by associated dynamics. Deriving from a large diversity of ecosystems, geographic and political isolation, its history has been defined by appropriation

of national territory where rather than diverse populations collectively constructing the idea of the nation, accompanied by certain foods nor specific preparations thereof, the identity has been shaped from locality, deriving from its distinctive differences and the available goods and ingredients of the area (Ministerio de Cultura, 2012). In this manner, more locally and regionally than nationally, the geographical distance and regional associations have influenced the construction of la cocina colombiana [Colombian cuisine]. For instance, the coastal region being more specialized in fish and the inlanders in arepa (a cornflower based flatbread) and the process of valuing the tasty and distasteful, takes place in each zone (Lovera, 2005).

Colombian food is often described as very diverse, with its own characteristic dishes in each region (Lovera, 2005). As ethnic groups often group together in spatial surroundings, more often than not subject to segregation, these characteristic dishes are likely to be traced back to ethnic groups (Marak, 2014). "Ethnicity" is born out of social construction based on difference and contrast. Subsequently, ethnic cuisine is correlated with a geographical or historical eating community (Lockwood & Lockwood, 2000). The social constructivism of ethnicity and nationhood, carry imagined associated cuisines (Murcott, 1997) which, despite their artificiality, have very real consequences for the national or ethnic identity from the instance of their acknowledgement in society.

Like the majority of cuisines, Colombian cuisine has been shaped by the influence of other cultures that arrived in the country during the era of conquest and later during the nineteenth and twentieth century through imperialism and migration. Colombia – alongside Brazil and Ecuador – is recognized as accommodating relatively fluid border regarding ethnic divide in comparison with the continent as a whole concerning the Iberian born Spaniards, American born Spaniards, *mestizos* [European and Indian descent], *mulatos* [European and African descent]*, zambos* [Indian and African descent]*, indios* [native Indian population] and blacks. In terms of traditional cuisine, there are three major influences core to the known Colombian palate. These influences are the indigenous cuisine, the Hispanic incorporation and the African influence, brought to the territory alongside the Spanish Invasion through slave trade. Each of these cultures have altered the foodscape of Colombia in their own way. The native cuisine used ingredients that were indigenous to the territory. In the case of Colombia, this was already rather diverse due to the high biodiversity. Dependency on seasons and conservation techniques such as smoking and salting prolonged the shelf life and availability of certain food items and meat was scarce. Hispanic produce entered the Colombian plate since the sixteenth century during the colonial era. The Spanish conquistadores imported rice, meats and cheese amongst other produce to adapt the available foods of the land to their taste. Initially, the imported foods were brought in quantities just for their own usage to last as long as their intended stay, after which they aspired to return to the Iberian Peninsula (Wade, 2001). While meat remained a luxury product, mainly accessible for them, the food items that were shipped over were made fit for cultivation in New Granada as well. The items that were brought to the Latin American continent alongside the slaves from western and central Africa, especially centred in the coastal regions of the new land, initiated the cultivation of the land and *fincas* [estates] for different types of tubers such as *ñame* [yams] and plantain. Similar to tubers used by the indigenous such as yuca, fairly cheap, and carrying a lot of calories, these products were easily diffused into the foodscape. They also introduced chickpeas, lentils, certain spices such as ginger and the technique of frying which endured tranquil transition into creole kitchens (UMB Virtual, 2019).

Obviously, these influences did not exist in silos and have blended to certain degrees with one another, rendering the kitchen space as the primary location where indigenous, Spanish and African tradition blended as the women of the kitchen [the indigenous and dark-skinned women] accompanied by supervision of the white housewives if you will, worked together to satisfy the appetite of the master of the house (Martínez Carreño, 1990). Therefore, the Colombian cuisine reflects on culinary *mestizaje* as well as on that of its population. Redrawing boundaries in the case of Colombia, the phenomenon of *mestizaje* [ethnic mixture] has likely influenced the distinct link of a dish with a certain ethnic group as

the "creolization" of the people and its cuisine within regions were manifested by the interactions, socially as well as physically, between all aforementioned groups. Hence, this new social, cultural and biological mix rendered new sub identities that each had their own position in the country according to the combination of their wealth, the colour of their skin and their place of birth (Garth, 2013). The generational passing on of recipes in combination with mestizaje leads to understanding that these dishes have probably been products of ''mixture'' too. Dishes that have nowadays received acknowledgement as national dishes of Colombia are actually dishes of mixed origin, coming into being as a product of human interaction after migration. One of many examples of dishes that are composed by interaction of different cultures include *arroz de camarones con patacones* [shrimp rice with fried plantain slices], which is the result of combining Indigenous seafood, *achiote* [annatto] and *ají* [native chili pepper], Spanish rice, onion and garlic and African refried plantain. Therefore, when a dish receives the label "traditional" two routes could be at play. Either, following Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) notion of false labelling as it is rather invented than actually traditional, under the assumption that mestizaje has not influenced the dish; or, following Wade's (2001) rhetoric, these dishes are perceived as belonging to the outgroup, or non-national. Moreover, however widely used back then and acknowledged as cultural heritage nowadays, the local techniques and local dishes were up until the late nineteenth century viewed as mere food and existed outside the scope of the culinary. The creation of a national Colombian cuisine, just like the establishment of a national identity, was a turbulent process, and for a long time Colombian elite immersed themselves only with the cuisine of the French.

On the one hand, the fluidity of ethnic identity borders or encouraging the mixture of ethnic groups can be viewed positively, in the sense that it feeds eradication of the divisive ethnic and political identity frontiers. The notion that everyone is a mestizo, could potentially signify inclusivity, even having the potential to emancipation of the majority of the populace. On the other hand, the phenomenon of mestizaje or *blanqueamiento* has been discussed in literature as an assimilative practice rendering an intensification of black and Indian position as existing outside the national classification of ''the people'', as they are not part of the mixture (Stutzman, 1981; Whitten, 1985). In extreme variations, this phenomenon could be posited as a means of public whitewashing, contributing to symbolic ethnocide. Politics of power are to be recognized in the alimentary order that corresponds with certain social classes in societies. An imbalance of availability of produce between those who produce, the *campesinos*, and those who consume, the ruling class, renders certain social stratification with certain foodstuffs, establishing a hierarchical power structure at play (Fischler, 1983; Marak, 2014; Montanari, 2006). The notion that State-run and private companies were deeply involved in the exploitation of resources of the Americas only added onto this social divide and certifying the availability of all the basic components of the European diet (Garth, 2013).

The transatlantic slave trade that arrived in Colombia alongside the Spanish invasion, led to the circulation of ideas, products and people on a global scale. Its legacy on the evolution of the postcolonial world is still visible today (Bushnell, 1993). As slaves were installed to be at the heart of Colombian food ways for centuries, being core to its production and harvest in the fields, its preparation in forms of kitchen staff for their masters has had major influence in the Colombian foodscape. They used whatever produce was available with preferably as much calorie intake at the lowest expense in order to be able to adequately feed their people who had to endure exploitation through intense physical activity (Ferriéres, 2006). However destitute and severe the situation was in which slaves found themselves, their position at the heart of food production provided them with agency. This agency is of course an indirect opportunity for emancipation that was not envisioned by their masters. Nevertheless, being able to reproduce the knowledge of their ancestors and bringing it into their new homes as well as into the homes of their masters, mediates slaves' negotiation of autonomy. Embedded in the recipes that were necessities for nourishment, the slave kitchen imported culinary legacy and diffusion of knowledge on heritage. Mintz (1996) emphasizes that in societies that evolved slave-based systems, like that of

Colombia, the usage of all available food items was a prerequisite. Mintz coins cuisines that arose from a mixture of cultural backgrounds "bricolage cuisines". These bricolage cuisines developed new culinary "traditions" or customs, underscoring the critical role that slaves have played in the culinary landscape "since the great majority of them were directly connected to the production, distribution, and processing of food. They were at the heart of things culinary, even to the point of moulding the food preferences of their masters" (p. 99).

The Invasion of the Spanish Empire has transformed diets importing foods to Colombia as early as the sixteenth century, consequently affecting not only their cuisine but also social, political and economic structures (Earle, 2012). While the European contact with the native foods have clearly had an impact on the cuisine within the Spanish colonies, Matta's account "Valuing Native Eating" (2013) warns fellow academics to be careful when treating the expansion, spread and diffusion of European produce and knowledge, as this tends to decrease the image of human agency of the locals by ignoring the innovation and differentiation that natives brought to food processing techniques. Moreover, the appraisal of established cuisine is adapted to the likes and dislikes of the majority group or the group that holds the overhand regarding power level at the time. Consequently, their adaptation of taste, alters dishes from the original recipe.

With the European ideal prevailing in and outside Colombian culinary spheres, there had not been any studies that analysed the historic becoming of Colombian culinary tradition. A first ground-breaking account as such, *Mesa y cocina en el siglo XIX* [Table and Cuisine in the Nineteenth Century] (1990) was established by Aída Martínez Carreño, five years after she wrote a catalogue to accompany an exposition on the theme in the Museum of the nineteenth century which she co-founded in Bogotá. What distinguished this book is its novel approach. The cuisine as an essential aspect of a country's culture, while not a fixed given, as the result of complex economic, social and ethnic processes was acknowledged and the author sought to bring to the public. Previously, Colombia as a historical subject had been treated mainly in the sense of its politics and economics. The theme of everyday life of which its culinary practice is a primary aspect, did not receive much acknowledgement. Thus, through this book, Martínez Carreño launched the theme of national cuisine in the academic spheres of Colombia, and alongside it introduced the theme of everyday life. The formation of regional cuisine took place in the nineteenth century until halfway the twentieth century. It was during this period that basic characteristics of regional societies were accentuated, especially determined by the ethnic particularities of the present groups and their integration. Yet, the prevalence of beef, corn, potato, plantain and wheat marked the diet of the colonial population, incorporated, normalized and naturalised during the period of nation building as if all of these produce have been known to the territory all along, while in fact many of these had different roots (Martínez Carreño, 1990). Thus, *blanqueamiento* of the national cuisine has added onto a distorted image of the ''authentic'' or the ''traditional''.

The transition from a modest and sober kitchen that has existed throughout the colonial era to a sophisticated and cosmopolitan cuisine gained ground in the first half of the twentieth century. After independence from Spain, Colombia searched to internalize representation of the ideals of progress and liberty. After the commercial opening which established the arrival of merchants and diplomats from the Occident, European republican models in terms of customs and likes were adopted. Especially that of the French, despite their arrival after that of the British. The admiration for the French refinement of culture already existed before this period, yet enjoyed an extensive acceleration. It goes without saying that this lifestyle did not pertain to the masses and was solely applied by the wealthy elite. Until halfway the nineteenth century, there were no restaurants other than diners where one could eat when staying at a pension. Hence, the arrival of restaurants were indications of the modernization process. The first restaurants, as well as bakeries and social clubs that opened, were usually owned by wealthy European migrants with fancy menus and of high quality like those who were renowned as Chantilly and Petit Fornós (Martínez Carreño, 1990). The decisive moment in Colombian cuisine was the autonomy to

choose with whichever path to go with while establishing their own cuisine after independence from Spain.

During this process, products that are not native to the land were internalised and naturalised, labelled as ''native'' and ''the Self''. This indicates that to a certain extent there is a presence of culinary *blanqueamiento*. While little to no information regarding eating habits beyond the cities was available, as production of the culinary canon was mainly centred in the capital city of Bogotá, nowadays the narrative has opened up more and acknowledges the diversity of roots of Colombian culinary heritage deriving from external as well as Othered internal sources. A certain amount of nationalist tendency is still visible in current culinary academia such as in the investigation of anthropologist Carlos Humberto Illera Montoya, who executed an investigation on the traditional Colombian cuisine, disclosing that fusion, deconstruction and modern day haute cuisine are the biggest enemies of ancestral traditional cuisine. Specifically that of modern, foreign, innovative chefs who incorrectly claim traditionality of Colombian cuisine and consequently alter the dishes (Illera Montoya, 2016). Indirectly, the underlying presumption that something is contaminated by hybridization, claiming the need for the pure, or the authentic which is symbolically untouchable within Montaya's research is slightly problematic, especially as it has been established that cuisine, high-end as well as popular, is in constant flux and therefore never actually traditional or authentic. Sociologist Warde (2016) coins something akin to this type of invented tradition and the affirmation of shared experience and social cohesion as driven by food "communification", placing old culinary rituals, rules and symbols into a new context. Another factor that should not be overlooked while assessing the role of tradition within the narrative of Colombian cuisine, is the element of development. Fundamental to development is change, which implies novelty and upholds a seemingly conflictive relationship with the term tradition. However, this element of change or improvement also maintains a certain factor of continuation as effective development must be in accordance with the local values and capacity (Slim, 1995: 143).

The process of mestizaje allowed for continuity of the large pre-existent local food history, while evolving to become more ample and varied. The elements brought in from Spain alongside Arab, African, and European elements, are evident in Colombian food until the 1930s. After this date, marking the end of the conservative hegemony, a different political and social wind arises which is also visible on the dinner table, as for example the presence of colonial sweets declined within a period of merely ten years as a result of the unionization and religious vocation. Technical advance and the arrival of kitchen appliances changed the scale, content and variety of home cooked food. Moreover, family structures underwent modification as women started to take on jobs that transgressed the household. Additionally, the shift gained an impulse due to the growth of cities in combination with the long working days to push a demand for eating outside the spheres of the home. This has led to the increase in fast food and precooked meals in the Colombian market, and the easy and quick had transgressed dietetic or economic norms. This caused the presence of traditional practicalities of long and sometimes difficult modes of preparation containing old knowledges and love to vanish from everyday life. Consequently, these items are now mainly available outside of homes, in the restaurants. On the stage of the contemporary food scene, which demonstrates a clear shift in culinary rules and conduct and a flooding of (fake) news on how we should manage our diets, is it really so strange if Colombians would be prone to hold onto nostalgic images of tradition(s)?

2.4 Bricolage Kitchens, Bricolage Colombianidad?

Food has a strong connection to emotions such as nostalgia, symbolically able to let people relive certain experiences and memories (Appadurai, 1981). Ortíz Cuadra coins the phenomenon of uniting food and dishes with vital experiences and remembrances "the palate's memory" (2013: 51). This relation is especially frequent regarding notions of ''home'' through the practice of cooking and eating (Douglas, 1971; Kalcik, 1984; Mintz, 2003; Richard-Greaves, 2013). Lauren Wynne elaborates on the importance of social memory in food studies in her chapter "Transformations in Body and Cuisine in Rural Yucatán, Mexico", she states that: "social memory is a topic that is growing in relevance as a way for anthropologists to better understand the relationships between the past and present (Borgstede, 2010). More specifically, an investigation of social memory is useful analytically because it illuminates the links between narratives and local, national, regional, or even global processes. And since these memories must be enacted through social performance, or storytelling, food memories offer an important way to understand the links between food and identity" (p. 55). Despite currents that have ameliorated a turn to ancestral knowledge in the Colombian context, the late twentieth century has proven to deteriorate the nation's baroque identity and to internalise banal cultural artefacts arriving from the Anglo-Saxon world, a foreign led modernization which opposes local cultural identity was promoted by scholars such as economic historian and sociologist Claudio Véliz (Morandé, 1994). A shift from a focus on the collective identity to the individual took place as a result from the privatization on global scale (Fuguet & Gómez, 1996), using the culinary space to establish an emotional bastion against the external which contaminates the internal, the proper, the authentic enabled by globalization.

This analysis argues that this phenomenon is an important trigger of the current reassertion of the culinary foodscape happening in Colombia, at the level of civil society as well as State driven where traditionality and homogenization are mediated through stressing diversity as a strength, in an attempt to establish a new perception of the collective ''we'' and mending the identity crisis (Melucci, 1980). Turning towards a more hybrid formation of cultural practices, like García Canclini proposed in his work on multiculturalism in Latin American capitals, constituting cultures as a "multinational assemblage, a flexible articulation of parts, a montage of features that any citizen of any country, region, or ideology can read and use" (1995: 16). Warde's warning that governmental actions are inclined to re-valorise as well as to invent food and culinary practice that propagate and interweave the idea of a national community and blow new life into a sense of belonging to a mutual historical past drives the investigation to take the governmental incentive and approach under the loop.

The national project to construct a common identity meant to unify the collective entity Colombia has experienced many obstacles. Despite the differences regarding wealth, political, ethnic or geographic status people may have there is always one element that they have in common: they need to eat in order to survive. Whereas of course the content of food consumption varies between individuals, this basic biological component has the power to bind people together, and as such is a useful tool in the quest for politics of belonging to nations. After all, while the rural population, which made up ninety percent of the population experienced severe poverty, hunger was generally less of a prevalent issue as the essentials for the local dishes such as corn, plantains and potatoes were widely accessible and available at low cost (Bushnell, 1993). Therefore, the construction of a cuisine is also inherent to the project of nation building, binding people together by something that is essential to all of their lives within a specific geographic location. Besides the ability to establish in and outgroups, national cuisine has the strategic power to divide as well as to unite, and reflects the agenda of State discourse. A cuisine as a collective practice can also embody the ideal of transculturation (Ortíz, 1940), negotiating hidden and visible power relations and difference by approaching the subgroups within the nation as equal parties, existing with and alongside each other. The in and outgoing ''ingredients'' if you will, in the literal and metaphorical sense are in constant flux and never static, blending like flavours in a stew that

is constantly brought back to boil once new elements enter the mixture. The key ingredients remain visible despite its contact with other elements, as the rule applied that the longer an ingredient has been around, or in larger quantity, the more its flavour is noticeable. This is what will be evaluated in the following chapters, testing the incentive and objective behind the current national project of traditional food and food knowledge as national heritage, exploring whether the government attempts to unify the country in Ortiz's sense of transculturation or whether there are different elements at stake. The local and national identity of the twentieth century which was reliant on authenticity and familiarity conflicted with twenty-first century globalisation. Minister of Culture Mariana Garcés Córdoba states that: "The table is something that teaches us how to be Colombian through foods from the land, its diverse ways of preparation and how to enjoy them with the family" (Ministerio de Cultura, 2013). Concluding, the way Colombia currently turns to their ancestral knowledge, drawing from local and traditional food culture is highly likely to be interlinked with the Latin American trend of defence mechanisms against factors such as contemporary massification and the globalised system that has distanced the inhabitant with its colombianidad, in search for reconnection and unification and rewriting the original myth.

CHAPTER 3
Analysis: Native Cuisine Parboiled[3]

3.1 Introduction to the Case Study

This chapter contains three main components. Firstly, the chapter will elaborate on and justify the methods for analysis applied within the investigation. Secondly, the chapter will present its object of analysis, retracing the shifting representations of various selected food practices with indigenous origins in Colombian society that have been subject to globalization within four major historical periods and their associated dynamics: the precolonial period (original formation), the colonial era (reformation), the Republic (nationalisation), and eventually contemporary time (gentrification). Lastly, as Colombian politics are infamous for contrast between excellent politics on paper versus praxis, it will be analysed to what extent the past decade has proven to substantiate the written mission of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, applying Grey and Newman's (2018) lens of gastronomic multiculturalism and culinary colonialism.

3.1.1 Plating up the Corpus

La biblioteca básica de las cocinas tradicionales colombianas and its corresponding archive were erected as one of the first and primary actions for the indicative policy for the knowledge, safeguarding and promotion of food and traditional cuisines of Colombia. The library's proclaimed proposition is to expose and represent this multitude of traditions, so that the citizens get acquainted with national diversity first-hand, to be able to salvage and promote their essence in terms of heritage in a truthful manner. The official statement of the Ministry of Culture regarding the archive reads:

> There were 55 authors and more than a dozen chefs, who allowed to capture in 5,000 pages the best of the traditional cuisine of our country, considered an important component of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Nation. The purpose of this Library is to reveal the sum of products, knowledge and techniques, so that we can know our diversity first hand. Culinary and food traditions, as cultural heritage, are collective. They belong to or identify a particular social group (collectivity / community) and are transmitted from generation to generation as a legacy, cultural tradition or part of the collective memory. Therefore, to understand traditional cuisine in a multicultural, multi-ethnic and biodiverse country like ours, it is necessary to delve into regional and local cuisines (Ministerio de Cultura, 2015).

This established archive of what is deemed "the best of the traditional cuisine of our country" renders that a certain narrative has been shaped that elevates some culinary practices over others, legitimizing their existence by immortalizing them through inclusion in this archive. As the archive acknowledges that group identification is deeply rooted in and coincides with food tradition, interest should be shown on the nature of the selection of the archive. Namely, within this compilation, inevitably some food traditions are favoured over others, effectively extending inclusion and exclusion within the narrative to corresponding social groups. Moreover, as mentioned in chapter one, where tradition is raised, despite its potential invention, it is important to look at whose tradition is being portrayed as it often coincides with stakeholdership.

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[3] Parboiled; (*v.*) - the process of adding foods to boiling waters, cooking until they are softened, then removing before they are fully cooked, usually to partially cook an item which will then be cooked another way. Van Duyne, The Giant List of 101 Culinary Terms Every Chef Knows. *Toast*.

The statement moves on to emphasize the element of multiculturalism and celebration of internal difference and diversity, turning to ancestral and internal knowledge production, effectively breaking with the veneration of the Eurocentric episteme in the culinary realm. The legitimization and claim to tradition and authenticity seems to be conflictive with the mission to promote multiculturalism and diversification of the narrative. This investigation will evaluate this seeming paradoxical statement by seeking to what extent the governmental reassessment of Colombia's culinary national identity, as represented within the erected culinary archive, can be viewed within the paradigm of (culinary) decolonialism. The inherent danger in the promotion of a gastronomic boom in which culinary chefs can generate cultural and economic development for the country is acknowledged by the Ministry of Culture, as within professionalization of the cuisine, a risk at the forgetting "the long and rough process that has created and perfected the traditional cuisines of Colombia through the hands of female peasants that made the most out of their available resources to feed their families" (Ministerio de Cultura, 2015). They state that they are inspired by Beethoven's protest against the Italianization of German music, as one that does not value its own is not capable of feeling equal to others. Yet, as established in earlier chapters to define what exactly entails ''its own'' is rather dubious and discursive.

The new road that the government takes on, does not use a single dish to symbolize its nation, and acknowledges that there is no such thing which condenses all local kitchens and validates each at the same time. Yet, one of the principal characteristics and effects that are presented by the Ministry of Culture in their mission statement reads the following:

> Each culinary system, with its recipes, dishes and forms of consumption, refers to a tradition and a particular symbolic universe, as well as to a "culinary order" that contains rules of behaviour, culinary prescriptions and prohibitions, rituals and particular aesthetics (2013: 67).

Hence, in order to establish a deeper comprehension of the communicated narrative, or symbolic universe, that is interlinked with the archive, it is necessary to read more into the subject matter itself, as ingredients and food itself are respectable storytellers. The conscious positioning of the archive by the Ministry of Culture as representative of national (culinary) heritage, claimed to portray the message of diversity and equality lends the archive as discursive material. Hence, it is a well-suited object of analysis, subsequently deployed as the core of the corpus of this research.

3.1.2 Recipe for Analysis

While life history is an important part of food studies, especially in countries where a strong reliance on oral tradition has shaped the culinary tradition for centuries, it remains ambiguous as life history is founded in the narration of personal experience and perspective which is prone to biases or reliance on faulty human memory (Pérez in Chrzan, 2017). Therefore, this analysis relies on documented material that embodies historical change, having the potential to indicate presence within absence, in avoidance of personal bias or error of memory. For this purpose, the method of analysis will rely mostly on a cultural object that bridges food with material history; the recipe. Simultaneously, cookbooks have greatly contributed to the growth of popular print and correspondingly, that of a mass reading population. Recipes, dictating rules and claiming legitimacy of a specific way of preparation are enigmatic storytellers due to their dependency on spatial and social context of creation. The crux of this investigation is situated in this very fact that recipes carry the potential of representing as well as assembling a community enterprise (Bower, 1997). The analysis relies on the following statement by Appadurai, regarding materialized food practice (1981):

When human beings convert some part of their environment into food, they create a peculiarly powerful semiotic device. In its tangible and material forms, food presupposes and reifies technological arrangements, relations of production and exchange, conditions of field and market, and realities of plenty and want. It is therefore a highly condensed social fact (1981: 494).

With this understanding of documented food practice in mind, the subtle cosmological propositions within the recipes will be decoded trough the qualitative methodology of the intersection between deconstruction (Derrida, 1972) and food genealogy, applied to analyse the roots, or the ''family relations'' if you will of recipes.

The initial layer of deconstruction will exist out of tracing the origins of the components that together form the dish, as indicated in the list of ingredients. Secondly, the historical foodways of these components will be assessed in terms of their roots and how they have come into the Colombian culinary framework. Lastly, the implications of its position within the archive, as a representative of the governmental narrative, will be evaluated and interpreted in terms of its symbolic value within its past and current context, allowing for the retrieval of the hidden and implicit meaning carried by the objects of analysis. The selected recipes all exist as part of the library that has been erected in 2012 by the Ministry of Culture. Representation, telling a specific story to the public, inherently carries the danger of one-sided narrative. This is specifically at play in large scale diffusion like within this case study where a conscious selection of recipes has been made by a governmental organ, meant to represent national food history to the public. Therefore, due to its powerful potential and deployment as a political tool, acclaimed for unification and celebratory of diversity, the conveyed messages within the recipes are in need of critical assessment.

3.2 Close Readings

All recipes subject to analysis in the following chapter derive from the book *Paseo de olla: recetas de las cocinas regionales de Colombia* (Sánchez & Sánchez, 2012). This book was published as volume ten of the nineteen volumes archive *La biblioteca básica de las cocinas tradicionales colombianas* within the project of salvaging cultural patrimony of the Ministry of Culture. This book was elected as a main source as it is the only book that is fully dedicated to recipes, representing all regions, put forth in the archive. The recipes will be viewed within the three stages of gastronomic multiculturalism as presented by Grey and Norman (2018): (1) initial suppression of subaltern cuisines, (2) authenticity-seeking plurality, and (3) a convergence dominated by creolization, followed by the added phase of culinary gentrification in contemporary society (p. 718). While obviously these items know a multitude of variations, the analysis will depart from the recipe of the three dishes in order to test the Colombian degree of gastronomic culturalism. The analytic menu will consist of an appetizer of *chicha* [fermented corn drink] to awaken the taste buds, followed by a main course of *tamales*, and closed off by a cup of (hot) chocolate.

3.2.1 Appetizer: *Chicha* with a Centuries Long Lasting Hangover

Que viva la Chicha
La prez bogotana,
Deidad Soberana,
Del cielo favor.
(Rosales & Bernal, 1860).

Chicha is a drink based on fermented corn, very popular amongst the indigenous groups whose lives were for a large part centred on this crop (Martínez Carreño, 1990: 102). Chronicles describe the large festivity that was connected to the sowing of corn seeds planted for cultivation, during which large quantities of chicha was consumed with the subsequent drunkenness that followed (Mora, 1972). Moreover, one special festival called Itu was even based around fasting on chicha, chili and salt as a means to offer to the gods in a pleasant manner (Carreño Martínez, 1990: 124). While the core ingredient of chicha is corn, variations were on the market, differing in colour, sweetness, and alcoholic percentage. Another indigenous element is the presentation of the drink. Namely, chicha was served in *totuma*, a round bowl of organic origin made out of half a fried fruit shell of a *totumo* [*Crescentia cujete*] tree. Up until today, this element still reigns in the common perspective as the correct way to serve it. The archive states that, unlike many other objects that indicated Spanish presence, the presence of chicha was maintained throughout time, rendering chicha as a survivor of the conquest, the colonial, and the Republican era where an attempt at a ''blank slate'' destroyed many Spanish creations such as buildings and monuments (Patiño, 1990; Mora de Jaramillo, 1962). Yet, its position and status in society has known much fluctuation, putting the drink in a clandestine condition for a long time.

While the drink was mainly apparent amongst the native peoples, some Spanish also drank it with delight (Martínez Carreño, 1990: 263). But only after a few tweaks. Even this old recipe with very little ingredients has been subject to mestizaje. Upon disassembling the recipe [figure II in the annexes] assessing the list of ingredients, three out of five ingredients can be discerned as non-native produce. These products, panela, cinnamon and cloves, only entered the country upon the arrival of the Spanish. The popularity of chicha amongst the public was so high that the attempt at prohibition in 1658 by president Dionisio Pérez Manrique de Lara was countered so widely that its prohibition was reverted as the drink was viewed as an essential part of society, claiming that chicha is: "a national drink, just as necessary to the people living on altitude, as bread" (Martínez Carreño, 1990: 88). The drink experienced a rise in consumption during the following century, which generated a renewed attempt at initiating a decline in consumption by Ferdinand VI in 1752, who called for moderation of its usage and promoted complete abstinence (Camacho, 1946). Again, this initiative received much resistance, rendering the opposite of the government initiative, leading up toward the solidification of the social institution of la chichería [local store where chicha is sold]. Chicha consumption was finally actually restrained during the resistance against Spain under the lead of Simón Bolívar. He was convinced that a main cause of the losses amongst his men of the liberating army was the usage of chicha, consequently prohibiting public chicherías [chicha vending] on April fourth 1820, ceasing of vending chicha from the homes, and imposing fines and expatriation on those that do not abide by the rules (Camacho, 1946; Mora de Jaramillo, 1962).

Chicha found its rival when beer started to gain popularity during the Republican era halfway through the nineteenth century. Yet, the price range held a considerable difference as a glass of beer would not be sold under the price of half a *real* whereas at times four bottles of chicha would go over the counter for a mere two and a half *centavos*[4] (Martínez Carreño, 1990: 52). Nevertheless, this period

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[4] The real was the currency of Colombia until 1837: 1 real equalled 12 ½ centavos.

is indicative of the transition that took place in country wide consumer tradition. Finally, in 1858, *La Cervecería Nacional* [The National Brewery] opened its doors to commemorate the anniversary of Independence. This date is significant as, while beer is not a nationally invented product, it is naturalised as if it were.

Figure 1: Posters of the campaign against chicha consumption, Ministry of Hygiene, 1948.[5-6]

Source: Russi Lince (2009).

Figure 2. Posters of the campaign against chicha consumption, Ministry of Hygiene, 1948[7]	**Figure 3**. Beer Consumption Promotion Campaign, Bavaria Brewery, 1937

Source: Russi Lince (2009)　　　　　　**Source**: Russi Lince (2009)

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[5] "La chicha embrutece no tome bebidas fermentadas". Translation by author: Chicha brutalizes, do not drink fermented beverages.

[6] "Las cárceles se llenan de gentes que toman chicha". Translation by author: The prisons are filling up with people that consume chicha.

[7] "La chicha engendra el crimen! No tome bebidas fermentadas". Translation by author: Chicha causes crime! Do not drink fermented beverages.

The brewery took pride and popularity in the fact that it is not foreign produced nor owned by foreigners, stating that:

> In other times it would have been a disadvantage to announce that the company is not foreign at all, but nowadays there is not one inconvenience in doing so, as the good sense of the Bogotan people is already well known, as well as their spirit of nationality (Martínez Carreño, 1990: 93).

Subsequently indicating the tipping point of the frenchification trend drifting from the mainstage. Besides frenchification, the German culinary influence has left their mark. The introduction of the German beer company Bavaria of Leo Siegfried Kopp in 1889 fortified the status of beer on Colombian soil. Its arrival contributed to industrialization due to necessary technological advances made for efficient fabrication as well as transportation of the product (Quiroga, 2018). This element added onto the symbolization of beer as a product of modernization. Effectively, beer, a product deemed ''worthy of national identity attribution'' replaced the indigenous presence, personifying the newly constructed ''Colombian'' as white, progressive, and most importantly; modern. Adapting traditional consumption for the sake of progressive and modern imagination of the nation into a European paradigm, despite cutting ties with the legacy of the former colonizers. Positivist discourse in 20th century Colombia, attributed all wrongs in society such as disease, violence and alcoholism, to racial difference (Saade y Calvo, 2001). Racial ideology shaped the notion of Colombian society to an extent that no other concept has managed to (Noguera, 2003: 111-112). Subsequently, this ideology has tied itself to the culinary sphere too, criminalizing food heritage or practice of the internal ''Other'' such as the indigenous, blacks and the mestizo community.

Strategically, the arrival of beer knocks chicha off the national stage as chicha consumption supposedly forms a threat to society as a whole. A campaign of the Ministry of Hygiene carried negative attributions pasted onto chicha consumption, stating that prisons are filling up with those who consume chicha, visualized by a dark-skinned man behind bars, that chicha stupefies you, and that the beverage stimulates violence [figures 1-2]. A contrast is visible in beer promotion where a happy image of a light-skinned man feeding a child his beer is taken up by beer company Bavaria [figure 3], where even allowing an infant to drink it is portrayed positively. Remarkably, alcoholism equalled chicha, but not to alcoholic beverages of the ''Old world'' such as beer, which enjoyed similar alcoholic percentage and preparation, nor brandy or whiskey with considerably stronger features (Llano y Campuzano, 1994; Vasquez, 2018). Hence, these labels such as unhygienic and alcoholism were driven by a more deeply rooted social phenomenon, affecting the indigenous and mestizo population personally as the fight against one of their identity indicators transgressed the realm of merely this product, rendering an absence of the indigenous, black and mestizo population within the national narrative staged by the invented tradition of beer consumption as part of national (culinary) identity.

The continuous demand for chicha led to the increase of visible female indigenous presence in the cities, who came to sell their product in the city. The presence of chichería establishments skyrocketed. In 1891, Bogota knew a total of 209 recognized chicherías on the backdrop of a total of 70.000 registered inhabitants (Martínez Carreño, 190: 98). The visible presence of indigenous chichería establishments and their names such as *Al ferrocarril del norte* [To northern railway], *La batalla del oratorio* [The battle of the oratory], and *La rosa nacarada* [The pearly rose] were politically loaded and evoked national sentiment. Additionally, chicherías were subject to involvement with many aspects of society including folklore, literature, politics and police, featuring in songs and poems of the nineteenth century (Brown, 1989; Restrepo & Campuzano, 1994). Furthermore, a visible shift in recipe books from Eurocentric cuisine to national produce took place as products such as chicha started to feature in cookbooks such as *El manual práctico de cocina* (Hernández, 1912). Nevertheless, chicherías, constituting a mixture of the local bar, café and shop, disappeared from the streets with the official repeal

of their production rights with law 34 in 1948 as its process was considered unsanitary (Bejarano, 1950). Yet, despite repression of indigenous and other local delicacies on the national stage, the chicha itself did not disappear completely. Newspaper *El Espectador* stated on March 12th 1985 that it still lived on in hidden forms, as they were to be found in remote towns behind soft drink advertisements in stores. Continuous request for the drink and a changed social context provided for the cultural rescue project of chicha, which was officially launched with the establishment of the Chicha festival in the local market *La Perseverancia* in Bogota in 1988. Hereupon, the drink made a comeback and became officially incorporated into the national construction.

Amongst hundreds of variations of corn, which is produced everywhere in the country except for the lowland jungles that are not fit for cultivation, the type of corn that is indicated in this recipe, *capio* corn, has always enjoyed great connection to local food heritage and local culture. Especially present and apt in the southwestern part of the country yet also susceptible in other regions and holds much similarity to ancient types of maize varieties (Mesa Bernal, 1957). The crop has received its name from the Quechua language, denoting it as a soft floury maize (Roberts, Grant & Ramírez, 1957: 84). Indigenous populations in Nariño like Quillacingas, Emberás and Pastos have traditionally been essential to the traditional farming activities that surround the cultivation of this, and other types of corn on small fields in mountainous terrain. Their legacy made it possible for the seeds to be conserved up until modern time. However, the crop is in decline and local community initiatives carry the weight of ensuring the crop a future. The reason for this deterioration of its presence and cultivation is intensified monoculture farming by large companies that endanger the continuation of the long-existing relationship between the local community and the traditional form of the crop (Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, n.d.).

Despite national attention for enhanced domestic crop production, traditional cultivation was swept off the stage by mechanization by application of deforestation and monoculture crop production throughout the twentieth century (Roberts, Grant & Ramírez, 1957). While indigenous groups actually are entitled to the lands and resources, international and national politics endanger their food security by claiming ''intellectual property'' patents for corn production in the area (Salgar, 2005). Consequently, the collective rights of these communities regarding biodiversity of their native lands are ignored by this system, altering the lands with genetically modified crops, simultaneously affecting the traditional crops and the communities that were reliant on them [figure V in the annexes]. Therefore, socioeconomic as well as health risks linked to this development indicates neglect of rights of specific groups on the national stage.

3.2.2 Main Course: *Tamales Tolimenses* with a Side of Multiculturalism

A un Tamal
Tamal: si acaso vanidosa gente
con sarcasmo te mira, con desprecio
diles que todo en este infame mundo
es un blanco pastel sucio por dentro.
– Juan José Botero, 1928.

Next on the menu is the emblematic dish *tamales tolimenses*. The dish owes its name to the indigenous Nahuatl term ''tamalli'', which roughly translates into ''packaging'' or ''wrapping'', referring to the practice of wrapping a mass which can exist out of maize, plantain or rice combined with other ingredients in leafs to steam (Rojas de Perdomo, 2012: 290). Gastronomic investigator and professor Germán Patiño has distinguished over four hundred different versions of the tamale within the

Colombian borders (Quintero, 2013). While there is a myriad of ways to prepare tamales, differing widely within each region ranging from sweet to savoury simply characterized by the fact that it is a package wrapped and steamed in a leaf – as if it were a gift – the archive puts forth the *tamales tolimenses* as the ones that are most widely known, loved and practiced in and way beyond the area of Tolima Grande. Additionally, it is noted within the archive that: "Perhaps the most important aspect is to recognize its value as an example of the cultural diversity of our country"[8] (Rojas de Perdomo, 2012: 291).

There are three currents of influence to be characterized in this recipe [figure VI in the annexes]. The first and most forward current is the indigenous produce, native to the land. These products include corn, potato, anetto and bijao [*Mantara calatea*]. The second wave includes elements that are non-native which were brought to the Colombian soil alongside the arrival of the Spanish settlers in the sixteenth century, including onion, peas, cilantro, garlic, rice, pork, chicken, hen, and egg. The last involved party holds close ties to the arrival of the Spanish, yet is centred on the African influence that entered the territory alongside of it while contributing different elements such as plantain leaves or spices such as cumin.

As mentioned earlier, it is no surprise that a product such as corn features in a Colombian dish as it maintained the status of ''plant of civilization'' for a long time after having arrived via Mexico to the Colombian soil approximately five thousand years ago (Walden, 1966). As tamales are originally corn-based dishes, they played a large role in festivities and rituals as food for the gods (Moreno Blanco, 1990). Whereas with time this philosophic context of the plant has faded to the background, its legacy lives on in its position as a staple food of which most of the daily meals are centred around and almost never fails to appear during festivities. Moreover, the dish upholds such prominence that since 2002 the town of Ibagué has declared the 24th of June to be the Day of Tamale.

The earliest description of the dish is to be found in a seventeenth century travel account by Lionel Wafer, who wrote:

> In order to make chicha grind water with corn kernels and shape a pasta to ferment. When it has a somewhat acid flavour, use this to prep tamales, placing a ripe plantain on each one. The tamales wrapped in leaves are cooked in a pot; then drop to put in a wooden tub, once cooled down, knead to create a semi liquid substance to divide into big pots with hot water. Twenty Four hours later add cane juice. Then stuff the vases with bijao leaves, leaving a squared space to stuff, to be covered with another leaf. On top of the leaves add strong ají so that Niya [the devil] does not drink the fermented liquor before them[9] (Moreno Blanco, 1992: 194-195).

The recipe of tamales tolimenses was not spared the penetration of Spanish rule, as ingredients that were new to the lands initiated many variations. Moreover, the versions that are most well-known and presented as ''authentic'' are usually those that are the product of mestizaje. The level of spiciness as indicated in the former fragment was chilled as the Spanish were less susceptible to this flavour.

The introduction of meat as a regular component used to be a product of luxury and social privilege, and correspondingly a symbol of power. Meat lends this symbolic characteristic to the principle of incorporation. Montanari elaborated on this, stating that: "'popular wisdom often takes it for granted that absorption, especially when repeated, of a particular food tends to transfer certain characteristics of the food analogically to the eater" (2006: 279). Blood, which is inherent to meat, accommodates the symbolization of strength as by incorporation, the body gains new life, rendering the power to control the body as well as the hierarchical position of oneself through selection of food items. This specific version of the tamale was not always widely practiced as the small elite who had access to

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[8] Original text: "Pero quizás lo más importante es reconocer su valor como ejemplo de la diversidad cultural de nuestro país."
[9] Own translation.

the product shifted to frenchified dining and the lower classes had very little access to the meats. Nevertheless, within the period of nation-building tamales have received the status of a national emblem. Throughout modernization, meat consumption has grown to be less elitist and more widely available. Eventually, this recipe has been lifted to be an appointed representative of tamales in Colombia, out of five hundred different variations, by the Ministry of Culture.

Another remarkable shift is visible in the wrapping. Whereas the indigenous used the *bijao* leaves which were native to the land, this became less and less common ever since the colonial period during which alongside African influence plantains entered the Colombian soil. The plantain production was very well suited to the tropical environment that the northern region of Colombia enjoyed, and their leaves were well fit for the wrapping, which gained popularity. Another noteworthy element is that this type of tamale is unique in the sense that it is made in a round shape instead of rectangular like its other variations. Namely, the circle, or a round shape, carries alongside it the symbolization of equality, which could possibly be a signifier of the formulated intentions of the archive which promotes multiculturalism and diversity. The circle is even associated with the Self, and "It implies an idea of movement, and symbolizes the cycle of time, the perpetual motion of everything that moves, indicates the end of the process of individuation, of striving towards a psychic wholeness and self-realization" (Gombrich, 1945: 35). Hence, it is very likely that the election of tamales tolimenses is a strategic choice of the Ministry of Culture as a national representative to stress their claim of inclusivity. Nevertheless, upon untangling this wrapping, another rather contrasting message is to be found related to plantain leaves. The position of bananas as the product that endures most export on a world-wide base, has played an important role in the socio-economic and environmental issues that are core to their production rate and foodways. While the summit of conflict surrounding this matter took place in the aforementioned banana strike and subsequent massacre of 1928, working conditions which primarily depend on Afro-descendants and other minority groups, remain dire. Labourers of its cultivation, on plantation sites as well as the processors have been globally recognized as the most vulnerable workers in merchandise (Beekman, Dekkers & Koster, 2019).

Somewhere throughout this development, the tamale has even evolved to become pinpointed as a national symbol of Colombia by a cooperation between magazine *Semana*, Caracol TV and the Ministry of Culture (2006). The logic behind this is to be traced down to the period of internalization and nation branding which took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as described in the previous chapter (Mantilla, 2017). As touched upon, the period after independence was off to a rocky start and reflected Colombia's desperate need to redefine its population through the erection of a nation. The formulation of this new ''us'' incorporated elements of creolization as the true Colombian identity. The tamale became rebranded as ''us-food'', and deployed within the project of self-becoming of the nation. As mentioned in the previous chapter, tourism and folklore are often important factors within this process of national identity construction. The Colombian case is no exception. This development is visible in the fact that the dish features and gains appraisal in early twentieth century productions such as *Los Cucacheros* by musician and historian Jorge Añez Avendaño whose musical formation took shape at the national conservatory. He and his music are nowadays renowned as pioneers of Colombian Andean music (Radio Nacional de Colombia, 2017). The slow process of constructing the national identity due to internal difference and conflict, the usage of the tamale as representative of Colombian society is strategically deployed. Namely, the dish in itself is an undeniable aspect of Colombian society as it simultaneously exists diachronically as well as cross-regionally. The tamale effectively embodies representation of internal difference and diversity, demographically as well as geographically, as it exists in so many variations that correspond to their natural as well as socio-cultural habitat.

Within tourism, there is a strong tendency to seek close relation with the local community and their practices. The Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism acknowledges that while taking a trip, one of the most memorable and decisive factors of a destination will be whether the food was good or

bad, regardless of whether the landscape and historical monuments were exquisite (2016: 20). Moreover, it puts forth the solidification of traditional gastronomy in cultural tourism: "The traditional Colombian gastronomy has been a fundamental element to strengthen our national identity like regional identities and, therefore, has played a fundamental role as tourist attraction" (Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo, 2007: 9). They affirm that every type of food has its own social significance with emotional and symbolic attachment due to the complex mixture between nature, quality, and heritage as a product of historical and cultural development. Quoting the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism:

> Its value increases with authenticity and uniqueness that it represents. The kitchen forms part of rural patrimony and, once they integrate with the tourist industry, favours the quality of the destination and promotes the identity and differentiation within a globalized world (2016: 12).

The tourist experience of seeing, smelling and tasting converts into an activity that can provide the tourist with a local experience that can be lived through food (Leal Londoño, 2011: 16).

The office for tourism states that it is a shame that Colombia did not take advantage of their gastronomic riches that came forth out of their cultural mixture in the realm of tourism to the fullest potential (Fondo de Promoción Turística de Colombia, 2012: 56). Therefore, the Plan Sectorial del Turismo (2011) envisioned that Colombia will have fortified its competitive position of cultural tourism, starring fields such as historical tourism, festivities and gastronomy. The tamales protagonize in this plan, symbolizing the culinary identity of Colombia. Moreover, the Ministry of Tourism affirms that:

> "Perhaps the largest contribution of Colombian gastronomy is not merely to the economic aspect, but to the socio-cultural. It has converted into a factor of reaffirmation of identity, the revalidation of foods and regional sentiment and national agricultural products. Beyond social and regional distinction, grows the pride for Colombian food" (2016: 21).

This sentiment of tamales as representative of diversity within society is also endorsed beyond governmental sources. Borrowing from Díaz Patiño on the position of the tamale in Colombian society, who illustrated that "The tamale has not only provided an identity to traditional parties and family reunions; it has also provided us, alongside *arepas* and *sancocho*, identity as Colombian peasantry, shared with almost all Latin American countries" (2014). The dish is of high cultural importance as it involved multiple moral and symbolic values. They are associated with factors such as abundance, prosperity, wellbeing, festivity and the family. Some consider this the food of "peasants, Indians, and blacks" (Guerrero, 2019), as it has not always existed within consideration of gastronomic importance by higher classes. It has grown to acquire a new significance due to national internalisation of the product. Furthermore, the political spheres in which "clientelism and the buying of votes so common yesterday, today and forever" play a large role, render the tamale to "personify the evils of our political class and society" (Guerrero, 2019). They are strategically used to gain goodwill during political events by every political background, indirectly evolving into a means to buy votes. The sale of tamales, irrespective of their variation, augments significantly during election times. Some vendors have reported that their revenue quadruples during this period (Perea, 2015). Thus, in a way, as tamales symbolize abundance and prosperity, the political parties deploy this dish to win support by promising better times, signified by the tamales. Nevertheless, it seems that the promised contribution of Colombian gastronomy has failed to provide equality for all socio-cultural groups, as apparent within the dire working and living conditions for those that have been and continue to be core to the production of its key ingredients.

3.2.3 Dessert: *Chocolate Santafereño* – Au Bain Slavery

El chocolate es un santo
Que de rodillas se muele,
Con las manos es que se bate
Mirando al cielo se bebe[10]
— Margarita Hurtado.

This recipe [figure XI in the annexes] for *chocolate santafereño* [hot chocolate, Santa Fe style] is portrayed as the representative of the old habit of drinkable chocolate which has its roots in precolonial times (Sánchez & Sánchez, 2012: 234). The recipe only contains five ingredients [cacao beans, sugar, milk, cinnamon and cloves], yet we can still discern temporal and spatial influence on the product tracing down the origin of the ingredients. Consumption of the core product, cacao beans, is to be dated back to at least two thousand years ago, and possibly even way longer (Coe & Coe, 2013). It is a known native product to Mesoamerican lands and current academia commonly understand that the name chocolate, the processed product of cacao beans, derives from the classical Nahuatl word ''xocolātl'' which was used for the drink that they made from cacao beans. The beans, and correspondingly the drink, however having originated in what nowadays is known as Mexico, was prepared far beyond the Aztec community and constituted itself as a popular beverage amongst the indigenous populations in neighbouring areas, including those in Colombia (Coe & Coe, 2013).

As the bitterness of the product did not appeal to the Spanish colonizers, they added sugar to the drink upon their arrival in the sixteenth century (Rojas de Perdomo, 2012; Sánchez & Sánchez, 2012). In an account from 1545, Antonio Solís referred to the suggestion amongst the Spanish to apply it as a dessert, describing it as: "a type of chocolate that contains the substance of cacao, created with a grinder until the substance is more foam than liquid" (Gutiérrez Ponce, 1926). The addition of milk to the mixture is also to be traced back to the colonial context, as dairy products were introduced with the arrival of the Spanish Settlers (Rojas de Perdomo, 2012). Finally, cinnamon and clove were added to the drink by the Spanish (Rojas de Perdomo, 2012). Ironically enough, as this was the produce that was sought after by the Spanish on their travels to Asia when they stumbled upon Latin America.

Figure 4. Cacao production in Colombia from 2010 to 2019 (in metric tons)
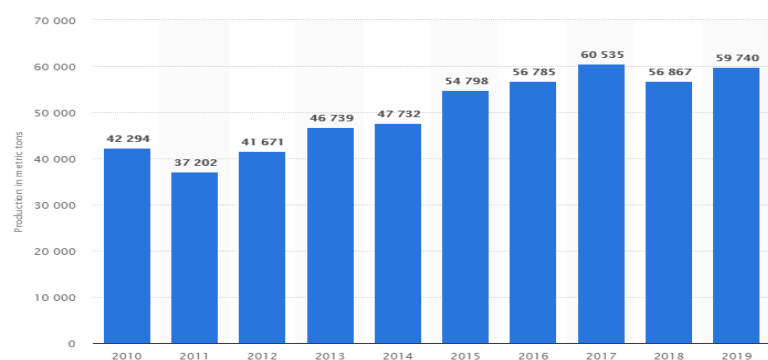
Source: Statista (2020)

The drink, however adapted, continued to be consumed widely, primarily as a part of the breakfasts yet also as a common accompaniment of other mealtimes during the day. Its consumption ranged very widely throughout the entire population, simultaneously representing food of the rich as well as of the

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[10] Translation: Chocolate is a saint / weakening the knees / With the hands beaten / Looking up to the heavens one drinks.

poor (Carreño, 1990: 94). Regional differences have always been inherent to the Colombian culture, and historical accounts make it clear that the contemporary inhabitants were aware of this. Nevertheless, hot chocolate seems to have transgressed this, borrowing from Martínez Carreño: "A sixteenth century traveller would have known what different types of produce he would be offered when located in specific areas of the country. Either way, it would be accompanied by a cup of chocolate" (1990: 9). Additionally, contrasting other types of traditional foods which were commonly mostly representative of the rural, el chocolate santafereño identified urban life too. All through the eighteenth century, chocolate remained popular, internally as well as externally. Increased popularity of the product during the Industrial Revolution drove the necessity to increase production and therefore constituted the formation of cacao tree plantations. Increased production called for increased workforce, for which the colonizers initially used the indigenous population as a forced labour pool. As this pool decreased due to high death rates, African slaves were installed to substitute this position alongside their work on other crops such as sugar in order to fulfil the demand for chocolate from Europe. In Colombia, the processing of the cacao still happened within the homes until 1877, when the first chocolate factory, *Chocolate Chaves* was erected, followed by the like throughout the territory.

The national fame of the drink for its excellence was admired and expressed by many, featuring in folklore in a myriad of poems and songs amongst other things (Ortiz, 1866). Eventually even this beloved product had to bow for fashionable foreign produce. Frenchification of upper class dining in Colombia, and the result of the novelty is described by José Joaquin García in the chronicles of Bucaramanga, regarding the year 1875. He stated that:

> The introduction and multitude of unknown articles exerted its influence in fashion and food [...]. the national hams, the ducks, the salads and meats which were served during supper converted into langoustines, salmon and mortadella; the spicy of the land into refined foreign pickle; the red wine and mistelles, which were used by our grandparents were left for brandy and foreign wines, and the chocolate was traded in for coffee (García, 1944: 132).

Of course, hot chocolate did not just step down for any drink, it made way for the product which was to become their number one export product which had strong ties with national symbolism. Coffee, too, was a whitewashed product as it was brought over from African soil only to be morphed into Colombian national pride, featuring prototype imagery of the Colombian cafetero in promotion such as that of late twentieth century Juan Valdez's logo [figure 5]. Despite erosion of the central position due to this new coming boom of coffee, cacao never left the stage entirely.

Figure 5. Logotype of Juan Valdez.

Source: www.juanvaldez.com.co (October 14, 2020)

Cacao production constituted the foundation for black economy situated in the northern part of the Valle de Cauca region, where the cultivation and trade of cacao was owned by Afro-Colombian families. As

this line of production and agency of resources was taken away from them alongside increased demand and production on mass-scale [figure 4] the Afro-Colombian population experienced another blow on top of their already existing marginalized position of vast unemployment and poverty rates. Human rights expert Ricardo A. Sunga III reported in 2016 the concern that:

> Many Afro-Colombians community leaders have faced repeated death threats following their call for their ancestral land rights and to prevent the exploitation of their territories. We ask for protection of Afro-Colombians, especially those engaged in active campaign for land restitution including in the Cauca Department (UNHCR, 2016: n/p).

Within similar fashion, sugarcane [*Saccharum officinarum*] had a major impact on the ''New World''. Brought to the Antilles and later to the vast continent alongside the Spanish conquistadors it reached the Colombian territory mid sixteenth century. African slaves were forced to work the land for sugar production under harsh conditions, centred mainly in the Cauca Valley. After slavery had ended, the Afro-Colombian community which had a high concentration in the area remained the core of sugar cane production, applying their sustainable and traditional farming practices in the mountains to make a living. Nowadays, the Pacific coastal state of Valle del Cauca remains the vast centre of Colombian sugarcane production [figure 6], holding 80% of its production (CVC, 2018). However, this has not come to the benefit of the community which has long been the spine of the industry. While one of the five policy strategies stated by the Ministry of Culture within the archive reads "to strengthen the organization and capacity for cultural management of the bearers of the food and cooking traditions" (Ministerio de Cultura, 2015), it remains clear that there is little to no fortification of the position of said groups. Contrastingly, deforestation for the sake of increase of the industry has taken away agency of the Afro-Colombian community which once held the production standing, impacting not only flora and fauna of the local environment by permanently damaging the crops by spraying of the fields and monoculture cultivation (Perea-Morera & Otero, 2016) but also heavily damaging the Afro-Colombian population which has for a long time already existed amongst the country's most vulnerable group. Local resident Weimar Possu Díaz, whose family had been deeply involved in the historical process of cane production in the region states: "[We] were once the owners of this area, the flat region of the Cauca Valley, which is over 220,000 hectares, the *cañeros* [cane producers] came here and took the land away" (Brown, 2017).

Oxfam reported in 2014 that local food security has worsened as communities are displaced, acknowledging that smallholder livelihoods in the area remain undermined. Denial on behalf of the cane industries that have taken over the area that their process imposes harm on others has been prevalent within the discussion. Prominent newspaper *El País* has positioned the sector to be essential as it renders the employment of 1.7 million people country-wide (2013). It was only as late as this year that CVC [Autonomous Regional Cooperation of Valle del Cauca] announced to prohibit the burning of cane in the area. Despite this small victory in environmental terms, it does not take away the lasting devastation of the Afro-Colombian enterprise and thereupon their socio-economic status within the region.

Figure 6. Sugarcane production in Colombia from 2010-2019 (in metric tons)
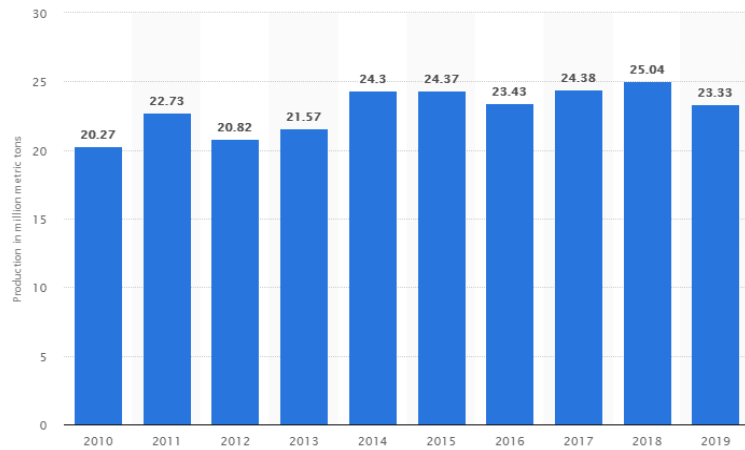
Source: Statista (2020)

3.3 Discussion and Results: Putting Money Where Your Mouth Is

The pathway that is deployed by the Ministry of Culture concerning their policy of safeguarding traditional knowledge and practice of the inhabitants within their territory takes place within a framework of inclusion and exclusion. The way food is used as a political instrument, strategically deployed to assess the nation's narrative as food and foodways have proven to be effective devices that reflect upon their corresponding social contexts, reaffirms their acknowledgement of food as capable of carrying the potential to tell the script of the nation in adequate manner. Furthermore, this can also be applied to reconstruct the future script of the nation, as currently deployed by the Colombian government.

3.3.1 Gastronomic Multiculturalism versus Culinary Colonialism

In the Colombian case, this reassessment is done on a large scale, proclaiming to convey the message of diversity, as governmental institutions disclose their determination to no longer favour certain groups and their corresponding culinary practice, attempting to move away from the pigmentocratic policy that has long been a driver of national procedure. The Colombian culinary journey represented by the dishes took stops at suppression of subaltern cuisines, authenticity seeking plurality as well as unity in the shape of creolization drenched in invented tradition to attach emblems to the nation. The descendants of Spanish Settlers founded a new identity that should constitute ''the native Colombian'' while dictating various other ethnic and class labels on the original inhabitants of the land (Devine, 1999).

Within the current food movement, heritage of groups that were formerly excluded from the national narrative is finally gaining an improved status, providing more agency connected to the practice. The gastronomic train arrives at a new stop of alleged inclusion, acknowledging the diversity of Colombia's soil as well as its inhabitants as their strength, emphasizing difference for the sake of unification. Sánchez and Sánchez (2012) proclaim that internal diversity is celebrated through the establishment of the archive, they state that it reflects upon:

> A creative mixture, mestiza, indigenous and afro-descendent which invites us, through the likes, to enjoy the different cultural culinary traditions, including those of Japanese or Syrian-Lebanese that arrived at

the department many years ago. A concert of voices and flavours that challenges our proposition to demonstrate the Colombian cuisines through its regions (p. 308).

This type of action even seems to belong within the trend of decolonialism as their quest effectively promotes distancing from production of knowledge through a Eurocentric lens, reclaiming agency and attributing new value to local knowledge production (Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 1988). This approach to gastronomic policy treats all currents as equal parts, coexisting harmoniously alongside and with each other in a state of constant flux, without prioritizing one over another, constantly changing as new entities arrive, altering the composition as time progresses in transcultural fashion (Ortíz, 1940).

However, such celebration of minority cuisine on the national stage is often less inclusive than it seems at the surface. As public incorporation is positioned as if it were a milestone on its own already, the marginalization of the group itself is ameliorated. Additionally, Day points out that rather than a warm embrace, sudden internalisation is often "not equal, reciprocal, and freely given, but a partial and grudgingly bestowed gift from a canonical Self group to a series of problematic Others" (2000: 217). Control over the lands, foods and foodways are important elements of heritage within minority culture's cuisine, elements that are frequently deprived from Indigenous groups, rendering a continuation of their subordination despite official recognition. Moreover, the growing interest in minority culture cuisine such as Indigenous cuisine commodifies their ancestral knowledge systems, taking them out of their context and steamed in such a way to be stuffed into gentrified consumption for a non-Indigenous wider society, existing primarily out of tourists and featuring in haute-cuisine. A problematic relationship between liberal gastronomic multiculturalism and the national cultural identity is situated within the notion that structural inequality can be mended by recognition of minority culture and celebration thereof instead of redistributing resources in order for that group to break from this minority status (Fraser, 1995). Often, the promises of multiculturalism in terms of revalidation of marginalized groups are unevenly distributed between recognition and practice (Grey & Newman, 2018). Eventually, through the usage and appropriation of minority culture's cuisine such as the colonized indigenous, the claim could be made that this re-reading of their practice leads up to eradication of the right to self-narration and ultimately, erosion of agency.

3.3.2 The Conquest of the Stomach ≠ Victory of Equal Opportunity

The recipes illustrate all the components that are needed to establish the desired dishes. Deconstructing these recipes, it is hard to deny that globalization has had a major impact on their preparations as not a single one only holds ingredients that are native to the land. Moreover, as these recipes derive from precolonial times, the change in composition are reflections of the changing spirit that reaches beyond the scope of sole preference of texture and taste, moving into the realm of politics of sociocultural behaviour of the time. While none of these products are their original form, they have somehow taken up a space where they are viewed as representative of tradition within the Colombian nation, perhaps even as authentic.

However, evidently, while flavours and their origins are no longer blatantly whitewashed and recognized as constitutive parts of the Colombian flavour palate, regional, national or international, the claim that this too represents their voices is probably a bit of a stretch. If anything, this rather belongs to the realm of gastronomic multiculturalism than to that of genuine inclusion. Namely, the groups pertaining to these voices [read marginalized groups] of which their culinary cultural practice is now acknowledged and celebrated have received little to no room for emancipation themselves. In sum, while affiliating with the symbolic indigenous of the past, the ''provincial'' indigenous fall outside of this scope of interest. Appropriation and assimilation of indigenous elements as authentic Colombian tradition holds many possible drivers. They are rather likely that they are used as band aids to cover up

internal continued inequalities in order to boost the national status and to subsequently soothe public discontent and the threat of internal as well as external critique or mobilization. Another reason behind deployment of claim to authenticity can be found within the need to promote the nation that feeds the thirst of the tourist within their search for the ''essence'' of their travel destination.

The usage of indigenous folklore, and to some extent that of the Afro-Colombian society, in order to claim heritage and constitute cultural patrimony in the Colombian context while simultaneously showing the continuation of undermining agency of these groups in terms of their right to land and resources, shows similarity to the Peruvian case. The claimed authenticity finds legitimacy in the sense that these items and practices that are now revalidated and incorporated into the national narrative, despite having endured a substantial period of repression, are products of the rightful owners of the land; the original majority group and therefore as close as it gets to native products of Colombian soil which are now under threat of disappearance. However less blatantly than in the Peruvian context where supposedly "indigenous foods are being salvaged from their ''dirtiness'' by celebrity chefs and cosmopolitan foodies, to be incorporated into a more elevated gastronomy" (Grey & Newman, 2018), the Colombian case carries a side of culinary colonialism too. Discrepancy between the governmental statement, ranging from initial multiculturalist winds in the 1991 constitution to the erection of this archive, and the hinterland of the recipes cannot be ignored. Namely, this sketches a rather skewed outcome with reality beyond the written word which is in line with what Méndez (1995) identified in neighbouring country Peru as "Inca's sí; indios, no" [Inkas yes; Indians, no].

Vast disadvantage still exists on the sociocultural and political front for the native inhabitants that used to be the majority group but in a period of over four hundred years have ended up to now only make up about 4.4 percent of the Colombian population. This type of superficial inclusion shines through in the incorporation of Indigenous foods within the national cuisine, representative of cultural patrimony. The staple foods behind the revalued ''traditional'' recipes of historical value still remain areas in which vast exploitation and exclusion take place, striking exactly those groups that supposedly gained agency through the elevated position of their ancestral techniques and produce. Contradicting, if these products were to rise in popularity, the increased consumption of the enlisted ingredients such as cacao, banana, and sugar would potentially do nothing but add to the troubled position they find themselves in.

Hence, one can speak of a new type of exclusive inclusion of the indigenous and its culture within the nationalist cultural discourse. Borrowing from Morris, the conclusion applies here that "the public culinascape can be read as a map of race relations" (2010: 6). While the program is commonly considered and perhaps even intended as fairly inclusive and celebrational of diversity, the underlying dynamics of production that fuel this increased popularity of the creole and ancestral foods are not in line with the statement of inclusion or equal treatment. Only if the hinterland of these dishes would truly undergo a metamorphosis for inclusion, the land as well as its people would enjoy an augmentation in terms of sustainable livelihood. In sum, while reform of the gastronomic landscape indicates progress, these recipes have strong characteristics of gastronomic multiculturalism, or ''culinary colonialism'' if you will by deployment of the social memory for nostalgic and unificatory purpose. There is still a long way to go regarding culinary as well as sociocultural and socioeconomic freedom and equality in the Colombian context, as the new ''collective we'' as portrayed by these recipes are only inclusive on the surface. Hence, in order to equate the written promises to actual enhancement of everyday life implications for the groups that have been and continue to be the shoulders upon which gastronomic gentrification grants its existence, there is a necessity to look beyond what crowns over the surface, and to dig deeper for the roots of not only the produce but of the foodways, exposing conditions of the production itself.

CONCLUSION

Upon deconstruction of recipes and their hinterlands, it is time to evaluate the lessons that were learned along the process. This research has illustrated the development of Colombian culinary tradition, and its fluctuating representation throughout time. Within the framework of theoretical approaches such as invented tradition, foodways, and gastronomic multiculturalism, the origin and intention of the current governmental reassessment of Colombian national culinary identity has been analysed. Central to the investigation were culinary practices that are currently part of the Colombian culinascape, evaluated in terms of their hybrid roots and development within the national narrative. Yet the purpose for their assessment transgresses the realm of merely the development of a certain food practice. Namely, these were installed to assess what has driven the Ministry of Culture to erect such a revalidation of culinary heritage and what message is conveyed by its content concerning the national (culinary) identity.

What has come to the surface is that the narrative of the Ministry of Culture is grounded in a tale of inclusion, diversity and to a certain extent of decolonialism although less explicitly voiced as such. The newly articulated validation for internal difference in culinary terms, sparks an almost paradoxical statement. Namely, the strategy to emphasize difference for the sake of unification. This positive move almost sounds too good to be true, sparking the need to assess its underlying dynamics as food is never neutral as it carries symbolization and nostalgia, and facilitates as a factory for identity, commonly deployed as a political instrument by stakeholders. Testing the phases of gastronomic multiculturalism, the case study has a lot of common ground. Concerning the first phase of initial suppression of subaltern cuisine, analysis shows that while some subaltern elements were not fully erased, the native culinary practice which formerly enjoyed the majority position was positioned as inferior. Indigenous cuisine, denigrated as minority culture cuisine, was cast away as supposedly less appetizing and characterized as unsophisticated alongside Afro-Colombian culinary practice. The second stage is characterized by authenticity-seeking plurality, which can be found within the characterization of intentional separation of what is authentic or not by dissecting to what extent something is traditionally genuine. The case study shows that in the Colombian context, the national identity was shaped around the establishment of the ''white, progressive and modern'', inventing traditions that belonged to this newly constructed narrative to support its legitimacy. In this sense, rather than seeking for the authentic and appropriating and whitewashing that, the Colombian narrative invented their own ''ethnic myth'', with corresponding invented symbols and traditions in the culinary sphere. This is apparent in for instance the contrast between a product such as chicha which was an outcast in society and actively fought against by the government, versus the promotion of beer. Both products symbolized their respective societies and embodied the clash between the indigenous and the ''modern'' and new ''we'' that had taken over the stage. This reinterpretation of the original myth, reduced the original self, the indigenous, to the position of perceived Other and a menace to society, alongside their culinary practice which were perceived perils to the status quo. Nevertheless, due to the strong connection between location and cuisine, ingredients that were core to indigenous cuisine and native to the land such as corn and cacao beans remained a staple within society. Yet, the systems of their productions were disconnected from the minority groups, especially the indigenous and black population, endangering simultaneously their food security as well as their advancement in society.

The frame of phase three, convergence dominated by creolization, took place in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century where the new nation had to assemble a new definition of ''us''. Blanqueamiento projects shined through in food, this time featuring a soft version, appropriating items such as coffee and beer arising the national stage. Despite their diverse roots, the products were internalised and naturalised as part of the national narrative. The symbolic attributions that these products inhabited were deployed as a means to propagate their usage and the corresponding lifestyle,

rendering a policy of designation, labelling which has been associated with rural development and modernization. The creole society tentatively incorporated the rural Andino into the national framework, shining through in for instance the image of Juan Valdez representative of the coffee industry, while the indigenous and black society remained outside of the scope of inclusion.

During the current phase, a movement is made towards the transcultural that is constant flux. This can be viewed as ''cosmopolitan localism'' balancing the regional with the national, every group and their corresponding cuisine is allowed the space to embrace their culinary heritage. This need has highly likely coincided with the detachment that people experienced with food, driven by the neoliberal model and the corresponding modernization, automatization and the fast food model. Loss of sense of what is incorporated into the body alongside loss of consciousness regarding its symbolization. Therefore, in a way, detachment of local and ''traditional'' food can lead to a loss of identity, in particular collective identity. Disturbance with the neoliberal model and the detachment with identity of the group has probably been a factor that has added onto the already existing level of discontent within the country, leading to the necessity to search for an element that binds Colombians together, to reassure the collectivity. The archive attempts to disrupt the established boundaries between ''our'' and ''their'' food, initiating a space where – while recognizing the roots of the culinary practice – culinary regionalism is applied as a unificatory factor rendering all foods ''our'' food. The diversity of the fruits that the Colombian soil bears and their harmonious coexistence in the national cuisine respectively represents the message extended to society. The diverse roots that are intertwined within the mix that is the Colombian population, should be embraced, recognizing each person, or ''ingredient'' if you will as a moving particle that both exists as an individual, as well as part of the collective nation. This type of promotion of difference and diversity seems to exist within a paradigm of inclusion and perhaps even decolonialism, as tentatively the switch is being made to acknowledge the importance and value of diversity, re-attached to the nation through shared ancestry, nature and authentic food. The attempt to soothe the many levels of discontent and the negative characteristics that are attributed to internal difference by turning difference as a strength rather than a weakness holds a positive development. Nevertheless, this trend also possesses another side that knows less inclusive characteristics and consequences. Namely, the problem of re-narration.

Gastronomic multiculturalism functions not only as a pretence of culinary colonialism, it actually substantiates it. Namely, the celebration of the conjunction of two or more cultures that have been subject to merge due to a colonial framework in terms of their cuisine as a richer whole, ameliorates the marginalization of groups that has fuelled this merge. The paradoxical balance between Indigenous foods as authentic and traditional while at the same time lifting it into novelty cuisine renders the increase of popularity of indigenous ingredients, and leads to gentrification. The claim to authenticity is out of place as there is no such thing as authentic cuisine, as culinary practice does not exist in silos and undergoes constant fluctuation throughout history. Moreover, the referred traditional indigenous foods are in many ways practices that underwent colonial forces such as prohibition and government rations, and thus have been the product of suppression of traditional knowledge in the first place and are therefore inauthentic in itself. Remarkably, the renewed value for ''traditional indigenous foods'', is what drives the demand for indigenous foods, or at least for indigenous ingredients, to be added to a hybridized or bricolage formula. Increase in demand will likely increase prices for products, diminishing the purchasing power of exactly those groups which were once the drivers behind its cultivation and preparation. Hence, opening up ''indigenous food'' for non-indigenous use, decreasing accessibility for the indigenous groups. The same goes for the Afro-Colombian community and their corresponding culinary heritage, as the chain of production is more and more detached from them and their culinary heritage. Additionally, this trend as responsive to the repugnance of neoliberal massified dynamics enjoys a rather superficial portrayal of the scene.

Alongside the dedication to fill the hunger for reattachment with cultural heritage, popularizing ''native foods'' to the public, mechanization and automatization are deployed to satisfy the demand. This shows indications for an increase in deforestation as well as a decrease in food security and social position of exactly those groups whose culinary heritage is supposedly being saved as illustrated by the disattachment in sugarcane and cacao production. Food sovereignty for indigenous and Afro-Colombian people encompasses more than just recognition on the national stage in culinary archives, but requires accessibility to cultivation, production, preparation and consumption of foods on rightful territory to secure resurgence of cultural heritage. Therefore, disregarding potential good or bad intentions, gastronomic multiculturalism is besides less beneficial than it sounds actively commodifying cultural heritage outside of its original context, opening up indigenous and Afro-Colombian resources for the use of others.

To sum up, the archive is a representation of the governmental initiative to mend public discontent that has developed out of a system of historic inequality. The national narrative opens up in terms of culinary heritage, including difference as a strength rather than a weakness in order to create a more common understanding of colombianidad. This redefined version of the national (culinary) identity lives alongside a lot of different roots existing as a fruitful harmonious entity which enjoys a diverse landscape, the fruits it bears, and the multicultural demographic of Colombia's current society. However, the emphasis on hybridization of culture ameliorates the marginalized position that is endured by many, specifically visible in minority groups such as the indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities. On the other hand, the claim to authenticity and tradition is invalid, and effectively impossible when equated with the multicultural society that is core to the narrative of the library. The question whether this shallow inclusion is merely a sop to facilitate a superficial unity to avoid protest and to soothe potential turmoil remains unclear, but an undeniable lesson that can be learned from this assessment is that yet again the new definition of Colombian national (culinary) identity is a socially constructed story, installed to facilitate a positive image that is needed to increase popularity to internal as well as to external forces. Whereas native culinary traditions and other non-European influences were once only perceived as food for nutrition and neglected as well as sometimes actively countered on the national stage, it is no accident that these formerly inferiorized currents are nowadays actively endorsed. Digging for roots, conquering space for the former internal Other within the national imaginary, seems a small step in the right direction, yet it is important to keep in mind not to be blinded by the celebration of this small victory. In terms of socio-political unrest, international credibility as well as for the sake of tourism, the imagined community bound by culinary regionalism, functions to decrease visibility of continued social inequality and exploitation of groups, their heritage and corresponding ethnic myths.

Additionally, it is important to raise awareness and to dedicate future research to the endorsement of dynamics throughout the entire foodways of minority groups, so that statements made by the Ministry of Culture like these do not merely function as a band-aid to cover the wound that is visible on the surface. Thus, this thesis is a call to action not to dine and dash on the resurgence of Indigenous, Afro-Colombian and other hybrid culinary influences. It is crucial to advocate that this revalidation of Colombian culinary heritage needs to be followed up in the hinterlands of the recipes that are now proudly presented in the archive under the umbrella statement of difference and diversity.

ANNEXES

Figure I. *Original Fragment in Spanish* (Ministerio de Cultura, 2015).

"Fueron 55 autores y más de una decena de cocineros, quienes permitieron plasmar en 5.000 páginas lo mejor de la cocina tradicional de nuestro país, considerada un componente importante del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de la Nación. El propósito de esta Biblioteca es revelar la suma de productos, conocimientos y técnicas, para que podamos conocer de primera mano nuestra diversidad. Las tradiciones culinarias y alimenticias, como patrimonio cultural, son colectivas. Pertenecen o identifican a un grupo social particular (colectividad/comunidad) y se transmiten de generación en generación como un legado, tradición cultural o parte de la memoria colectiva. Por eso, para entender la cocina tradicional en un país multicultural, pluriétnico y biodiverso como el nuestro, es necesario adentrarse en las cocinas regionales y locales."

Figure II. *Recipe for capio corn chicha* (Sánchez & Sánchez, 2012: 355)

Ingredients - 6-8 people
1 pound of capio corn
2 litres of water
½ panela orange budds
cloves to taste
cinnamon to taste

Preparation
After cooking and grinding the corn, the dough is dissolved in boiling water. Panela is added and it is left to cook until it is diluted. Once removed from the heat, orange buds, cloves and cinnamon are added. Let it rest for at least 10 minutes and let hover. To increase its nutritional value, it is left to ferment for 2-3 days and is served cold. It is recommended to put the chicha in a clay pot and stir it from time to time.

Figure III. *Original fragment in Spanish* (Sánchez & Sánchez, 2012: 355)

Ingredientes - 6-8 personas
1 libra de maíz capio
2 litros de agua
½ panela cogollos de naranjo
clavos de olor al gusto
canela al gusto

Preparación
Después de cocer y moler el maíz, se disuelve la masa en agua hirviendo, se le agrega panela y se deja cocinar hasta que se diluya. Cuando se retira del fuego, se le añaden cogollos de naranjo, clavos y canela. Se deja reposar al menos 10 minutos y se cierne. Para aumentar su valor nutritivo, se deja fermentando 2-3 días y se sirve fría. Se recomienda poner la chicha en una olla de barro y revolverla de vez en cuando.

Figure IV. *Original fragment in Spanish* (Martínez Carreño, 1990: 93)

"En otro tiempo sería una desventaja anunciar que la empresa no es de ningún extranjero, pero hoy no hay ningún inconveniente en hacerlo, por ser ya bien conocida la sensatez del pueblo bogotano, igualmente que su espíritu de nacionalidad".

Figure V. Number of families resettled and annual forest clearing rate from 2013-2020 on family farm settlements

Year	Number of families	Forest clearing (0.5 ha/y/family)
2014	5000	2500
2015	10,000	5000
2016	20,000	10,000
2017	40,000	20,000
2018	80,000	40,000
2019	120,000	60,000
2020	160,000	80,000
Total	435,000	217,500

Source: Earth Innovative Institute (2013: 101).

Figure VI. *Recipe for Tamales Tolimenses* (Sánchez & Sánchez, 2012: 293)

Ingredients - 8 persons
1 pound of plain white corn
½ pound of rice
½ pound of dried peas soaked the night before
1 pound of pork rib cut into 8 pieces
1 hen, or a chicken, cut up
1 pound of bacon, divided into 8 pieces
6 cups of water
1 pound of peeled potatoes, cooked and cut into small slices
¼ pound of carrot cut into slices
2 hard-boiled eggs cut into slices
1 onion finely chopped
5 stems of spring onion finely chopped
8 cloves of garlic, crushed
anetto to taste
salt, pepper, cumin and cilantro to taste
16 plantain or calathea leaves, seared and cut into large squares
thin rope

Figure VII. Original Fragment in Spanish (Sánchez & Sánchez, 2012: 293)

Ingredientes - 8 personas
1 libra de maíz blanco trillado
½ libra de arroz
½ libra de alverjas secas remojadas desde la víspera
1 libra de costilla de cerdo partida en 8 trozos
1 gallina despresada en 8 piezas, o en su defecto un pollo
1 libra de tocino partido en 8 trozos
6 tazas de agua
1 libra de papas peladas, cocidas y cortadas en rodajas
¼ libra de zanahoria cortada en rodajas
2 huevos duros cortados en rodajas
1 cebolla cabezona picada
5 tallos de cebolla larga finamente picados
8 dientes de ajo machacados
achiote o color al gusto
sal, pimienta, comino y cilantro al gusto
16 hojas de plátano o bijao, soasadas y cortadas en cuadros grandes
cabuya delgada

Preparación
1. Se prepara el arroz normalmente, en 2 tazas de agua con ½ cebolla cabezona picada y sal, pero se debe procurar que quede bien seco.
2. Aparte se cocinan las alverjas con la ½ cebolla cabezona restante y sal al gusto, hasta que estén tiernas.
3. El maíz se muele finamente y se sazona con sal, pimienta y comino.
4. Se separa el cuero del tocino y la parte grasa se lleva a una olla para hacer un sofrito con cebolla larga y ajo. Se cocina a fuego medio por 10 minutos y se reserva.
5. Al tiempo se sancochan las costillas de cerdo, la gallina y el cuero del tocino en 6 tazas de agua con sal y cilantro al gusto durante 20 minutos, hasta que las carnes estén blandas. Estas se sacan y se reserva el caldo.
6. Se toman 3 tazas de caldo, se disuelve en ellas el achiote o color, y se agregan al maíz molido. Se revuelve bien y se cuela para eliminar el exceso de líquido.
7. Luego, en un recipiente amplio, se ponen el arroz, las alverjas y la masa de maíz. Se mezcla todo y se reserva mínimamente por 1 hora.
8. Con todos los ingredientes preparados, se empiezan a armar los tamales.

Armado
1. Se disponen sobre una mesa las hojas de plátano en pares, una sobre otra, pero en sentidos opuestos. Es decir, que la dirección de las líneas de la hoja de abajo sea diferente a la de arriba.
2. Una vez se tienen las hojas preparadas, se procede a poner sobre estas una cama de masa. Encima se acomodan una presa de gallina, una porción de costilla de cerdo, una de tocino, una rodaja de huevo, una de zanahoria y una de papa. Finalmente se pone otra capa de masa.
3. Entonces se cierra cada tamal llevando las puntas de las hojas hacia arriba; se le da forma de paquete con las manos y, por último, se hace el "moño" amarrándolo con una cabuya.
4. Se prepara la olla para la cocción haciendo una cama de hojas, de modo que los tamales no tengan contacto directo con el fondo de la olla.
5. Los tamales armados se ponen a cocinar tapados, a fuego medio y en agua que los cubra, durante 2 1⁄2 horas, revisando constantemente que el nivel del agua se mantenga. No se vare: puede reemplazar el maíz trillado por 1 libra de harina de maíz.

Figure VIII. *Original Fragment in Spanish* (Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo, 2016: 12)

"Todo alimento tiene significado social, emocional y simbólico; es una compleja mezcla de calidad, herencia y naturaleza, es un producto de la historia. Su valor se incrementa con la autenticidad y la singularidad que representa. La cocina forma parte del patrimonio de los pueblos y, cuando se integra con la oferta turística, favorece la calidad del destino y promueve la identidad y la diferenciación en un mundo globalizado."

Figure IX. *Original fragment in Spanish* (Moreno Blanco, 1992: 194-195)

"Para hacer la chicha muelen con agua el grano de maíz y forman una pasta que dejan fermentar. Cuando esta tiene un gusto ligeramente ácido hacen con ella tamales, poniendo en el interior de cada uno un plátano maduro. Los tamales envueltos en hojas los cuecen en una olla; de allí los sacan para ponerlos en artesa de madera, y una vez enfriados los pilan hasta obtener una sustancia medio líquida que distribuyen en grandes ollas, bien alineadas, llenas de agua caliente. Veinticuatro horas después le agregan jugo de caña. Luego tapan las vasijas con hojas de bijao, dejando libre una abertura rectangular para dar entrada a la totuma probadora, cubierta con otra hoja. Encima de las hojas colocan ají fuerte para que Niya (el diablo) no se tome antes que ellos el fermentado licor."

Figure X. *Original Fragment in Spanish* (Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo, 2016: 21)

"Quizá, el aporte más grande de la gastronomía colombiana no se refiere solo al aspecto económico sino al socio-cultural. Se ha convertido en un factor de reafirmación de identidad, de revaloración de comidas y sentimientos regionales y de productos agropecuarios nacionales. Más allá de distingos sociales y regionales, crece el orgullo por la comida colombiana."

Figure XI. *Recipe for chocolate santafereño* (Sánchez & Sánchez, 2012: 234)

Ingredients
2 pounds of cacao beans
2 pounds of sugar
2 cups of milk
cinnamon and ground cloves

Preparation
1. Humidify the cacao beans and toast them in a pan, flipping them continuously in order for even toasting. Repeat this process until the casts of the beans come off easily.

2. Peel the beans and put them through a grinder. Add to the resulting mass the sugar, the cinnamon and cloves, mix well and continue to grind. Knead for 3-4 hours, and shape balls of approximately 3 cm diameter.

3. If you are not directly going to prepare the hot chocolate, set the balls aside on a dry cloth on a surface to dry. During this process, it is normal that some of the moisture is lost.

4. In order to prepare the chocolate santafereño, heat two cups of milk on the fire, or a mixture of water and milk to boil, and add one ball of chocolate to dissolve. Turn the heat down and mix well. Bring to boil again, only to turn the heat down and to mix again before serving.

Don't forget: the sugar can be substituted by the same quantity of grated panela, and other spices might be added to your taste, such as vanilla or nutmeg.

Figure XII. Original Fragment in Spanish (Sánchez & Sánchez, 2012: 234-235)

Ingredientes
2 libras de cacao en pepas
2 libras de azúcar
2 tazas de leche
canela y clavos de olor en polvo

Preparación
1. Se humedecen los granos de cacao y se ponen a tostar en un sartén, volteándolos de manera constante para que el tostado sea parejo. Se continúa con este proceso hasta que las cáscaras de los granos se aflojen y salgan con facilidad.

2. Se pelan los granos y se pasan por la máquina de moler. A la masa resultante se le añaden azúcar, canela y clavos; se amasa bien y se vuelve a moler. Se continúa amasando durante 3-4 horas, y luego se forman bolas de aproximadamente 3 cm de diámetro.

3. Las bolas se meten en una bolsa de tela no muy tupida y se dejan sobre una superficie de madera para que sequen. En este proceso es normal que se pierda un poco de manteca de cacao.

4. Para preparar el chocolate santafereño, se ponen al fuego 2 tazas de leche, o una mezcla de agua y leche, y cuando hierva se agrega 1 bola de chocolate, se disuelve, se baja del fuego y se bate bien. Luego se deja hervir otra vez, se baja y se bate antes de servirlo.

No se vare: puede reemplazar el azúcar por la misma cantidad de panela rallada, y agregar las especias que quiera, como vainilla y nuez moscada molida.

Figure XIII. Original Fragment in Spanish (García, 1944: 132)

"El ensanche del comercio y la introducción de multitud de artículos desconocidos ejercían su influencia en los vestidos y aún en los alimentos [...] los jipijapas de Girón quedaron suplantados por los cubiletes parisienses; los jamones del país, los pavos, las ensaladas y las carnes que se servían en las cenas de antaño se convirtieron en langostas, salmones y mortadelas; el picante de la tierra en refinado encurtido extranjero; y el vino tinto y las mistelas, que usaban nuestros abuelos, dejaron el puesto al brandy y a los vinos generosos; el chocolate se reemplazó con el café."

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