RAE Journal of Business Management

RESEARCH AND KNOWLEDGE
58(3), May – June 2018

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ISSN 0034-7590

EDITORIAL

Translated version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180301



Maria José Tonelli
Editor-in-Chief



Felipe Zambaldi
Assistant Editor

RESPONSIBLE SCIENCE AND SOCIAL IMPACT OF RESEARCH IN ADMINISTRATION

Institutions and researchers are increasingly participating in the debate on turning research in business administration into a responsible science. For example, Responsible Research in Business and Management (RRBM) is supported by organizations such as The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB), European Foundation for Management Development (EFMD), Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME), and the United Nations (UN), and business schools such as Esade, Erasmus, St. Gallen, Carlson School of Management, and Aalto University. Furthermore, several Academy of Management board professors are involved in the RRBM network. Some principles of RRBM are as follows: "serving society; integrating different stakeholders in the research process; valuing research that contributes to a better world, both basic and applied research, plurality and multidisciplinarity, and both qualitative and quantitative methodologies; and promoting the dissemination of knowledge" (RRBM Network, 2018). In most cases, stakeholder engagement comes down to immediate issues of economic feasibility without considering the other issues involved (Davison, 2017).

Engagement and social impact have also become goals of business schools and journals. Engagement, for example, has been a principle of the Management Learning journal (Bell & Bridgman, 2017), as well as of PRME, which support highly critical discussions in business administration education. Engagement also comprises the relationship between managerial theories and practices and between teaching and research (Bell & Bridgman, 2017), as well as a critical distance from the forced standardization in the search for better positioning in the publication rankings (Mingers & Wilmott, 2013). However, as the editors of Management Learning journal acknowledge, it is almost impossible to disregard the metrics that indicate the importance of journals and academic careers. Research professors, specialized journals, and educational institutions need to not only criticize but also participate in the evaluation processes. In any case, metrics on social impact are increasingly considered in the evaluation of business schools, as shown by some EFMD guidelines (2018). Another report on the social impact of academic research conducted by the Impact on Practice group of the Academy of Management journal shows that practical impacts and government policies need to be considered in addition to the four major indicators of academic impact: publication in top academic journals, citations, books, and access to research funding. The study also points out that research conducted by interdisciplinary groups is more likely to have a significant impact, including in top journals. However, it is necessary to review the lists and rankings of journals that, even though used as indicators of merit in research, do not always have an impact (Haley, Page, Pitsis, Rivas, & Yu, 2017).

EFMD is directed toward engagement and social impact, although the actions associated with these words are difficult to measure (Lima & Wood, 2014). The authors state that in Brazil, despite the increasing number of graduate programs, the development of business administration science, even though highly desirable for the benefit of the society, is still insignificant (Lima & Wood, 2014). Wood, Costa, Lima, and Guimarães (2016) argue that business schools could (and should) seek greater visibility, whether by the training of PhD candidates, presence in the media or in the H-index,

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considering that these three factors are social impact indicators. But we also could question if these factors contemplate the meaning of engagement and responsible science. The good news is that the subject—despite using different denominations—is increasingly present in the debate on the role of research, teaching, and all activities in business schools.

This issue is entirely dedicated to "The business of eating: Entrepreneurship and cultural politics" forum, organized by Marina Heck (FGV EAESP), Jeffrey Pilcher (University of Toronto), Krishnendu Ray (New York University), and Eliane Brito (FGV EAESP). The Perspectives section presents the texts "Global junk: Who is to blame for the obesity epidemic?", by Richard Wilk, and "Obesity must be treated as a public health issue", by Ana Paula Bortoletto Martins,. The edition ends with a review of "A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things: A Guide to Capitalism, Nature, and the Future of the Planet" by Raj Patel and Jason W. Moore, written by Krishnendu Ray, and the book recommendations "Food, the city, and the street" by Noah Allison and "Comprehending Brazilian culture through its diverse culinary" by Adriana Schneider Dallolio. The topic presented in the forum, of global interest, is here addressed in a multidisciplinary way. We hope it can contribute to responsible science and a better world.

Maria José Tonelli | ORCID: 0000-0002-6585-1493

Felipe Zambaldi | ORCID: 0000-0002-5378-6444

Fundação Getulio Vargas, Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, Brazil

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FORUM

Invited article
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180302

WHEN EATING BECOMES BUSINESS

MARINA HECK[1]
marina.heck@heckmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0001-5645-3816

JEFFREY PILCHER[2]
jeffrey.pilcher@utoronto.ca
ORCID: 0000-0002-3540-5310

KRISHNENDU RAY[3]
krishnendu.ray@nyu.edu
ORCID: 0000-0002-3947-8111

ELIANE BRITO[1]
eliane.brito@fgv.br
ORCID: 0000-0002-7340-1337

[1] Fundação Getulio Vargas, Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, Brazil

[2] University of Toronto, Department of Historical and Cultural Studies, Toronto, ON, Canada

[3] New York University, Department of Nutrition and Food Studies, New York, NY, United States of America

INTRODUCTION

Food is big business in both Brazil and around the world. Brazil-based 3G Capital, for example, made news by its purchase of renowned international brands such as Budweiser, Kraft-Heinz, and Burger King. Brazil's current global managerial leadership marks a distinct change from its historical position as a commodity exporter, albeit a dominant one. However, scale is not the only measure of food's economic significance; in modern industrial societies, production and sale of food still provide basic livelihood for countless people, especially the most marginalized, from acai pickers on the Amazonian riverside to artisanal food street vendors in São Paulo. Comprehending the food business requires several analytical tools reaching across both social and geopolitical boundaries. Such analysis must be attuned to the myriad problems of public health and social integration that remain despite—and in some cases have resulted from—the successes of modern agribusiness and industrial food processing. This special issue seeks to introduce the methods and findings in the field of Food Studies to readers of *RAE-Revista de Administração de Empresas* to encourage international and interdisciplinary conversations leading to better understanding of and innovative practices within the global food system.

The modern food industry has achieved remarkable technical advances to resolve the problems of production, preservation, transportation, and distribution, but it has created many new dilemmas. The fundamental principle behind food industrialization is the commodification process, which transforms the organic diversity of plants and animals into standardized, interchangeable parts (Appadurai, 1986; Giedion, 1948).

Since the 19th century, the elaborate transportation, refrigeration, and financial service infrastructure facilitated global trade in goods such as wheat, coffee, and meat, but these commodities' market efficiency depended on ignoring qualitative differences resulting from place of origin and means of production (Cronon, 1991; Pilcher, 2016). The consumers' cost savings, however, were paid by farmers facing cut-throat competition with producers from around the world, a situation made worse by their weak bargaining power relative to intermediaries who control the trade. Yet, consumers are increasingly rebelling against anonymous products of the globalized, industrial food system.

In the early 20th century, the global elite were already willing to pay a premium for the guarantee that their sparkling wine came from a particular geographical location, the Champagne district of France (Guy, 2003). Such certifications of origin and production methods have proliferated

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in recent decades, restoring or reinventing identities once erased by commodification, as customers seek foods that reflect their values, such as use of organic methods, fair trade, animal welfare, environmental sustainability, or better taste (Parasecoli, 2017).

Today's industrial systems that transport food globally also gave rise to widespread public health concerns. To meet the unrelenting demand for increased yield, the commodity agriculture system devised multifarious cocktails of fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides, often posing long-term dangers to the health of consumers, farm workers, and the environment. Likewise, preservatives used by industrial food processors to extend goods' shelf life and allow their global transport often imposed incremental but real threats to public health. The industry also exposes its workers to grave dangers, such as migrant field workers being sprayed by toxic chemicals or slaughterhouse workers wielding sharp knives at the factory's grueling pace (Gray, 2014; Stull & Broadway, 2004). The scale of mass production has also become a health concern, as contamination from *Escherichia coli* and other deadly bacteria spreads through food supplies. The industry's desire to shield consumers from knowledge about food production conditions can further hinder efforts to prevent such outbreaks.

Anthropology has linked eating habits to socialization processes. Dietary concerns always existed and were explained culturally. Medical research on agro-industrial processes identified damages that were unknown until recently and raised concerns about their harmfulness (Levenstein, 2012). However, health concerns and particular dietary requirements are becoming increasingly common and tend to individualize meals rather than keep them communal (Fishler, 2013).

In addition to economic and health concerns, food remains central to social issues of race, class, and gender in the modern world. In his influential study, Freyre (1933) considered food a basic element of the race mixture that forged the Brazilian nation. Although scholars critiqued the notion of Brazilian "racial democracy," globally, the culinary "melting pot" was a fundamental trope of social integration in pluralistic societies (Gabaccia, 1998; Heck & Belluzo, 1998).

Bourdieu (1984) formulated an influential theoretical framework to explain how cultural expressions such as cuisine help maintain and perpetuate social distinctions while analyzing the role of food and other cultural expressions in constructing social class. The Parisian restaurant cuisine observed by Bourdieu in the 1960s lost its global dominance as "foodies" sought racialized communities or travelled the world pursuing innovative and/or traditional restaurants, and as street foods that were popular and vulgar became trendy and fashionable.

Rather than democratizing the social space of food, sophisticated diners' omnivorous pursuits of authenticity and exoticism distanced consumers from racialized cooks and vendors, thereby naturalizing social distinctions (Johnston & Baumann, 2010). However, attempts by celebrity chefs and food critics to appropriate and gentrify street food often depended on culinary knowledge and innovation of racialized cooks (Ray, 2016). Thus, in examining the complex social world of cuisine, researchers must combine the perspectives of producers and consumers, as well as discursive and sensory dimensions of food.

Food Studies researchers have an ongoing, collaborative project called City Food, which aims at rethinking culinary differences and identifying food's place in diasporic communities. A global partnership of noted scholars has assembled in the last three years, leading academic programs and centers, museums, and not-for-profit associations with the two-fold objective of increasing collaboration across the Global North-South divide.

One focus of this collaboration is the new seam of research on street vending that shifts attention from the triad of rurality, domesticity, and haute cuisine dominating the field of Food Studies. Because this field was built mostly around Euro-American concerns, it avoided engaging with street food, because street eating has been declining in Europe and North America for the last half century due to affluence, state building, and enclosing of labor and eating. Street food was historically important in the Global North, but most Northern subjects have forgotten its pleasures. Erasure of street food marked the transition from the poor past to the affluent present, and from mobility to rootedness and terroir, within the template of developmentalist delusions of Southern bureaucrats. Street food's death went hand in hand with the reach and power of the modern welfare state, stringent municipal regulation, and total risk management. Pursuing the pleasures of street food changes the flavor of the politics and poetics of good taste; decolonizes the palatal and philosophical expectations of gastronomy that have come to dominate the field since 18th century France; and marks the transition from 20th-century welfare politics to an unchartered world of micro-entrepreneurship, risk, and precarity into the 21st century. Viewed from the bottom up, the study of street food mostly concerns the sustainable livelihoods of poor people and palatal pleasures of poor and not-so-poor people in a matrix of cross-class interests, ethics, and aesthetics.

Theorizing pleasure via street food also allows scholars to escape the shadow of Bourdieu, consumed by the question of domination in democracies. It allows a richer and deeper description of our subjects. Ignoring joy and pleasure may be written into the very DNA of critique and critical analysis

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in scholarly literature—perhaps born from Frankfurt School's pessimism regarding popular culture—where outrage and anger against the system are the only legitimate affects allowed in the toolkit of the sullen analyst. Democracies are in peril everywhere, and they need scholars' analytical and affective investment. Scholars need to change their tune. In this collaborative project, the researchers hope to make room for the epistemology of joy under the concepts of liveliness and live-ness of street vending and eating. Only time will tell if they can find that opening. Restaurants, cookshops, and street vendors are the loci of everyday multiculturalism that could be a hedge against totalitarian ambitions of purified peoples with unadulterated and domesticated cultures. The quotidian business of street food is a repository of cultural democracy at work in the Global South, and there is much to learn from it.

This special issue of *RAE* received 47 submissions. This shows that a Business Administration journal is open and eager to discuss the "food business" issue. Besides the seven articles approved, the issue presents an invited article from Jeffrey Pilcher about his ongoing research on beer.

ACCEPTED ARTICLES

The question of identity and cultural conflict over foodways is examined by Leela Riesz's "*Convivencia*: A solution to the halal/pork tension in Spain?" which examines Spain's iconic dish, ham, and Muslim immigrants' avoidance of pork products. The author shows how restaurateurs seeking social integration have started innovating by creating halal ham. This way, they reinterpret histories of social conflict between Christians and Muslims (and also Jews) in the Iberian Peninsula. Although this is often viewed in terms of Reconquista, immigrants seek instead to recall the *Convivencia*. Through ethnographic field work in Muslim restaurants in southern Spanish cities of Sevilla and Almería, the author reworks historical memories together with practical matters of separate butchers and cooking pots in communal kitchens. Amongst the challenges faced, this study shows how a Tunisian immigrant created halal jamón ibérico to gain a sense of belonging, and also cautions that not all Muslims find this acceptable. This article points to avenues for co-existence in foodways and other living together issues.

In Latin America, Lima in Peru represents a phenomenal gastronomical boom. Peru branded its cuisine by combining international culinary training with ancient Incan authenticity. In "The presentation of the chef in everyday life: Socializing chefs in Lima, Peru," Amy Lasater-Wille conducted ethnographic research in Lima for 16 months and examined socialization practices in two culinary schools, which included classes on self-presentation so students become capable of self-promotion, to elucidate how culinary work is linked to person formation in Peru. This formation is regarded essential to promote the national brand. Professionalizing the chef as a model citizen for interacting with the global environment, encouraging entrepreneurship, and constraining social practices considered deleterious could be the path for success.

As consumers become more affluent, they raise expectations regarding animal welfare and environmental protection, and the industry must consider this. The exploratory study, "Animal-derived food industry: Risks and opportunities due to farm animal welfare," by Thomas Michael Hoag and Celso Funcia Lemme attempts to map the agendas of companies in the industry and compares them with agendas of principal stakeholders to better understand the risks and opportunities facing companies' intangible assets regarding farm animal welfare.

The paper by Patricia Silva Monteiro Boaventura, Carla Caires Abdalla, Cecilia Lobo Araújo, and José Sarkis Arakelian, "Value co-creation in the specialty coffee value chain: The third-wave coffee movement," shows how Brazil, like other commodity exporters, relied on international markets, booms, and busts, because such goods were considered interchangeable. Coffee may be incorporated into the list of foods seeking to create value through strategies such as terroir (taste of place) that break the commodity's anonymity. The article highlights challenges in differentiating products through presenting higher quality or introducing the idea of unique experience.

Raising similar questions about high-value foods, "Legitimacy as a barrier: An analysis of Brazilian premium cocoa and chocolate legitimation process" by Marina Henriques Viotto, Bruno Sutil, and Maria Carolina Zanette uses institutional theory to examine the legitimacy of Brazilian premium cocoa. Legitimization of a product's value involves several actors that must build a cultural-cognitive framework to recognize and differentiate the products. This process is educational in nature and involves not only producers but also media and the creation of new consumption trends.

Considering the scenario of gentrified Californian cities, Alison Hope Alkon in her paper "Entrepreneurship as activism? Resisting gentrification in Oakland, California" identifies entrepreneurship as a form of opposition to gentrification. As observed in the contemporary foodie society, authenticity is created through associations with the gritty culture of lower classes. Yet, multiple forms of this authenticity are often in conflict. Authenticity derives from the presence of not only gritty, racialized

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working classes but also cultural elites navigating the streets and curating the nature of public space (Zukin, 1996). These activist-entrepreneurs of food outlets create employment and business opportunities for the area's residents. The author shows how food-based entrepreneurs run successful businesses that, simultaneously, are also political projects.

Modernization is always seeking to impose sanitation on traditional foodways, particularly street foods. In Singapore, creation of hawker courts was considered a solution to not only the problem of sanitation but also social integration in a society with a delicate balance of ethnic groups. However, the article "Hawkerpreneurs: Hawkers, entrepreneurship, and reinventing street food in Singapore" by Nicole Tarulevicz identifies a new problem. These hawker courts were hugely successful, but a generation later, there was no form of social reproduction of the hawker population a generation later. As this generation is not substituted easily, there is an attempt to attract workers through the allure of entrepreneurship. The main foci of this article are historical perspectives on the food hawking evolution in Singapore and the meaning of entrepreneurship and narratives of people who were successful but pursued the hawker life.

INVITED ARTICLE

In their essay "Beer with Chinese characteristics: Marketing beer under Mao," Jeffrey M. Pilcher, Yu Wang, and Yuebin Jackson Guo explain how a western consumer good became the most popular alcoholic beverage in Communist China. Although economists pointed to market reforms of Deng Xiaoping as the onset of China's beer industry, the authors take a historical perspective to show that the groundwork for contemporary advances was laid under Mao. Using a culinary infrastructure framework, the authors conduct cultural analysis of beer marketing campaigns while focusing on the material conditions of production. The authors conclude that the Chinese Communist Party inculcated a taste for beer not through capitalist advertising campaigns but through non-market forms of conspicuous consumption as an urban privilege in a society defined by scarcity.

PERSPECTIVES, ESSAYS, BOOK REVIEW, AND BOOK RECOMMENDATIONS

The Perspectives section has two authors who write about the same subject. The article "How Big Business got Brazil Hooked on Junk Food" published by *The New York Times* on September 16, 2017, raised an important question about changes relative to health issues such as increase in diabetes and obesity on populations that recently began consuming industrialized food (Nestle, 2003). We used this article for discussion in this section and invited Richard Wilk and Ana Paula Bortoletto Martins to comment.

Two Essays are presented by Lucy M. Long and Carlos Alberto Dória that, though quite different, seem to converse. Both authors are researchers on food from ethnic and anthropological perspectives. Long's essay regards the question of ingredient diffusion through culinary tourism and the interest in what the author calls food otherness. Today, food is not only an issue of taste, hospitality, and health but also an attraction driving tourism and other commercial enterprises. Food festivals, cooking classes, and market tours are important parts of local business and can change local economy. Dória's essay is on the historical dimension that focuses on the diffusion of culinary ingredients and how they appear in dishes of different people. It is well-known that there was a dispersion of animals and vegetables during the period when Portuguese navigators discovered and settled in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Recently, we observe a diffusion of dishes that combine different ingredients, and it is unknown how they got together. Doria's essay shows that studies on diffusion of ingredients rarely consider the historical long-term perspective of how foodstuffs were incorporated in the diets of disparate cultures. Culinary tourism transforms food into something more than a commodity. It is an experience that, when lived, will increase what Bourdieu (1970) calls *cultural capital*.

Krishnendu Ray wrote the Book Review for this issue. The book *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things: A Guide to Capitalism, Nature, and the Future of the Planet* by Raj Patel and Jason W. Moore shows how seven things—nature, money, work, care, food, energy, and lives—shape the world's future. Together with the history of colonialism, they examine latest sustainability studies to analyze today's world emergencies. The book proposes a radical way of dealing with today's global ecological crises.

The Book Recommendations section shows the partnership between two educational institutions: New York University (NYU) and Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV) in Sao Paulo, through collaboration between their graduate students. Noah Allison, an NYU graduate student, and the other by Adriana Schneider Dallolio, an FGV graduate student. Both students are doctoral candidates, and the recommendations reflect their readings for their research work.

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ISSN 0034-7590

FORUM

Submitted 08.31.2017. Approved 12.26.2017
Evaluated through a double-blind review process. Guest Scientific Editors: Marina Heck, Jeffrey Pilcher, Krishnendu Ray, and Eliane Brito

Original version

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180303

CONVIVENCIA: A SOLUTION TO THE *HALAL*/ PORK TENSION IN SPAIN?

Convivência: Uma solução para a tensão de halal/carne de porco na Espanha?

Convivencia: ¿Una solución para la tensión halal/cerdo en España?

ABSTRACT

This work illuminates the connection between foodways and identity forging in Spain's migration context. The concern of Moroccan and Pakistani Muslims over maintaining *halal* food practices conflicts with Spain's reliance on and celebration of Iberian ham. This "two food cultures conflict," which I conceptualize as a *halal*/pork binary, can be traced back to the 15th century Spanish *reconquista*. However, Moroccan restaurateurs' current revival of the *convivencia* (coexistence) narrative, their emphasis on a collective Andaluzi identity, and *tapasization* and *halalization* of Moroccan-Muslim and Spanish foodways are possible solutions to this tension. This identity work in the restaurant allows them to reconcile the cultural, religious, and gastronomic tensions between Muslims and non-Muslims in Spain and rewrites *halal* foodways into the Spanish foodscape.

KEYWORDS | Immigrants, identity, food, *halal*, Muslim.

RESUMO

Este trabalho ilumina a conexão entre hábitos alimentares e forjamento de identidade no contexto da imigração na Espanha. A preocupação dos muçulmanos marroquinos e paquistaneses com a manutenção de práticas alimentares halal entra em conflito com a dependência e celebração do presunto ibérico na Espanha. Esse "conflito de duas culturas alimentares", o que conceituo como um binário halal/carne de porco, pode ser rastreado até a reconquista espanhola no século XV. No entanto, o restabelecimento atual dos proprietários de restaurantes marroquinos da narrativa da convivência (coexistência), sua ênfase numa identidade coletiva de Andaluzia e sua tapasização e halalização de alimentos marroquinos muçulmanos e espanhóis servem como soluções possíveis para essa tensão. Este trabalho de identidade nos restaurantes permite-lhes reconciliar as tensões culturais, religiosas e gastronômicas entre muçulmanos e não muçulmanos na Espanha e reescreve os alimentos halal dentro da paisagem alimentar espanhola.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE | *Imigrantes, identidade, hábitos alimentares, halal, muçulmanos.*

RESUMEN

Este trabajo ilumina la relación entre las prácticas culinarias y la forja de identidad en el contexto migratorio de España. La preocupación de los musulmanes marroquíes y paquistaníes de mantener prácticas culinarias halal entra en conflicto con la dependencia y celebración española del jamón ibérico. Este "conflicto de dos culturas culinarias", lo que conceptualizo como un binario halal/cerdo, se remonta a la reconquista española del siglo XV. Sin embargo, el revival actual de los propietarios de restaurantes marroquíes de la narrativa de la convivencia (coexistencia), su énfasis en una identidad andaluza colectiva y la conversión de prácticas culinarias marroquíes-musulmanas y españolas en platos estilo tapas y halal sirven como posibles soluciones a esta tensión. Este trabajo de identidad en el restaurante les permite reconciliar las tensiones culturales, religiosas y gastronómicas entre musulmanes y no musulmanes en España y reescribe las prácticas culinarias halal en el marco gastronómico español.

PALABRAS CLAVE | *Inmigrantes, identidade, prácticas culinárias, halal, musulmán.*

LEELA RIESZ
lriesz@alumni.conncoll.edu
ORCID: 0000-0001-5347-4451
Connecticut College, New London, CT, United States of America

INTRODUCTION

Mohammad, what does the food you serve in your restaurant mean to you?

> The same as what your food is to you. My food is part of my life and my culture. I want to bring and show this culture to many people. Southern Spain differs from Europe, because it is a mixture of Christians and Muslims, an incredible mixture…I do not eat any meat that is not *halal*. I am not going to obligate someone who likes pork to not eat it. Even today, not many Spanish restaurants offer *halal* meat. Notice that all the people at this table, that table, and that table were Moroccan, and that they were looking for *halal* food. They see on the door that there is *halal* food and they enter. (Field notes)

This snapshot of a discussion with Mohammad, a Moroccan restaurant owner, encapsulates the major themes to be explored. Foodways and the restaurant space serve as a lens through which to investigate the experiences of Muslim immigrants, primarily restaurant owners and workers from Morocco and Pakistan, and their negotiation of identity in Southern Spain. Here, Mohammad, a practicing Muslim and the owner of Fez restaurant in Seville, describes his adherence to *halal* food practices and the need for more *halal* food establishments in Spain. *Halal*, which means "permissible," refers to food, particularly meat that has been ritually prepared or slaughtered according to Islamic dietary law. Conversations with restaurant workers and owners reveal a tension between Spanish and Muslim foodways that is historically rooted. Spain offers an intriguing case study given that the *halal* food practices of Muslims conflict with Spain's dominant food culture, namely its reliance on and celebration of *jamón iberico* (Iberian ham) and other pork products. Here, this tension is conceptualized as a *halal*/pork binary. Most important, conversations uncover restaurateurs' use of food narratives to directly or indirectly address this tension and signal a more collective vision of relations between Spanish nationals and Muslim immigrants. Attention turns to two restaurateurs' references to the period when Muslims ruled Spain, also referred to as "*al-Andaluz*," between 711 and 1492. For example, Mohammad's above recollection of *convivencia*, the period beginning in the year 711 in which Muslims, Christians, and Jews coexisted in Southern Spain, is notable, because it allows him to underscore Muslims' place in the Spanish context. This article later explores how the *convivencia* narrative is implemented by restaurateurs and recognized by food scholars to signal the historical presence of *halal* foodways in Southern Spanish daily life. Food scholars who investigate *convivencia* define it as a period of relative tolerance characterized by a co-mingling of Muslim and Christian foodways that existed before the *reconquista*, the inquisition, and the expulsion of the *moriscos* (Muslim converts to Christianity) (Constable, 2013).

The restaurant is a significant locale for the construction and expression of immigrant identity in terms of negotiating a Muslim, Pakistani, or Moroccan identity in Spain. Public food spaces run by immigrants are valuable sites of inquiry for investigating their efforts to position themselves in the Spanish context. In the United States and some European countries, a well-established area of scholarship exists that examines the connection between food, identity, and migration. (For examples of this scholarship, readers are referred to the work of Hasia Diner, David Beriss, Carole Counihan, Fedora Gasparetti, Jeffrey Pilcher, and Krishnendu Ray, among others.) Furthermore, an emerging body of literature focuses on *halal* food production, marketing, ritual slaughter, food establishments, and their relevance in the lives of Muslim immigrants living in Europe (Bonne, Vermeir, Bergeaud-Blackler, & Verbeke, 2007; Bonne & Verbeke, 2008; Wright & Annes, 2013; Bergeaud-Blackler, 2007; Fischer, 2011). For example, John Lever and Mara Miele refer to the *halal* industry as an emerging "religious marketplace" that represents the "supply side theory of religion" (Lever & Miele, 2012, p. 1). Drawing on the voices of restaurateurs, this article highlights how their negotiation of *halal* food practices and engagement with and/or avoidance of aspects of Spanish food culture are connected to place making in the new country. This analysis looks at the *halal* concept not only as a product in an emerging "diasporic, religious market" (Bergeaud-Blackler, Fischer, & Lever, 2016, p. 13), but as a foodway and food behavior that can be traced to the period of *al-Andaluz*, one that is measured against Spain's mainstream food culture and raises questions of belonging in contemporary times. Thus, this exploration clarifies the historical presence of *halal* food practices in medieval Spain and highlights restaurateurs' strategic references to this food history. While my prior work explores the dependence of Muslim immigrants on *halal* kebab fast-food restaurants and Pakistani Muslims' participation in this *halal* food industry, this article examines two Moroccan restaurants that adhere to *halal* dietary law, but tend to cater to a wider clientele with a higher socioeconomic status. Owing to their North African heritage, both restaurant owners are able to tap into a historical narrative, which Pakistani Muslims do not have the same access to. Using a "two food culture concept" as a guiding principle, I explore the tensions that emerge when immigrants' food practices are challenged by their surrounding environment. This concept of

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"conflicting food cultures" reflects the circumstances interviewees described to me, that is, being surrounded by foodways that are inimical to one's religious and gustatory traditions. Exploring restaurateurs' solutions to this tension, I uncover the symbolic meanings attached to foodways and the restaurant space as well as restaurateurs' attempts to reconcile the cultural, religious, and gastronomic fault lines between non-Muslims and Muslims in Spain.

METHODS AND RESEARCH SITE

This article draws on a larger work written in 2016, and is based on semi-structured ethnographic interviews and participant observation carried out during spring and summer 2015 in Seville and Almería, Spain. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Pseudonyms are used to protect the privacy of interviewees. Almería, a coastal city with a population of roughly 190,000 people, is Andalucía's most eastern capital. In recent years, it has become a heavy tourist destination. The highest concentration of Muslims within Andalucía is in the province of Almería, the majority arriving from Morocco (Alméria City, 2016). According to a recent census, the number of Muslims in Spain is close to 1.6 million, 1.1 million of who are foreigners and 460,000 Spanish Muslims. Pakistanis constitute around 5% of the Muslim population. Moroccans remain the longest-standing immigrant population in Spain, constituting approximately 70% of the total Muslim population (Euro-Islam, 2013; Bravo, 2014). Between 70% and 75% of Spaniards identify as Roman Catholic Christians. While many self-identified Catholics report not attending mass very often, Catholicism as a popular religion is unmistakable, especially during Saint's days and Spain's Holy Week (Semana Santa) (Pariona, 2017).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: FROM *CONVIVENCIA* TO *RECONQUISTA*

Before investigating Muslims' current negotiation of *halal* food practices and their encounters with Spanish food culture, it is useful to consider the significance of pork in Spain to uncover how its omnipresence reinforces a cultural barrier. Pork was once a marker of Catholicism, and Iberian ham is a national culinary emblem in contemporary Spain. In *Pig Perfect*, Peter Kaminsky notes the historical significance of the *dehesa*, the land upon which Iberian pigs are raised. The institution of the *dehesa* can be traced to the Christian and Muslim conflict. Kaminsky explains that *dehesa* comes from the word *defensa,* which denotes "land that could be closed in and defended by the noblemen to whom it belonged" (Kaminsky, 2005, p. 90). Christian nobility were commonly rewarded with land conquered and taken "by force of arms" from the Muslims (Kaminsky, 2005, p. 90). The fact that the cultivation of Iberian ham is tied to this context of religious, cultural, and political conflict and the triumph of Christianity over Islam renders it a powerful signifier of Spanish identity.

After Spain was re-conquered from Muslim rulers in the 15th century and the spread of anti-Muslim sentiment, Muslims' food practices were scrutinized. Olivia Remie Constable's historical analysis, "Food and Meaning: Christian Understandings of Muslim Food and Food Ways in Spain, 1250–1550," explores how foodways demarcated boundaries between Christian and Muslim communities, particularly in 15th-century Spain. According to Constable, Muslims (and Jews) lived in fear of Christian inquisitors who investigated their homes for *halal*/kosher food traditions such as the avoidance of lard and salt pork, two primary markers of their non-adherence to Christian belief (Constable, 2013, p. 211). Here, it is evident that pork was a signifier of Christianity, while the lack thereof was a clear marker of one's Muslim or Jewish status. Constable's inclusion of inquisition and expulsion testimonies from Muslims and *moriscos* is significant, because they illustrate how under this system, food became a salient reminder of Muslims' "otherness." It is important to recognize that the similar food practices and prohibitions of Muslims and Jews, such as the consumption of eggplant or cooking without salt pork, was evidence of both communities' "heretical" tendencies. Constable notes that access to kosher and *halal* butchers became limited in the wake of the inquisition (Constable, 2013, p. 227). According to one inquisition record, a *morisca* woman from Granada confessed that "Christians do not know how to cook a stew without using salt pork (*tocino*), [but] in her land they made these dishes with olive oil" (Constable, 2013, p. 211). This testimony resembles comments from restaurateurs regarding their observations of Spanish food practices. Just as this Christian convert perceived the differences between Christians and Muslims in their contrasting food practices and understood how this challenged her ability to assimilate, interviewees recognized how the *halal*/pork binary and their newfound concern over maintaining a *halal* diet are features of their changed circumstances. Several interviewees described their sense of "otherness" through their food practices, as does this *morisca* woman. Today in Spain, Muslims' avoidance of pork and alcohol and their reliance on *halal* food establishments are indications of their cultural and religious differences. Muslim immigrants' discussion of the tensions and challenges around observing *halal* food practices indicates the persistence of this food-mediated religious and cultural barrier.

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TWO CONFLICTING FOOD CULTURES AND DEPENDENCE ON *HALAL* FOODWAYS

> Migrants take great care to prevent the moral contamination of *haram* (unlawful or forbidden meat that can seem threatening to them.) These concerns have moved to the forefront in the diaspora, whereas these dietary laws are "nearly unconscious" in [the home country] (Fischer, 2011, p. 111).

Readers should be mindful of other global examples of the cultural, religious, and gastronomic tension felt by Muslims and the questions of permissibility and non-permissibility it engenders. Gabriele Marranci, Mohamed Kamaludeen Nasir, and Alexius Pereira investigated the experiences of Malay Muslims in Singapore, a minority group similarly challenged by the ubiquity of pork in the surrounding society. Marranci claims that studying the "dynamics of *halal* dining…is relevant for understanding the effects it might have on [Muslims'] socialization within the mainstream society" (Marranci, 2012 , p. 88). Moreover, Nasir and Pereira's work proposes several theoretical concepts for interpreting Muslims' reliance on *halal* food products and their avoidance of pork. They claim that Malay Muslims adopt a "defensive dining" model and actively seek out "*halal* environments" as they confront the new country's pork-dominant environment (Nasir & Pereira, 2008, p. 1). The same can be said of many Muslim immigrants living in Spain. The authors aptly describe this intensified concern around *halal* food observance by referring to it as a "*halal* consciousness" (Hashim & Othman, 2011, p. 1).

In her research on the migrant experience in Italy, Roberta Giovine recognizes the social and religious significance of the *halal* dietary code for North African Muslims who abide by these laws "in order not to transgress Allah's rules…to not lose their status as members of the nation of Islam and, consequently, their community-defined identity" (Giovine, 2013, p. 248). Also pertinent is Leila Abu-Shams' work on food and immigrant identity in Zaragoza, Spain, in which she investigates the fundamental role of food in Muslim Moroccan immigrants' daily lives. She asserts that food is a "sign or a mark of identity that actualizes and preserves group identity confirming the separation between us and them" (Abu-Shams, 2008, p. 186). Specifically, she captures the importance of the categories of *halal* and *haram*. She explains, "When they select foods, they are following cultural guidelines…. Orders and prohibitions related to food ultimately put into sharp relief the distinct identity of a religious community and differentiates it from others" (Abu-Shams, 2008, p. 186). Riaz and Chaudry's *Halal Food Production* sheds light on the role of food and ritual within Islam and the dichotomy between that which is permissible (*halal)* and that forbidden (*haram)*. When it is difficult to determine whether a food item is *halal or haram*, it is called *mashbuh*. The Qur'an states that pork and its derivatives, blood, and carrion are strictly forbidden (Riaz & Chaudry, 2003 p. 122). For Muslim immigrants in Spain, eating *halal* is often about negotiating differences (Gasparetti, 2012, p. 257). Ayse Çaglar's essay on the kebab in Germany provides insight into the symbolic dimension of food, its ability to serve as an ethnic signifier, and its significant role in immigrant identity formation. Referring to Sidney Mintz's work, she reminds readers of the notion that "what people eat expresses who and what they are to themselves and to others" (Çaglar, 2013, p. 211).

Expanding on this notion of conflict between dominant Spanish food culture and Muslim food norms, Hamal, a 27-year-old kebab restaurant employee from Pakistan, points out that "all the world could eat Muslim food, but Islam cannot permit ham." He reiterates that he can eat tapas such as potatoes, but that his food options remain limited because they must be *halal*. According to the Muslim Pakistani restaurateurs I spoke with, Muslim immigrants rely heavily on Spain's emerging *halal* kebab industry. Restaurateurs Nadir, Hamal, and Mukhtar have witnessed the heightened concern of Moroccan Muslim customers over adhering to *halal* food practices. They explained that Muslim customers always verify that the meat in kebab restaurants is *halal*, "that they do not always trust that it is *halal,*" a behavior that reflects Nasir and Pereira's (2008) concept of "defensive dining."

Speaking with a cook at Aljaima, a Moroccan restaurant in Almería, about his food practices revealed that he too perceives the tension between Spanish and Muslim foodways. He explained that as his wife has been cooking Moroccan food since she was young, they eat it nearly every day. When I asked if he prefers Spanish or Moroccan cuisine, he told me that he prefers Moroccan food, explaining immediately that "one cannot eat pork or drink alcohol because of religion." Similarly, Mukhtar, (the Pakistani owner of a kebab restaurant in Almería) admits that he has never tried tapas in a restaurant. He echoes Hamal's comments, saying, "all tapas have too much ham, or the frying pan has oil and grease from the pork. Spanish restaurants always have pork…it's really difficult…I eat in restaurants very seldom." He discussed how he and his family members must scrupulously check food labels in Spanish supermarkets to ensure that food items are not *haram*. These accounts reveal how the need to abide by *halal* dietary law and the desire to eat familiar foods contributes to many Muslims'

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lack of engagement with Spanish food and their reliance on the home sphere for cooking and eating. They illustrate the difficulty of partaking in the dominant Spanish food culture given the heightened "*halal* consciousness" of many Muslims upon arrival (Hashim & Othman, 2011).

Furthermore, Moukib, a Moroccan restaurant owner, noted how *halal* food serves as a marker of ethnicity and otherness. He explained that his identity as a Moroccan is marked when he walks into a restaurant. Waiters look at him and based on his ethnicity and presumed religious practices, assume he cannot eat pork. Moukib does not eat pork, but not because of religion. Rather, he does so to avoid what he describes as the unhealthiness of the grease. Nevertheless, this avoidance is viewed by outsiders as an expression of Islam. Moukib's comment draws attention to the messiness of identity, how food practices serve as markers of identity that are both self-professed and projected onto individuals. While on the one hand a waiter's acknowledgement of Muslims' *halal* consciousness is ideal, Moukib highlights that the consumption of pork is a fervent expression of "Spanishness." According to Moukib, if he were to eat Iberian ham in a restaurant, people would consider him Spanish. He says, "Spaniards think that you have to eat pork to be Spanish." While clearly not *all* Spaniards consume pork products, the strong affinity for this forbidden item is apparent to many Muslims when they eat in bars or shop in supermarkets.

CONVIVENCIA AND ADDRESSING THE TWO FOOD CULTURES TENSION

In light of the challenges of negotiating these conflicting foodways, the question remains as to what can be done to address and even transcend this cultural, religious, and gastronomic tension? *Halal* foodways are not currently part of the paradigm of Spanish food culture; however, their historical presence in Andalucía during Muslim rule has not gone unnoticed. Discussions with Moroccan restaurateurs revealed their attempts to shift the lines of belonging for Muslims in Spain, particularly the Moroccan immigrant community, by drawing on an alternative narrative. Through references to the period of *al-Andaluz* and the concept of *convivencia*, they emphasize the linkages between Muslim, Moroccan, and Spanish food practices. By focusing on the restaurant space as a locale of identity expression and cultural representation, I explore the narratives that two Moroccan restaurateurs promote in their restaurant space and cuisine. Crucial to this exploration is the work by Robin Clair Patric et al. on the cultural narratives of restaurant spaces. They assert that food and food establishments are "discursive practices in their own right… places and means of identity construction" (Patric Clair et al., 2011, p. 138). They argue that the restaurant's ambiance is expressed through various agents: "sensory stimuli, including music, aromas, interior decorating and more" (Patric Clair et al., 2011, p. 140). Drawing attention to aesthetic choices and cuisine, this ethnographic study identifies the agents through which restaurant owners in Spain construct specified cultural narratives. By harkening back to the period of *convivencia* and underscoring the links between traditional "Christian" and "Muslim" cuisine in Spain, restaurateurs offer a means of lessening the gap between the two food cultures in contemporary Spain.

Literature in the anthropology of space and place focuses on the restaurant, emphasizing the roles of restaurateurs in determining the "culture" of the restaurant space. This can be viewed as a form of "identity maintenance." Grit Liebscher and Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain's *Language, Space, and Identity in Migration* offers insights into the concept of "space" as it relates to the migration experience. Recognizing the nuances of the immigrant experience, they explain that some migrants attempt to repress their place of origin, some endeavor to recreate it, and "others may do both at different times" (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013, p. 17). This attempt to replicate and recreate one's place of origin by merging it with the new context is crucial to understanding Moukib and Mohammad's restaurant identity work. Moreover, in *The Restaurant Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat,* David Berris and David Sutton "examine the ways that processes of identity and memory are 'emplaced' in different sites, as restaurants come to stand for the larger places they inhabit and for social relations within cities and between nations" (Berris & Sutton, 2007, p. 4). Drawing on this concept of "emplaced" identity, I investigate how restaurateurs' discussions of their restaurant space reflect a larger vision of Moroccan, and more broadly, Muslim immigrants' place in Spain.

Throughout our discussions, Mohammad, the owner of Fez Restaurant, invoked the image of Spain as "an incredible mixture of Christians and Muslims." This recollection is significant in that it promotes a vision of coexistence rather than tension. Moukib, the owner of Aljaima, also draws on the *convivencia* framework, viewing Moroccan and Spanish foodways collectively and acknowledging their emergence from the era of *al-Andaluz*. Both owners seek to highlight, as food historians have, that this era involved a series of cross-cultural and cross-religious exchanges between Muslims and Christians (Marin, 2004).

Moukib has lived in Spain for 28 years. He studied biology and interior design and worked as a translator and waiter before opening Aljaima. One of his aims is to demonstrate that Spanish

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and Moroccan-Muslim customs are bound in Andaluzi culture. I identify the moments in which he emphasizes a "shared history" between Spaniards and Moroccans or refers to the period of *convivencia* to signal gastronomic exchanges between Muslims and Christians. For example, when designing the Aljaima restaurant, Moukib explicitly sought to showcase architectural styles from Morocco that highlight the period of *al-Andaluz*. He explains that the interior of the restaurant is designed to look like a Moroccan patio with an air of *Andaluz* (see Figures 1–3). In modeling the space after this era, he emphasizes the historical presence of Muslims in Spain. He explains:

> Almería belongs to the era of the Arabs, and there are many artifacts of Arab architecture in Almería, Spain. The floor tiles, furniture, paintings, lamps, and jewelry were bought in Moroccan artisan markets. Everything else was designed by hand, including the ceiling, which is covered in hand-painted designs. I wanted it to be modeled after traditional homes in Morocco to give it this identity (Field notes).

In a later telephone conversation with Moukib, I asked him again about the "identity" of his restaurant, wondering if he would distinguish between the elements that are purely Moroccan and those of Andaluzi origin. He previously used the terms interchangeably, leading me to believe that the restaurant promotes both a Moroccan and Andaluzi identity. He explained that Moroccan architecture is based on Andaluzi architecture, that they are one and the same, adding, "In Moroccan architecture, there is a mixture of Andaluzi Amazih" (North African Andaluzi)." In his mind, they could not be disentangled from one another, emplacing Andaluzi identity as an expression of Moroccan traditions, the shared history between Spain and North Africa, and Spain's Muslim past. For example, he likens Aljaima's traditional Muslim fountain to those in Granada, Spain at the Alhambra. For Moukib, the fountain signifies the historical and ongoing practice of Islam in Spain (see Figure 4). However, much of the restaurant's furniture is directly from Morocco. As Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain suggest, cultural representation in the restaurant space is not clear-cut, but multi-faceted.

Furthermore, Moukib views his restaurant's cuisine as a viable symbol of the historical moment of *convivencia*. The menu, which includes couscous, bastela de pollo, fish tagine, goat tagine, beef tagine, salads, bread, and traditional sweets, is "a collection of dishes from the Andaluzi era" in his words. The *convivencia* and *al Andaluz* narratives not only allow Moukib to claim a common history, but also serve as useful marketing techniques. For example, Aljaima's Instagram page highlights this collective history by advertising an "authentic Moroccan Andalucian cuisine." Moreover, many of Moukib's recipes are selected from a cookbook called *La Cocina Popular de Almería* (Gallego, 2010). He specified that these recipes are from Almería "from the era of the Muslims, when Muslims ruled Andalucía." He sent me recipes for beef and green peppers, beef stew, lamb with peas, pepper salad, sultan salad, broad bean tortilla, shish kebab, and pig's feet. Under the pig's feet recipe, he wrote a note regarding *halal* practices, emphasizing that "in Morocco one cooks lamb's feet instead." Here, he illustrates how *halal* and non-*halal* food practices from Spain to Morocco coexist within the Andaluzi framework. In doing so, he rewrites *halal* food practices into the current Spanish foodscape. Moukib's references to Andaluzi cuisine reveal a common culinary history, the exchanges that previously existed between Muslims and Christians, and the ongoing adjustments to suit religious needs. Referring again to Spain's period of Muslim rule, he recognizes that Muslims and Jews shared similar food restrictions, and that even today, they can "eat from the same plate."

By invoking this Andaluzi narrative, Moukib taps into the history of culinary exchange that occurred during the Muslim rule of Spain. Both Manuela Marín and Olivia Remie Constable examine recipe books in their work to trace the adoption of Muslim dishes by Christians and their use of "loanwords," that is, the incorporation of Arabic cooking terms into the Castilian vocabulary. Like Moukib, their discussions demonstrate the incorporation of Muslim foodways and food language into the Spanish food system (Marín, 2004, p. 50).

In Moukib's view, the gap between Moroccan-Muslim food customs and Spanish cuisine is not that wide. He states that the dishes he serves in his restaurant are similar to those eaten in 11th-century Andalucían villages. Moukib's emphasis on a single "Andaluzi cuisine" is a means of promoting a more expansive definition of Southern Spanish culture, one that acknowledges its Arab and Muslim roots. His emphasis on a common cuisine reflects his desire for a more nuanced definition of Spanish culture that locates *halal* culinary traditions within its boundaries. According to this vision, Aljaima restaurant can be viewed as an extension of Spanish culture. In fact, the *convivencia* paradigm seems to extend to Moukib's personal sense of identity. He dislikes the term "integration," because it signifies *perderse en otra* (losing oneself in another thing). Instead, Moukib asserts that he is "coexisting in harmony," rather than assimilating into Spanish culture. Perhaps reference to this historical moment makes the Spanish, Moroccan, and Muslim aspects of his identity seem less disparate.

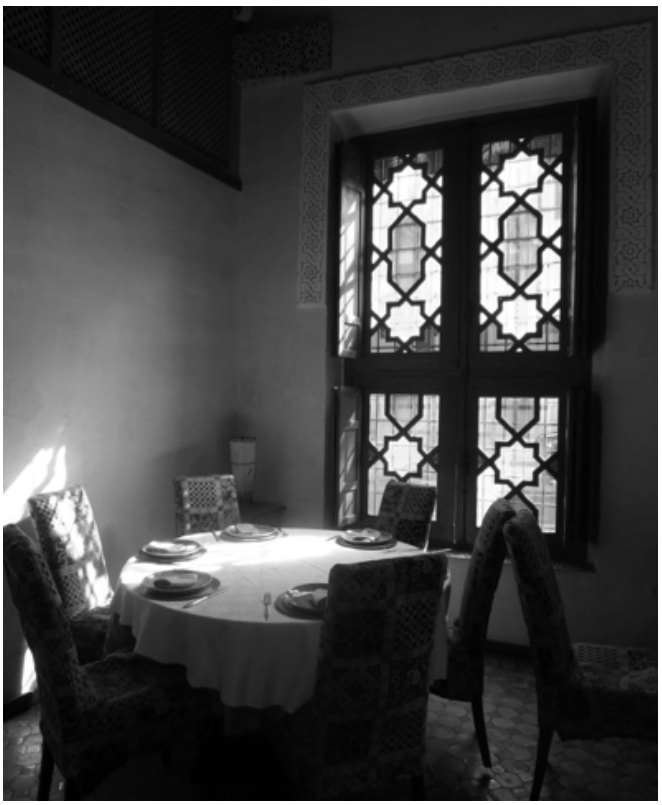
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Figure 1. **Aljaima restaurant**



Source: Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

Figure 2. **Aljaima restaurant**



Source: Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

Figure 3. **Aljaima restaurant**



Source: Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

Figure 4. **Aljaima restaurant**



Source: Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

Figure 5. **Aljaima restaurant**



Source: Photograph taken by the author in 2015.

FOOD PREPARATION AND FUSION

Food preparation and presentation is another area in which Moukib and Mohammad attempt to address the two food cultures tension and actively facilitate cross-cultural consumption between Muslim immigrants and Spaniards. Both owners do so by either blending elements of Spanish food culture and *halal* food practices and/or merging Spanish and Moroccan food practices. Moukib wishes to expose Spaniards and other Europeans to Andaluzi cuisine to underscore the historical presence of Muslims in Spain and the gastronomic links between Spain and Morocco. Mohammad perceives Muslims' need for more *halal* eating establishments in Spain. Both owners have thought of creative ways to unify these seemingly divergent foodways. This fusion is accomplished through two inverse processes. I refer to these as the *tapasization* of Moroccan/Andaluzi cuisine, which is the incorporation of Spanish elements, and the *halalization* of Spanish cuisine, or the introduction of the Muslim dietary code. In both cases, restaurateurs' blending of food practices can be considered an effort to recreate a sense of *convivencia* between Muslims and non-Muslims in Spain. These hybrid processes greatly resemble the conceptual framework Richard Wilk uses to discuss the construction of Belizean cuisine under colonialism. Wilk discovers that "cooks and workers working across cultures and classes engaged in various kinds of creolization that led to convergence" (Wilk, 2002, p. 77). In particular, Wilk's definition of "mixing, wrapping, and substitution" can be applied to decipher the hybrid food practices of Moroccan restaurateurs.

Moukib's restaurant, Aljaima, further embodies *convivencia* through its inclusion of a tapas menu entitled *la ruta de tapas* (the tapas route). Given the ongoing economic crisis in Spain, Moukib is aware that many Spaniards are less inclined to buy elaborate meals. His choice to incorporate the Spanish tapas system is at one level economic, but also appropriate to the *convivencia* paradigm he espouses. This additional menu offers Spaniards a familiar and more economic means of accessing Andaluzi food. Moukib describes it as a "fusion of tapas with Moroccan spices," since each tapas dish has Moroccan flavors with Spanish style presentation. His *ruta de tapas* can be viewed as an example of the restaurant's adaptation to the Spanish culinary context (see Figure 5). As such, the use of the tapas menu could be seen as an example of Wilk's concept of "wrapping," that is, "the enclosing of something foreign within a familiar wrapping" (Wilk, 2002, p. 78). However, at the same time, the combination of Spanish and North African culinary traditions reflects Moukib's Andaluzi framework.

Mohammad hopes to combine Spanish foodways and *halal* food practices. According to Mohammad, *halal* meat shops and restaurants are not common in Seville. In the future, he plans to open a restaurant that serves Spanish dishes such as salmorejo or chorizo using *halal* meat to cater to the Muslim community. This proposal for a Spanish-*halal* cuisine is an example of Wilk's concept of "mixing," which occurs when "dishes of different ethnic origins are served together" (Wilk, 2002, p. 77). During our first conversation, Mohammad noted that everyone who ate that evening at Fez Restaurant was Muslim and that "they were all looking for *halal* food." He claims that such a restaurant would also cater to Spanish converts to Islam and Muslim tourists so that "people from abroad who are Muslim can try Spanish food." In her essay "Arab Traces in Spanish Cooking," Manuela Marín claims that "there existed in *al-Andaluz* a superior model of gastronomic satisfaction" on the part of Muslims and Christians (Marín, 2004, p. 38). Both Marin and Constable note that as early as the 11th century, provisions were frequently made for Muslims, such as the use of separate communal ovens and pots to avoid the mixture of forbidden dishes like pork and licit foods. Constable's work reveals how solutions to the *halal*/pork binary existed before the *reconquista*. In fact, she notes that in the 13th century, rights were granted to "subject Muslim communities" in Aragon and Castille to have "Islamic butchers and special shops or tables for selling *ḥalāl* meat" (Constable, 2013, p. 228). Similar to how Muslims' religious and gastronomic needs were historically recognized, allowing Muslims and Christians to share meals, Mohammad endeavors to recover this "model of gastronomic satisfaction."

Through this proposed merging of Spanish food customs and *halal* food practices, Mohammad would provide a safe way for Muslims who observe *halal* to experience a primary element of Spanish culture—tapas. He, like Hamal and Mukhtar, clarifies how cultural and religious barriers manifest through foodways. Although Mohammad does not himself express strong frustration with the omnipresence of pork in Spain, he recognizes that it poses a challenge for Muslims. This hybrid concept of a Spanish-*halal* restaurant, like the kosher-Chinese restaurants of New York that emerged in the mid-20th century, offers one solution to this gastronomic conflict (Coe, 2009). Currently, the Spanish kebab industry is one of the only affordable means for Muslims to obtain halal meat when dining out. Mohammad's Spanish-*halal* restaurant would be a step further, creating a new niche that explicitly merges Spanish foodways and the Muslim dietary code, introducing another form of *convivencia*. Furthermore, Mohammad's Spanish-*halal* restaurant would bridge the economic gap between *halal* restaurants. While Aljaima's food

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is *halal*, most of its customers are wealthy Spaniards or Muslim tourists. Moukib recognizes that his restaurant attracts a middle and upper class demographic and does not cater to Muslim immigrants. He explains, "They [Moroccan immigrants] eat in their homes. Given the economic crisis, they do not have the possibility to eat here anymore." In contrast, Mohammad's proposed restaurant could attract kebab restaurant workers such as Hamal, Nadir, and Mukhtar and the Muslim customers who currently rely on kebab restaurants.

A further example of the *halalification* of Spanish cuisine emerged recently in Huelva, the center of Spain's pork-producing region. According to National Public Radio (NPR), Faysal Mrad Dali, a Tunisian immigrant, developed Spain's first *halal* Iberian ham, which represents a fusion of Muslim and Spanish culinary traditions. Dali's *halal*-certified Iberian ham product is made from lamb and sometimes beef, but simulates Iberian ham in its overall appearance. Like the restaurant owners and workers I spoke with, Dali recognizes that Muslims in Spain are unable to participate in the consumption of *jamón iberico*, and that this gastronomic barrier excludes Muslims from a fundamental part of Spanish life. He explains to journalists, "The first time I came with my family to Spain, to Andalusia, I said, 'Why do the Muslims not have this [jamón iberico]?'" Dali moved to Cumbres Mayores, a town in Huelva, four years ago to establish his meat business (Frayer, 2014, p. 1).

This phenomenon further illustrates how food becomes the basis for negotiating identities. Dali's creation of the *halal* Iberian ham, a hybrid product, marks his desire for Muslims to carry out their dual Muslim and Spanish lifeways. This *halalization* of Iberian ham is a clear example of "substitution," that is, "a special form of mixing that occurs when an item that is normally part of a dish or meal is substituted by one of different origin" (Wilk, 2002, p. 78). This desire to participate in one of Spain's most prominent culinary traditions while not detaching from Islamic dietary law is ultimately a means to carve a Spanish-Muslim identity. The *halal jamón* offers Muslims the opportunity to safely engage with an element of Spanish food culture without abandoning their religious and cultural affiliations. However, according to the article, this compromise is not an acceptable practice for all Muslims, and the fear of eating something that so clearly resembles the "forbidden" persists.

Most important, Dali states that the *halal jamón* symbolizes the historical coexistence of Spanish and Muslim cultures. He explains, "This has been a dream for me as a Muslim. I am living and making my product in a region where Muslims, Jews, and Christians have a history of living and eating together" (Frayer, 2014, p. 1). Here, the *convivencia* paradigm allows Dali to confirm the significance of this hybrid product. The *halal jamón iberico*—the convergence of traditional Spanish and Muslim eating customs—is a further expression of *convivencia* that he hopes will lead to a broader definition of what it means to be Spanish.

Restaurant owners' efforts to unite Moroccan, Spanish, and specifically Muslim gastronomic elements are connected to the process of negotiating a dual Muslim and Spanish identity, or in some cases, a dual Moroccan and Spanish identity. Moukib, Mohammad, and Dali's recollection of *convivencia* and *al-Andaluz* compels them to find creative ways to merge seemingly divergent foodways and facilitate a form of coexistence in the contemporary, thereby enabling Muslims and non-Muslims to "eat from the same plate."

CONCLUSION

The grappling of Muslim immigrants with the *halal*/pork binary ultimately reveals the challenges of being Muslim in Spain. This article identified how two restaurant owners seek to revive the concept of *convivencia*, as they see certain narratives on the place of Moroccans and Muslims in Spanish culture reflected in their restaurants' architecture, décor, and cuisine. Equally important are the solutions developed by the two Moroccan restaurant owners to transcend the two food cultures conflict. Moukib's repeated espousal of *al-Andaluz* and a shared history and *tapasization* of Moroccan cuisine, and Mohammad's proposed *halalization* of Spanish cuisine are efforts to address the cultural, religious, and gastronomic barriers salient to many Muslim immigrants. In the context of the two food cultures conflict, this food-related work elucidates restaurateurs' ability to tap into a collective food history and develop innovative food practices that address gastronomic tension as well as rewrite and integrate *halal* into the Spanish foodscape. Further meditations on food spaces, the use of food narratives, and the immigrant experience in Spain are needed to uncover the ability of restaurateurs to derive meaning from foodways and draw on food histories to facilitate their community's belonging in a new country.

Future ethnographies of the Moroccan restaurant in Spain ought to explore whether the use of the *convivencia* narrative is common and any additional means through which it is evoked. Such analyses could also investigate whether the Jewish experience, past and/or present, is in Muslim restaurateurs' purview. Future studies might also consider customers' perceptions of restaurant spaces and investigate

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whether Muslims outside the restaurant industry reference the *convivencia* period. Together, such studies could continue exploring the extent to which Spain's Muslim-Arab past is present in the minds of Muslim immigrants. Given that European nations are currently grappling with the arrival of Muslim immigrants and refugees and the place of Islam in Europe, such explorations of the lived experiences of Muslims are particularly relevant. What new patterns will emerge in the Spanish context? Will the *halal*/pork binary begin to subside and will restaurateurs continue to disseminate the narrative of *convivencia*? Can *halal* foodways and other aspects of Spain's food history be written into Spanish culture on a grand scale? Or will the two food cultures conflict gain more traction in the wake of growing anti-Islamic sentiment and the rising popularity of the far right in Europe?

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FORUM

Submitted 07.31.2017. Approved 12.26.2017
Evaluated through a double-blind review process. Guest Scientific Editors: Marina Heck, Jeffrey Pilcher, Krishnendu Ray, and Eliane Brito

Original version

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180304

THE PRESENTATION OF THE CHEF IN EVERYDAY LIFE: SOCIALIZING CHEFS IN LIMA, PERU

Apresentação do chef na vida cotidiana: Socialização dos chefs em Lima, Peru

Presentación del chef en la vida cotidiana: Socialización de chefs en Lima, Perú

ABSTRACT

Over the past two decades, Peru has seen a dramatic expansion of restaurants and attention to Peruvian cuisine, a phenomenon known as the "gastronomy boom." Peruvian chefs have become national celebrities, their entrepreneurial and culinary efforts portrayed as a means of transforming Peru into a more prosperous nation. In this paper, based on sixteen months of ethnographic research in Lima, I examine socialization practices in two culinary schools to elucidate how culinary work is linked to person formation in Peru. I show that instructors encourage students to eschew business practices locally classified as *vivo* (dishonest and crafty) in order to become more orderly. They also instill in students the importance of having the ambition necessary to achieve international prominence. Together, these lessons promote a template for a new, ideal Peruvian citizen whose combination of extroversion and restraint exemplifies Peru's potential in the global economy.

KEYWORDS | Culinary education, socialization, entrepreneurship, Peru, gastronomy.

RESUMO

Durante as últimas duas décadas, o Peru tem assistido a uma dramática expansão de restaurantes e atenção à sua gastronomia, um fenômeno conhecido como o "boom da gastronomia". Os chefes peruanos tornaram-se celebridades nacionais, e os seus esforços empresariais e culinários foram retratados como um meio de transformar o Peru em uma nação mais próspera. Neste artigo, com base em 16 meses de pesquisa etnográfica em Lima, examinei as práticas de socialização encontradas em duas escolas culinárias, para esclarecer como o trabalho culinário está ligado à formação de pessoas no Peru. Demonstro que os instrutores incentivam os estudantes a evitar práticas de negócios localmente classificadas como "vivo" (desonesto e astucioso) para se tornarem mais organizados. Também incutem nos alunos a importância de ter a ambição necessária para alcançar uma proeminência internacional. Em conjunto, essas lições promovem um modelo para um cidadão peruano jovem e saudável, cuja combinação de extroversão e restrição exemplifica o potencial do Peru na economia global.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE | *Educação culinária, socialização, empreendedorismo, Peru, gastronomia.*

RESUMEN

Durante las últimas dos décadas, Perú ha visto una drástica expansión de restaurantes y atención a su gastronomía, fenómeno conocido como el "boom de la gastronomía". Los chefs peruanos se han convertido en celebridades nacionales, sus esfuerzos emprendedores y culinarios se han retratado como medio de transformar Perú en una nación más próspera. En este estudio, basado en 16 meses de investigación etnográfica en Lima, examino prácticas de socialización en dos escuelas de gastronomía para aclarar cómo el trabajo culinario está relacionado con la formación de la persona en Perú. Muestro que los instructores alientan a los estudiantes a evitar prácticas de negocios localmente clasificadas como vivas (deshonestas y arteras) para ser más disciplinados. También infunden en los estudiantes la importancia de tener la ambición necesaria para alcanzar prominencia internacional. En conjunto, estas lecciones promueven un molde para un nuevo e ideal ciudadano peruano cuya combinación de extroversión y moderación ejemplifica el potencial de Perú en la economía global.

PALABRAS CLAVE | *Educación culinaria, socialización, iniciativa empresarial, Perú, gastronomía.*

AMY LASATER-WILLE
amy.lasaterwille@nyu.edu
ORCID: 0000-0001-6904-8107

New York University, New York, NY, United States of America

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INTRODUCTION

Carlos divided his students into two groups. Pulling ourselves off the dusty tile floor, we shuffled to either side of the classroom and formed two lines: five women on one side facing four men on the other. Carlos waited in the middle. When we had organized ourselves properly, he told us the assignment: one by one, each student from the male side of the room would cross and pretend to seduce the female student of his choice. The object was to project power and confidence; if a student seemed weak, he would have to do it again. "Do you know who Sean Connery is?" Carlos asked in Spanish by way of explanation. "Isn't he a hunk? He's old, but he can get whatever he wants."

He stood back and motioned to Esteban (a pseudonym), a tiny eighteen-year-old who was standing at the end of the line directly across from me. Esteban walked toward Maripas at the other end of my line, putting one foot in front of the other and maintaining eye contact, purposeful but shy. "Not confident enough!" Carlos called out, then demonstrated how one crosses a room by striding towards a girl named Wendy, who giggled when he stopped just short of touching her. "Again!" he said. Esteban tried once more, faster and with a straighter posture.

One by one, my classmates practiced their seduction walks, first the men and then the women. Round-faced Leomar was told to be more *galán* (powerful like a leading man); Victor, at thirty the oldest student and unofficial leader of the class, found himself praised for his ramrod posture and confident gait. "Remember," said Carlos once everyone had finished, "You should always be confident. If you are, then no one can say anything bad about you." He released us into the humid afternoon, each of us brushing off our baggy checkered pants and filing past the empty classrooms toward Cenfotur's main exit.

Carlos was teaching what amounted to an acting class, but Cenfotur is not an arts school; it is a state-funded tourism institute in a coastal neighborhood of Lima, the capital of Peru. My classmates were starting their first of four semesters in the school's culinary degree program. Carlos's class, *Taller de Desinhibición* (which translates roughly as "workshop for lack of inhibition") was a required weekly course. When, as an anthropologist participating in classes at Cenfotur, I mentioned to my classmates that I was surprised they had to take an acting class, I discovered that nearly all of them thought it natural. They assumed that an education in self-presentation should naturally be embedded in culinary training. Likewise, culinary school administrators tended to explain their missions as "*formando gente*" or "*creando personas*," forming or creating people as opposed to training professionals or imparting specific skills.

Indeed, while Peruvian culinary schools do teach students culinary skills, the traits that students and teachers agreed were vital for a chef often had little to do with to cooking itself; instead, they largely convey elements of character, as well as ways of approaching the world and interacting with others. In this article, I argue that these characteristics have become integral to the cultivation of the Peruvian chef because they create a workforce with a distinctive blend of extroversion and restraint, a combination of traits that instructors laud for its appropriateness for interacting with tourists and international consumers. However, the process of creating these workers has implications beyond the mere cultivation of a specific vocational workforce. As culinary schools work to develop particular kinds of restaurant workers, they also see themselves as developing national and global citizens, ideal members of society whose adherence to international culinary norms serves as evidence that Peru's working class can be reformed. As a result, the inculcation of the consummate chef's qualities in Lima's culinary students alleviates anxieties about Peru's suitability for the global marketplace. It also aligns with a growing global tendency to see chefs as activists and reformers, a movement that portrays character development in culinary schools as having the potential not only to improve individual prospects, but also Peru's standing in the world.

METHODS AND BACKGROUND: THE GASTRONOMY BOOM AS AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL FIELD SITE

On September 13, 2011, an international group of celebrity chefs calling themselves the G9 released a statement outlining chefs' social obligations and trumpeting their capacity to change the world. Called the Lima Declaration, this "open letter to the chefs of tomorrow" was drafted during the 2011 session of Mistura, Peru's annual gastronomy festival. It contains seven points divided into four sections, outlining the culinary world's responsibility to improve nature, society, the transmission of knowledge, and artistic expression (Bianchi, 2011).

As this declaration made its way into newspapers and blogs worldwide, the response was largely incredulous. *The Guardian's* Word of Mouth blog ran an opinion piece by critic Jay Rayner titled "Chefs' manifesto: Reality check, please" that diagnosed the chefs with "having made the terrible mistake of thinking anybody really gives a damn what they think" (Rayner, 2011). Even members of the listserv for the Association for the Study of Food and Society approached the news about the transformative power

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of chefs with a skeptical eye. In Peru, however, the response to the Lima Declaration was celebratory. *El Comercio* viewed the G9 conference as a sign of progress for Lima's culinary scene (Pastor, 2011). Meanwhile, the latter portion of the comments section of Rayner's blog became a forum for Peruvians to explain the Lima Declaration in the context of their country. "To understand why this group of chefs decided to sign a manifesto that many of you find cheese [sic] and over the top, you will only understand after you study what has happened in Peru in the last 10 years," one commenter summarized. "I invite you to do a report of the work that Gaston [Acurio, a celebrity chef] has been doing in Peru and you surely will be inspired enough to sign a Manifesto [sic] like that."

As these reactions might indicate, while the idea of a chef as a political figure might seem ludicrous outside of Peru, for many people in Lima, the portrayal of chefs as figures of development and salvation has become almost a matter of common sense. Indeed, for the people I knew in Lima's culinary schools and restaurants, cuisine was a natural focal point for discussions about the future of society. Part of this confidence in the culinary industries is related to specific historical and economic circumstances. In 1992, the year that many of my classmates were born, Peru was just emerging from more than a decade of terrorism and economic collapse; by the 2000s, a series of neoliberal economic policies and the rejuvenation of business had made Peru's economy one of the fastest growing in Latin America. Some of Peru's most successful businesses profit from the extraction of natural resources; however, many others are linked to Peru's food and cuisine, ranging from the export of asparagus, quinoa, and paprika to the reinvigoration of tourism. The emergence of these food-related businesses has taken place in tandem with the growth of food-related travel, media, and celebrity worldwide, making a focus on Peruvian cuisine part of a broader growth in the culinary industries enabled by the media and tourism (Rousseau, 2012; Ruhlman, 2006). Today Peru's "gastronomy boom" is evident in the Peruvian restaurant chains that have spread across South America and Europe, as well as in the estimated 3% of Peru's gross domestic product (GDP) that is attributed to restaurants within the country (Economist, 2014). In 2017, Peru was home to two of the top 20 restaurants in the world (William Reed Business Media, 2017). In this environment, cooking is an accessible profession that has the potential to reap vast rewards, and thousands of young people from around the country have enrolled in culinary schools to emulate the chefs who have become some of their most cherished celebrities.

It is not only the potential for profit that has driven young Peruvians to enroll in culinary schools and open restaurants, though; it is also the widely disseminated message that food is integral to the expression of Peruvians' individual personal identities and their shared heritage as Peruvians. This message is similar to the identification of food with heritage that occurs in many locations around the world (Counihan, 2004; Fajans, 2012; Sutton, 2014), but Peruvians see the form of their gastronomy boom as quintessentially their own. Many people told me that this emphasis on food had to some extent always been present in Peru; they told me that Peruvians naturally love to eat, that they have especially good taste, and that they have always been good cooks. At the same time, they speculated that the gastronomy boom has emerged at this particular moment because Peruvians need to remember that there is something they all do well. Perpetual losers in war and soccer, cuisine is a sphere in which Peruvians of all socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds are now winning on a global scale.

The overt message of this common trope – that Peru's gastronomy boom will provide the opportunities and ethos necessary to create a more prosperous and inclusive society – is an easy one to approach with cynicism; many Peruvians I met, rich and poor alike, were skeptical of the chefs and gastronomy society officials who make these claims. Social scientists analyzing these campaigns have also rightly pointed out that the gastronomy boom's brand of "inclusion" actually excludes the contributions of many groups of Peruvians, often the same groups who have historically been barred from elite spaces (Alcalde, 2009; García, 2013). However, limiting an analysis of the gastronomy boom to its rhetorical inaccuracies runs the risk of obscuring the very real effects that the boom has had on many people's lives. Instead, the "gastronomy boom" should be seen anthropologically, not just as a set of claims about inclusion and diversity, but also as a series of social and political maneuvers that have rearranged a landscape of economic opportunities, created new hierarchies and credentialing procedures, and rewarded new kinds of comportment, sociability, and self-perception.

Lima's culinary schools – many of which did not exist twenty years ago, or if they did, it was in a much-reduced form – are ideal locations to study these changes because they are the sites where many of these new beliefs and behaviors are instantiated. To this end, I conducted 16 months of ethnographic research in Lima from August 2011 to December 2012. During this time, my primary methodology was participant observation in two mid-priced culinary schools: Cenfotur and a school I am calling LaCucina, which enrolls a large number of rural-to-urban migrants and their children. These students often came from humble means, but every day they heard from their teachers that they had the potential to become as influential as celebrity chefs if they applied

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themselves appropriately. As I will show, in both schools, this means that students learn to embody a calculated mixture of international norms and Peruvian traits. The process of learning to create these personas prepares students to represent Peru (and sell Peruvian food) to the world. It has also served as a means by which instructors have created a new kind of model Peruvian citizen, transforming a potentially troublesome population of poor migrants into creative, capitalist workers whose characteristic trait is entrepreneurialism.

In teaching their students the behavior of proper employees, Peruvian culinary instructors are in good company worldwide. Social scientists have long noted the connection between the socialization of personal characteristics and the formation of capitalist workers, from E.P. Thompson's seminal work on the socialization of dispositions among the English working class (1964) to more recent work on the flexibility valued in present-day employees, who are expected to continuously adapt to the demands of rapidly changing work conditions (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001; Ong, 1999). Notably, anthropologists have described workers of the past several decades as thinking of themselves through a perspective of "neoliberal agency," a sense that their identities, abilities, and even cultures are marketable "assets that must be continuously invested in, nurtured, managed, and developed" (Martin, 2000, p. 582; Gershon, 2011). Seen from this angle, formal education is a means to a very capitalist mode of self-improvement; effective neoliberal workers see themselves as gaining credentials, relationships, and skills from schooling that can be reinvested into the self like a business.

Vocational education in Peru, much of it private, draws explicitly on this view of schools as a form of investment. Rural children move to cities specifically to "improve [themselves]" through education and implicitly to become morally superior through schooling (Leinaweaver, 2008). Families across the country spend large portions of their income on private education – to a degree that surprises outside observers – because they believe in a direct tie between education and better jobs (World Bank, 1999). Like many vocational schools in Lima, LaCucina and Cenfotur have benefitted from this ideology. Both schools are two-year institutes that offer state-recognized cooking credentials; as such, they are widely regarded as offering good value, providing students with knowledge and advantages in exchange for a relatively hefty tuition (about 1,000 soles or $380 per month). They attract students from across Peru's socioeconomic spectrum, but – in part because Lima's richest students choose to study cooking at universities or abroad – these schools' student bodies are overwhelmingly made up of the country's middle class and students who are migrants or the children of migrants.

Many scholars who study Peru worry that the education offered in places like Cenfotur and LaCucina is a form of "racism in disguise" in the sense that it encourages students to adopt traits associated with whiteness in order to progress (Leinaweaver, 2008). These warnings are especially poignant as scholars worldwide have noted that "progress" itself may be ephemeral in the sense that formal education tends to reinforce class stratification rather than enable upward mobility. Key to these critiques is the insight that education reproduces and legitimizes the dominance of some cultural signifiers over others. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argue that education is a process of social exclusion because it enables the transmission of cultural capital within classes; meanwhile, Paul Willis notes that lower-class students participate in their own economic subjugation by opting into working-class jobs in what they perceive to be a fulfilling act of rebellion against conformity (1977).

As I will show, concerns surrounding the role of Peruvian education in reproducing existing hierarchies are not unfounded. Lima's culinary students are indeed encouraged to think of themselves as collections of individual culinary talents that can be marketed worldwide; they are distinguished from each other through grades, internships, and eventual work placements that reinforce the belief that some behaviors and tastes are superior to others. Yet strikingly, the characteristics into which Peruvian students are socialized are also part of a specifically Peruvian milieu, one that reflects not just the individual's place in the market but also the relationship between capitalist systems and Peru as a country more broadly – a context in which Peru as a whole was until recently seen as underperforming. In contrast to many of the vocational schools profiled in anthropological literature (cf. Woronov, 2015), the individual students at Cenfotur and LaCucina are not seen as "failures" or automatically of lower ability or lower class than students in academic tracks. Instead, the overwhelming sentiment in these schools – and, indeed, in Lima as a whole – is that Peru must work *as a country* to rise above its class position. With the individual student framed as a kind of metonym for Peru's progress, the entrepreneurship that my classmates learned to exemplify bore the traces not only of neoliberal agency, but also of Peru's specific racial ideologies, self-consciously promoting the notion that individual success is tantamount to national improvement.

Vivo citizens, *Vivo* nation

During my fieldwork in Lima, nearly every culinary school administrator I interviewed told me that the objective of cooking

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school was to form students into good people (*buenas personas*), whom they described generically as "ethical" or "responsible." Implicit in this characterization was the looming vision of a society that would prevent students from being good people if left to their own devices; when administrators referred to creating "*buenas personas*" they emphasized the fact that they were molding students who were not already good when they arrived. One administrator told me that many people came to Cenfotur with an attitude that would permit unethical behavior, and it was his job to train them to be different. With training, the students could become honest and attentive to order and cleanliness. Without it, students would likely become cooks who stole from their employers, sold expired or badly handled food, or told customers that the restaurant was serving a more expensive fish like *lenguado* (sole) when instead it was selling a different, cheaper fish that looked similar.

When instructors told me about this type of person, they often used the word *vivo*, which literally means "alive" but in Peru refers to being crafty or clever, capable of flouting official rules in order to achieve personal gain. While not overtly racialized, the term references a long history of ambivalence toward the presence of rural or indigenous people in Peruvian cities. Anyone in Peru can be *vivo*, but it refers to a type of craftiness that skirts official norms and as such often implies a contrast with a way of life that is more appropriate and implicitly European. In Lima, the association between indigenous traits and *vivo* behavior is all the more powerful because it links the supposed disorder of indigenous migrants to the perceived decline of the city over the past fifty years. For centuries after the Spanish conquest, Lima was depicted as a white enclave, but since the mid-twentieth century, an "overflowing" popular sector has moved from the provinces to the capital. The city grew from 1.5 million people in 1950 to eight million by the year 2000 (Matos Mar, 1984). In the absence of adequate public services in the latter part of the twentieth century, these migrants were famous for behavior that would be categorized as *vivo*, starting informal businesses and illegally occupying land that would eventually become Lima's vast shantytowns. Food production holds a special place in these racialized imaginaries. Indigenous and *mestizo* (of mixed heritage) vendors have been accused of falsifying their wares since colonial times (de la Cadena, 2000; Weismantel, 2001), and migrant market workers were often the central antagonists of stories people told me about dangerous, unhygienic, and *vivo* behavior.

In this context, culinary schools' explicit goal of transforming their migrant students into good people seems to be a thinly veiled project of civilizing Peru's indigenous youth. It is true that chefs' qualities like hygiene, integrity, and honesty – some of the ideal personality traits that students at Cenfotur and LaCucina are told to exemplify – are all characteristics that a *vivo* person stereotypically lacks. Some of the schools' methods of instilling these traits, such as lessons in hand washing, echo centuries of Latin American colonial and republican efforts to reform indigenous citizens and *mestizo*-dominated spaces like marketplaces (Aguilar-Rodríguez, 2007; Pilcher, 1998).

On the global scale in which the gastronomy boom operates, however, the term *vivo* has increasingly become a signifier of Peruvianness rather than of mere indigeneity. Today, even Peruvians who might describe themselves as being part of the old, pre-migrant Lima find themselves looking to indigenous characteristics to define "Peruvianness." Many referred to themselves as engaging in *vivo* behavior and identified it to me as being specifically Peruvian –even patriotic. This identification partly exists because the gastronomy boom relies on marketing the indigeneity of its ingredients and cooks as "traditional," revalorizing features that can be advertised as explicitly Peruvian. It is also a natural extension of the binary logic that governs Peru's racial ideologies: European-descended Peruvians are more European than their indigenous neighbors, but in a global context, they are less European than Europeans themselves. It makes sense to market oneself as *vivo* because it seems both differentiated and authentic.

As a result of the blurred lines between indigeneity and Peruvianness on the global stage, one prominent anxiety in present-day Lima is the worry of how to harness or celebrate Peru's *vivo* elements without descending into a mode of interacting with the world that is too reminiscent of Lima's internal migrants. For the culinary instructors I knew in Lima, navigating this compromise was vitally important, not just existentially, but also economically. Peruvian food would never become world-famous if it were perceived as incompatible with the regulations of the U.S. or Europe, but it would never be valuable if it were not also quintessentially Peruvian.

In both of the schools I attended, the solution to this problem was simultaneously behavioral and culinary, the cultivation of a new category that was *vivo* but also refined. This tactic was reflected in the lists of ideal personality traits that students and instructors regularly generated during the first days of school. Oft-mentioned chefs' qualities like hygiene, integrity, and honesty are all characteristics that a *vivo* person must learn. Crucially, however, the same lists also include elements like leadership and confidence, characteristics that are as much properties of the *vivo* persona as they are of chefs.

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Transforming culinary students into good people was thus a matter of combining these disparate sets of characteristics, tempering the *vivo* personality with well-mannered habits and practices.

Alicia, an administrator at LaCucina, provided a typical explanation of how the gastronomy boom was beholden to Peru's uniquely *vivo* traits and to the educational processes that translated them into marketable skills. During our first meeting, she told me that one of the gastronomy boom's chief benefits was that it allowed a wide variety of people to participate in the perks of culinary entrepreneurship. With a bit of ingenuity and talent, anyone could open a restaurant or culinary business with very little overhead. For Alicia, the characteristics that made this kind of success possible were specifically Peruvian. "*El peruano es ingenio; el peruano es creativo,*" she told me during our first meeting ("Peruvians are ingenious; Peruvians are creative"). Although the adjectives she used to describe this uniquely Peruvian trait did not include the word *vivo*, the advantages of being ingenious or creative that she mentioned were clearly linked with the informal structures in which *vivo* people have learned to achieve their goals. One of the success stories she cited was about a man who sells food out of his car on the weekend to supplement his day job at a hospital; another was about a woman who had noticed a new construction site near her house and, divining that this would be an excellent market for her food, began selling sandwiches to workers. "Or you could just open your window and put out a table and chairs," Alicia said, concluding that one benefit of this system was that success or failure was entirely up to the person who had created the business.

Alicia was far from the only person I heard remark upon the positive, entrepreneurial advances that Peru's pervasive informal economy had made possible. Yet while this attitude toward informality made sense in the context of promoting a sanitized version of *vivo* characteristics, it presented a conflict in culinary school lessons. Nearly every teacher I talked to mentioned the need for the gastronomy boom to promote the formalization of businesses, the necessity of encouraging practices like paying taxes and workers fairly, or of not cutting corners that would sicken the populace. When I asked Alicia how she could extoll the benefits of informality while the gastronomy boom focused so strongly on formalization, she explained that worries about informality were largely directed toward large businesses that did not pay taxes. In contrast, the *microempresas* (small, entrepreneurial businesses) were "basically good" but needed to work on aspects of their businesses that were still lacking, such as hygiene.

Alicia's answer is a revealing example of how the gastronomy boom retains elements of a crafty brand of entrepreneurship while also acquiring a veneer of respectability. For Alicia and other administrators, the formalization that culinary entrepreneurs must undergo is not so much a denial of the Peruvian spirit of being *vivo*, but rather the ability to demonstrate other characteristics that allow *vivo-ness* to become integrated into commerce. In other words, a person might be *vivo* but must also be hygienic, educated, and ethical in order to represent Peru at home and abroad. It is partly this compromise that makes the Peruvian gastronomy boom seem so transformative in its home country. As entrepreneurial endeavors that acknowledge the peculiarities and potentially corrupt characteristics of Peruvian informality, businesses that exist within the framework of the gastronomy boom also demonstrate Peru's ability to integrate itself into global markets after a disastrous period of near collapse.

In order to signal this compromise between formality and *vivo* characteristics, cooks and restaurant owners must learn to embody a specific combination of skills and personality traits. In the rest of this article, I will describe how this very specific combination of Euro-American standards and Peruvian character has become part of culinary students' social and embodied practices, both via explicit instruction and in their schools' disciplinary practices. As I will show, while the schools deliberately socialize particular habits and outlooks in their students, the particular combination of these habits – the characteristic persona that allows students to embody something that is Peruvian and international (usually Euro-American) at the same time – is less of a model of capitalist citizenship in general than it is of Peruvian capitalism in particular. The result of this socialization process is an image of Peruvian capitalism in which *vivo* behavior is transformed via daily interactions and channeled into the drive to promote Peruvianness abroad.

Order and research in the classroom

When Alicia told me that the informal vendors of the gastronomy boom were "basically good" but needed to learn hygiene and education, she was articulating a view in which a person's *vivo* behavior and informality could be offset by acquired skills and made acceptable for tourists and international consumers. This attitude, widely shared among educators, was often the basis for explaining why culinary students needed to learn how to conduct themselves in orderly ways. On my first day at Cenfotur, for instance, one of the instructors told me that training cooks was like training soldiers in an army. By this he meant that he taught students to

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respect the strict hierarchies of the kitchen, but also that it was important to cultivate the disciplined, orderly habits of a group that worked together toward a shared goal. In theory, every aspect of a typical day in Lima's culinary schools was inflected with this commitment to discipline, though it was not always expressed as a direct analogue to military life. At both of the schools I attended, each day began with a student displaying his or her official ID and changing into a uniform; as it progressed, students typically found themselves in work environments in which they took on specific, defined roles like chopping, cooking, plating and cleaning.

Within these broad routines, instructors at both schools also encouraged the efficient and orderly execution of particular tasks. In both schools, the concept of *mise en place* was one of the first procedures that instructors taught; they explained that the French term meant "everything in its place" (*todo en su lugar*) and that it usually referred to the cutting and portioning of ingredients in advance of cooking, a process that saved time and allowed many kinds of dishes to be cooked right before serving. They also emphasized that *mise en place* referred not just to preparing the ingredients, but also to organizing oneself so as not to waste time. It was partly a mindset, the mental preparation that all cooks undertook so as to predict the most efficient preparation of their part of a dish. Accordingly, the correct sequencing of tasks was as much a manifestation of order as was the organization of space. When instructors demonstrated how to prepare a dish in a cooking class, they often narrated the rationale behind the order in which they were completing the steps, asking students which component of a dish would take the longest to prepare and thus which aspect they should begin first.

Finally, the orderliness that these schools taught in the kitchen was connected not only to the physical environment, but also to an individual's attention and attitude. Safety protocols were an especially obvious focus for this lesson as instructors taught students to be aware of flames, of the settings on pressure cookers, and the locations of fire extinguishers. Instructors also carefully reinforced attention to the food itself. They were usually lenient about mistakes that were made due to misunderstandings of recipes or techniques but were unforgiving of students whose errors came from neglecting to watch a searing piece of meat, ignoring a cheese-covered dish in a broiler, or forgetting to add a key ingredient.

Despite the ubiquity of these manifestations of order, no instructor spoke of an attention to organization or the capacity for restraint as traits that were naturally well-suited to Peruvians. Instead they described order as though it were a visitor from abroad, an anomaly that might choose to return to its homeland if not treated properly. Culinary instructors who had been to Europe lectured students on the fact that Spanish and French restaurants were far more organized than anything they had seen in Peru. Almost all descriptions of *mise en place* emphasized the procedure's French origins, while discussions about the need for methodical library research or experimentation usually began with the example of Ferran Adrià, a Spaniard. The United States was also a common model for organization; two of the bartending teachers at LaCucina had been employed at a major American casual dining chain in Lima and regaled their students with tricks that American consultants from the chain's corporate headquarters had taught to their employees.

While the instructors took as a given that none of the students could be expected to spontaneously adopt an orderly attitude, they emphasized that these forms of discipline were a necessary check on the attitudes that Peruvians already believed they had. This necessity came not just from the goal of improving the Peruvian populace, but also from pragmatic concerns about attracting tourists and sending culinary students to restaurants around the world. Peru's cooks might be creating food for international consumption, but – in keeping with the perspective of "neoliberal agency" within which the schools imagined themselves to operate – in many ways instructors saw cooks themselves as products that needed to be molded to suit foreign tastes while differentiating themselves from competitors. To this end, Peru's culinary schools emphasize the need to combine the orderliness expected in the international workforce with the traits that separate Peruvian cooks from those of other nationalities. Chief among them is a modified version of *vivo* behavior.

Ganas

While order in all of its manifestations was something that culinary students and instructors understood to be unquestionably foreign, traits like ambition and leadership were understood to be native to Peru. They were not qualities that every Peruvian necessarily had, though, and students could be evaluated and compared according to the quantity of ambition they displayed at any given moment. I became especially aware of this tendency when I was invited to observe the morning classes at the Instituto Pachacutec, an elite school that enrolls migrant students on full scholarship and trains them to work at some of the most famous restaurants in the country. I spoke with a chef instructor as he watched over a group of students in their final semester. "I like these students better than the students from other schools," he said as we

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watched the students crack open crab shells. "I teach at Cordon [the Lima branch of Paris's Cordon Bleu school] too, and I prefer to hire the students here. Cordon has better facilities, but the students here have more ambition."

The word I am translating as "ambition" here is the Spanish noun *ganas*, which is related to the verb *ganar* ("to win" or "to earn") and refers to a person's hunger or desire. A person who has *ganas* is ambitious or even scrappy, while a person without *ganas* is apathetic, lackadaisical, or disinterested. Unlike order, my interlocutors viewed ambition as something one comes by naturally, not something that can be acquired by immersing oneself in an appropriately organized environment or dressing according to a code. They believe that ambition can be harnessed and to some extent augmented. As a result, instructors tended to frame obstacles to student success as the product of merely misrecognizing or forgetting ambition. One bartending teacher ended a lecture with a quote from Victor Hugo: "*A nadie le faltan fuerzas; lo que a muchísimos les falta es voluntad*" (often translated in English as "People do not lack strength; they lack will"). Another teacher critiqued a series of poor student presentations with the admonition, "It's not a matter of ability, it's interest" (*"No es cuestión de capacidad, es de interés"*).

While it was necessary for students in this environment to know privately that they had the requisite drive to succeed, just being motivated was not enough. They also had to know how to properly display their ambition so that their instructors would recognize and reward it. At both LaCucina and Cenfotur, instructors were aware that such displays were in part cultivated performances, and they required students to take classes in which they learned how to play the role of a dedicated culinary student. Cenfotur's *Taller de Desinhibición* was one example of a class that taught students the ways that a passionate, driven chef should look and act. When Carlos the actor had his students pretend to seduce each other, he stressed that the most important expression of personality that a student could cultivate was confidence. His description of Sean Connery – "He's old, but he can get whatever he wants" – describes the ideal state of someone with *ganas*: the ability to recognize one's desires and go after them with assurance. Furthermore, Carlos's specific advice to the students about how to embody confidence – such as his instruction that a person must try to look gallant, to use wiles or appearance, to cross a room with purpose, and to ignore those who might criticize or doubt them – suggests that confidence is something performed or displayed as much as it is felt.

In this sense, Carlos and other instructors' views on behavior echo the work of Erving Goffman, whose book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* pays similar attention to the impressions that might result from a person's performance and mannerisms (Goffman, 1959). However, unlike Goffman who imagined a private "backstage" for the self, Peru's culinary performances have been predicated in part on the manipulation of the private self. For one thing, instructors have worked to manipulate beliefs under the assumption that appropriate dispositions lead to good behaviors. Furthermore, these instructors also believe that merely behaving properly will affect a student's attitude (see Mahmood, 2005 for a discussion of a similar theory about the relationship between disposition and belief). To this end, Carlos's class was not just about acting, but also contained exercises meant to generate a feeling of self-confidence that promotes displays, like an appropriately seductive walk across a room. The result represents an ambition that is both recognizably on display and plausibly a reflection of an authentic, interior self.

A different kind of ambition

The insistence that a student demonstrate ambition and confidence may at first seem tantamount to instructing students to be *vivo*. It is certainly true that a *vivo* person has *ganas*. Yet in teaching their students to express their ambitions, culinary instructors also emphasize the differences between *vivo* behavior and the kind of ambition acceptable in the culinary world. Crucially, the difference between being *vivo* and an ambitious cook is the type of social relationship that the two positions entail. A *vivo* person is someone whose ambition takes precedence over the welfare and aspirations of others. Being able to cut in line or swindle a customer are *vivo* skills; the desired result is not necessarily advancement, but rather dominance in relation to others. In culinary school these are exactly the kinds of behaviors that instructors described as unacceptable. In their place, they encourage students to practice a kind of ambition that is not a zero sum game, but rather a desire for a kind of success that lifts others up with them. Claudio, one of the teachers at Cenfotur, explained the difference between these two forms of ambition by telling the class a joke (which I am paraphrasing here):

> One day a man went to the market to buy crabs. He found a fisherman with two cages, one of which was labeled "Peruvian crabs," the other "German crabs." Then he noticed a difference between the two cages. "Why is it that the cage for the German crabs has a lock and the Peruvian one doesn't?" he asked.

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> "Oh, that's simple," said the fisherman. "When a German crab tries to escape, he pulls the other crabs up with him. If one gets out you lose them all. When a Peruvian crab tries to escape, the other crabs pull him back down so that he can never get out. The Peruvian crabs don't need a lock." (See Wilson, 1973 for a similar anecdote told in the Caribbean context)

Claudio told this joke in the context of an impromptu lecture in which he was explaining to students that they needed to shed the tendency to measure their own value through comparisons to their peers. The crucial lesson of the Peruvian crabs is that the wrong kind of ambition is harmful to everyone, even if it momentarily assuages an individual's worry that he or she is not as successful as others. In attributing this misunderstanding of advancement to the entire nation, Claudio was offering not only an explanation of Peruvians' pessimistic perceptions of their own county, but also an acknowledgement that his students' self-sabotaging interpretations of the value of ambition would be difficult to change.

It is perhaps for this reason that Cenfotur's approach to transforming *vivo* ambitions works in part by transforming students' assessments of their own emotional states and characteristics. Instructors encourage students to support each other by working as a team, and Carlos's exercises often centered on having students recognize each other's altruistic tendencies rather than pure ambition. Culinary instructors in both schools have also created a conceptual difference between *vivo* behavior and the appropriate manifestation of *ganas* by stressing the fact that a culinary student should have very specific, socially conscious goals. Instructors emphasize that their students are future leaders who might one day have a responsibility toward those whom they would lead. This framing of ambition encourages students to have loftier goals than they might otherwise have. For many people I spoke with, knowing one is capable of working in a restaurant kitchen is not a sufficient goal for a future leader; students also felt they should have the *ganas* to work until they reach the assumed endpoints of the Peruvian culinary career: becoming a chef, working internationally, or opening a restaurant. Further, students felt pressure to become socially conscious versions of these endpoints. It was not necessary for every chef to be a philanthropist, but in this worldview it was not permitted for a chef to take advantage of others in the way that a stereotypically *vivo* person might.

In this context, in which education is explicitly framed as the road to national improvement, analyses of scholars like Paul Willis are both confirmed and complicated. Willis warned that the illusion of upward mobility through education is part of what makes class structures endure, noting, "A few can make it. The class can never follow. It is through a good number trying, however, that the class structure is legitimated" (Willis, 1977, p. 128). Peru's culinary schools exemplify this analysis to some extent, as lower class students often have greater difficulty performing the signs of orderliness and education than their peers. However, with a direct focus on the social body "making it" rather than the individual alone, Peru's culinary scene also contains examples of hiring practices that belie a strict focus on credentials or status. One notable example is the tendency among restaurants to hire very talented self-taught cooks in addition to formally educated culinary school alumni (a fact that the culinary schools tend to downplay or deny). When I asked chefs about why they hire both types of cooks, they articulated it as a need to find a balance in the kitchen, typically between the more *vivo* cooks "off the street" and the more restrained culinary graduates. In other words, the social unit as a whole needs to acquire the balance of skills and dispositions that would ensure success in the marketplace – which means that individual adherence to the model of the chef espoused in Cenfotur or LaCucina is not always necessary for success.

CONCLUSIONS

As the pervasive emphasis on behavior in culinary classrooms might indicate, finding the appropriate place for *vivo* behavior is a central preoccupation of Peru's culinary schools. Like many *limeños*, students and instructors at LaCucina and Cenfotur see some aspects of *vivo* behavior as beneficial to future chefs; in their daily interactions in the classroom, they determine the extent to which ambition must be accompanied by organizational skills, order, and teamwork. In this way, the inculcation of behavioral norms at schools like LaCucina and Cenfotur has transformed *vivo* behavior into an interaction that is used for entirely different ends than the selfish or antagonistic goals that *vivo* entrepreneurs are usually assumed to embody. The gastronomy boom's emphasis on leadership rather than personal gain allows the expression of *vivo* ambitions to focus on the social good that a student (and later a cook or a chef) can accomplish, rather than the extent to which he or she has advanced beyond others. This shift in the meaning of what it is to be *vivo* is one major reason that a chef's potential effects on society are so readily accepted in Peru. Where the rest of the world sees the G9's Lima Declaration as a profession's

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collective delusion of grandeur, Lima sees a profession in which harnessing a quintessentially Peruvian trait might lead to social improvement.

Even more significantly, however, the gastronomy boom reframes the scope of the competition in which a person might be ambitious. Focusing on the global market as the arena in which Peruvian chefs must make an impression, this boom creates the sense that Peru as a whole must be crafty in order to assume an advantageous place in the world. In Claudio's joke, the humor of comparing the Peruvian and German crabs comes from thinking of the two cages as isolated and imprisoning structures. Yet if Peru's culinary students imagine themselves as crabs escaping from a cage and pulling the other crabs with them, it is partly because they know that there is a bigger cage beyond the one in which they have been living. And in the bigger cage, in which they would encounter the crabs from all of the other nations, the Peruvian crabs – with a sensibility that combines both order and ambition – just might be the best.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Portions of the research on which this article is based were funded by the National Science Foundation (Award #BCS 1155923), New York University's Annette B. Weiner Graduate Fellowship in Cultural Anthropology, and the ZEIT-Stiftung Bucerius PhD Scholarship in Migration Studies. I also thank the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, where I was an affiliated researcher during my fieldwork. I particularly thank Alex Huerta-Mercado, whose advice during my early fieldwork ultimately helped shape the argument in this article. Early versions of portions of this paper were presented at the 2013 Bucerius Student Conference and the 2013 American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting; I thank my fellow participants for their feedback. Finally, I am grateful to the students and teachers at Cenfotur and the school I am calling LaCucina in Lima for their hospitality and insight.

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ISSN 0034-7590

FORUM

Submitted 07.30.2017. Approved 12.26.2017
Evaluated through a double-blind review process. Guest Scientific Editors: Marina Heck, Jeffrey Pilcher, Krishnendu Ray, and Eliane Brito
Original version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180305

ANIMAL-DERIVED FOOD INDUSTRY: RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES DUE TO FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

Indústria de alimentos de origem animal: Riscos e oportunidades para o setor decorrentes das políticas de bem-estar dos animais

Alimentos de origen animal: Riesgos y oportunidades para la industria debido a las políticas de bienestar de los animales

ABSTRACT

Farm animal welfare (FAW) has emerged in recent years as a potential material issue for the animal-derived food products industry. The issue is global in scope, given the large trade flows and multinational structure of many companies in the agribusiness industry, a critical sector of the Brazilian and international economy. This exploratory study is an attempt to map the agendas of companies in the industry and compare them with the agendas of the principal stakeholders for a better understanding of the risks and opportunities facing the intangible assets of companies with regard to FAW. The mapping was carried out by consulting websites and corporate sustainability reports. The overarching result of the study is to show that the industry as a whole is neglecting FAW as a material issue.

KEYWORDS | Corporate sustainability, risks and opportunities, farm animal welfare, intangible assets, corporate valuation.

RESUMO

O bem-estar dos animais de produção emergiu, nos últimos anos, como um risco ou oportunidade potencial para a indústria de alimentos de origem animal. Essa questão tem alcance abrangente, devido aos grandes fluxos comerciais e à estrutura de muitas empresas multinacionais na indústria do agronegócio, setor crítico da economia brasileira e internacional. Este estudo exploratório tentou mapear as agendas de empresas do setor e compará-las com as das principais partes interessadas, visando a entender melhor os riscos e oportunidades que os ativos intangíveis das empresas enfrentam em relação ao bem-estar dos animais. O mapeamento foi feito por meio da consulta aos websites e relatórios corporativos de sustentabilidade. O principal resultado do estudo foi mostrar que a indústria está negligenciando a questão do bem-estar animal como um problema material.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE | *Sustentabilidade corporativa, riscos e oportunidades, bem-estar dos animais de produção, ativos intangíveis, avaliação de empresas.*

RESUMEN

El bienestar de los animales de producción ha surgido en los últimos años como un posible problema para la industria de productos alimenticios de origen animal. La cuestión tiene alcance amplio debido a los grandes flujos comerciales y a la estructura de muchas empresas multinacionales en la industria del agronegocio, sector crítico de la economía brasileña e internacional. Este estudio exploratorio fue un intento de mapear las agendas de empresas del sector y compararlas con las agendas de las principales partes interesadas para producir un mejor entendimiento de los riesgos y oportunidades que los activos intangibles de las empresas enfrentan en relación al bienestar de los animales. El mapeo se hizo a través de consulta a los sitios web e informes corporativos de sostenibilidad. El resultado general del estudio fue mostrar que la industria, como un todo, está descuidando la cuestión del bienestar animal como un problema material.

PALABRAS CLAVE | *Sostenibilidad corporativa, riesgos y oportunidades, bienestar de los animales de producción, activos intangibles, evaluación de empresas.*

THOMAS MICHAEL HOAG
tommyhoag@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-4284-2068

CELSO FUNCIA LEMME
celso@coppead.ufrj.br
ORCID: 0000-0002-4814-4025

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Instituto COPPEAD de Administração, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil

INTRODUCTION

The agribusiness sector occupies a significant part of Brazil's economic base. According to *Centro de Estudos Avançados em Economia Aplicada* (CEPEA), the agricultural sector was responsible for roughly 20% of Brazil's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2016. Within agribusiness, animal-derived food products (chicken, cattle, milk, eggs, etc.) were responsible for roughly 6% of Brazil's GDP (CEPEA, 2017). Therefore, risks to the future productivity of the sector merit analysis, as do potential opportunities to strengthen the sector's growth. This aspect is the focus of this research, conducted in a Brazilian public university. However, the study follows an international approach, without influence of specific issues of the Brazilian environment.

One potential source of risks as well as opportunities is farm animal welfare (FAW). Consumers may change their consumption habits toward products with higher FAW levels (or even move away from animal-derived products). Also, the industry may lose its social license to operate. Tougher legislation, both domestic and international, may find companies unprepared, and companies' reputations and brands may be damaged by poor FAW policies and programs. Likewise, many opportunities exist, ranging from the opportunity to become a market leader in a niche product to the chance of being the standard setter for the entire industry. Each opportunity comes with the possibility of adding value through FAW.

This value can be both tangible, such as increased margins on products with high FAW levels, and intangible, such as increased reputation and brand value. This study is interested in the latter, specifically in how FAW can create risks and opportunities in relation to brand and reputation management. Intangible assets, although difficult to measure, are widely accepted as increasingly important to understanding company value. According to Colvin (2015), intangible assets such as brand and reputation constitute 84% of the market value of companies in the Standard and Poor's 500 (S&P 500) index.

The primary objective of this study is to identify and explore the risks and opportunities facing the animal-derived food products industry in relation to FAW. Note that risks and opportunities are seen as reciprocal, meaning that any risk generates an opportunity, and vice-versa. A secondary objective is to initiate a discussion around the interaction between FAW, reputation, and company value. We believe that the risks and opportunities identified through this study would have a potentially large effect on company value, principally through brand and reputation. This study could be a first step toward potentially assessing FAW programs and policies through intangible asset valuation.

It is important to note that this is an exploratory study. To the best of our knowledge, no previous academic attempts have been made to map the risks and opportunities facing animal-derived food companies in relation to FAW, or to analyze FAW through the valuation of intangible assets.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Animal welfare has been an established scientific field of study since the 1980s. However, the widespread and organized interest in animal welfare can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s, principally in the United Kingdom (UK). According to Broom (2005), the first significant academic work in the field was Ruth Harrison's book *Animal Machines*. Harrison (1964) defines factory farms, describes society's treatment of animals as if they were machines, and makes the case for a less anthropological world view.

Disturbed by Harrison's findings, the UK government decided to launch an investigation into FAW, and this led to the Brambell Report in 1965. The Report established the 5 Freedoms, to serve as the foundation of animal welfare as a formal area of study (Carenzi & Verga, 2007). It also served as the motivation for founding one of the first governmental bodies tasked with overlooking FAW in 1979, the Farm Animal Welfare Council, which consolidated the 5 Freedoms and published them in their most recognized form:

1. Freedom from thirst, hunger, or malnutrition;
2. Appropriate comfort and shelter;
3. Prevention, or rapid diagnosis and treatment, of injury and disease;
4. Freedom to display most normal patterns of behavior;
5. Freedom from fear.

Since then, animal welfare has grown as a science considerably. In 1986, Donald Broom became the world's first Professor of Animal Welfare Science, at Cambridge University (Broom, 2005). By 2014, roughly 100 universities in 26 European countries were offering courses on animal welfare (Illman et al., 2014). Over this same period, a number of large and important non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were founded, specifically focusing on farm animal welfare, such as Compassion in World

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Farming in 1967, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) in 1980, and World Animal Protection in 1981.

Although the status of animal welfare as a science has been consolidated over the last 50 years, there have been numerous debates on how to arrive at a consensus definition of animal welfare. Various schools of thought have debated on what needs to be included in the definition of animal welfare. These approaches can be broken down into three main groups of scientific thought: functional, feeling, and natural behavior (Carenzi & Verga, 2007).

One of the most prominent definitions under the first approach is Broom's definition, which states that animal welfare should be measured on the ability of an animal to cope with environmental stressors (Broom, 1986). This approach is probably the easiest to measure since it can be evaluated from visible health and physiological indicators.

The second approach argues that mental welfare, feelings, and emotions of animals, which are sentient beings, have also to be analyzed. Many scientists have objected to the functionally focused stressors approach. For example, an animal might be physically healthy, and yet be performing stereotypes, that is, making repetitive and invariant sequences of movements that indicate poor mental health (Terlouw, Lawrence, Koolhaas, & Cockram, 1993). This approach is significantly more difficult because it requires the measurement of animals' feelings and emotional states. However, there seems to be some convergence between the two approaches. According to Broom, both approaches acknowledge the holistic nature of any evaluation between environmental stressors and biological function (Broom, 1998).

A third approach proposes that animals should be allowed to live their lives according to their natural impulses and tendencies (Fraser, Weary, Pajor, & Milligan, 1997) This approach, however, has some drawbacks, such as the difficulty of measuring natural behaviors and their complicated relation with animal welfare (Špinka, 2006). It can also be philosophically difficult to define "natural behavior" because, by definition, an animal that lives on a farm and interacts daily with humans no longer lives a "natural" life (Segerdahl, 2007). Lastly, a long history of research shows that domestication has potentially modified the genetic makeup of farm animals, probably altering the behaviors that might be classified as natural (Jensen, 2014; Price, 1984).

Whatever definition or combination of definitions are used, there is clear evidence that animal welfare can be objectively and empirically measured. One example is the altered cortisone levels in cows during transport, signaling fear, which can be measured and used as a proxy for animal welfare (Grandin, 1997). This scientific, empirical approach to animal welfare is often used as justification for legislation. For example, the European Union's (EU's) extensive animal welfare standards, which include technical standards such as minimum space required in square meters and light intensity in lux, reference scientific reports (Veissier, Butterworth, Bock, & Roe, 2008).

The idea of a latent and powerful consumer demand for animal welfare is very relevant to this study. If that demand becomes evident, it could have serious effects on the animal food industry. In fact, previous research seems to indicate evidence of a general change in consumption of animal products, viewing it as non-sustainable.

Independent of specific definitions and measurements, ignoring or not properly addressing animal welfare in general presents a number of potential risks to the animal product industry. These risks include, but are not limited to, the growing moralization of meat eating, public awareness of current practices, and potentially costly legal requirements. Similarly, the failure to think strategically about FAW can cost a company a range of good opportunities, such as increased revenue from specialized niche products, overall positive brand image and reputation, and the potential to get in front of a sea change in the industry.

The first issue is the moralization of meat eating. According to Rozin (1999, p. 218), "Moralization is the process through which preferences are converted into values, both in individual lives and at the level of culture." Many philosophers and ethicists argue that animal rights are a fundamentally moral issue. For some of them, it is non-negotiable, as animals should never be considered meat, while others are more lenient. A small handful of these philosophers (Peter Singer, Tom Regan, etc.) have become famous animal rights activists, touring the world, giving lectures, and writing books. Regan (1983) espouses the view that animals have certain inalienable rights.

People in general are said to have the ability to, on the one hand, care about animals and, on the other, eat meat. This tendency toward cognitive dissonance leads people to avoid thinking about meat as coming from a formerly living animal (Bastian, Loughnan, Haslam, & Radke, 2012).

Beyond the question of moralizing meat consumption, consumers may begin to view the current industrial farm practices as unsustainable and demand change. If a system is no longer perceived as sustainable, it may lose its social license to operate, which can be defined as the approval or acceptance of a company's activities by the people (stakeholders) affected (Wilburn & Wilburn, 2011).

The public perception of sustainability of the current animal welfare practices is highly complex. As already shown, we often find a lack of consensus on what qualifies as animal welfare and a high level of disconnect between people's opinions and intentions and their actions. Beyond this, people are widely ignorant about the current and potential production systems, making it difficult for customers to analyze the potential changes in animal welfare across systems (Norwood & Lusk, 2011; Souza, Casotti, & Lemme, 2013; Tawse, 2010. However, despite peoples' claims, these preferences or actions oftentimes do not translate into measurable purchasing habits. People have a tendency to proclaim support for high standards of animal welfare while, at the same time, buying animal products with little regard for the system of production employed (Schröder & McEachern, 2004).

One study estimates the potential market size for differentiated animal welfare products as 36.1% of the consumer market (Vanhonacker, Verbeke, Van Poucke, Buijs, & Tuyttens, 2009), while another estimates it at around 50% (Jonge & van Trijp, 2014). Most of these customers face an unmet demand for "compromise products" with animal welfare levels somewhere between those of industrially produced (very low) and organically produced (very high) products (Jonge & van Trijp, 2014). Another potential risk for the food products industry is the risk of prohibitive legislation. Currently, the EU is considered the leader in FAW legislation with relevant and adequately stringent legislation covering the four main farm animal species (cattle, pigs, laying hens, and broilers) and the various phases of production (housing, transport, and slaughter) (Schmid & Kilchsperger, 2010).

Legislation can lead to higher costs. It primarily affects capital costs, because very often it dictates the use of new production systems entailing high capital expense (Menghi et al., 2011). These costs can be significant. For example, Grethe (2007) estimates such costs to represent as much as 20% increase in current production costs.

METHODOLOGY

The current study examines the risks and opportunities that companies face due to FAW programs and policies, specifically in relation to cattle, pigs, and chicken. These risks and opportunities come from the difference between the companies' and their stakeholders' publicly available information on FAW. A FAW program or policy not in alignment with the demands of stakeholders is believed to place the company at risk, be it from a damaged reputation, loss of consumers or investors, or other negative outcomes. Likewise, a company with well-aligned FAW programs and policies can enjoy certain unique opportunities. Some of these opportunities include high-margin niche products, increased brand value, a leadership role in the industry, and the potential to move ahead of future legislation. Since the focus of the study is on the outside perception of the company, it considers only publicly available and easily accessible information.

The first step in this study is to collect and analyze public information on companies' FAW policies and programs. The second step is to collect and analyze the public information on stakeholders' positions on FAW. The companies' aggregate information is then compared with the stakeholders' aggregate information. In case of a significant difference between the aggregate information presented by companies and the stakeholders on a certain subject or issue, this difference is identified as a potential source of risk or opportunity—a risk for the companies that ignore the difference, and an opportunity for the companies that are aligned with the stakeholders. For example, if most stakeholders publish information on cage-free eggs, but most companies do not do so, the issue of cage-free eggs could be a risk or opportunity for the companies—a risk for the companies that ignore the issue, but an opportunity of competitive advantage for the companies that address the issue.

Our goal is to study the global companies involved in the commercialization of animal-derived food products. The population is limited to large, global companies, because companies above a certain size and those with global operations (in at least two countries) are assumed to have more influence on and be more influenced by public discussions surrounding FAW.

A well-known ranking called the Business Benchmark on Farm Animal Welfare (BBFAW) is then evaluated. This is a ranking of 80 global companies involved in the animal-derived food products industry, at all levels of the value chain, on their FAW policies and practices. The companies are categorized into six different levels based on the quality of their FAW programs and policies, where Tier 1 is the highest level and Tier 6 is the lowest level. We believe that this ranking serves as the best possible basis for our sample, for a couple of reasons. First, it includes a good international mix of companies, both private and public, from all along the value chain. Second, it analyzes the companies' FAW policies and programs by itself. Therefore, we decided to examine 80 global companies of the BBFAW. This would allow for a direct comparison between the results of the current study and the BBFAW.

The second important group to be studied is the animal-derived food products industry's stakeholders. Since the goal of the study is to map the FAW-related risks and opportunities facing companies in the industry, we need to know the external

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demands that are placed on the industry. Thus, FAW NGOs have become the focus of the study. FAW NGOs are a critically important stakeholder of the animal-derived products industry because they exert constant pressure on the companies to change their policies. They have made an impressive number of advances through advocacy, including government bans and legislation, consumer boycotts, and voluntary corporate action (Wilkins, Houseman, Allan, Appleby, & Peeling, 2005). This led to the use of Google as the sampling mechanism, to end up with a list of 13 NGOs.

The next step was to determine the data to be used and how to collect such data. For a company, the first source of data is its sustainability and annual reports. Since this research was held during the second half of 2015 and first half of 2016, we mainly use the sustainability reports of either 2013–2014 or 2014–2015, with the annual reports and websites used only in case of missing data. The search for additional information was originally conducted in July 2015, and this was updated in January 2016. The focus was specifically on finding policies, positions, and statements.

The main source of data on NGOs is their websites. Once again, the idea of the study is to use only the most easily accessible and readily available information, so as to serve as proxy for what an average stakeholder would encounter when browsing sites. Also, the NGOs themselves are assumed to use the information that they considered most relevant and most easily and readily accessible. The search for data on NGOs was conducted in July 2015.

As mentioned earlier, the main goal of this study is to analyze the risks and opportunities facing companies as regards their FAW programs and policies. Thus, we need to find out what companies and NGOs think about FAW by mapping and comparing their agendas using the data collected in the previous section. This comparison can help us to identify their risks and opportunities.

The first step in comparing the agendas was to create a list of relevant topics within FAW. This list would then be crosschecked with the data sources of the 80 companies and 13 NGOs comprising the samples for each group. The more frequently a topic appeared in the data, the more it was judged as important to that group. The final goal of this process was to see which topics were important to companies and which were important to NGOs, and compare and contrast the two groups. The final version of the list can be seen in Exhibit 1 (the topics are listed in alphabetical order).

Exhibit 1. **List of relevant subjects in FAW for a comparison between company and NGO agendas in terms of relevance of each subject**

Item	Subject
1	Antibiotics/Hormones
2	Breeding
3	Cage-Free Eggs
4	Chronic Conditions/ Disease
5	Compliance/ Monitoring
6	Cull Cow / Male Chick/ Slaughter
7	Diet
8	Free Range/Pasture/Space
9	Gestation Crates
10	Mutilations
11	Natural Light
12	Slaughter
13	Training
14	Transport

The result of this analysis was a spreadsheet that allowed for a per-company and per-NGO analysis of the topics in Exhibit 1 that were discussed. From this spreadsheet, we could obtain aggregate information, such as the ranking of topics from the most to the least present. The focus was on the aggregate information related to the list of topics used to identify the potential risks and opportunities related to FAW.

The first analysis of the data consisted of creating a number of tables showing the descriptive statistics of the companies' and NGO's results. Two inferential statistical tests were then performed on this aggregate information. The first test was Fisher's exact test, a test widely used on contingency tables, especially the 2 x 2 contingency tables.

The following were the null and alternative hypotheses considered:

> Ho: The probability of a FAW subject to be present or not present was equal for the NGOs and companies;
>
> H1: The probability of a FAW subject to be present or not was different for NGOs and companies.

The test was performed using a 2 x 2 contingency table simulator from Graphpad.com, with a significance level $\alpha = 0.05$.

The second test performed was Kendall's rank-order correlation coefficient, also known as Kendall's tau. The purpose of the test is to measure the level of correlation between two ordinal variables. It is a non-parametric alternative to the parametric Pearson correlation test and an alternative to the Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient. In general, Kendall's tau functions better on smaller samples that have ties in rankings.

In this case, we used a specific version of Kendall's tau, called Kendall's tau-b. This version of Kendall's tau functions best when there are ties in rankings of the two variables. Kendall's tau-b requires that the data be ordinal or continuous. In this case, the data analyzed was ordinal.

For this study, Kendall's tau compared the results from the companies' sources of information and NGO website analysis. The test used the following null and alternative hypotheses:

> Ho: There is no subject coverage agreement between FAW company sources of information and FAW NGO websites.
>
> H1: There is subject coverage agreement between FAW company sources of information and FAW NGO websites.

The tests were performed using SPSS 21, with a significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$.

RESULTS

We analyzed information obtained from 80 companies and 13 NGOs. We could find some information on corporate FAW programs and policies for 58 (73%) companies, while 11 (85%) NGOs addressed FAW on their websites.

We found sustainability or annual reports for 67 companies, while 25 (37%) made no mention of FAW. Only 42 companies (53%) of the total sample addressed FAW subjects in their reports, meaning that more than one-third of the companies that did release a sustainability or annual report over this period did not mention FAW even once. This indicates that a large part of the industry does not acknowledge FAW and its importance to their business model and is unaware of the issue.

Of the 80 companies, 46 (58%) showed material relating to FAW on their websites. This means that no information relating to FAW was located on the websites of 34 companies. This appears to confirm that a large part of the industry simply does not publicly discuss or acknowledge FAW.

While 73% of the companies in the sample objectively address or acknowledge FAW in some form, the information could be of poor quality or lacking in quantity. The researcher's qualitative perception of the annual and sustainability reports and the websites is that a significant percentage of these companies presented partial, superficial, overly generic, or otherwise non-ideal information on their FAW policies and practices.

Compliance/Monitoring was the most frequently found subject in the companies' website analysis, and, unlike with the annual and sustainability reports, this was seen in more than 50% of the companies' websites. However, the next most commonly found subject, Antibiotics/Hormones, was seen approximately 33% fewer times.

The next step was to examine the information obtained from the analyses of NGO websites. A few points become clear from Table 1. First, no topic was found in 100% of the FAW NGO websites, where Free Range/Pasture/Space were the most frequently located topics, found in 85% of the NGO websites. Second, there is a wide gamut of frequency in topics, with the topic least found appearing in 15% of the NGO websites.

Table 1. **Ranking of FAW subjects based on information obtained from the analysis of NGO websites**

Item	Subject	Number of NGOs	Percentage of total NGOs
1	Antibiotics/Hormones	11	85%
2	Breeding	10	77%
3	Cage-Free Eggs	10	77%
4	Chronic Conditions/ Disease	9	69%
5	Compliance/Monitoring	8	62%
6	Cull Cow/Male Chick/ Slaughter	8	62%
7	Diet	7	54%
8	Free Range/Pasture/Space	6	46%
9	Gestation Crates	6	46%
10	Mutilations	3	23%
11	Natural Light	3	23%
12	Slaughter	3	23%
13	Training	3	23%
14	Transport	2	15%

By combining the results of the companies' sources of information and the NGO analyses, we could explore the differences and similarities between the two. A raw comparison of frequencies shows a large difference in frequencies where

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FAW subjects appear. This difference is both in terms of percentages themselves and in the order of subjects (most frequent to least frequent).

The Fisher's test results are summarized in Table 2. The results are statistically significant for Antibiotics/Hormones, Breeding, Cage-Free Eggs, Chronic Conditions/Disease, Free Range/Pasture/Space, Gestation Crates, Mutilations, Slaughter, and Transport. Thus, we have sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis that the probability of these subjects occurring or not occurring is equal for NGOs and companies. In other words, there is a difference between NGOs and companies as regards the subjects analyzed.

Table 2. **Fisher's test results for comparing the differences and similarities between company sources of information and NGO websites in terms of relevance of FAW subjects analyzed**

Subject	NGOs that mention the subject	NGOs that do not mention the subject	Companies that mention the subject	Companies that do not mention the subject	p-Value from (Fisher's test)
Antibiotics/Hormones	7	6	6	36	0.0070*
Breeding	8	5	3	39	0.0001*
Cage-Free Eggs	10	3	9	33	0.0005*
Chronic Conditions/Disease	6	7	2	40	0.0013*
Compliance/Monitoring	3	10	18	24	0.3279
Cull Cow/Male Chick/Slaughter	2	11	3	39	0.5817
Diet	3	10	6	36	0.4277
Free Range/Pasture/Space	11	2	7	35	0.0014*
Gestation Crates	9	4	8	34	0.0014*
Mutilations	8	5	6	36	0.0017*
Natural Light	3	10	2	40	0.0798
Slaughter	10	3	9	33	0.0005*
Training	3	10	6	36	0.4277
Transport	6	7	6	36	0.0242*

*Indicates significance at the 5% level.

As expected, the data show that NGOs give more importance to these issues than companies do. The exception to this is Compliance/Monitoring; while 44% of companies focused on the issue, only 23% of NGOs did so.

For the remaining issues, Compliance/Monitoring, Cull Cow/Male Chick Slaughter, Diet, Natural Light, and Training, the association between the rows and the columns is not statistically significant. Therefore, we fail to reject the null hypothesis of no difference between NGOs and companies as regards the subjects analyzed.

Therefore, both the comparison of percentages and comparison of rankings appear to contain potentially pertinent information. Table 3 shows the relative ranking of each FAW subject for the NGOs' websites and the companies' annual and sustainability reports.

A Kendall's tau test performed on the two rankings yielded a correlation coefficient of 0.319. The p-value of the correlation coefficient was 0.112, implying no sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. In other words, the sample results indicate that the two rankings are statistically different. The results can be interpreted as that NGOs and companies appear to hold different views on the FAW subjects that are most relevant and deserving to be addressed. This lack of consensus between companies and a key stakeholder creates both risks and opportunities.

In this study, we consider risks and opportunities as reciprocal, meaning that any circumstance that generates risks can also generate opportunities, and vice-versa. To help organize the discussion, groups of risks and opportunities are referred to as risk factors. These risk factors are then analyzed for potential consequences.

Table 3. **Rankings of FAW subjects by NGOs and companies based on NGO websites and company annual and sustainability reports**

Subject	Ranking by NGOs	Ranking by companies (reports)
Antibiotics/Hormones	7	8
Breeding	5	11
Cage-Free Eggs	2	3
Chronic Conditions/Disease	8	13
Compliance/Monitoring	11	1
Cull Cow/Male Chick/Slaughter	14	12
Diet	10	10
Free Range/Pasture/Space	1	5
Gestation Crates	4	4
Mutilations	6	9
Natural Light	12	14
Slaughter	3	2
Training	13	7
Transport	9	6

The most immediate industry-wide risk factor is the widespread lack of attention paid to FAW. From the results of this study, the animal-derived food products industry simply does not address FAW as a serious and material issue. If FAW really is a material issue for the animal-derived food product industry's stakeholders, this lack of attention could be a serious risk, with many potential consequences.

One potential consequence is that the entire industry could suffer damage to its reputation, leaving little room for companies to differentiate themselves, thus creating an industry-wide association with the issue. This could further lead to an industry-wide dip in reputation and brand value, as well as more tangible costs, such as increased stock volatility and higher risk premiums on debt. Another risk is that it could lead stakeholders to act without input from the industry. If stakeholders feel that the industry is ignoring a material issue, they may attempt to directly address the issue without consulting the industry first. This could come in the form of new laws, high-profile protests by NGOs, migration by consumers to alternatives, etc.

The opportunity presented by this risk factor is the chance to overcome a material issue. The animal-derived food products industry as a whole could better recognize FAW as a material issue. In addition to the individual players in the industry better addressing FAW, this could also come in the form of increased participation in industry-wide organizations, groups, and forums; industry-wide declarations; and better cooperation in the industry. The benefits of this approach could be a potentially higher industry-wide reputation (or at least the avoidance of an industry wide slip in reputation), a larger role in collaborating with stakeholders to address the issue, and lower costs due to shared standards, technologies, and implementation.

A second industry-wide risk factor is the possibility of misplaced focus on the subject of Compliance/Monitoring. In the analyses of the companies' annual and sustainability reports as well as websites, Compliance/Monitoring is the most cited topic. In comparison, the NGO analysis found Compliance/Monitoring to be the 11th most-cited topic. This indicates that NGOs appear to place a higher value on other more direct FAW issues (i.e., issues directly related to a certain aspect of the welfare of an animal), whereas the animal-derived food products industry is more concerned with proving that it is monitoring itself and compliant with the law. A large number of the companies' reports deal exclusively with Compliance/Monitoring or may at the most touch one or two other issues.

The possible effects of this risk factor are similar to the first one. This misplaced focus could lead to the perception that the animal-derived food products industry is at best out of touch with its stakeholders or at worst attempting to deliberately mislead stakeholders. Once again, this could lead to an industry-wide drop in reputation and brand value and also raise the potential threat of stakeholders acting without consulting the industry.

Opportunities are also similar to the other industry-wide risk factor, although more specific. Assuming that the industry's concern with regard to Compliance/Monitoring is genuine, there is a real opportunity to take the lead in creating industry-wide standards. This allows for the industry to play a more active role in framing the issues to other stakeholders. Currently, a large number of companies have their own internal Compliance/Monitoring schemes. The industry could cut costs by pooling the companies' resources and working with stakeholders such as NGOs and the government. This would allow the industry to create an industry-wide Compliance/Monitoring scheme and to piggyback on the reputation of their external stakeholders. This in turn would allow individual companies in the industry to spend less money, time, and space on their reports and Compliance/Monitoring sites and more on 10 other issues that the NGO analysis found to be more relevant.

The last industry-wide risk factor identified is the list of FAW topics found to be statistically significantly different in total frequency between the companies' annual and sustainability report analyses and the NGO analyses. While all these topics represent a risk, the ones that are also very differently ranked

in relative frequency by the two separate analyses appear to be the biggest risks.

For example, Cage-Free Eggs and Gestation Crates are topics that showed statistically significant differences in frequency between the companies' report analysis and the NGO website analysis. However, the ranking of the topics relative to the 13 other FAWs places them nearly identically for both companies and NGOs, with both topics as the top four most mentioned for both companies and NGOs. In other words, companies appear to have correctly prioritized these FAW topics in relation to other FAW topics; however, still too few companies in aggregate mention them.

Overall, these FAW topics create the highest industry-wide risk factors of all the FAW topics. They are the topics with the largest disconnect between what NGOs present in their websites and what companies present in their annual and sustainability reports. Therefore, these are the topics most likely to damage the industry's overall reputation and create disconnect between the companies and stakeholders.

Another opportunity in the industry is to create niche FAW products. This opportunity coincides with the risks from the widely ignored topics, such as Breeding and Chronic Diseases/Conditions. Niche products focusing on specific FAW topics show that the company is aware of the topic and would allow for testing the consumers' willingness to pay (WTP) for higher FAW products. These niche products, beyond generating a higher margin and reaching new customers, can also elevate the company's brand and reputation. In the future, these niche products could evolve into mainstream or even market leading products, giving the company a first-mover advantage and a potentially lasting competitive advantage within the industry. Many examples of niche products focusing on one specific FAW issue could be found in the companies' reports. The most common ones focused on Cage-Free Eggs, Gestation Crates, or Free Range/Pasture/Space differentiated products. However, some examples of products that focus on generally ignored topics were also found. A good example is the slow-breed chicken marketed by a company in the Retail and Wholesalers sector.

CONCLUSION

This study has provided some evidence that the animal-derived food industry is not addressing FAW as a key material issue. In addition, when the industry does address FAW, the issues do not appear to be the same or have the same relevance as those addressed by one of their key stakeholders, FAW NGOs. Our results suggest that companies need to do more to address this misalignment with key NGOs.

This creates potential risks for the industry that could damage the companies' reputations and brands, spur action by other stakeholders, and ultimately lead to the migration of customers to alternatives to animal-derived food products. However, the silver lining is that these risks also represent opportunities for companies in the industry. Companies can seize these opportunities and differentiate themselves from their peers in terms of FAW. This differentiation could come in many forms: development of new, innovative product lines that focus on certain FAW issues, early adaptation of new FAW technologies and processes, and increased cooperation within the industry and between the industry and key stakeholders.

Companies that achieve this differentiation stand to gain in reputation and brand value, and may reap more tangible benefits of increased revenue from discerning consumers and new market opportunities, as well as lower costs from potentially more efficient operations. Moreover, the largest benefit may be the ability to build up a reservoir of brand and goodwill to shield them from any potential industry-level fallout over changing stakeholder perceptions on FAW.

While the industry itself is a key target audience of this study, other groups can also benefit from the results and lessons of this study. FAW NGOs could adopt positions more favorable to cooperation and transparency, making it clear what they are looking for from companies along the value chain and establishing priorities within FAW. Government agencies, such as the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) in the United States and *Ministério da Agricultura, Pecuária e Abastecimento* (MAPA) in Brazil, could work together to create universal standards and expectations, dialoging with stakeholders and the industry to ensure a desirable minimum standard. Investors and funds with a focus on sustainability issues, such as the FTSE4Good and Dow Jones Sustainability Index, could begin to systematically integrate measurements of FAW, such as its potential effect on reputation and brand, into their indexes. Lastly, academics in various fields such as economics, finance, and sociology could better interact and dialogue with biologists, animal welfare scientists, and agricultural scientists to further holistic and interdisciplinary study on the many aspects of FAW.

It is also hoped that this study serves as a wakeup call to companies in the animal-derived food products industry. They should take heed from examples of other industries, such as the textile and tobacco industries, which have historically ignored material issues only to be caught unprepared when a critical mass of stakeholders began to demand change. Brazilian exporters of animal-derived food products, who generally operate large-scale slaughterhouses and export unprocessed or slightly processed

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products, have to be especially aware of the risks involved in FAW, as they respond to a large number of external stakeholders from other countries and cultures (the EU, developed world consumers, and international FAW NGOs), giving them potentially limited control over the discussions surrounding FAW.

A potential path for future studies could be analyzing other stakeholders' (consumers, governments, etc.) roles, performing case studies with individual companies, or attempting the valuation of FAW as an intangible asset.

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FORUM

Submitted 07.31.2017. Approved 12.26.2017
Evaluated through a double-blind review process. Guest Scientific Editors: Marina Heck, Jeffrey Pilcher, Krishnendu Ray, and Eliane Brito
Original version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180306

VALUE CO-CREATION IN THE SPECIALTY COFFEE VALUE CHAIN: THE THIRD-WAVE COFFEE MOVEMENT

Cocriação de valor na cadeia do café especial: O movimento da terceira onda do café

Cocreación de valor en la cadena del café especial: El movimiento de la tercera ola del café

PATRICIA SILVA MONTEIRO BOAVENTURA
patboaventura@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-2331-4366

CARLA CAIRES ABDALLA
carla.abdalla@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-5365-2227

CECILIA LOBO ARAÚJO
ceciloboaraujo@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-9488-8084

JOSÉ SARKIS ARAKELIAN
jsarakelian@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-1871-4218

Fundação Getulio Vargas, Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, Brazil

ABSTRACT

Brazil represents approximately 29% of the world's coffee exports, with 15% of that being "specialty coffee." Most Brazilian coffee exports are composed of commoditized green beans, influencing the value chain to be grounded on an exchange paradigm. This scenario started to change with the introduction of specialized coffee shops, coffee capsules for home consumption, and demand for a more artisanal product. A paradigm of value creation along the chain drives production processes that aim to differentiate products through superior coffee beans and unique experiences. This study was developed through content analysis of 15 years of news collected from two Brazilian newspapers. Additionally, we interviewed owners of coffee shops, coffee producers, cooperatives, intermediaries, and regulators. We concluded that the value chain faces challenges in reaching higher value-in-use creation for all involved actors.

KEYWORDS | Specialty coffees, co-creation, value chain, value-in-use, relational value.

RESUMO

O Brasil participa em aproximadamente 29% da exportação mundial de café, sendo 15% de "café especial". A maior parte da exportação é composta por café commodity, influenciando a orientação da cadeia de valor por um paradigma de troca. Esse cenário tem mudado com a introdução de cafeterias especializadas, cápsulas para consumo domiciliar e demanda por um produto mais artesanal. Um paradigma de criação de valor ao longo da cadeia passa a impulsionar processos de produção, com objetivo não apenas de diferenciação por meio de grãos e processos superiores, mas também experiências únicas construídas. Este artigo foi desenvolvido por meio de análise de conteúdo de 15 anos de notícias de dois jornais brasileiros. Além disso, foram entrevistados proprietários de cafeterias, produtores de café, cooperativas, intermediários e reguladores. Concluímos que a cadeia de valor passa por desafios para atingir uma mudança com objetivo de maior geração de valor em uso para todos os envolvidos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE | *Cafés especiais, cocriação, cadeia de valor, valor em uso, valor de relacionamento.*

RESUMEN

Brasil participa con aproximadamente 29% en las exportaciones mundiales de café, y 15% es de "café especial". La mayor parte de la exportación se compone de café commodity, lo que influencia la orientación de la cadena de valor por el paradigma del cambio. Este escenario empezó a cambiar con la introducción de cafeterías especializadas, cápsulas para consumo doméstico y demanda por un producto artesanal. Un paradigma de creación de valor a lo largo de la cadena pasa a impulsar procesos de producción, con el objetivo no sólo de diferenciación a través de granos y procesos superiores, sino también de experiencias únicas construidas. Este artículo se desarrolló con análisis de contenido. Se recolectaron datos de 15 años de dos periódicos brasileños. Además, se entrevistaron propietarios de cafeterías, productores de café, cooperativas, intermediarios y reguladores. Concluimos que la cadena de valor enfrenta desafíos para obtener un cambio con vistas a una mayor generación de valor en uso para todos los implicados.

PALABRAS CLAVE | *Cafés especiales, cocreación, cadena de valor, valor en uso, valor de relación.*

INTRODUCTION

The origins of coffee as a drink are not clear. It is known that it was originally consumed with butter in Ethiopia. By the end of the XVth century, it was consumed as a drink by Middle Eastern countries – Saudi Arabia and Yemen. This use arrived in Europe in the XVIIth century and caused a relevant increase in consumption and demand for coffee. Alternative sources of coffee bean production became an interesting business opportunity, and most of the production came from African colonies that became coffee producers. By the end of the XVIIIth century, 50% of the world's coffee bean production came from places other than the Middle East and Africa (Lemps, 1998).

By 1720, the first seeds and seedlings arrived in Pará, Brazil. The habit of drinking coffee reached the northern area of Brazil, and coffee started to be produced in the Amazon (north) area for local consumption. This internal consumption followed the international trend and evolved. By 1770, coffee started to be produced around the city of Rio de Janeiro, which targeted the internal consumer market. The southeast region was soon recognized as having appropriate conditions for efficient coffee production. Fifty years later, Brazil had already become responsible for 20% of the world's coffee exports (de Siqueira, 2006). With the exponential growth in global consumption and ability to produce at high volumes, Brazil became the world's largest coffee bean exporter, a position that it holds until today, as Brazil is responsible for approximately 29% of the world's coffee exports. This equates to more than 34,000 bags, which corresponds to 5.4 billion US$ of income, and 15% of this volume is "specialty coffee" (Conselho dos Exportadores de Café do Brasil [Cecafé], 2017). The United States and Germany are the main importers. They typically import green coffee beans and process them for local use or export the refined products at higher added value. This positioning and coffee value chain process affects the Brazilian economy, politics, and productive organizations.

The coffee value chain starts from the production of coffee beans to the ways of preparing and consuming of this popular drink. Coffee consumption started as ingestion of a simple and exotic stimulant drink; however, over the decades, coffee has become a much more complex drink that should be appreciated with attention to all its details. New behaviors related to food consumption also had a significant influence on changes in the Brazilian agricultural sector. The world began to demand greater quantity and quality of food. Around the 1990s, coffee producers founded the Brazilian Specialty Coffee Association (BSCA), which was aimed at new business opportunities through investment in coffee quality. In 2002, to describe the evolution of coffee consumption, barista Trish Skeie named the movement "consumption waves" in "The Flamekeeper," a guide of the Specialty Coffee Association of America (Guimarães, de Castro Júnior, & de Andrade, 2016). The coexisting waves have different philosophies and priorities as well as offer different consumption experiences to distinct target consumers. The first wave is characterized by poorer quality coffee, which is the result of exponential increase in consumption associated with commoditized production processes and commercialization focused on large-scale distribution. The second wave is characterized by the introduction of higher quality coffees, such as specialty coffees, and coffees of controlled production origins. There was dissemination of coffee consumption in specialized coffee shops. Starbucks became the icon of this movement in the United States, and Fran's Café can be considered similarly in São Paulo, Brazil. Both offer quality service and products in an enjoyable, standardized environment. At home, customers started to drink coffee from coffee capsules with a significant increase in quality. Nespresso started this movement, and, when the patent expired, there was a propagation of producers focused on better quality coffee. The third wave represents a revolution in specialty coffee consumption through changes in product differentiation and consumption experience. In the third wave, coffee is considered an artisanal product as complex as wine. Coffee became differentiated by numerous attributes. In the value chain, there is an observed attempt toward approximation between producers and end-consumers. The differentiation goes beyond a superior quality coffee bean and includes limited availability ("microlotes"), specialty varieties, coffee origin and growers' historical methods of harvest and preparation, and environmental and social concerns (Guimarães et al., 2016; Zylbersztajn & Farina, 2001).

In Brazil, the third wave is evolving with the aim to become established. Some producers have already realized that specialty coffee beans can assure higher margins, leading them to become independent of the international commodity prices. They started to target direct negotiations and international participation without dependence on traditional trade intermediaries (Chade, 2012; Guimarães et al., 2016). On the consumption side, there is an expansion of cafeterias in metropolitan areas claiming the uniqueness of "microlotes," varieties, and expertise in the coffee preparation process.

This movement in the coffee industry represents a shift from an exchange paradigm to a value co-creation perspective, through which consumers adopt a more active/participatory role in the production and consumption process (Prahalad & Ramaswamy,

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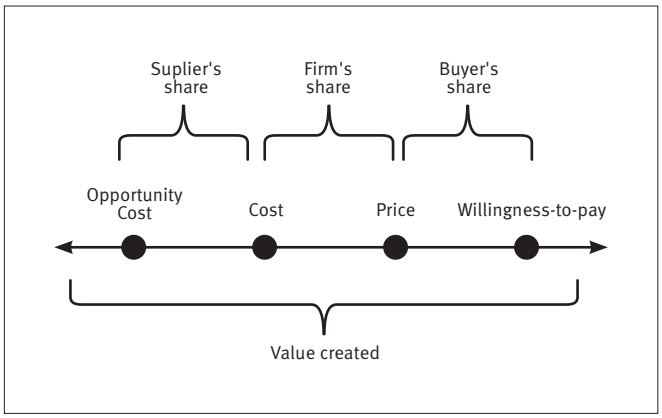
2000; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Vargo & Lusch, 2008). Products are no longer appreciated only because of their intrinsic properties but also because of the experiences they promote. Customers are resource integrators promoting value co-creation with providers (Vargo & Lusch, 2008; Vargo & Lusch, 2017). Products embedded with utilities and traded based on their value-in-exchange give rise to experiences and individual perceptions that lead to value appropriation during product use (value-in-use; Sheth & Uslay, 2007; Vargo, Maglio, & Akaka, 2008). Café Britt in Costa Rica is an example of value co-creation through unique experiences. It adopted a Coffee Tour experience for tourists that played a key role in the development and promotion of Café Britt's national and international images (Brenes, Bolanos, Burciaga, Jimeno, & Salas, 1997). BSCA also agrees that internal market quality affects the Brazilian coffee's image internationally.

In the third wave, cafeterias and producers adopt a closer relationship aimed at promoting differentiation in the value proposition for end-consumers. For example, the history of coffee production becomes part of this proposition. This article aims to identify how actors involved in the third wave of coffee are organizing themselves to create more value along the value chain to establish a sustainable business in Brazil. The study will discuss how the specialty coffee value chain evolved, considering a service-dominant logic perspective of how value can be created.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Along the value chain, each actor contributing to the chain creates and appropriates the value differently. In addition, different types of values are developed. Considering an economic perspective, the company creates economic value and the customer appropriates it during the exchange process (Ballantyne & Varey, 2006; Sheth & Uslay, 2007). A firm sells its products for a price and incurs economic costs, capturing the value created by the difference between the prices and costs (Brandenburger & Stuart, 1996; see Figure 1). A customer's willingness to pay indicates the price the customer is prepared to pay for a product or service considering all perceived benefits at the moment of exchange (Miguel, Brito, Fernandes, Tescari, & Martins, 2014). A supplier decides to transact with a firm because it perceives benefits compared with other alternatives. The difference between the costs charged to the buyer and the second-best alternative (opportunity costs) for the supplier is the value captured by the supplier (Miguel et al., 2014). According to the economic perspective, value is exchanged between buyers and suppliers, also called value-in-exchange.

Figure 1. **Value creation: An economic perspective**



Source: Brandenburger and Stuart (1996)

In 1988, value was defined as the "consumer's overall assessment of the utility of a product based on perceptions of what is received and what is given," and it depends on the context and individual needs (Zeithmal, 1988, p. 14). This definition already considered varying value perceptions based on the consumer's own experiences and context, and thus value depends more on the customer's perception than on the supplier's determination (Woodruff, 1997). Yet, based on an economic perspective, value was still considered to be determined at the exchange transaction. Some years later, Vargo and Lusch (2006) brought a new perspective, emphasizing that companies or suppliers can only offer value propositions during the exchange process, and value can only be realized by customers or buyers during the product/service use. A new perspective evolved in parallel to the economic one. The view that products have embedded value and customers pay a price for this value at the moment of exchange started to change (Vargo et al., 2008).

The term value-in-use started to be used to define perceived value during product/service use. In other words, customers perceived consequences arising from a product or service that was supposed to facilitate the achievement of their goals (Macdonald, Kleinaltenkamp, & Wilson, 2016). The value-in-use concept considers that a customer's own skills during the usage experience affect the perceived value and that value-in-use can be different for each customer (Chan, Yim, & Lam, 2010). On the other hand, value-in-exchange, defined at the point of exchange, represents the transfer of value from suppliers to buyers, and they can realize this value depending on the product/service use. Value-in-exchange considers only the perspective of the exchange occurring between the buyer and supplier and does not evaluate the usage of that product/service (Sheth,

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Newman, & Gross, 1991). The exchange paradigm is focused on the transfer of ownership, implying that increasing the number of transactions would represent customers' satisfaction and preferences (Sheth & Uslay, 2007), and value creation could only be increased by increasing customers' willingness to pay or opportunity costs (Miguel et al., 2014). For example, in a service economy in which customers value experiences and not possession, and producers aim for a win-win situation and not a win-loss strategy based on individual benefits, value creation and value appropriation may occur even after the exchange transaction and during the product/service use (Sheth & Uslay, 2007; Vargo & Lusch, 2006).

In addition, in a value-chain, buyers and suppliers capture value from their relationships, and the relationship is a source of value creation that will affect value appropriation (Miguel et al., 2014; Tescari & Brito, 2016). Relational value is another value category that can be considered when analyzing production and consumption processes. Relational value considers trust and cooperation among buyers, suppliers, and end-consumers that can contribute to an increase in customers' willingness to pay (Tescari & Brito, 2016). Considering a service-dominant logic perspective, value creation has a more holistic perspective and is achieved not only during transaction but also through collaboration within the experiences pre- and post-transaction (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2000).

Value creation is fundamental for companies to achieve customers' loyalty and satisfaction and to create a competitive advantage along the value chain. When considering a business-to-business (B2B) relationship, value can be co-created within buyer–supplier relationships with the intention to promote a higher value proposition to end-consumers (Lindgreen & Wynstra, 2005; Vargo & Lusch, 2006). Value-in-use may be appropriated at a different time and be affected by other individuals and contextual circumstances. In the coffee production process, the value chain is composed of coffee bean producers; intermediaries that store, select, and export the beans; and roasting companies that are crucial in defining the end-consumers' value proposition (which depends on the product's final quality and to whom they intend to distribute this product). The process of value creation along the supply chain defines the value proposition to end-consumers and consequently value appropriation for all involved stakeholders.

Intermediaries in the chain, such as cooperatives and roasting companies, define value proposition to end-consumers, deciding if the best-quality coffee beans will be exported instead of being consumed domestically. Then, they are able to appropriate a great part of the economic value created without necessarily generating more value-in-use for producers and end-consumers. When exporting better quality coffee, intermediaries do not promote the possibility of an increase in value-in-use for domestic end-consumers or tourists that may travel to production regions and may end up consuming lower quality coffee (Brenes et al., 1997). Roasting companies that act as intermediaries select the beans from producers, define the blend (percentage of different quality coffee beans in the final coffee), control the roasting process, and determine the distribution to retailers so that the coffee can become available to end-consumers (Claro & Claro, 2004). Economic value is distributed along this chain. However, actors in the chain may obtain lower value depending on their position. Small producers that have low opportunity costs may transfer their products to intermediaries at a reduced price. Likewise, these producers do not obtain high value-in-use because they do not always develop knowledge about the origin of their coffee beans, which could become a source of differentiation during the consumption experience. Currently, the majority of small producers sell their beans to be processed by intermediaries (such as roasting companies) that retain the knowledge about quality assurance. However, if producers are able to get closer to end-consumers, by acquiring expertise in producing and identifying better quality beans, these producers may be able to increase both their end-customers' willingness to pay by offering better value propositions and their own appropriation of economic value. In terms of value-in-use, approximation of producers to end-consumers may promote valuable contextual experiences for them during the whole process, and these experiences may even affect future transactions.

In B2B, sellers may direct marketing activities straight at buyers and also at subsequent market stages. The goal should be to transform market relationships between the stages into a more collaborative form. Multistage marketing should especially be considered when properties of the primary products are of significance in the use and market success of the goods/services produced from them (Kleinaltenkamp, Rudolph & Classen, 2012). In the case of coffee production, the best-quality beans can lead to different prices and value propositions, and the final product is completely dependent on bean quality and the production and distribution processes.

The development of a multistage marketing strategy would help producers to develop an unenforced cooperative relationship with buyers, helping to consolidate the niche of specialty coffee. If coffee bean producers employed a pull strategy toward distributors, they would support their distribution strategy (Kleinaltenkamp et al., 2012). The relational value would increase

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through a cooperative relationship among producers and other stakeholders, but we are unsure if this is occurring in Brazil.

A market in which access to the product is limited and depends on a long-term relationship between producers and roasting companies is an organic coffee market (Claro & Claro, 2004). The value appropriation of high-quality organic coffee depends on both a premium product and the willingness of buyers to focus on a win-win situation (Claro & Claro, 2004). There are other initiatives in the main coffee-producing countries that especially benefit small producers by generating more value-in-use for them through more economic and social benefits allied to a collaborative environment. In developing countries, incentives for producers that participate in the fair-trade coffee market illustrate how producers can achieve higher income and better quality of life through more economic value and consequently more value-in-use (Arnould, Platina & Ball, 2009; Brenes et al., 1997). Similar to this initiative, organizations encourage the certification process with the aim to develop local communities economically, helping them realize more value-in-use from their best-quality beans. On the other hand, production of the best-quality beans represents higher production costs. Producers need to acquire equipment for pulping and drying the beans and also develop new distribution strategies, because these beans are sold in smaller lots (Guimarães et al., 2016). Then, sometimes, the premium price obtained does not seem to compensate for transactions from cooperatives that offer tax advantages or for situations when coffee prices are high. Developing more long-term strategies should be a focus of specialty coffee producers. Unfortunately, not all of them have a background that favors the abilities needed to develop long-term strategies, as most of them focus on short-term results that can guarantee their subsistence. The above-mentioned initiatives seem to look for an increase in the producers' capacity to develop strategies based on both the bean price in the commodity market and the long-term market position for which they aim.

Producers will probably face resistance to the adoption of multistage marketing, but they can benefit from the fact that their primary product does not "disappear" in the processing chain, since the coffee's origin is usually identified in specialty coffees (Kleinaltenkamp et al., 2012). Thus, we must ask whether these producers are ready to develop a multistage marketing strategy.

Many producers are organized in cooperatives that support them in product distribution and price negotiations. Brazil has the largest number of self-service cafeterias in the world, most of them independent cafeterias (Euromonitor, 2017). Moreover, in the third wave, some cafeterias have already started a movement of getting closer to producers, and they aim to guarantee both best-quality coffee (Guimarães et al., 2016) and an experience that is individually valued. However, to improve economic value and value-in-use in the coffee value chain, it is also important that these producers are both technically prepared to adapt their production to guarantee the best-quality coffee and are able to develop relationships with other enterprises of the chain, including end-consumers. For example, Café Britt was founded to produce high-quality coffee for the domestic Costa Rica market, which had been disregarded by local companies focused on exporting the best-quality beans. The company opened the export market based on domestic recognition of the brand and an excellent relationship with value chain stakeholders; through the touristic experience, it developed a mail-order business targeted at people who had visited Costa Rica (Brenes et al., 1997). This strategy led to more economic value appropriation and value-in-use generation for the organization and end-consumers. Small producers will be able to generate and appropriate more value when they develop better long-term strategies. Even if they are not able to eliminate the intermediaries, they may be more prepared to address them in a cooperative manner.

METHODS

To understand how actors involved in the third wave of coffee are organizing to create more value along the value chain and establish a more sustainable business in Brazil, the researchers employed content analysis of historical documents (Humphreys & Latour, 2013).

Analysis of historical documents is generally used to understand the evolution of a market. This analysis helps researchers understand the construction and modifications in a marketplace. The researchers selected longitudinal data from the last 15 years from two main Brazilian newspapers, *Folha de São Paulo* and *Estado de S. Paulo*. The data were collected using the keywords described in Exhibit 1. The keywords were selected based on a previous interview with an expert in the coffee market. This expert worked with coffee producers, the industry, and retailers over the last 20 years and has deep knowledge of the coffee market. After the keywords were selected, the researchers submitted the list to be analyzed by another expert who has a doctorate in food marketing and works at EMBRAPA (Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation [Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária]) in projects about the Brazilian coffee market. This expert validated the keywords.

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Exhibit 1. **Keywords used to collect data**

Keyword	Translation	Motivation to use the keyword
café + gourmet	gourmet coffee	Other nomination of specialty coffees
café + especial	specialty coffee	Object of this research
Associação brasileira de cafés especiais	Brazilian Specialty Coffee Association	Association of producers of specialty coffee
Barista	Barista	Person preparing coffee in a coffee shop
café + expresso	espresso coffee	A common type of specialty coffee preparation
cápsulas + café	coffee capsules	Introduced in the market by Nespresso, popularized the consumption of specialty coffee at home
mercado + café	coffee market	General news about the coffee market
varejo + café	coffee retail	General news about the coffee retail market
Café + Illy	Illy coffee	Italian coffee brand that is important in the production of specialty coffee
Café + Melitta	Melitta coffee	Large coffee producer in Brazil
Café + Pilão	Pilão coffee	Large coffee producer in Brazil
ABIC	Brazilian Coffee Industry Association	Association of the producers and industry of regular coffee
Fran's café	Fran's coffee	First large coffee shop chain in São Paulo, Brazil
Starbucks + *mercado* + café	Starbucks + coffee market	Main coffee shop chain of the world, with several stores in Brazil
Starbucks + *lançamento*	Starbucks + entry	
Starbucks + *franquia*	Starbucks + franchising	

The authors collected 1,397 articles from *Estado de S. Paulo* and 2,043 articles from *Folha de São Paulo*. The news articles from which quotations were used in the data analysis are listed in Exhibit 2.

Exhibit 2. **News articles used for quotations**

Code	Newspaper	Title	Link
N1	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	10 anos de produtos nacionais	http://paladar.estadao.com.br/noticias/comida,10-anos-de-produtos-nacionais,10000007577
N2	*Folha de São Paulo*	Grãos especiais refinam o "cafezinho"	http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/equilibrio/noticias/ult263u3652.shtml
N3	*Folha de São Paulo*	Exportar café em cápsula é exemplo para agregar valor e manter lucros	http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mercado/2015/07/1661857-exportar-cafe-em-capsula-e-exemplo-para-agregar-valor-e-manter-lucros.shtml
N4	*O Estado de S.Paulo*	A hora da torra: o novo sabor do café	http://paladar.estadao.com.br/noticias/bebida,a-hora-da-torra,10000052100
N5	*Folha de São Paulo*	Parceria entre produtores e iniciativa privada proporciona ganhos coletivos	http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/mercado/me2809201019.htm
N6	*Folha de São Paulo*	Produtores brasileiros investem em café gourmet para fugir de oscilações	http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/bbc/2015/10/1693140-produtores-brasileiros-investem-em-cafe-gourmet-para-fugir-de-oscilacoes.shtml
N7	*Folha de São Paulo*	Após dois anos com preço em alta, produtor investe em café especial	http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/ribeirao/202009-apos-dois-anos-com-preco-em-alta-produtor-investe-em-cafe-especial.shtml
N8	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	Café especial: um mercado para todos	http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,cafes-especiais-um-mercado-para-todos,218376
N9	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	Café especial	http://opiniao.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,cafe-especial-imp-,832401
N10	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	Tendências	http://paladar.estadao.com.br/blogs/de-grao-em-grao/tendencias/
N11	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	Da Pedra Azul para o mundo	http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,da-pedra-azul-para-o-mundo-imp-,1148826
N12	*Folha de São Paulo*	Café ganha status de bebida para degustar.	http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/equilibrio/eq1912200207.htm
N13	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	Tudo o que cabe na xícara	http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,tudo-o-que-cabe-na-xicara-imp-,4939

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To triangulate the data, the authors interviewed five owners of third-wave coffee shops; five managers of cooperatives of coffee producers; one director of BSCA; one manager of a public agency of protected designation of origin; one owner and an employee of an intermediary responsible for providing supplies, equipment, and training to baristas of coffee shops; three producers and owners of a specialty coffee brand; one small coffee producer; and one medium producer. All interviewees were from São Paulo or Minas Gerais. The interviews are described in Exhibit 3.

Exhibit 3. **Interviewee descriptions**

Code	Interviewee description
E1	Owner of third-wave coffee shop in the Pinheiros neighborhood, São Paulo, in 2014
E2	Partner of a third-wave coffee shop in the Vila Buarque neighborhood, São Paulo
E3	Owner of a third-wave coffee shop in downtown Rio de Janeiro
E4	Owner of a third-wave coffee shop in the Pinheiros neighborhood, São Paulo
E5a	One of the owners of a medium Brazilian specialty coffee brand that works in the whole coffee process
E5b	One of the owners of a specialty coffee brand, responsible for distribution and marketing
E5c	One of the owners of a specialty coffee brand, responsible for marketing
E6	Owner of a cafeteria located at a municipal market in Uberlândia, Minas Gerais
E7	Manager at a cooperative of producers in Monte Carmelo
E8a	Manager at the largest cooperative in Minas Gerais
E8b	Relationship and commercial agent at the largest cooperative in Minas Gerais
E8c	Manager of logistics at the largest cooperative in Minas Gerais
E8d	Manager of coffee acquisition at the largest cooperative in Minas Gerais
E9	Entity that governs, controls, and promotes the designation of origin of the Cerrado, as well as congregates warehouses, certifiers, cooperatives, producers, and others
E10a	Employee at an intermediary in the value chain that provides supplies for coffee shops, has a barista school, consults in roasting, and provides equipment
E10b	Barista/owner at an intermediary in value chain
E11	Small coffee producer that started to produce coffee in 1987 in Minas Gerais (10 hectares)
E12	Medium coffee producer in Monte Carmelo - Cerrado Mineiro for 25 years (180 hectares)
E13	Director of Brazil Specialty Coffee Association

The researchers analyzed the data from each journal and the interviews separately using open codification (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In the second phase of the analysis, the four researchers discussed the codes, crosschecked the data with the theoretical background, and normalized the codes in an intercoder. In case of divergences in codification, the four authors discussed them until reaching a total convergence of the codes. The results are described in the next section.

RESULTS

In Brazil, the traditional coffee value chain (first wave) started to change with the increase in higher quality coffee consumption during the second wave, leveraged by the consumption of coffee capsules at home. With the third wave of the coffee chain, this scenario is being reinforced through increased demand for specialty coffee coming from specialized coffee shops and consumers who are more particular.

> Brazil is one of the largest coffee producers today … But it has only been in the last decade that quality … spread to the country. More carefully managed productions … became more common. Trained baristas are starting to be recognized. (N1)

> In the 1980s, Brazilian coffee was associated with an adulterated product.

> … green beans were mixed with inferior and deteriorated beans … but in the 90's, with the opening of the market and the creation of certifications and associations, the consumption of gourmet and certified coffees increased significantly. (N2)

Some producers are developing a long-term strategy based on the perceived possibility of increased value along the chain, that is, whether they will sell the high-quality beans or extract this value by selling roasted coffee in capsules instead of green beans.

> We already had a coffee with 92/100 quality points. It can be sold for almost R$30,000 a sack, while today, a commodity coffee is R$500. Can you imagine how difficult it is to get a coffee like this? (E5b)

> … the sector will be forced to add more value to production…. The same coffee that leaves Brazil as green beans to Europe often returns in coffee capsules, with a much higher value, which is appropriated by the foreign industries. (N3)

During the development of the first wave, in which coffee had the role of a commodity, roasting companies were settled as important intermediaries. They usually had greater control of the value chain, since they usually define the bean quality and price of the product. This model has predominated until now.

> … what they [roasting companies] do is to identify this producer, … , they evaluate the [coffee] classification through an official classifier and, from that … they decide whether to buy or not buy and what the value is. (E3)

> I always have the same coffee beans because the provider [intermediary – roasting company] will search himself/herself for them at the farms and bring to me [coffee shop]. (E1)

> It does not matter in which fancy cafeteria of São Paulo you decide to take your coffee. There are good chances that the beans have been roasted by one of the three more famous micro-rosters at the moment. (N4).

Cooperatives are another example of an entity that works as an intermediary during transactions by buying coffee from producers to export or sell to large retailers. Sometimes coffee producers are paid fixed prices in these transactions, despite the fact that they could add more value to their products if they could identify bean quality.

> So you have to work and take notice of what you produce. Today, you produce the coffee in sacks and the cooperative goes there and R$450 the sack and that's it …. Sometimes your coffee is worth R$ 1,000/sack. (E11)

> It is important that producers identify their better-quality beans or opportunities to produce better quality beans since there is a market that values it accordingly.

> ... in addition to the technical support given at all processes in the production of specialty coffee .... The disclosure of the quality characteristics of different regional types of Brazilian coffees is also one of its priorities. (N14)

> The market today that we call the third-wave coffee mainly values this type of coffee. (E9)

> I [producer] fight today. If my coffee is good, you will not arrive and get my coffee [at any price]. ... you [cooperative] will have to pay for my coffee accordingly. (E11)

In the traditional coffee value chain, there is a large distance between producers and end-consumers, and the process from "bean to cup" is multilayered (Kolk, 2014). It was after the development of the second and third waves in which the coffee consumption experience occurred and demand for better quality beans increased that some producers started to work to reduce the value chain levels. These producers started to roast and sell their coffee beans themselves, obtaining higher prices for their products and getting higher value-in-use and relational value along the chain. Additionally, by adopting what seems to be close to multistage marketing, producers have developed a more cooperative relationship with value chain actors and entities, such as the BSCA. They support the producers in the process of identifying their best coffee and selling this premium product at higher prices.

> In the last 20 years, the quality of Brazilian coffee has improved significantly. The dissemination of good practices in harvesting and drying is the main component ... training provided the necessary tools for business management, bringing together specialized research companies. (N5)

> FAF [Fazenda Ambiental Fortaleza] it was [represented by] Isabela [Rapouseiras]. She sold the coffee from FAF. She used to buy green coffee, roast and sell it .... Afterwards, people from FAF ... began their own roasting. (E4)

> [The producers] are ... producing their own specialty coffee brands .... Farmers ... are acting together to increase the quality of their products ... he [producer] uses his abilities of taster Q-grade to advise all neighbors about how to increase the quality of their products.... (N6)

> I realized that by improving the separation and drying of the grains, I could get a higher quality production. For the next year, we also invest in better fertilization and salinization at the plant. (N7)

> Partnership and loyalty are essential in the specialty coffee value chain. (E13).

Despite the large number of cafeterias in Brazil (Euromonitor, 2017), cafeterias in Minas Gerais, an important production region in Brazil, recognize that the market still needs to be developed. There is a need to get producers closer to end-consumers and vice-versa, with the objective to reduce the power distance in this value chain through the increase of knowledge about coffee, production, and consumers preferences.

> ... every person who comes here [at the cafeteria], we ... try to insert into the universe of special coffee .... I believe that this interaction is important to develop the market, ... the [local] market is still not very developed .... (E6)

> ... in the decision process we have a much smaller voice .... Despite working directly with ... the public that actually drinks coffee, ... we end up not having so much at hand. (E6)

In *Cerrado Mineiro*, Minas Gerais, some initiatives were implemented to reduce these layers, leading producers to identify potential value increases in their chains. Likewise, the initiatives educate end-consumers on better quality coffee and show them the differences in the process and history of that coffee. The relational value increases when actors understand each other's processes and collaborate to develop the market. *Projeto Integra* is an initiative in *Cerrado* that promoted an experience wherein cafeterias could feel the difference after cultivating and using better quality coffee beans

> With *Projeto Integra* in the *Cerrado Mineiro*, they went from farm to farm, bringing to the producers the denomination of origin, generating this belonging. (E9)

> ... and we invited some customers, not necessarily just coffee shops, ... to go there to do the process of harvesting, separate the coffee ... so the end-consumer himself could understand what is a quality coffee and what is a specialty coffee. (E10a)

Initiatives such as *Projeto Integra* in Brazil started to change Brazilian coffee production. Such initiatives encourage the proximity of cafeterias and end-consumers to producers, and there is also a tendency to value the producer's history through coffee origin certification.

> His story is not lost. That coffee is not the same as another coffee. It's my coffee, it's the coffee of that producer .... And the originator brings a tool, this producer of origin has added value to his product. (E9)

This scenario helps producers understand how economic value is created along the chain and how value-in-use can be appropriated through individual and contextual experiences in the market, which allows them to offer better value propositions. Producers need to develop capabilities that help them to achieve their new goals. Agricultural cooperatives, local universities, and the BSCA have important roles in this process by working with these producers to improve their technical and managerial knowledge.

> The job of cooperatives is important .... They have a very interesting work of going to the farms in the region and showing and teaching the producers to taste their coffees and not to be deceived. (E1)

> The Coffee Producers Association of Alta Mogiana has tripled the number of members this year. ... the region ... favors the production of specialty coffees because of the climate. But, most importantly, it is the handling of the grains in the post-harvest. (N7)

> The small and medium producers of the region have the support of the University of Viçosa and producers' associations to disseminate information and sell the specialty [coffee] lots. (N8)

In the third wave of coffee, baristas and coffee shops are getting closer to producers, looking for the best coffee selection to offer their customers and to improve production techniques that can be shared. This movement contributes to the development of a more collaborative relationship among intermediaries along the chain, consequently increasing the value appropriation for the producers. When producers are able to decide what percentage of production they will dedicate to higher quality beans, based on the market demand, they realize higher value because they may obtain the best possible value from their land.

> It was getting [the coffee shop] closer to the production. It was an inverse movement, but nowadays, at the same time, it enabled other producers to reach the market without relying on commodity sales. (E3)

> [About Isabela Raposeiras, barista and owner of an important third-wave coffee shop in Brazil] ... [she] shows the small producer that if he invests in quality he will have a better return. It is a value chain. (E4)

> Negotiating directly with the coffee producer helps me to have a greater understanding of coffee. (N9)

> ... the involvement of this professional [barista] gets stronger. There is a closer contact with the producer. They visit the farm, see the grain from growth and to harvest, and try to understand if the processes are sustainable. (N10)

This increase in value appropriation is likely occurring because these producers are closer to end-consumers, and identifying their consumption preferences may lead to stronger pull strategy when offering specialty coffee (Kleinaltenkamp et al., 2012). Obtaining knowledge about how their production processes can be improved and how they can offer better value propositions to customers is crucial for producers to appropriate more exchange-value and value-in-use.

> Nowadays, several producers have invested in the roasting process. They have invested in trying to find out how the consumer drinks that coffee and aims to get the roasting process suitable to the product [the end-consumer] wants at the end. (E3)

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> [The producer] participates in the whole process, from cultivation to tasting, ending by concluding with the methods of drink extraction – always brewed. (N11)

All these changes may lead to opportunities for new professionals. Producers are currently much more concerned with learning about the production process as well as the sector and its evolution.

> The new world ... will require new professionals. ... If we [producers] are not prepared, we will be devoured. ... We left [Master's Degree in Coffee Sciences] with the knowledge about the entire coffee sector and not only of production process. (N13)

FINAL DISCUSSION

The coffee market and its respective value chain have experienced many changes derived from new consumer behavior trends and production techniques responding to that demand. The changes in the production process have been aimed at offering a better quality drink and are allied with a change in the market proposition and relationship with consumers that guided the development of new waves of coffee.

In the first wave, coffee was considered a commodity, and producers were not concerned with product quality, differentiation, or understanding of how consumers appropriated value-in-use during their consumption experiences. The first wave's focus was value-in-exchange. The producers were interested in volume. They utilized international prices and very basic quality requirements, which resulted in high volumes and low-quality product. During the second and third waves, the new consumption and production processes left behind a commoditized product and experience. Producers, boosted by roasters and retail coffee shops, started to investigate how consumers appropriated value during the whole experience of coffee consumption.

The second wave, defined by Starbucks' market entry and Nespresso's coffee capsule distribution, was a milestone in coffee's history. The new consumption habits demanded new products and experiences that required producers to develop capabilities they did not have when their focus was on coffee as a commodity. Quality became an assumption, and value chain actors focused on increasing value-in-use to all stakeholders through a pull strategy in which retail coffee shops (such as Starbucks and intermediaries such as Illy Coffee) transmitted end-consumers' needs to producers.

The third wave could occur because of the knowledge and relationships some producers developed during the second wave. Producers are now able to get closer to end-consumers, identifying their needs and opportunities so they can be more active during the experience. Producers have been developing capabilities to co-create valuable experiences with intermediaries and end-consumers during the specialty coffee production and consumption processes. Some producers seem to adopt a strategy closer to multistage marketing in which the goal is not to understand the end-consumers' needs but to develop cooperative relationships along the whole value chain (Kleinaltenkamp et al., 2012). Coffee bean quality is not sufficient anymore: Uniqueness and sensorial and emotional experiences that involve customers as active value co-creators are necessary. Producers aim for more cooperation along the value chain by nurturing relationships with other actors in the chain and utilizing the pull drive strategy so they can provide more valuable experiences to end-consumers. The data showed producers getting closer to end-consumers through the reduction in value chain layers. This leads them to appropriate more value-in-use for themselves and allows them to co-create more opportunities to increase value-in-use for end-consumers. Intermediaries are necessary, especially for distributive and cost efficiency; nevertheless, a more collaborative relationship can be achieved when producers are more knowledgeable about their products and the market is functioning properly.

However, there are still difficulties in small producers achieving capabilities that lead them to develop a more symmetrical power relationship with intermediaries. Small producers do not have the volume to export directly, and it is important that they be prepared to evaluate their product quality and have the tools to promote their product, so that the product does not "disappear" along the chain. The origin and history of specialty coffee may promote unique experiences and value for end-consumers. Producers that cooperate and are active in this process can appropriate more value.

This research investigated the coffee value chain during the development of the third wave. We observe a similar flow as in other agribusiness chains, such as those of cheese, cocoa and chocolate, honey, beer, and wine. It is clear that end-consumers are interested in both higher quality products and unique experiences. Therefore, value chain actors need to focus on developing cooperative relationships along the chain to provide opportunities to increase value-in-use.

The third-wave movement may also represent an opportunity for small and medium producers that do not produce on a large scale and find it difficult to compete in the first and

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second waves. The increase of cooperative relationship efforts among the chain actors that are looking to offer exclusive experiences is an opportunity to support loyalty among chain actors. Finally, the increase of value-in-use among the value chain may consequently lead to an increase in value-in-exchange, permitting higher prices and margins for the involved actors that provide valuable experiences to end-consumers.

Additionally, all this evolution in the market promotes opportunities for the three waves to coexist. Consumers can decide to participate in different waves depending on the experience they desire at that time and context of the moment. This phenomenon is an interesting topic for future investigation.

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ISSN 0034-7590

FORUM

Submitted 07.31.2017. Approved 12.26.2017
Evaluated through a double-blind review process. Guest Scientific Editors: Marina Heck, Jeffrey Pilcher, Krishnendu Ray, and Eliane Brito

Original version

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180307

LEGITIMACY AS A BARRIER: AN ANALYSIS OF BRAZILIAN PREMIUM COCOA AND CHOCOLATE LEGITIMATION PROCESS

Legitimidade como uma barreira: Análise do processo de legitimação do cacau e chocolate premium brasileiros

Legitimidad como una barrera: Un análisis del proceso de legitimación del cacao y del chocolate premium brasileños

MARINA HENRIQUES VIOTTO[1]
marina.henriques.viotto@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0003-0793-3009

BRUNO SUTIL[1]
bruno.sutil@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-6934-5897

MARIA CAROLINA ZANETTE[2]
m.zanette@eslsca.fr
ORCID: 0000-0001-9245-8710

[1]Fundação Getulio Vargas, Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, Brazil

[2]Ecole Superieure Libre des Sciences Commerciales Appliquees, Paris, France

ABSTRACT

How can a product be legitimated when the legitimation process includes another legitimate product as a barrier? To address this question, we conducted a process theorization through in-depth analysis of interviews and newspaper articles in the context of Brazilian premium cocoa and chocolate markets. We found that the legitimation process involving the interaction of different actors focused on building cultural-cognitive legitimacy was supported, in particular, by normative legitimacy. In this process, media appears as an important market ally in educating consumers. We used institutional theory to show that it is essential to address other legitimate products and the interaction of actors to understand the legitimation process.

KEYWORDS | Legitimation, legitimacy barrier, market development, premium chocolate, premium cocoa.

RESUMO

Como um produto pode ser legitimado quando seu processo de legitimação inclui outro produto legítimo como barreira? Para responder a essa pergunta, realizamos uma teorização de processo utilizando artigos de jornal e entrevistas em profundidade no contexto dos mercados brasileiros de cacau e chocolate premium. Descobrimos que o processo de legitimação envolve a interação de diferentes atores focados na construção de legitimidade cultural-cognitiva, apoiada principalmente pela legitimidade normativa. Nesse processo, a mídia aparece como um importante aliado do mercado, educando os consumidores. Utilizamos teoria institucional para mostrar que abordar outros produtos legítimos e a interação dos atores é essencial para entender o processo de legitimação.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE | *Legitimação, barreira de legitimidade, desenvolvimento de mercado, chocolate premium, cacau premium.*

RESUMEN

¿Cómo puede un producto ser legitimado cuando su proceso de legitimación incluye otro producto legítimo como barrera? Para responder esta pregunta, realizamos una teorización del proceso utilizando artículos de periódicos y entrevistas en profundidad, en el contexto de los mercados brasileños de cacao y de chocolate premium. Descubrimos que el proceso de legitimación involucra la interacción de diferentes actores enfocados en la construcción de la legitimidad cultural-cognitiva, apoyada principalmente por la legitimidad normativa. En este proceso, los medios de comunicación aparecen como importantes aliados del mercado al educar a los consumidores. Utilizamos la teoría institucional para mostrar que abordar otros productos legítimos y la interacción de los actores es esencial para entender el proceso de legitimación.

PALABRAS CLAVE | *Legitimación, barrera de legitimidad, desarrollo de mercado, chocolate premium, cacao premium.*

INTRODUCTION

How is legitimacy built? What factors can influence this process? Who are the actors involved? Existing literature has examined questions such as these over time. Much of the research involving legitimacy relies on Suchman's (1995) concept and on Scott's (2008) three logical elements that comprise institutions. These are the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive "pillars" that constitute the essential elements of an institutional structure.

Previous research on the subject has explored the creation and the change of markets. Some examples include the studies of stigmatized industries (Humphreys, 2010b), marginalized consumers (Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013), the connection between consumers and brands (Kates, 2004), the creation of a specific market (Humphreys, 2010a), and the changes in strategic orientations (Press Arnould, Murray, & Strand, 2014). However, little is known about how actors build legitimacy when it involves confronting another legitimacy already established. In other words, how can a product be legitimated when it includes, in addition to the complex legitimation process itself, another legitimate product as a barrier?

Previous works on food studies have approached the idea of legitimacy concerning *gourmet* and artisanal food culture (Dória, 2014; Johnston & Baumann, 2010; Watson & Caldwell, 2005). Following this concept, we chose the context of Brazilian premium cocoa and chocolate market to illustrate how this process occurs. We discuss how the legitimation process takes place when there is already a competing legitimacy in the market. Our focus is on understanding the multiple actors involved in this process, as well as their interactions.

We also explore how a legitimation process takes place through the interaction of several actors who share common cultural-cognitive traits regarding an established and institutionalized ethos. Furthermore, our work contributes to explore the development of Brazilian products and ingredients in a market traditionally characterized by a colonialist taste-structure, which tends to reject what is national in favor of what is foreign (Dória, 2014).

For this purpose, we present a multi-method qualitative study that provides a process theorization of institutional change (Giesler & Thompson, 2016). By exploring the views, actions, and narratives of actors involved in the legitimation process, we showcase the emergence of different types of legitimacy for the given product. The focus of analysis lies in the cocoa and chocolate production mostly in Southern Bahia, where cocoa production is traditional and has deep historical roots.

Legitimacy and market dynamics

Institutions are social structures that represent order and patterns, providing meaning and stability to social life (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Scott, 2008), whereas legitimacy is "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). Legitimacy is a mechanism for social reality construction, since its achievement is a "process in which widely shared cultural beliefs from the surrounding society create strong expectations for what is likely to occur in the local situation" (Johnson, Dowd, & Ridgeway, 2006, p. 7).

Regarding the relationship between the concepts above, three types of legitimacy support institutions (Humphreys, 2010a, 2010b; Scott, 2008; Suchman, 1995): regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive. Regulative legitimacy regards laws and rules, being legally sanctioned by an organization such as the government (Humphreys, 2010b; Press et al., 2014; Scott, 2008). Normative legitimacy refers to social obligations (Scott, 2008); it is the degree of consensus within a system of norms and values (Humphreys, 2010b). Cultural-cognitive legitimacy relates to common beliefs and cultural support (Scott, 2008); it is what a community takes for granted (Humphreys, 2010a, 2010b; Scott, 2008; Suchman, 1995).

Many consumption studies using institutional theory have approached the legitimacy construction (Humphreys, 2010a, 2010b, 2014; Kates, 2004; Press & Arnould, 2011; Press et al., 2014; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013). These works have made room in the field for the use of institutional theory, yet some issues still deserve further investigation. To do so, we will examine some of these works.

Humphreys (2010a, 2010b) explored how legitimacy is historically established based on discourse changes and market creation and development over time. For this purpose, she analyzed the three types of legitimacy in the stigmatized casino industry. Humphreys (2010b) focuses on the crucial role played by media in the process of legitimation and finds that it shapes consumer's perception of legitimacy. Her discoveries increase the knowledge about the power of particular actors in the process, which is especially relevant for showing how they build different types of legitimacy.

By examining changes in the strategic orientation in an agricultural commodity market, Press et al. (2014) address the issue of ideology and legitimacy by investigating how tensions in culture affect regulation. The premium chocolate market in Brazil faces a similar scenario in which the new market of national

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premium chocolate competed with the already established and legitimized "Belgian chocolate," considered a synonym of high quality in Brazil (a cultural point).

While Humphreys (2010b) analyzed a legitimation process that presented no competing industry (focusing on the change of mindset and regulation towards casino gambling), Press et al. (2014) focused on ideologies sustaining different legitimate production logics. They pointed out that the legitimate chemical production is a barrier to the growth of the organic product market, although they did not explain how this market could overcome the challenge. None of these works addresses the point of how a product/industry can legitimate itself when the legitimacy of another product/industry emerges as a barrier. Therefore, for a better understanding of the legitimation process, it is essential to explore how to overcome the barrier of building legitimacy against a legitimacy already established.

Likewise, in both works, the processes studied involved the participation and interaction of different actors. However, they fail to address how the various actors participating in the process interact to build legitimacy, by only exploring the performance of separate actors of the process. Therefore, in addition to better understanding the concurrent legitimacy as a barrier, we emphasize how multiple actors interact in the legitimation process.

The food universe provides a fertile field for working with legitimation. For instance, in the 1980s, French *chocolatiers* had to reinvent themselves as artisanal by enhancing connoisseurship, taste, and accuracy to attract a rising middle-class and not lose the domestic market to the international one (Watson & Caldwell, 2005). Connoisseurship is one of the basis of the concept of legitimacy, supporting the construction of cultural-cognitive legitimacy (Quintão & Brito, 2016), since it relates to taste structures. These, in turn, sustain the growing demand for artisan, *gourmet*, and specialty products (Johnston & Baumann, 2010).

As can be seen, the investigation of contexts related to the food universe can be an excellent material for exploring the issues raised during the legitimation process. Therefore, we examine the context of Brazilian premium cocoa and chocolate market to answer the questions previously raised.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

To achieve our goal, we collected data from newspaper articles, participants' considerations, and interviews with workers of Brazilian premium cocoa and chocolate market. We underline the importance of newspaper articles because they portray the general view on the market, reflecting the opinions that come from different groups and actors (Humphreys, 2014).

To gather the data from newspapers, we determined a set of keywords (see Exhibit 1) related to cocoa and chocolate market and production to generate an article database. We collected the data from the websites of the three most relevant Brazilian newspapers, resulting in 613 selected articles.

Exhibit 1. **Description of newspaper articles' research**

	Number of articles per newspaper		
Keywords	*Valor Econômico*	*Folha de São Paulo*	*Estado de São Paulo*
Cocoa market	31	7	26
Cocoa exportation	11	6	52
Cocoa production	65	56	47
Chocolate production	31	21	50
Callebaut chocolate	1	12	6
Gourmet chocolate	12	13	24
Chocolate market	40	17	85

We also conducted seven in-depth interviews (see Exhibit 2) to better understand the actor's participation in the legitimation process. In addition, following Kozinets (2002), we used the notes made by a participant of the *Chocolat Bahia Festival 2017* and the *Naturaltech Fair 2017*.

Exhibit 2. **Description of interviews**

Interview	Description
1	A chocolate specialist and a cacao specialist from a fine/premium chocolate multinational
2	Former agriculturist at Executive Commission of the Cacao Crop (CEPLAC) and now chocolate and cocoa specialist at a small Brazilian premium chocolate factory
3	A crop specialist at Cocoa Innovation Center (CIC), a small Brazilian premium chocolate producer
4	Cocoa farmer with bad practices (low quality cocoa)
5	Cocoa farmer and president of a Premium chocolate association
6	Small Brazilian premium chocolate producer
7	Small Brazilian premium chocolate producer and cocoa farmer

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Following Giesler and Thompson (2016), we coded our data considering the events, activities, and choices to describe a changing process that configures a type of institutional transformation. Thus, we used an interpretive and iterative approach following other consumer research studies (Humphreys, 2010b, 2014; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013). The data were read and coded, then axially coded (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), wherein each data source had two encoders.

FINDINGS

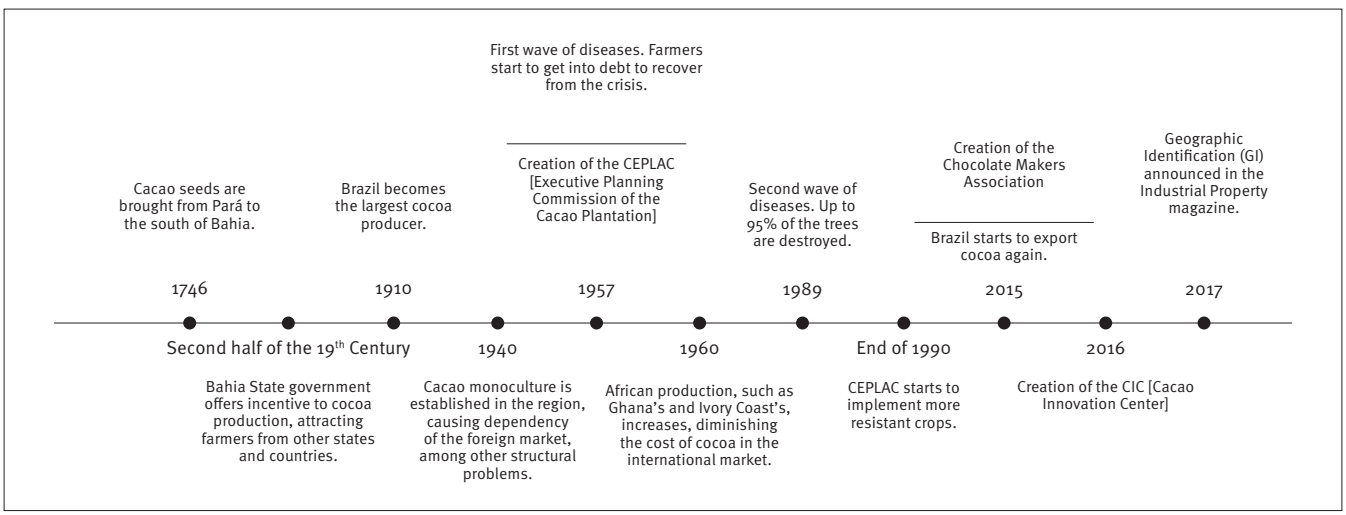
In this section, we first contextualize the decline of Brazilian cocoa production and the emergence of Belgian chocolate in the country. Then, we discuss the three thematic categories ("emerging as premium," "tree-to-bar production," and "the value of origin") that emerged from our analysis. Within each theme, we discuss the legitimacy construction on how the actors who participated in the process interacted in a way that contributed to the occurrence of the process.

Brazilian cocoa production

The history of cacao in Southern Bahia goes back to the 18th century when cacao was brought to the region and cultivated in small properties. In the second half of the 19th century, cacao production attracted families from other areas and countries. Since then, cacao monoculture began to prosper in Southern Bahia (Rocha, 2008).

In the 20th century, a series of events took place in the region, such as plant diseases in 1957, the entry of other countries in the cocoa market, and the financial indebtedness of cocoa farmers. In the late 1980s, Witches' Broom Disease (WBD) devastated the Brazilian cocoa production, which was the second largest in the world at the time. WBD is caused by fungus *Crinipellis perniciosa*, which attacks the fruits, buds, and flower bulbs of the cacao plant, usually causing its death (Caldas & Perz, 2013). Cacao crops were severely devastated; cocoa farmers went bankrupt, and the country's production collapsed (Miragaia, 2015). Consequently, Brazilian cocoa entered a process of losing force in both international and domestic cocoa markets. Subsequently, Brazilian production began to increase again only in 2004 (Euromonitor, 2017) after joining CEPLAC's (Comissão Executiva do Plano da Lavoura Cacaueira—a government entity dedicated to the development of cacao production) efforts in creating more resistant crops for cacao producers. Figure 1 displays a timeline of the main events in the history of cacao in the region.

Figure 1. **Important events of cocoa history in Brazil**



As for the chocolate, until the late 1990s, Brazilian industry produced chocolates mainly to the mass market, in which consumers tended to buy nationally manufactured consumer goods. A change in the consumption pattern occurred in the 2000s when the purchasing power in Brazil increased substantially. For instance, the percentage of individuals from socio-economic classes A, B, and C increased from 49% in 2003 to 61% in 2012 (Classe C sustentará aumento de 40% do PIB até 2020, 2012). Such a change fomented more "sophisticated" consumption patterns, that is, tastes that were already part of the elite's habits, such as consuming imported goods as a form of distinction (Dória, 2014). Therefore, foreign companies, such as Barry-Callebaut and

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Lindt & Sprüngli, decided to invest in the country. Although the companies are not Belgian, it has the image of Belgian chocolate that is highly associated with the premium or *gourmet* market segment (Baixo teor de cacau leva indústria a incluir mais açúcar e gordura, 2014).

In this context, foreign products in the country are a reference in quality and imply a significant challenge to the Brazilian cocoa (i.e., chocolate) search for legitimacy, fighting against the preference in the premium segment for Belgian chocolates, which is already legitimized.

Emerging as premium: The search for legitimation in a growing market segment

During the process of recovering from the crisis, cocoa farmers started investing in premium cocoa production, following a recommendation from CEPLAC. The quotes below show that CEPLAC's decision was based on the price difference between premium and commodity cocoa; it was also based on the fact that the premium segment presents an increasing demand. In the first quote, a former CEPLAC member describes the institution's position regarding the cocoa farmer's recovery, while, in the second one, a cocoa farmer discusses the increasing demand for premium products.

> [When] I was at CEPLAC, they argued that Brazil should produce special cocoa to sell it for a special price. You would sell only well-selected, and well-fermented cocoa with a high-quality standard and the company will pay you for it. (Interview 2)

> There is a good part of the community [...] that sees fine chocolate production as a solution. I, particularly, think that for our region in [Southern] Bahia, which operates under the *cabruca* system [a less profitable type of crop], this is the final solution because fine cacao market will remain as a good market. (Interview 7)

Therefore, the premium market sets an opportunity to leverage the entire value chain, which refers to the integrated system of production and distribution of a given product (Gereffi, Humphrey, & Sturgeon, 2005) to position it in the international market. Brazil's favorable conditions for this opportunity include the history and tradition of cacao farming, the know-how in chocolate production, and a consumer market that has an increasing purchasing power. For example,

> "Brazil has the elements to dominate the premium market. The country has production, mills, industries and consumption. This scenario does not exist anywhere else in the world," according to Patricia [executive director of Agrícola Conduro, a cocoa processing company]. She also said that, in recent years, changes have been made in the cocoa and chocolate chain in Southern Bahia, focusing on the long-term. (Turtelli & Pakulski, 2016)

> We have the tradition; we have a history because this culture has been here for more than 200 years. Well, I think we have several factors, [and we just have to] know how to communicate it to value ourselves and enter this high-quality market. (Interview 3)

Despite the favorable conditions for the development of the premium segment in the country, the legitimation of Brazilian premium chocolate faces a challenge regarding a cultural understanding of the market: Brazilian consumers associate foreign products with premium products (Dória, 2014). As the media coverage indicates, consumers view European brands such as Lindt, Callebaut, and Belgian chocolates as synonyms for premium or *gourmet* products. The quotes from newspaper articles below showcase that Brazilian chocolate producers see that as a challenge they need to overcome.

> Today only 2% of Harald's revenue (the fourth largest Brazilian chocolate company) comes from 100% national fine chocolates. According to the company's founder, Ernesto Neugebauer: "We're attracting clients by the taste, giving them the chocolate and making them try it. Otherwise, as far as premium products are concerned, customers just want Belgian chocolates." (Baixo teor de cacau leva indústria a incluir mais açúcar e gordura, 2014)

> For the final consumer, Cíntia Lima (a chocolatier) sees education as today's biggest challenge for the insurgency of the Brazilian chocolate. "The customer comes to my store and wants Belgian

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> chocolate. I've changed from Belgian to Brazilian chocolate because I came here [to Bahia] to find this good quality cocoa. I tell this to my consumers because they need to know that." (Boni, 2014)

Therefore, the media acknowledges that Brazilian consumers see Belgian chocolate as a symbol of high-quality products, emphasizing the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of the foreign product. Hence, Brazilian producers struggle to level their product with Belgian chocolate. In this context, the striving for cultural-cognitive legitimacy is an essential goal in the process of confronting the status-quo.

The media also appears as an important ally to premium chocolate producers, by elaborating articles about the quality of Brazilian cocoa and chocolate and how similar they are to, or even better than, Belgian products. It comes up as an actor with the power to educate and influence consumers through the diffusion of information. The next quote is an example of a newspaper article that emphasizes the quality of Brazilian products by associating it with João Tavares—an internationally awarded Brazilian producer, who belongs to the third generation of one of the largest cacao producing families in Brazil:

> "The inferiority complex is over. Now people are proud to buy Brazilian products. Just look at this festival," João Tavares says. He is a gourmet cocoa producer, who has won awards at the *Salon du Chocolat*, one of the most important fairs in the world. [...] Being from a farmer's family, he decided to change the production system ten years ago and to invest in a high-quality cocoa instead of a commodity cocoa, by improving the harvesting process. Because of the quality of his products, he has gained markets both inside and outside the country. (Miragaia, 2016)

The excerpt shows how the media endorses an important Brazilian cocoa producer that has a product recognized worldwide for its high quality. The phrase "the inferiority complex is over" introduces the fact that, now, there is a Brazilian premium product that is as good as the foreign one. The fact that the article mentions the producer's success inside and outside the country relates to the legitimating process of the Brazilian product in comparison to a foreign one. Therefore, the media is using the foreign product's legitimacy as an indicator to attest the high quality of the Brazilian product.

The media connects cocoa and chocolate so that the idea consumers have about the former can influence the image building of the latter, which implies that if Brazilian cocoa achieves legitimacy as premium cocoa, then it will be able to benefit from its image. Therefore, the interaction between media and producers contributes to the construction of cultural-cognitive legitimacy of Brazilian cacao and chocolate in the premium segment, and simultaneously fights the Belgian chocolate legitimacy.

Tree-to-bar production: Cacao processing as an element of legitimacy

The relation between cocoa quality and chocolate quality used in the latter's production is a major theme in the data regarding legitimation. The following example from a newspaper article shows the media's effort to point out the importance of processing for the quality of a product—even though the description is not accurate. The excerpt is about Diego Badaró and Frederick Schilling, owners of the AMMA (a premium organic chocolate brand), and how they produce high-quality cacao and chocolate by focusing on mastering the production process.

> [Schilling and Badaró] correctly understood that the fermentation and the drying process are the most important stages in the chocolate production. These processes control the taste. [...] [They] strictly comply with all the stages of the process during the fermentation, which is slow and requires a strict temperature control. At the end of this phase, comes the drying process. [...] [They] adjust the final stage of the product according to the characteristics of each bean. After roasted and ground the cocoa begins to turn into chocolate. The slow process of conching is a crucial detail, in which the chocolate is stirred by shell-shaped spatulas: the chocolate and the sugar mixture is rotated without interruption for about 72 hours until all the acids evaporate and the texture becomes creamy. Then, the chocolate comes out ready to be packed after the tempering and the crystallization process. (Bertolino, 2010)

From the above excerpt, it is evident that the relation between cocoa and chocolate quality in every stage of production is critical. The media highlights specific process requirements as a standard for premium chocolate: there is no regulation for what

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is considered to be premium chocolate; it has just instructions on how to produce it, which configures a normative legitimacy.

In line with the emphasis on the processing presented by the media, the following quote of a small premium chocolate producer shows how important these technical aspects are to the quality of the final product.

> The bean processing really matters. If it is well fermented, the way it is cut, if the fruit is broken in the right direction. [...] It is something really technical. If it is stirred up every hour in order to be able to have a uniform fermentation. (Interview 6)

Thus, carrying out an excellent processing of a good cacao bean is critical when producing premium chocolate. In this context, we introduce and highlight the concept of "bean-to-bar," which is a method of chocolate production in which the chocolate maker has control over the entire production chain. The producers are responsible for almost up to the final stage of production—transforming raw material into chocolate in an artisanal way.

When emphasizing the importance of processing, the media approaches the concept of "bean-to-bar" as a consequence of harvesting. The following quote shows the straight relationship between quality and processing in the bean-to-bar method.

> The difference [of bean-to-bar chocolates] when compared to conventional chocolates is remarkable. In the industry, chocolates are made from a mixture of cocoa beans of different origins with additives to standardize the flavor. Even some of the so-called fine chocolates are less complex than the bean-to-bar. (Mesquita, 2016)

Consequently, a new definition emerges when the media enlightens its readers about the connection between the bean-to-bar process and quality. The bean-to-bar concept and the idea of the *chocolatier* mastering the entire chocolate process comes from chocolate makers in California; they have been manufacturing their product based on it for more than a decade (Mesquita, 2016). However, chocolatiers in the United States and European countries must buy the beans from producing countries. That is precisely why this process is called "*bean*-to-bar": the chocolate makers do not own the farms, but they seek to buy quality cocoa beans of specific farmers from producing countries.

In an attempt to leverage the cocoa and chocolate production in Brazil, producers started to follow the bean-to-bar practices. It was possible because of the country's favorable conditions mentioned in the previous section, which gave the opportunity to Brazilian chocolate producers to create their analogous concept, called "*tree*-to-bar." Following this concept, the chocolate maker owns the cacao farm as well as the chocolate production, as reported below by a cocoa farmer:

> We had a bold posture because copying what is done in California did not satisfy us. Our case is not "bean-to-bar," it is "tree-to-bar;" we had the trees, we had the cacao in our land. We had some knowledge about our cocoa. (Interview 5)

The quote shows that Brazilian producers are trying to build their product's legitimacy by combining two strategies: (1) associating the product with a highly valued production process, and (2) crafting a new concept to define a process that better matches the unique condition of the Brazilian production chain. The development of this combination is an attempt to add the cultural-cognitive legitimacy to a characteristic that is already related to the normative legitimacy, since it is a signification that is being socially constructed (Scott, 2008). The media enters this equation, once again, as a way of connecting the general public to what producers are doing.

Therefore, to legitimate Brazilian chocolate within the premium sector, media and producers have been associating it with a particular processing connected to a high-quality notion. Moreover, it is important to highlight that the media does not associate Belgian chocolate to "bean-to-bar" production; it just mentions that consumers in Brazil see it as a premium product of great value. Therefore, the legitimation process involves ascribing meaning to Brazilian chocolate that are unrelated to Belgian chocolate in a mixture of normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy.

Value of origin: The provenience of the ingredient as a synonym for quality

In the last two sections, we saw how Brazilian cocoa and Brazilian chocolate search for legitimation on a premium market dominated by common sense that "Belgian chocolate" is a synonym for "chocolate of high quality." In this process, media appears as an ally to premium cacao and chocolate producers by showing its audience the existence of high-quality products

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from Brazil (both cacao and chocolate) and by connecting cocoa processing (a premium product feature) and chocolate to those Brazilian products. In line with these two platforms for building legitimacy, there is a search for certifications that attests the origin of the product.

Origin (the place where a product comes from) is a feature that can be used to designate quality. In the premium chocolate market, it can be seen in "Belgian chocolate" and "Swiss chocolate." Accordingly, actors seek a certification that attests the origin of the Brazilian product. However, in this case, origin certification is being pursued not for the chocolate, but for the cocoa. Obtaining this certification could contribute to the building of a good image for Brazilian cocoa, as the following quote states: "The government also seeks to obtain, in 2014, the registration of the product's geographical indication (GI) in Southern Bahia. The document guarantees identity, reputation, and value to cocoa" (Borlina Filho, 2012).

The main difference is that the actors seek to obtain a cocoa certification—in this case, GI, a certification used to identify the origin of products or services from a place that presents a particular characteristic or quality due to its origin (INPI, 2017), instead of a chocolate certification. Since the former is the main ingredient to produce the latter, a cacao with the quality approved insures legitimacy to the chocolate.

The purpose of obtaining a cacao certification instead of a chocolate certification is directly related to the development of the Brazilian cocoa production, which is still recovering from the crisis caused by WBD. Thus, achieving cocoa legitimation by attesting its quality through origin certification can boost both cocoa and chocolate production, leveraging the entire value chain through normative legitimacy.

Certifications and accreditations relate to the normative legitimacy construction (Scott, 2008); they state how things should be, creating a standard. The origin certification imposes a norm that producers must follow so that their products are considered high-quality products. Thus, the certification influences Brazilian chocolate legitimacy by associating it with cocoa from a high-quality origin, directly confronting the notion associated with Belgian chocolate.

Although the origin certification pursued is not for the "Brazilian" cacao, but for cacao from specific regions of the country (such as Southern Bahia), it still represents a conflict with Belgian chocolate in the domestic market.

One characteristic that is related to this certification of quality is the tradition of a producing region. In Brazil, some products have already had their quality recognized according to its origin. The quote below illustrates this situation.

> The cocoa Geographical Indication must have a tradition related to the region. [...] Here in Brazil, there's the *cachaça* from Bahia seal in Bahia, there is the *cachaça* from Paraty seal in Rio de Janeiro, there is the Pampas' meat seal in Rio Grande do Sul, and other seals, like the Canastra cheese seal. (Interview 5)

As the quote shows, recognition is related to a cultural aspect. Thus, normative legitimacy is associated with the cultural-cognitive legitimacy once the tradition in crafting the product becomes a symbol that shapes the meaning attributed to the product. Therefore, while the place of origin grants cultural-cognitive legitimacy, the certification allows, mainly, normative legitimacy.

In the search for the accreditation, the associations of producers are the leading actors. These associations, besides supporting the producers' development, also push to legitimate Brazilian cocoa and chocolate. Its actions are closely related to the achievement of normative legitimacy, and the struggle to obtain the cacao origin certification is an example of that. The quote below illustrates how associations act to guarantee a production with high-quality standards. Considering the connection between the Brazilian premium chocolate production and premium cacao production, even though the interviewee mentions only chocolate consumption, it is considered as the result of the premium cacao production.

> If you come from another place and buy a chocolate that you like, you'll buy it again, but if you buy a chocolate and you hate it, you think "Geez, I won't buy it anymore." Then you already generalize. "I bought this one, this is my impression of the Southern Bahia chocolate, and it is awful." That's why they are trying to join efforts so the Association will be able to define: what are the quality standards? (Interview 3)

As illustrated above, the association is the actor concerned about the standardization of the regional production to guarantee the required quality to the cacao and, consequently, to the premium chocolate produced after it. In this context, the certification appears as a way to make this connection clear to the market, by associating the origin of a certified premium cacao with the quality of the premium chocolate. The quote below exemplifies this connection by emphasizing that cacao must achieve some quality standards to be certified.

> The geographical indication of Southern Bahia will perform the role of linking the certification to the material of a certain quality. There are regulations for its use and CIC [Cacao Innovation Center] will be responsible for examining whether or not they are appropriate to the regulation (Interview 3).

Thus, these associations engage with other institutions (in this case, CIC, an organization dedicated to building knowledge about quality cocoa and chocolate focusing on productivity, quality, and traceability of cocoa beans [Fórum do Cacau, 2017]) to regulate the quality specifications that the product must contain. This example shows that there is also a regulatory structure behind the process of validating the certification.

As in the case of the emergence as a premium product and the connection of the "tree-to-bar" to quality, the media also plays a significant role in disseminating information about the certification of origin, its importance, and its relation to the quality of a product. The quote below (from media) highlights how the certification of origin is associated to quality.

> In practice, [GI certification] means that the whole agro-food chain tends to improve. The explanation is simple: in the process to obtain the certification, producers are obliged to become members (GI is granted only to companies) and end up enhancing the processes and improving the quality of the final product. (Orenstein, 2014)

As the quote shows, media is acting in line with producers and associations by educating consumers on the Brazilian product to legitimize it. The achievement of the cacao's certification of origin connects to the construction of a differentiation trait for the Brazilian product (both premium cacao and chocolate). It aims to associate the origin of the ingredients to quality through cultural status and standard regulations. The purpose of highlighting the certification to the consumer is to attest the association between the origin and the quality.

Thus, similar to what happens in the case of the "tree-to-bar" process, the link that the associations and the media are trying to consolidate—between the origin certification and the quality—also contributes to the legitimation process by creating new meanings associated with cacao and chocolate. The difference is that Belgian chocolate is recognized by its origin, which leads to a confrontation of meaning and symbolism of the legitimation process. Therefore, due to the battle of meanings, the media, more than ever, plays a crucial role in consumer education. Again, the process comprises a blend of normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy, except this time, it is supported by regulative standards that validate the normative pillar.

DISCUSSION

In this study, we examined how the legitimation process occurs when a concurrent legitimacy appears as a cultural barrier. We analyzed how the different actors involved contribute to the process; for this purpose, we considered the cocoa and chocolate production in Brazil.

Brazilian cocoa and chocolate producers face the challenge of legitimizing their product in a market segment that values Belgian chocolate as "premium." In this process, actors are investing mainly in constructing cultural-cognitive legitimacy, greatly supported by the elements related to normative legitimacy and, sometimes, to regulative legitimacy. The findings are summarized in Exhibit 3.

Exhibit 3. **Compilation of findings**

	Type of legitimacy	Platform	Actors involved
Emerging as premium: the search for legitimation in (and through) a growing market segment	Cultural-cognitive	Market	Cocoa and chocolate producers; Media
Tree-to-bar production: cocoa processing as an element of legitimacy	Cultural-cognitive; Normative	Process	Cocoa and chocolate producers; Media
Value of origin: ingredient provenience as a synonym for quality	Cultural-cognitive; Normative; Regulative	Certification	Associations; Media; Regulative institutions

Three platforms, which are part of the value chain that has been used, influence Brazilian chocolate and cocoa legitimacy as a premium product: market, process, and certification. Each platform relates to the different interactions between actors and the reinforcement of various types of legitimacy. The market

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platform is related to the decision of investing in the premium segment (in opposition to mass market) to develop the Brazilian product. This context initiates the process of challenging Belgian chocolate's position and legitimacy. For Brazilian consumers, its legitimacy is mainly cultural-cognitive, since there is a common belief that constitutes the symbolism and the meanings (Scott, 2008) relating Belgian chocolate as a synonym for "premium." In an attempt to confront this common belief, media and producers interact towards promoting the Brazilian product as being (at least) equal to its foreign competitor. Media connects consumers and producers, differentiating the national premium cacao from the commodity cacao production.

In addition, by highlighting cultural aspects, the process platform indicates a mix of cultural-cognitive and normative legitimacy. The interaction between producers and media promotes the association between Brazilian chocolate quality to its production process. Producers attempt to connect normative legitimacy to the construction of cultural-cognitive legitimacy by promoting the processing as an important aspect to quality and by creating their own concept to differentiate their product: "tree-to-bar."

Similar to what happens in the market platform, the media appears as an ally that strives to educate consumers about the importance of processing in order to achieve quality. In addition, it associates this distinguished processing with Brazilian chocolate, creating meanings that relate to its high quality but does not relate to Belgian chocolate. Thus, as the media contributes to the construction of symbolical practices (Humphreys, 2010b), which are portrayed in association with the Brazilian product, it promotes cultural-cognitive legitimacy, and ends up boosting the reach of the producers' discourses by focusing on the characteristics of Brazilian products. This process occurs simultaneously as "the tree-to-bar" chocolate production is being developed in Southern Bahia, being an important tool to leverage the product's image to the consumers. Moreover, the process creates connoisseurship, since it is related to the consumers' symbolic and cultural capital acquisition (Quintão & Brito, 2016) when educated by the media on the importance of processing for the quality of the product.

In the certification platform, there is an interaction between the associations, the media, and the regulative institutions. The associations in this context are very similar to the producers on the other platforms; however, it represents a *corpus* of producers that outline guidelines for the community to standardize the production. Furthermore, the three types of legitimacy reinforce each other. When associations seek certification, they seek normative legitimacy because their purpose is to link expectations (Scott, 2008) between origin and quality. Although the certifications are related to norms, the certification of origin, in particular, is also related to the cultural-cognitive and regulative types of legitimacy. In the first case, it happens because this certification involves the tradition and the recognition of the cultural environment, which contribute to the production of high-quality products. Thus, as it acquires the certification and consumers see it as legitimate, not only the accreditation is associated, but also the cultural symbolism that exists around the product's origin. In the second case, the regulative aspect emanates because, as in many certifications, it presents technical requirements that must be attested by an institution. Therefore, the recognition system that regulates high-quality products supports normative legitimacy. Media appears as the meeting point for associations, as the consumer and its educating role also remains intact: in all situations, the media explains the concepts, processes, and what should be valued. Therefore, those three actors' interaction contribute to the promotion of the three types of legitimacy; it emphasizes Brazilian cocoa and chocolate for having a unique feature, which significantly contributes to the legitimacy construction against Belgian chocolate.

The concomitant and constant leverage of these three platforms contribute to the construction of the Brazilian cocoa and chocolate legitimacy against its foreign competitors. As they interact, we can see that the main focus is on achieving cultural-cognitive legitimacy, as that is where the notion of acceptance is built. As Belgian chocolate is seen as a common symbol for quality, normative legitimacy appears to support the cultural-cognitive legitimacy construction. Similar to Humphreys (2010b), these are the two main legitimacy types that emerge within the legitimation process. However, while in Humphreys (2010b) normative legitimacy seems to be supported because of cultural-cognitive and regulatory legitimacy, in this case it is cultural-cognitive legitimacy that is supported by normative and regulatory legitimacy.

In Brazil, a food market is being created for premium chocolate. The legitimacy of Belgian chocolate is built mainly because it comes from abroad, and thus being valued more than the domestic products (Dória, 2014). To fight against that notion, the cultural-cognitive legitimacy is being pursued based mainly on the "raw" quality of premium Brazilian cocoa as an ingredient and other features that emerge from it, such as processing and certification. Different from what happens in the case of organic agriculture (Press et al., 2014), legitimacy is not being built based on a niche, but on the change of the legitimacy "pillars" of the same niche. In contrast, similar to this case, the motivation to build legitimacy is more financial and less ideological. Although the food market in Brazil is highly dispersed (Dória, 2014), the

main objective seems to be leveraging the product so that it can help farmers recover from its former losses, and not to fight against the foreign foods that are dominating the domestic market.

Finally, ideas such as sustainability and "locavorism" (Johnston & Baumann, 2010) are not present within the efforts to build legitimacy. As highlighted before, the main focus seems to be on emphasizing quality as an intrinsic feature of Brazilian cocoa and its importance for the chocolate production, while legitimacy for Belgian chocolate comes from symbolism, tradition, and colonization.

CONCLUSION

We have contributed to the literature of market creation and market development by analyzing how a product can build its legitimacy while confronting another. We argued that, in this process, the main focus is on achieving cultural-cognitive legitimacy. That is, when the process involves overcoming another type of legitimacy, achieving cultural-cognitive legitimacy is essential, since it is related to the idea of something that is taken-for-granted. However, the pursuit for cultural-cognitive legitimacy is greatly supported by normative legitimacy, which sometimes is reinforced by regulative legitimacy.

These findings suggest some practical implications. First, within this setting, producers and associations appear to be heavily dependent on the media's role as an ally to reach consumers. However, they could explore opportunities to have a more direct connection with them in order to have more control over the message that is being disseminated. Thus, they would be less vulnerable to possible changes in media's actions. Second, cocoa and chocolate productions still depend on initiatives to develop themselves. In their search for legitimation, producers and associations look mainly for cultural-cognitive and normative legitimacy platforms. They could also benefit from regulatory characteristics, which prevail as legitimate due to the support of the three types of legitimacy in stable social systems (Scott, 2008). Therefore, there is still space for a greater government interaction with the other platforms so that Brazilian cocoa and chocolate can be fully legitimized.

Our study presents some limitations that provide insights for future studies. Some of the questions that could be addressed are as follows: Who is the consumer in the middle of this process? How is he responding to it? It would be also interesting to verify the interference of cultural valorization related to nationality: When is the domestic product valued? When is the foreign product valued? A second line of research, more connected to food studies, could be used to better understand the circumstances and mechanisms that made possible the legitimation of the Belgian chocolate in the premium market segment in Brazil. Finally, future studies could also approach contexts in which the government has a stronger influence on the market: How does it take part in this process and how can a structure with stronger regulatory legitimacy facilitate (or hinder) this process? Understanding the questions addressed in this study and these other questions is very important to have a holistic view of the legitimation process, accessing it in many different ways.

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FORUM

Submitted 08.01.2017. Approved 12.26.2017
Evaluated through a double-blind review process. Guest Scientific Editors: Marina Heck, Jeffrey Pilcher, Krishnendu Ray, and Eliane Brito
Original version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180308

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AS ACTIVISM? RESISTING GENTRIFICATION IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Empreendedorismo como ativismo? Resistindo à gentrificação em Oakland, Califórnia

¿Iniciativa empresarial como activismo? Resistencia al aburguesamiento en Oakland, California

ABSTRACT

This article investigates the cultural politics of entrepreneurship as a form of opposition to gentrification in Oakland, California. Building on Watkins and Caldwell's (2004) foundational work, I examine the relationship between political projects – resisting gentrification, racial and economic disparities – and the cultural work of signifying a community's continued presence amidst displacement and glorification of newcomers. Based on 30 interviews with employees of food justice non-profit organizations, social enterprises, and government agencies, I argue that activists promote food-based entrepreneurship to create employment and business opportunities for long-term residents that enables them to stay in their hometown. In doing so, the contributions of long-standing communities to Oakland's diverse food cultures are highlighted. However, property values are rising rapidly that even these opportunities cannot ensure that long-term communities remain. For this reason, I conclude by offering examples of direct action and policy advocacy that can supplement these entrepreneurial approaches.
KEYWORDS | Entrepreneurship, food justice, cultural politics, activism, gentrification.

RESUMO

Este artigo investiga a política cultural de empreendedorismo como uma forma de oposição à gentrificação em Oakland, Califórnia. Com base no trabalho fundamental de Watkins e Caldwell (2004), examino a relação entre projetos políticos – resistindo à gentrificação e disparidades raciais e econômicas – e o que significa, em termos culturais, a presença permanente de uma comunidade em meio ao deslocamento físico e a glorificação dos recém-chegados. Com base em 30 entrevistas com funcionários de organizações sem fins lucrativos de justiça de alimentos, empresas sociais e as agências governamentais relevantes da cidade, defendo que ativistas promovam o empreendedorismo de base alimentar a fim de criar empregos e oportunidades de negócios para residentes de longa data que possam permitir-lhes permanecer na sua cidade natal. Ao fazê-lo, destacam-se as contribuições de comunidades de longa data para as diversas culturas alimentares de Oakland, num momento em que essas comunidades estão sendo desvalorizadas e deslocadas. No entanto, os valores das propriedades estão aumentando tão rapidamente que mesmo essas oportunidades não asseguram que as comunidades de longa data possam permanecer. Por esse motivo, concluo oferecendo exemplos de ação direta e advocacia política que podem complementar essas abordagens empresariais.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE | *Empreendedorismo, justiça alimentar, política cultural, ativismo, gentrificação.*

RESUMEN

Este artículo investiga la política cultural de la iniciativa empresarial como forma de oposición al aburguesamiento en Oakland, California. Basándome en el trabajo fundacional de Watkins y Caldwell (2004), analizo la relación entre proyectos políticos -resistencia al aburguesamiento y las disparidades raciales y económicas- y el trabajo cultural de significar una presencia continuada de comunidad en medio al desplazamiento físico y la glorificación de recién llegados. Con base en 30 entrevistas con empleados de organizaciones sin fines de lucro de justicia alimentaria, iniciativas sociales y agencias gubernamentales relevantes de la ciudad, planteo que los activistas promueven la iniciativa empresarial basada en alimentos para crear oportunidades de empleo y de propiedad empresarial para residentes a largo plazo que pueden permitirles permanecer en su ciudad natal. Al hacerlo, destacan las contribuciones de comunidades duraderas a las diversas culturas gastronómicas de Oakland en un momento en que estas comunidades están siendo desvalorizadas y desplazadas. Sin embargo, los valores de las propiedades están aumentando tan rápidamente que ni siquiera estas oportunidades pueden asegurar que permanezcan comunidades a largo plazo. Por este motivo, concluyo brindando ejemplos de acción directa y apoyo de políticas que pueden complementar estos abordajes emprendedores.
PALABRAS CLAVE | *Iniciativa empresarial, justicia alimentaria, política cultural, activismo, aburguesamiento.*

ALISON HOPE ALKON
aalkon@pacific.edu
ORCID: 0000-0002-8913-2776

University of the Pacific, Department of Psychology, Stockton, CA, United States of America

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INTRODUCTION

In a 2006 New York (NY) Times column, food writer Michael Pollan described food activism as a kind of "novel hybrid: a market-as-movement." In contrast to the many 20th and 21st century social movements that have pushed back against the exigencies of capitalism (Polanyi, 2001), food activism seeks instead to support an alternative, "green" form by purchasing products from local organic farmers and vendors of cooked and value-added products. Rather than confronting the industrial food system, this offers a kind of revolution through attrition in which activists can attempt to secede from the industrial food system through their consumption choices (Alkon, 2012; Meyers & Sbicca, 2016). Food justice activists, who deploy alternative food systems as a means to create grassroots economic opportunities and address health disparities in low-income communities of color (Alkon & Agyeman, 2010), have also adopted this strategy, calling for support for local food entrepreneurs who are people of color.

In the past several years, gentrification has presented a significant challenge to the food justice movement. The farmers markets and health food stores that activists have created in communities of color have been appropriated by urban boosters seeking to draw wealthy whites to these neighborhoods. For example, Movoto's list of "35 reasons you need to move to Oakland" includes urban farms as number 19 (Nelson, n. d.):

> Was that... a farm you just walked past? Yep. Oakland is a hotspot for urban farming, with entire communities coming together to plant and raise crops. It's not just great for community building, but it helps kids (and adults) learn the importance of nature, healthy food, and working together.

Despite the fact that gentrification brings in new residents who are often supportive of local food projects, Oakland's food justice activists understand it as threatening the displacement of their community, and seek to push back against it. The strategies through which they do so are predominantly entrepreneurial.

Watson and Caldwell define the cultural politics of food as an approach that requires researchers to "concentrate specifically on food as a window on the political... Food practices are implicated in a complex field of relationships, expectations, and choices that are contested, negotiated, and often unequal" (2004, p. 1). In this article, I apply this perspective to investigate the ways that food justice activists, social entrepreneurs and city officials frame entrepreneurship as a form of opposition to gentrification in Oakland, California. Those I spoke with view employment and business opportunities in the food sector as a way for long-term residents to be able to maintain residence in Oakland, as well as to receive recognition for their community's role in shaping the city's diverse food culture. However, development and speculation have so inflated both residential and retail property values that these opportunities cannot guarantee long-term communities' abilities to stay in their hometown, and so entrepreneurial forms of opposition must be supplemented with direct action and policy advocacy. Through this analysis, I emphasize the inextricability of political projects, such as resistance to gentrification, from my respondents' symbolic work trumpeting the presence and contributions of a community threatened with displacement to both the city's culture writ large and to its foodways. Displacement, then, becomes not only expulsion from the city but also erasure, and resistance to gentrification becomes not only about staying but also being seen.

Food movements and entrepreneurship

Though there are earlier antecedents, particularly among indigenous peoples and those farmers and gardeners who could not afford chemical inputs, Waren Belasco (1993) traces the contemporary movement to reform and transform the food system to the growth of the counterculture in the 1960s. Young, countercultural types went "back to the land" in search of a more organic lifestyle, forming communes and homesteads. Many of these were short lived, but those that remain today have become successful businesses (Meyers, 2005). Early adherents hoped that as the movement grew, these alternative food systems would replace the dominant, industrial model (Alkon, 2012; Meyers & Sbicca, 2016). However, the relationship between big and small food has become far more complex.

Food is big business. Total retail and food service sales in the US topped 5 trillion dollars in 2015 (Statista, 2015). The organic foods industry grew at 11 percent in 2015, far outstripping the food industry's overall rate of 3 percent (McNeil, 2016). In the food industry as a whole, and the organic subsector, large "legacy" brands dominate. Natural food stores were the primary distributor of organics in the 1990s, but by 2008, nearly half of this food was purchased in chain supermarkets like Wal-Mart and Safeway (Dimitri & Oberholtzer, 2009). Scholars call this process conventionalization; large brands have entered the organic market and employed the same practices they do in conventional agriculture and industrial food processing (Buck, Getz & Guthman 1997). This has led to the rise of organic brands like Muir Glenn tomato sauce (General Mills) and Odwalla smoothies (Coca-Cola) that are household names.

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But these are also promising times for small food entrepreneurs. The food movement has created a growing distrust of large brands, and a trend towards small, local, and artisanal foods. A recent NY Times article profiled several food entrepreneurs that have been backed by venture capitalists and Silicon Valley-style "accelerators" eager to finance and support independent food businesses (Strom, 2015). This investment, along with the maturation of the millennials and health concerns of baby boomers, has caused large brands to increasingly lose market share to smaller ones (Jefferies, 2012). Some large brands have responded by acquiring their smaller competitors. Indeed, both Muir Glen and Odwalla started out as independent, small-scale entrepreneurial ventures before being purchased by food retail giants (Trotter, 2016). Food movement supporters are sometimes aware of and decry these "sell-outs," while continuing to advocate for locally-owned brands. But many more are either unaware of this consolidation or else cheer the growth of ethical businesses.

Since the early 2000s, a group of activists working under the banner of food justice have increasingly problematized the food movement's elitism, arguing that the attention the movement focuses on predominantly white farmers, chefs, and food artisans, at best ignores, and at worst appropriates communities of colors' long-standing food traditions. Food justice activists recognize that people of color have long been discriminated against within food and agriculture. For example, the USDA's historic policy of denying loans to Black and Latino farmers has been the subject of several lawsuits (Gilbert et al., 2002; Minkoff-Zern & Sloat, 2016). In addition, immigration and labor policies have prevented people of color from land and farm ownership, limiting both participation in agriculture and the acquisition of wealth (Minkoff-Zern et al., 2011).

Food entrepreneurs of color are less likely to be able to draw on family resources to start their businesses, and are less likely to receive traditional loans and equity investments (Fairlie & Robb, 2008). Moreover, white farmers and food entrepreneurs tend to benefit from disproportionate publicity within the food movement's rhetoric and writing, even when there are people of color doing similar work (Cohen & Reynolds, 2016). Recognizing these disparities, food justice activists seek to create support for farmers and entrepreneurs of color, while addressing food insecurity and diet-related health disparities in their communities (Alkon & Agyeman, 2010). Linking marginalized farmers and food entrepreneurs to food insecure communities is depicted as a win-win––a source of profits for the former and food for the latter (Alkon & Guthman, 2017). It also draws on communities of colors' long-standing traditions of food entrepreneurship; they have often turned to small-scale, culturally-rooted food provisioning due to barriers in the traditional labor market (Ray, 2016; Forson, 2006; Abarca, 2006). However, food justice activists have struggled to draw in significant numbers of low-income customers. Despite intentions to the contrary, their customers tend to be middle-class, white, and often relatively new to the neighborhood.

This is in part because the food justice movement has laid some of its deepest roots in cities and neighborhoods that are rapidly gentrifying. (Alkon & Cadji, 2015). Gentrification is a process through which working-class urban neighborhoods become inhabited by wealthier residents, displacing long-term inhabitants and changing the nature of cities (Slater, 2006; Lees et al., 2007; Quastel, 2009). Though it is commonly talked about in terms of the consumer preferences of new residents, gentrification is fundamentally a structural process. Through gentrification, capital expands through the reproduction of urban space, as guided by city and regional policy (Smith, 2008; Hackworth & Smith, 2001). It is also a racialized process, predicated on the previous divestment from the urban core that characterized segregation and redlining (Shaw, 2007; Lees et al., 2007). Displacement and violence are two of its core features; low-income communities of color are increasingly subject to police scrutiny at the behest of new residents (Ospina, 2015; Shaw, 2015), and are pushed out of their homes, at best resettling in less expensive areas and at worst becoming homeless (Slater, 2006; Applied Survey Research, 2015).

And yet, urban developers appeal to consumer preferences, to promote gentrifying neighborhoods. Food, particularly organic and ethnic cuisine, has long been on the list of amenities that drew early waves of artists and other cultural creatives to low-income communities (Zukin, 1995). Cafes are often the first businesses that new residents open in their new neighborhoods, creating gathering spaces for early gentrifiers (Sullivan & Shaw, 2011). Food is also important to the later stages of gentrification as counterculture is joined and sometimes displaced by large-scale development (Lees et al., 2007). In today's food-focused popular culture, thriving restaurants and urban farms are essential element of cities' efforts to brand themselves as hip, creative, green, and attractive (Burnett, 2014; Hyde, 2014). Investors search for this sort of food retail as a signal that a neighborhood is ripe for redevelopment. According to Stan Humphries, chief economist for the online real estate marketplace Zillow, "The entry of a coffee shop into a location provides a signaling function to other types of investors [...] that this neighborhood has now arrived and is open for business in a way that it was not before" (quoted in Kohli, 2015). Understanding this, a group of Harlem real estate agents have banded together to open ground floor coffee shops and eateries so that they can raise the prices of residential units above

(Clarke, 2014). Similarly, the fruits of food justice activists' labor, including farmer's markets, community gardens, and healthy food retail, are at times among the amenities that realtors and other urban boosters reference as selling points (Alkon & Cadji, 2012).

Gentrification brings both opportunities and challenges to food justice organizations. While food justice activists improve the neighborhoods in which they work, they create spaces palatable to new residents already interested in local and organic food. These new residents support food justice entrepreneurs by purchasing food, volunteering, and donating funds. Indeed, for many of the food justice organizations I spoke with in Oakland, the customer support of these new residents is crucial to the organizations' fundraising goals, as well as their ability to garner profits for small farmers and food entrepreneurs. These benefits, however, are tenuous. The displacement of long-term residents from the neighborhoods where food justice projects operate makes it impossible for activists to pursue their missions. Ironically, as food justice activists improve food access in historically marginalized neighborhoods, the food insecure communities they seek to serve are forced out. Broadly motivated by an analysis emphasizing the need for racial, economic, and environmental justice; food justice activists have recognized that gentrification brings violence to their communities (Crouch, 2012; Markham, 2014; Massey, 2017), and are working to counter it in a variety of ways. They argue that because food is so deeply embedded in gentrification, it provides an important lens through which to develop resistance against displacement. Their primary strategy is grassroots economic development by providing jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities to long-term community members. In doing so, they increase both the resources and visibility of these groups. However, such opportunities are not entirely able to counter displacement pressures. For this reason, I also describe policy approaches that can complement entrepreneurial strategies.

METHODOLOGY

This paper is part of a larger project analyzing the relationship between food and gentrification in Oakland, CA. It began when Alkon advised Josh Cadji's MA thesis, which sought to understand the racial politics that underscored the perception of farmers' markets and alternative food spaces as white. While he was conducting participant observation, the non-profit food justice organization, with which he worked saw a real estate company highlight their farmers market and community garden in a video designed to lure new residents to their rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. This prompted his organization to become embroiled in critical debates about the role of food activism and sustainable food systems in promoting gentrification, which became the topic of his thesis.

Recognizing that other food justice organizations experienced similar dynamics, I then conducted 30 interviews with a variety of Oaklanders dedicated to food justice, including employees of non-profit organizations, restauranteurs, and social entrepreneurs. Interviews generally lasted 1-2 hours and were recorded using an iPhone app, and then transcribed. I used a snowball sample, beginning with community-based non-profits doing work similar to the one Josh worked with. My access was eased by Josh's reputation as a dedicated activist, as well as by contacts from previous research. Following that, I widened my scope to include for-profit social enterprises and food businesses that were either mentioned by the non-profits as like-minded or who explicitly described their work as dedicated to food justice and/or community empowerment. I stopped when I reached "saturation," meaning that the collection of new data failed to yield additional insights (Glaser & Strauss, 1999). I chose the examples described below from among my 30 interviews as those that most clearly illuminated the cultural politics of entrepreneurship. However, support for entrepreneurs as a form of resistance to gentrification came up in nearly all interviews.

I coded the data by hand using Microsoft Word, reading and re-reading transcripts in order to search for emergent patterns in a way that ensured that our data gave rise to our analysis (ibid). Support for entrepreneurship was a common theme, as it was the primary way that both non-profit and for-profit organizations sought to channel their opposition to gentrification. Within that category, I coded for kinds of support, including jobs, ownership, and race representation. These became the primary nodes around which this analysis coalesced.

RESULTS

In 2008, Oakland-based social justice activist Van Jones published *The Green Collar Economy: How One Solution Can Fix Our Two Biggest Problems*. This widely-acclaimed NY Times bestselling book argued for a "green new deal" that would create thousands of jobs in alternative energy and resource conservation. Because these jobs could not be outsourced, Jones argued that they could help marginalized communities to "lift themselves out of poverty," ensuring that "the "approaching green wave lifts *all* boats." Jones' vision of a green-collar economy quickly rose and fell from popular discourse. Jones himself was hired by the Obama administration

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as a "green jobs advisor," but resigned amidst demonization by the political right for what can only be seen as minor and irrelevant infractions. But his concept of green jobs has taken hold among the sustainable food sector in his hometown of Oakland.

Non-profit settings

One of the largest non-profits working for a just and sustainable food system in Oakland is Planting Justice. Providing employment is a part of the organization's mission, along with democratizing access to affordable food and ensuring environmental sustainability. Planting Justice runs several social-enterprise businesses that raise money for the organization, including a landscaping company and a commercial nursery. According to co-founder Gavin Raiders, living wage employment is a central part of transforming food systems, as well as broader systems of inequality:

> [Our goal is to create] business plans that work, that generate enough revenue to create living wage jobs that aren't grant-dependent. When we looked around at the food justice movement at Oakland and other places, a lot of the work is being done by volunteers [and] by college-educated people who get hired from across the country [...] You might only have two people at an organization that are from the community making a wage.
>
> In order to transform systems, we need business models that are scalable and replicable. It's a multi-decade project, but we intend to help Planting Justice form in dozens of cities in the US in the course of our lifetime, and hopefully have thousands of people who are making living wages, who otherwise might be incarcerated or out on the street or struggling or dead due to the violence that exists in our system.
>
> If we're going to change the food system or economic system or help people stay in their homes or help people stay in Oakland or any other city where they're born and raised and want to continue living, we have to have those economic models that work.

Planting Justice employs 35 people. Roughly 2/3 are people of color, and 60% are formerly incarcerated. Gavin credits this meaningful, living wage employment with transforming lives. "We've been hiring folks out of prison since 2010," he said proudly, "and not a single person has been re-incarcerated on a new offense in that entire time."

Planting Justice staff also help one another find support services, such as housing. While Deep East Oakland, where most of Planting Justice's employees are from, has not yet been subject to the same housing pressures as other parts of the city, these formerly incarcerated, predominantly Black and Latinx workers face high levels of housing discrimination. Planting Justice provides letters of employment and references, and is also beginning the permitting process so that their recently purchased nursery can also be zoned for housing. Despite these strategies, several employees are homeless, living out of their cars or crashing with friends and family.

Even as they demonstrate strong support for some of Oakland's most marginalized residents, Planting Justice's business model depends on a wealthier clientele. Their edible landscaping company "Transform Your Yard," has built approximately 400 gardens across Oakland. While 25% of these gardens have been for low-income people at reduced rates, and the organization refuses to work with realtors and speculators, the majority of their gardens are for full-paying clients whose investments in their properties are rewarded with increased property values.

In order to facilitate positive relationships between clients and employees, Planting Justice screens the former to make sure they are a good match for the organization's values.

> We turn down clients who don't share our values. We interview people [who want to hire us]. Anybody who's working for property owners [knows] there's all kind of nasty power and privilege stuff at play which does not feel good [...] We don't want to put ourselves or any of our staff in those positions, especially when there's other trauma and stuff at play in these situations.

This screening process demonstrates the cultural work involved in promoting entrepreneurship—in this case, green jobs—as a response to gentrification. Planting Justice must act as a kind of translator between their formerly incarcerated workforce and their relatively wealthy client base. They put forward a narrative about who their workers are that emphasizes their good intentions, while acknowledging the systemic barriers they face. For their part,

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clients are educated about these obstacles and are screened in order to ensure successful relationship building.

Another food justice non-profit that views the creation of jobs for long-term Oakland residents as essential to its mission is Mandela Marketplace. For Mandela, the goal is not just living wage jobs, but the ownership of community food assets. Mandela Marketplace is a non-profit food hub whose centerpiece is the for-profit, worker-owned Mandela Food Coop. Mandela Marketplace's Director of Social Entrepreneurship, Mariela Cedeño, describes how this relationship enables community ownership of food businesses:

> If you look around the Bay Area, it's mostly white people who either have a network with resources or have their own personal finances that are able to start this kind of business [...] The reason we established ourselves as a non-profit to support and incubate Mandela Foods was because worker-owners from West Oakland didn't have the credit or the networks or the access to the kind of financing they would need to build out something that was going to cost $750,000, whereas a non-profit has the kind of skills necessary to network through grants or to provide guarantees to help them get that financing.

Notably, all the worker-owners of Mandela Foods Co-op are African-American, while the non-profit staff is racially diverse. The worker-owners share the organization's profits while the non-profit can fundraise to cover any losses. Thus, the non-profit serves as a kind of angel investor in the coop. The coop broke even for the first time in 2012, one year ahead of their business plan, and earned profits for the first time in 2014. Decision-making power for the grocery lies primarily with the worker-owners, each of whom have a vote on workplace policies. The non-profit collectively has one vote as well, which allows them input but not control.

Customers at the co-op, however, are predominantly white, and even the customers of color are often new to the neighborhood. Mariela explains how essential the support of new residents is to the co-op's profits:

> [The co-op's] end goal is to make healthy food accessible to community residents and by that, change the health indicators and dynamics of this community. And so, making sure that the healthy produce and the bulk goods like beans and grains are affordable is important to them. But they're also going to want to cater to the people who can make it profitable. So, they're also going sell a fancy cheese or free-range chicken or a ten-dollar bottle of honey.

Long accustomed to seeing businesses in their area owned by non-Blacks, these neighbors are particularly excited to learn that those working at the store also own it. Worker-owner James Burke, who grew up in West Oakland, described how impressed long-term residents are when they realize this. "They say, 'Oh yeah, you all own this store?' And they'll tell their kids, "Oh they own this store." Another worker-owner, Adrionna Fike, expands on the reasons that Black ownership matters:

> It matters for reasons of representation, it matters for reasons of community development that the developers look like us, that we are developing our own. It matters in terms of self-determination; expressing it, demonstrating it, teaching it. It matters for the legacy of all the grocers; Black grocers that have come before in Black communities. It matters for legacies going forward, it matters for just communities of color around the world, for people trying to transform food systems or participating in their own sovereignty, in owning themselves. It matters when the Black people are trying to do that and they have examples of Black people who are doing it already. You can't just tell me that it's a white thing because we're here!

Mandela may feature "fancy cheese or free-range chicken" to please new, more affluent neighborhood residents, but they also proclaim their identity as a Black-owned business dedicated to supporting producers of color.

Gentrification has long been on the minds of Mandela's employees, both at the co-op and the non-profit. One important strategy through which they push back against this force is by providing an opportunity for community ownership of a business that admittedly benefits from the influx of new residents. Again, Mariela explains:

> We've talked a lot about gentrification, and what that means in West Oakland. We're a cooperative, but we're working in a capitalist system. What this enables us to do is to make sure that community

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> residents who have been part of the history of West Oakland can own the economy so that they can stay in it and profit from the people who are coming in who have higher levels of income.
>
> [Gentrification] is a dynamic that we don't want to happen to them. We want them to be a part of it. And I think they're an exemplary model of what local community members [can do] to build their quality of life through increasing income and also healthier food access, but also make money off of the fact that people do want to move to the community. You know, Burke grew up here, (*pointing to James Burke, one of the worker-owners*) and Mandela Marketplace is going to become profitable and he's going to get a share of those profits and be able to afford to stay in West Oakland. That's part of making a national model about how to fight these dynamics and work within the system even if it's flawed.

For non-profit organizations like Planting Justice and Mandela Marketplace, both of whom benefit from the influx of new residents to Oakland, employment and community ownership are ways to enable long-term residents to respond to the threat of displacement. At the same time, they raise the profile of people of color who participate in community food systems, disrupting the narrative that local and organic food is the province of affluent whites. As gentrification changes the racial demographics of Oakland, the presence of these long-term residents signifies that Black communities remain in Oakland and contribute to their communities in positive ways.

For-profit settings

There are also a growing number of social enterprise restaurants and food businesses that strive to create green jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities for long-term community members. Perhaps the most prominent of these is Red Bay Coffee. Founded by Keba Konte, an artist, activist, and a co-owner of successful cafés in Berkeley and San Francisco, Red Bay roasts "single origin, fair trade, direct trade, organic, and sustainable coffees [and] envisions a world in which coffee is a vehicle for inclusion, social and economic empowerment, entrepreneurship, innovation, and environmental sustainability." Keba founded Red Bay in 2014, and it quickly became one of the East Bay's most visible brands, available at many local cafes and farmer's markets, and selling wholesale to large retailers, such as Whole Foods and tech companies, such as Twitter and Salesforce.

Red Bay also runs a café in Oakland's uptown neighborhood, an epicenter of gentrification. Housed in a recycled shipping container and decorated with reclaimed wood, art and succulents, it maintains an aesthetic that has become synonymous with the influx of white hipsters. Keba thoughtfully acknowledges the role that high-end food businesses like his have played in changing neighborhoods. "One of the things I struggled with was: If I opened up a coffee shop in central Oakland, would it be a magnet for gentrification? Would I be making the problem worse?"

An African-American man, Keba argues that his presence as a business owner works to diversify the predominantly white, male world of specialty coffee. But Red Bay's social justice ethic goes beyond the identities of its founder and farmers. Keba's goal is to "populate the coffee shop with young Black and Brown people who are struggling to stay in the city—half of whom would be formerly incarcerated." Red Bay's business model provides livable wages. Entry-level workers earn wages, tips, and a share of profits, for a total of about $20 per hour, though it remains to be seen whether this is enough to keep employees in Oakland. "It's a risky proposition and we're still sorting through the intricacies of the challenge," he expounds. "But I feel like it could catch on. Oakland could potentially be a model for resisting the displacement effect of gentrification."

The Town Kitchen is another for-profit food business that aims to ensure that the city's new can benefit long-term community members. On their website, the Town Kitchen describes itself as a "community-driven food business [that] delivers locally-sourced lunch [and provides] fair-wage jobs and college classes to low-income youth." They source from food artisans who are women, people of color, and largely based in Oakland. Their delivery clients include an array of corporate and tech businesses, social impact companies, and large events, including the 2016 Super Bowl. As one promotional article put it "poor youth get a good wage and culinary training, and Bay Area tech companies get their fancy lunches. Everyone wins." Cofounder, Sabrina Mutukisna, has a background in non-profit youth development and works to ensure that the young people employed by The Town Kitchen get the support they need, including help with college and financial aid applications, housing, and other needs. She estimated that 80% of her employees are either enrolled in college or taking college-prep classes in high school, and several have left to attend universities.

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Although, neither founder was raised in Oakland, the city provides not only the company's mission, but an important aspect of its branding, as "the town" has long been a nickname for Oakland, distinguishing it from "the city" of San Francisco. This speaks to the trendiness of Oakland's sustainable food scene, as well as the founders' goal of raising the visibility of people of color in Oakland. Sabrina describes the name of her company as a direct response to gentrification:

> Oakland's at a place where gentrification is really a big subject. Talking about things like food anthropology and food gentrification [...] These big questions of how do we preserve our culture and what is Oakland culture and how do we see that through our food and how do we see that through our young people and making sure that young people can stay in Oakland, can buy a house in Oakland, can start businesses in Oakland. What are we doing to create that?

The Town Kitchen and Red Bay Coffee are at the forefront of an effort by Oakland's food-based social entrepreneurs to ensure that some of the benefits of the city's dynamic, sustainable food scene accrue to long-term community members, highlighting their contributions to the city's culture, while providing living-wage green jobs. The trend toward employing youth of color with limited employment prospects is a recent phenomenon, and those making use of this approach hope it can help long-term residents withstand the housing pressures wrought by gentrification.

Newer business owners like Keba at Red Bay and Sabrina at the Town Kitchen hope that their employees will be also be able to stay in the city. But Sabrina reports that for at least some of the youth she works with, it is already too late. Their families have been displaced, and they commute to The Town from suburbs as far as an hour away. That speaks to the quality of their job, but also the inability of even good, green jobs to combat gentrification as real estate pressures continue to intensify.

DISCUSSION

Despite much popular support, creating green food jobs is a limited approach to pushing back against displacement. It can help long-term communities see themselves reflected in Oakland's thriving food scene, but there is no guarantee that even these wages can withstand the city's housing market. Given that middle-income communities are also facing displacement pressures, it seems unlikely that long-term residents can be supported in navigating the current landscape. If displacement is to be avoided, the landscape itself must be shifted. Several city policies have recently been initiated to begin this work.

Oakland is no stranger to activism opposing gentrification. One prominent recent campaign involved a one-acre, city-owned lot in the East Lake neighborhood. When the city council attempted to sell this lot to be developed as a luxury apartment tower, protests erupted, shutting down city council meetings. Due to community opposition, the developer agreed to build affordable units on site. Another important recent campaign resulted in the passage of measure JJ in 2016, which expands the city's affordable housing and rent control measures and limits rent increases. As individual community members, many food justice activists and entrepreneurs participated in these struggles, but the organizations themselves were largely absent.

However, organizations have been involved in crafting policies to integrate health equity and affordable housing into the building permitting process. Two prominent organizations, the Oakland Food Policy Council and the Hope Collaborative have been working with the city's Departments of Planning and Public Health to craft Healthy Development guidelines for the City of Oakland.

The Hope Collaborative's Executive Director, Sabrina Wu, describes the overall intent of these guidelines and her organization's motivation for participating in their development:

> It's supposed to be an upstream public health tool that would identify potentially negative health impacts of proposed developments before they're approved. We found ourselves always on the other side of the fight. The city has already approved the project, why didn't the community have a say? Now we're going to fight against it, we're going to have a lawsuit. Guess what, it's too late because you didn't show up at the public meetings that they never told us about.
>
> This is something that happens time and time again. What we are hearing from our members is we actually need something earlier on in the approval process. We're not going to count on the city to always let us know when public comment is, when is the time we engage? They just don't do that well. There needs to be some kind of check in place. They're not oriented in thinking

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> about "How will this development proposal that I'm getting at the permit desk impact the health of this community?" That's not how they're trained. They actually need a tool that will walk them [through this process]. It looks at impact on housing, transportation, food, space, arts, and culture. It's very broad and comprehensive.

The Healthy Development guidelines take a comprehensive approach, including recommendations on environmental health, economic opportunity, community culture and safety, healthy food, transportation, housing, and recreation. With regard to food, the guidelines advocate that the city requires or incentivizes developers to support an edible parks program, to increase neighborhood access to healthy food through the farmers markets, produce stands, or grocery stores; and to dedicate space for permanent and visible gardens. The guidelines also advocate for enhanced access to affordable housing, particularly for vulnerable populations. Strategies include a Jobs/Housing Impact Fee, support for maintenance of existing affordable housing, the institution of preferences in city-assisted, affordable housing projects for people who already live or work in Oakland, those who have been displaced, and homeless and very low-income families, and an inclusionary zoning policy for development projects that support long-term, affordable ownership opportunities for local residents. It also includes support for some of the entrepreneurship programs described above, such as living wage jobs and the incubation of locally owned businesses.

If and when they are adopted, the Healthy Development guidelines will be an important tool to create development that meets the needs of current Oakland residents while minimizing displacement. But its creators recognize that it will be controversial and that elected officials have favored recruiting tech firms and upscale housing developments. For now, they are beginning by emphasizing the guidelines that do not require new laws. Some of these are more superficial, such as requiring trash receptacles on development sites. Others alert the Planning Department to existing city and state housing laws that were not previously on their radar, an omission that some developers used to their advantage. At the same time, the Planning Department is pursuing additional guidelines, beginning with those that are less controversial to build support toward those whose adoption may be more complicated. If and when they are adopted, the Healthy Development guidelines are the kinds of policies that can help prevent displacement of low and middle-income Oakland residents, even as wealthier residents increasingly share the city, and businesses—food and otherwise—cater to newcomers' needs.

CONCLUSION

Since its re-emergence in the 1960s, food activism has evolved from its anti-capitalist roots to promoting the production and consumption of local and organic commodities. Advocates for food justice, while systemically highlighting the ways that both industrial and alternative food systems reproduce racial inequalities, also pursue their goals through support for entrepreneurs. They promote food entrepreneurs of color by featuring their products at farmer's markets and health food stores, and by providing green jobs in marginalized communities. When faced with the challenges brought by gentrification, food justice activists continue to highlight entrepreneurship. They argue that creating living-wage green jobs and ownership opportunities for communities threatened by displacement garners material benefits for these groups, enabling them to stay in the city, while highlighting their visibility and contributions to their cities' food cultures. This brings the cultural work of representation together with the material objective of improving the distribution of resources.

However, these entrepreneurial strategies reinforce neoliberal notions of business development and market-based solutions to social problems such as racism and environmental injustice. Neoliberalism is a political and economic philosophy that asserts that human well-being can best be achieved if the so-called "free" market is allowed to function free of intervention from the state (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). Prominent social scientists have argued that current modes of food activism may explicitly oppose this philosophy, but have nevertheless tended to embrace neoliberal forms of governance, including reliance on markets to pursue change (Allen, Fitzsimmons, Goodman, & Warner, 2003; Allen, 2008; Brown & Getz, 2008; Guthman, 2008b; Harrison, 2008). Food justice advocates call attention to decades of institutionally racist development patterns (McClintock, 2011). But rather than demanding government investment in these areas, they argue that communities can create grassroots development through local food systems. This approach suggests that everyday people can work together to solve social problems. While this certainly can be empowering, the lack of a role for government policy helps to relieve the state of its responsibility to provide environmental protection and a social safety net, a responsibility that is particularly important in light of the state's role in pursuing and permitting the destruction of communities and environments in the first place.

In addition to their overt political work, social movements such as food justice help shape a sense of proper selfhood and citizenship. Many food activists unreflexively espouse

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and perpetuate ideas compatible with neoliberal notions of good citizenship through their emphasis on self-responsibility, individualism, and entrepreneurialism (Bondi & Laurie, 2005; Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999; Larner & Craig, 2005). Support for local food entrepreneurs not only upholds individual responsibility for one's own economic fortunes, but also concedes decreasing political support for entitlement programs often derided as handouts (Allen, 1999). Moreover, they neglect that small businesses are competitive and often fail, making them a poor substitute for direct assistance.

While non-profit food justice organizations seek to shore up entrepreneurial venues through fundraising, the provision of technical assistance, incubation, and other support; they are nonetheless unable to ensure that the entrepreneurs they work with are able to withstand displacement. To be sure, these social entrepreneurial strategies and ventures are relatively recent and cannot yet be studied systematically, but the homelessness of several Planting Justice employees and the displacement of some of The Town Kitchen's workforce speaks to the challenge of keeping long-term, low-income residents in Oakland, even with jobs that pay $20 per hour. A recent study by the non-profit Policy Link (2016) found that the number of Oakland units affordable to both minimum wage workers and entry-level teachers are the same: zero.

Of course, living-wage job and entrepreneurial opportunities are important for communities who have withstood decades of segregation, redlining, urban renewal, and general disinvestment, even if they cannot withstand the current speculative real-estate boom. However, food justice activists seeking to fight gentrification would do well to add additional strategies to their lexicon. At its root, gentrification is a political-economic process through which developers and other boosters increase their profits with the help of city policy. And while city policy is often used to lure developers, it can also be deployed to make demands of them. The Healthy Development guidelines described above are a clear and comprehensive example of this, and some food activists have been involved in the process of shaping them. Food justice activists would do well to promote these guidelines among their supporters, including both the long-term community members they seek to support and the newer, wealthier residents who can act as politically powerful allies. In this way, food justice activists can use their entrepreneurial approaches not only to buy and sell food and to signify the remaining presence of long-term communities, but also to build power toward affecting broader policy changes.

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FORUM

Submitted 09.11.2017. Approved 12.26.2017
Evaluated through a double-blind review process. Guest Scientific Editors: Marina Heck, Jeffrey Pilcher, Krishnendu Ray, and Eliane Brito

Original version

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180309

HAWKERPRENEURS: HAWKERS, ENTREPRENEURSHIP, AND REINVENTING STREET FOOD IN SINGAPORE

Hawkerpreneurs: Vendedores ambulantes, empreendedorismo e reinvenção da comida de rua em Singapura

Hawkerpreneurs: Hawkers, iniciativa empresarial y la reinvención de la comida callejera en Singapur

ABSTRACT

The hawker center is an icon of contemporary Singapore and an essential element of national identity, but one that has undergone multiple reinventions. Most recently hawking has repeatedly been presented as approaching crisis, prompted by an aging hawker population. The response of the Singapore government has been to begin another historic transformation of the hawker, focusing on the hawker entrepreneur – the hawkerpreneur. Ahead of reinvention, codification of knowledge about hawking was required and provided by museum exhibitions and cultural celebrations in media. The hawker became romanticized, a figure of history, distanced from an emergent next generation. These new hawkers are imagined by public and private interests as being successful entrepreneurs and glamorous, suit-wearing people. A change in status for hawking, achieved by a new image and structural changes, such as rankings by Michelin, are being used to signal this new phase of Singaporean street food.

KEYWORDS | Singapore, hawkers, hawkerpreneurs, street food, reinvention.

RESUMO

O hawker center (centro de vendedores ambulantes) é um ícone da Singapura contemporânea, um elemento da identidade nacional singapurense que passou por muitas reinvenções. Recentemente, a presença de vendedores ambulantes tem sido representada repetitivamente como uma crise próxima, causada pelo envelhecimento da população de ambulantes. A resposta do governo singapurense tem sido outra transformação histórica, direcionada do vendedor ambulante ao empreendedor ambulante – o hawkerpreneur. Antes da reinvenção, a codificação do conhecimento sobre vendedores ambulantes foi necessária e provida por exibições em museus e celebrações culturais em várias mídias. O ambulante torna-se romantizado, uma figura histórica, distanciada da próxima geração emergente. Empreendedores ambulantes estão sendo educados, assim como o público. Esses novos ambulantes são imaginados, pela iniciativa pública e privada, como empreendedores de sucesso, pessoas de estilo, bem-vestidas e glamorosas. As mudanças no status dessa categoria, alcançadas não apenas por uma nova imagem, mas também por mudanças estruturais, tais como ranqueamentos pela Michelin, estão sendo utilizadas para sinalizar essa nova fase do mercado de comida de rua singapurense.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE | *Singapura, vendedores ambulantes, hawkerpreneur, comida de rua, reinvenção.*

RESUMEN

El hawker centre (patio de comida) es un ícono de la Singapur contemporánea, un elemento esencial de la identidad nacional de Singapur, pero que ha pasado por múltiples reinvenciones. Más recientemente, el hawking (comercio en patios de comida) ha sido repetidamente representado como una crisis inminente, provocada por una población de hawkers (comerciantes en patios de comida) que envejece. La reacción del Gobierno de Singapur ha sido comenzar otra transformación histórica del hawker concentrándose en el emprendedor hawker (el hawkerpreneur). Un paso al frente de la reinvención, la codificación del conocimiento sobre hawkers y hawking era requerida y proporcionada por muestras de museo y celebraciones culturales en diversos medios. El hawker es idealizado, una figura histórica, distanciada de una próxima generación emergente. Los hawkerpreneurs están siendo educados como el público. Los intereses públicos y privados imaginan estos nuevos hawkers como emprendedores exitosos, gente bella, bien peinada, de traje y glamorosa. Un cambio de status para el hawking, logrado por una nueva imagen, pero también por cambios estructurales tales como rankings de Michelin, que se están usando para señalizar esta nueva fase de la comida callejera en Singapur.

PALABRAS CLAVE | *Singapur, vendedores ambulantes, hawkerpreneurs, comida callejera, reinvención.*

NICOLE TARULEVICZ
nicole.tarulevicz@utas.edu.au
ORCID: 0000-0002-9884-5057

University of Tasmania, School of Humanities, Hobart, TAS, Australia

INTRODUCTION

The hawker center is an icon of contemporary Singapore and an essential element of national identity. But in recent years, as an aging hawker population vanishes into the sunset, this icon of inexpensive, tasty, multiethnic, and hygienic street food has been repeatedly represented as approaching crisis. The Singapore government, having already reinvented the hawker in the 1960s and moving them from the street to the hawker center, is responding again to this possible crisis. The government, working together with private actors, has begun yet another historic transformation of the iconic hawker, and this time a key emerging element is the new hawker entrepreneur, or "hawkerpreneur."

Taking inspiration from the 2017 Hawker Centre 3.0 Committee Report, this article first contextualizes the hawkerpreneur by tracing historic reinventions of Singaporean street food and the contours of the reported hawker center crisis, then turns to this new Singaporean figure. Using the language of the report, with its numerical framing of 3.0 representing the present, a clean periodization is imposed, erasing some of the necessarily blurry boundaries of periodization. It is not the lived experience of hawkers that is the focus of this paper, but rather it is hawking at a discursive level. While state actors, colonial and post-colonial, have had loud voices, non-state actors have also shaped how hawking is understood. Different actors "speak" in different mediums – from legislation, reports, speeches, photographs, magazine articles, and awards – but these varied forms can work in tandem.

If we think of these disparate sources not as lone acts of communication but as forms of culinary infrastructure, we can see how ideas about hawkers have fared, as well as served ideological, economic, and nationalist functions. For Pilcher (2016), culinary infrastructure includes both material components (traditional infrastructure like roads, ports, and technologies) and embodied expressions of knowledge (recipes, cooking practices, health regulations) and extends to "knowledge infrastructure of media and social networks that create and transfer cultural meanings about food" (p. 5). As I have argued elsewhere (Tarulevicz, 2016, p. 133), informal bodies of popular knowledge are also infrastructure. Thinking about both popular and official hawker knowledge usefully illustrates how they are formed, and highlights some of the cultural work they do. The figure of the hawkerpreneur provides us with a pertinent example of the extension of culinary infrastructure into the realm of ideology.

Singapore is a small, densely populated island nation connected by a causeway to Johore in Malaysia. The population of five million, including transient foreign workers, occupies just 704km2 (272mi2). Singapore is multi-religious and multiracial; a Chinese majority (76 percent) coexists with Malay (15 percent), Indian (8 percent), and in the words of the state, "Other" (1 percent) minority communities. Identity is further complicated by categories, such as Peranakan and Eurasian. Since 1966 official designations of race have been determined by state categories used in the National Registration Identity Cards, regardless of lived experience (Velayutham, 2017).

Singapore's transition from a British East India Company trading post to an independent "Asian Tiger economy," has been accompanied by massive economic growth facilitated by its status as a free port and consequent access to complex networks of peoples, goods, and trade. Those complex networks also created flows in labor and demand for cheap food to feed workers, many of whom had no access to cooking facilities, or to the labor of family members to cook for them. That demand was met by hawkers, itinerant street vendors selling simple meals, cooked and uncooked foods, snacks, and beverages (Warren, 1986). Hawkers and hawker food, played a critical role in building the economy of Singapore. While celebrated today in contemporary Singapore as preserving a national cuisine and culture, hawkers have undergone multiple reinventions and have been viewed historically as both a necessity and a problem.

Hawkers 1.0: On the Street, 1819-1967

Both a necessity and a nuisance, hawkers were an unruly industry to administer, unclean, and perceived to be prone to breaking regulations in pursuit of profit. The first attempts at regulating street food had limited success, and the period 1819-1967 (Hawker 1.0) can be characterized by street food on the street in a disordered fashion. Hawkers produced waste and were classed by their occupation. As the psychoanalyst Dominique Laporte (2000) notes, waste must be regulated for fear of disease and social contamination. The historian Shah's (2001) work on the Chinese in San Francisco reminds us of this connection between literal and social contamination and the ways that it can be raced and focused on specific occupations. Public health and attempts at regulation of bodies and spaces has long been central to the colonial project.

Singapore, an important free port, was a transit zone. Hawkers, moving through these transient populations, were at the center of anxiety about the spread of disease. As a port city, Singapore was particularly vulnerable. It was not just a node in an imperial network; it was part of other networks,

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including important religious and cultural flows in the Indian Ocean. For Willis (2017), the management of bodies during the Hajj highlights the deep connection between control of bodies and colonialism. Travel from Southeast Asia to Mecca during the Hajj posed, as Tagliacozzo (2013) notes, specific public health concerns. For colonial officialdom, street food hawkers, connected to these varied nodes, were a discursive problem of disorder and dirt.

For Chakrabarty (1992), discourse about public health and hygiene is connected to modernity because "it is the language not only of imperialist officials but of modernist nationalists as well" (p. 541). In Singapore, both colonial and postcolonial officials have used regulations about public health and hygiene as a way of bringing order to disorder. The regulation of hawkers can be understood as part of broader attempts of ordering and cleaning the city and the citizenry. A range of private and mercantile groups, acting in tandem with these public interests, were looking to shape street food in various ways.

In October 1872, a riot involving hawkers, particularly cooked-food vendors, broke out in Singapore. The police had been officiously enforcing regulations, introduced in 1860, intended to improve sanitary conditions and the flow of traffic by preventing congregation of hawkers and spontaneous night-markets. In the inquiry that followed, Senior Magistrate of the Straits Settlement, Mr. F. Snowden, expressed his opinion "that the police did oppress these hawkers" (Colonial Office, 1872, p. 246). In his report, Mr. R. A. Irving, Assistant Colonial Secretary, described the notice issued by the Inspector General (in English and Chinese, and distributed by Chinese constables):

> Notice is hereby given that it is not the intention of the Government to interfere with people selling things in the street except with reference to men setting up stalls in the public thoroughfares and causing obstruction. If any considers that he has been ill-treated by the Police, and will lay the complaint before the Inspector General the matter will be enquired into. (Colonial Office, 1872, p. 247).

Significant here is the use of the phrase "the Government." The riot had moved from being a policing matter to a Straits Settlement matter. Specifically questioned on this issue, Irving was at pains to clarify that his actions, including supporting the issuing of the notice and calling out the military, were "on the part of the Executive, as a representative of the Executive, at the request of the Inspector General, and on the advice of the other Officers of the Government" (Colonial Office, 1872, p. 247). The riot was thus considered as a matter of colonial government concern, as opposed to a local police matter.

How hawking was central to the riot is less clear. As historian Melissa Macauley has shown, the riots were connected with rural pacification in China. Chinese witnesses to the riot testified that events in Chaozhou underpinned the riot. Chinese merchants "insisted that the hawkers themselves had played little role in the violence, and that most of the rioters had been *samsengs* (fighting men) not hawkers who took advantage of resentment amongst the hawkers" (Macauley, 2016, p. 770). For the administrators on the ground, rioting hawkers, whether or not they were hijacked by *samsengs*, needed to be controlled, as well as pacified. The system of itinerant hawking, always popular with residents, was unpopular with colonial officials, despite its acknowledged utility.

As useful as hawking was, it could undermine public health and was subject to regulation. Diseases, including cholera and typhoid, were particular concerns. Contaminated water used by stalls was a source of water-borne diseases, whether the water was dispersed on the ground or used in mixed drinks. Diseases also spread through inadequately cleaned hands and utensils. Hawkers were understood to be carriers of gastroenteritis, enteric fever (typhoid), dysentery, cholera, and parasitic infections, such as hookworm and roundworm. Food waste from stalls drew insects and rodents, and the tropical conditions of Singapore increased the rate of decay and spread of contamination. Itinerancy itself was also a problem (Tarulevicz, 2015, p. 6), making hawkers a vector for the spread of disease through their own movement and through the movement of their waste across multiple areas.

Itinerancy made regulations about cleanliness and attempts to clean public spaces a Sisyphean task. Streets could spontaneously become night markets if enough hawkers congregated. Certain areas would regularly attract these informal night markets. During these periods of occupation, tasks such as street cleaning became more difficult. Town cleaning laborers consequently avoided these areas. If they did not, they clashed with the hawkers. The legal status of hawking varied, with certain practices (such as congregating) being a continual source of tension between authorities and the public.

Schumpeter (1942) identified the process of "creative destruction" as an "essential fact about capitalism" that "incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one" (p. 83). In the dying days of the British colonization of Singapore, getting rid of the itinerancy component of hawking

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was the main objective, the creative destruction. In destroying the form (street food), the cuisine itself was preserved. A key component of this creative destruction shifted the focus from the practice of hawking on to individual hawkers. The strategies for regulation also shifted toward individual embodied strategies, much more akin to other public health strategies.

The 1950 Hawker Inquiry Commission reflected this shift, noting that "the presence of any hawkers makes it difficult to keep streets clean, but it is chiefly the hawkers of food and drink that do the harm" (Hawker Inquiry Commission, 1950, p. 2). Hawking became a matter of public health, and the commission sought advice from the Municipal Health Department. Out of this consultation, the commission recommended that all hawkers be compulsorily inoculated against typhoid, and that as a condition of holding a license, hawkers be required to submit to a medical inspection by municipal health inspectors. The commission also suggested the introduction of straws to raise the standard of hygiene and recommended they be made available, even if doing so required a subsidy. In removing a potential point of contact with dirty bodies and equipment, the commission evoked a mechanism for bringing about better health outcomes.

The Hawker Inquiry Commission both destroyed and preserved hawking in Singapore. It played a major role in the eradication of itinerant hawkers, although a systematic regulatory regime was not introduced until Singapore was fully independent. The commission also acknowledged the centrality of hawking to the Singaporean way of life, and, as geographer Kong (2007, p. 19) suggested, the decision to regulate rather than prohibit hawkers was a major shift in colonial administrative thinking. By laying the foundation for moving hawkers into controllable spaces, the commission actually preserved it, albeit in a modified form.

Hawkers 2.0: Hawker Centers, 1968-2016

In the first decades of Singaporean independence, hawking was transformed from chaotic to ordered, and the itinerant sellers who walked the streets came under increased regulation in indoor spaces. The first hawker centers were relatively basic, purpose-built structures that had running water, electricity, and a roof, but were open at the sides, pavilion style. Sited predominantly in residential areas and in the city, the centers aimed to replace the services provided by itinerant vendors and housed permanent stalls, as many as 60. These stalls, like their cart predecessors, specialized in specific dishes or cuisines and sold a limited range of items. Over the years, some hawker centers have become more elaborate spaces or food centers, often integrated with malls (Chua, 2016, p. 24). Contemporary hawker and food centers might be recognizable as a cousin of food courts, a tastier and less corporate cousin, but still related.

As infrastructure, the transformation from itinerancy to hawker centers required a bureaucracy (an army of inspectors), a legal apparatus (empowering police and inspectors), and a shift in popular knowledge. Certain gustatory changes accompanied this movement (Duruz, 2016, p. 144). Satay cooked indoors, for example, might actually be safer than that cooked at a hawker cart, but the taste and eating experience (a sea breeze versus air-conditioning) has changed, and satay is now understood as street food even when not cooked or eaten on the street.

The regulation of food provision and the remaking of public space can be seen across the food sector. Hawkers, once seen as unseemly, dirty, and visceral, were cleaned up, their hands washed, their cooking equipment inspected and standardized. The places where they plied their trade were eradicated, repurposed or replaced with "ordered" spaces – hawker centers. In turn, these spaces were increasingly policed, made cleaner and orderly at every turn. Duruz and Khoo (2015) describe Singapore's hawker centers as existing at the "intersection of charm and safety" (p. 99). Such ordered spaces produce cleaner and safer foods, reinvented for a new era and expectations.

The vanishing hawker

The most recent transformation of hawkers relates to their status. Having built up hawkers and hawker centers as quintessential to Singaporean culture, a crisis is now being staged about their future. A 2015 article asked, "Is Singapore's hawker culture faltering?" (Malay Mail Online, 2015). The problem was articulated as "the street food culture here is in danger of fading into the sunset. Why? Because older hawkers are retiring or passing away, and there is not enough new blood to take their place,". Hawking is repeatedly represented as being in crisis and common themes emerge around age and desirability of the career. Tan Hsueh Yun, a *Straits Times* journalist, sums up the crisis and argues that it must evolve in order to survive:

> The median age of hawkers here is 59 years [...] Scores of them have retired and many more continue to do so every year. Young people make more money blogging or writing listicles about hawker food than they ever will running a hawker

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> stall. Why slave in a cramped and hot hawker stall when you can make pronouncements on the five best *Hokkien mee* stalls in Singapore on a laptop? (Straits Times, 2016).

Generational change and expectations about profit and the nature of work are common themes in the hawking crisis. A desire amongst younger hawkers to do new things, such as making fusion foods, also arises; the crisis is in part about keeping the hawker culture traditional but simultaneously allowing it to evolve. Peter Mok, a new hawker, laments that "(Old-style) hawkers are dinosaurs, society will evolve and they will no longer be found. The hawker culture will change with the changing tastes of the newer generation" (Malay Mail Online, 2015).

In museum exhibitions and cultural celebrations in media, the vanishing hawker represents a paradoxically strong, if romanticized figure. To illustrate this, I discuss two examples, a book and an exhibition (that also includes a guidebook), which exemplify recent visual representations of hawking. Hawking has never been exclusively male, and the representations of the vanishing hawker are not exclusively male either. They do tend, however, to echo those elements of the Hawker 1.0 era where some activities – cooking over flames, selling alcohol – skewed male.

Not for sale: Singapore's remaining street food vendors is a private archival project supported by the National Heritage Board (2013) and headed by Angelia Teo, Bernie Guan, and Sinma DaShow, who describe the project as "a private odyssey, for the three of us – local "lads" who having lived overseas, returned to find the vast changes going on at home." Starting in 2010, the project ran for 900 days and included photographs from over a hundred hawker centers, thousands of hours of interviews, recordings, and transcriptions. Public expressions include a book, a Facebook page, media coverage, and YouTube interview footage.

Predominantly composed of striking black and white photographs, the book of 300+ pages also include text, color images, and quotes from hawkers. The book uses a variety of narrative techniques that represent hawkers as dying and exhausted, with skills and tradition on the verge of being lost, and also shows the struggles of older generations requiring recognition before they vanish. Having inscribed hawking as a vanishing tradition, however, the book works to make space for hawking to be re-inscribed as a site of potential and growth – that is, the nostalgia for its vanishing demise is an essential element in its reinvention. *Not for sale's* foreword by MP Baey Yam Keng, Chair of the Government Parliamentary Committee for Culture, Community and Youth, is explicit about the importance of hawking to Singapore:

> Singapore hawker food is an integral part of our national identity. It binds Singaporeans from all walks of life and provides shared memories and experiences across generations […] We must be proactive in preserving, protecting and promoting our local food culture. This book seeks to record and celebrate hawkers and stalls with the longest history and heritage, and accord them with recognition and the status of national heritage food. This is indeed a worthy project highlighting valuable work in an area close to all our hearts. (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 10.)

Baey is comfortable that private archiving is concomitant with government views and the purpose of this celebration is programmatic: "we need to recognize and respect the dedication of these artisan hawkers. Only then will younger people be motivated and aspire to join this trade" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 11). The logic is clear – recognition will elevate the status of hawkers and make it appealing to the next generation. This builds on a symbolic demarcation between old-style hawkers and the next generation. In part, *Not for Sale* does cultural work to lock down the old-style hawker. Most obviously, the black and white photography frames the separation between old-style and contemporary, fixing these celebrated hawkers and their stalls in the past.

Baey's optimistic tone is not carried deeper into the book. The first chapter ("No Regrets") begins in a funereal tone with an image of a locked, wall-mounted medical box, from a now-closed hawker center. The letters HELP (which identify the function of the kit) have been repurposed to read "Hawker Emergency Life Saving Point." The tone is mirrored in the opening text:

> Our subjects told us they have no regrets, doing what they have done for most of their lives... Most stalls are almost certain of vanishing altogether with their owner's age. And far be it from us to consider this chapter a eulogy of their life's work, let it stand as a record of the history they created (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 19)

The eulogy aspect is further emphasized with a quotation from Saint Augustine: "No eulogy is due to him who simply does

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his duty and nothing more" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 19). These hawkers *are* due a eulogy. They are being celebrated for having done more than their duty and for being extraordinary. But they are relegated to history, their time passed into the past. Following this opening section of the book, are 45 pages of captioned photographs.

Portraits of hawkers and their stalls are interspersed with images of culinary objects reiterating the past, such as a full-page photograph of a washed metal pot with strainers entitled: "A pot emptied of its broth" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p.54). The portraits capture place and people, almost conflating the two, with the stall and the hawker inseparable. Many of the images are bleak, such as the one of Tan Huang Khiang (II), framed by hanging meat and looking exhausted in his beef noodles stall. We are told that at age 13, he started helping his father and that before they had a stall they had a pushcart. His exhaustion is underscored by a quotation: "I'll work until I can't carry on. I'm getting slower every day because of my age" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 37).

For Singaporeans, this is a historical narrative. References to age and slowing down, when read in tandem with the physical signs of tiredness (and in black and white) cast this as historical. Since most Singaporeans were born after independence (post-1965, when itinerant hawking was outlawed), a hawker who began his working life selling food from a pushcart is describing a moment known only through the narrative forms of history. Further references to past practices reinforce the message. Phoon Hon Sun, who runs a roasted duck and meats stall, started out in 1969 and shares memories of practices very different from contemporary Singapore: "I remember watching over our food carts through the night for fear of raids by health inspectors" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 22). This implied relationship between hawking, crime, and the Singaporean state sounds unworldly and alien, locating this hawker in a culturally distant past.

Having killed and buried hawking in the past, the remaining chapters of *Not for Sale* begin to hint at a resurrection. "Fables & Tales," for example, works to separate hawkers from the *now* by emphasizing that traditions are vanishing and techniques becoming lost. For example, Nai Kim Siong, a drinks hawker, is quoted: "We are fast losing our coffee traditions. We used to roast our own beans and toast our bread over charcoal grills" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 82). Yet the level of detail – roasting and toasting – positions the work as skilled and thus artisanal, foreshadowing themes directed at the next generation of hawkers. Handmade food is emphasized too, as in Koh Jee Kok: "Our curry puffs are fresh and they are handmade. Handmade food comes with a special attachment" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 94). Handmade, literally made by hand rather than machinery, works like artisanal to give food a high status and oppositional to mass-produced, industrial foods (Blundel and Smith, 2013). Handmade signifies skilled labor, not just labor, which is a way of celebrating these hawkers and signaling to the next generation that although this career is hard work, it is skilled, not manual work.

Similarly, the autonomy associated with hawking both emphasizes the past and hints at the future. Prawn noodle hawker Lau Fook Wah, for example, says: "My father's thinking was always better to be your own boss than an employee, even if you were a 'kachang puteh' seller, you would still be better off" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 84). (Kachang Puteh, a snack food of steamed and fried nuts, spiced or sweetened, was sold by itinerant sellers, packaged in paper cones traditionally made from newspaper.) Sim Han Boo, a fishball noodle stallholder, illustrates the hawking promise of economic autonomy: "I first started out in this trade as a stall assistant before running my own stall to earn my living" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 109). Emphasizing autonomy, progress, and skilled artisan labor again foreshadows the reinvention of the hawkerpreneur.

Siblings Loh Choon Huay and Loh Kai Mong explain why they took over their mother's stall: "... we wanted to keep our mother's craft and taste alive" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 180). Fixing taste, while not possible, has a certain appeal in Singapore, a nation in which change has been both rapid and profound. Haley (2012) reminds us that it is hard to capture the taste of the past because "it is not just our minds that play tricks with us, but also our bodies. Food is familiar and history often is not. Like kids at the candy store window, we can almost taste the past" (p. 78). Instead, as Fitzgerald and Petrick (2008) note, we use historical imagination to "approximate the nature of taste historically" (pp. 392-393). Yet it is impossible, as Amy Bentley (2014) reminds us, to "return to a historical moment and sample food as it existed at the time, or to recreate a product's taste as it was experienced within a particular historical and cultural milieu" (p. 82). When the Lee brothers say of their roast duck and meats stall, "there are no changes to the way we prepare our food, if we change then it is not our food anymore" (National Heritage Board, 2013, p. 235), we cannot assume that the taste is fixed. After all, when their grandfather started the stall almost 60 years ago, the conditions of production of ducks was quite different from today. Promoting timelessness in a sea of change provides comfort, roots the practice in the past, and does some of the same work as emphasizing craft: it elevates manual labour to artisanal labour.

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Not for Sale ends with "Afterthoughts" and an image of two exhausted male hawkers resting, heads on the plastic hawker center table, feet up, shoes off and on the seats, mugs of beer untouched. A blank page entitled "My personal memories" implicates the reader – here is where memories should be noted. The reader has worn out the hawkers and must take some responsibility. Singaporeans are familiar with such appeals. The National Archives have encouraged Singaporeans to "grab their tape-recorders" and capture memories of their elders "before it is too late" and deposit the recordings (National Archives, 2002, p. 1). Food writer Oon (1998, p. 7) echoed this approach and said she wished to inspire Singaporeans to "reach out for pen and paper" to capture family recipes and find "their own cultural soul." Memory-making is both personal and national work in Singapore (Tarulevicz, 2013, p. 110).

This conflation of the personal and the national is also evident in a recent exhibition celebrating one of the first hawker centers, the Taman Jurong Market and Food Center, another site of the codification of knowledge about hawkers and hawking. Using Taman Jurong as its focus, the exhibition and accompanying guide Eat: Our hawker centers and food heritage (2016) periodizes the hawker era. This guide (over 100 pages) weaves a conventional narrative of national progress into the story of multi-redevelopments of a specific site. Painting life as harsh in the colonial era, the guide emphasizes the provision of infrastructure by the State and the gradual improvement in the working and living conditions of hawkers and of Singaporeans.

During the hawker 2.0 era, hawker centers emerged as spaces that had national and social value: "[hawker centers] became more than just places for people to eat their meals, they became social spaces where family and friends gathered to spend time together, and hawkers and customers interacted with each other daily," (Eat: Our hawker centers and food heritage, p. 30). In the 2016 iteration of Taman Jurong, social space is emphasized and children's drawings of what social space means to them are included in the design.

Much of the *Eat* volume is dedicated to recollections from hawkers who worked in particular versions of the hawker centers in Taman Jurong. The last section of the book focuses on the retirement of these hawkers and the ensuing crisis. Illustrating how this genre of history works, the Taman Jurong exhibition encodes knowledge about hawkers of the past by tracing the histories of specific sites, connecting those to national history, periodizing these histories, and finally connecting this knowledge with the life-stories of individual hawkers. Ang Soo Kwang, a second-generation hawker, is identified as encapsulating "the whole essence of being a hawker," when he says "… I feel that the most important thing is to cook with sincerity. When you feel good and cook with all your heart, this emotion will be conveyed to the customers who eat your food" (Eat, 2016, p. 109). Casting vanishing hawkers as symbols of the past both romanticizes hawker virtues and emphasizes the idea that that their replacement is part of wider historical processes, which works to affirm what Slotkin (1973) would see as narratives of progress. With practices and aesthetics codified and richly described, the vanishing hawker was ripe for reinvention.

Hawkers 3.0: Hawkerpreneurs

Food vendors may share characteristics reflective of the constraints and appeal of the business of selling food. Broadly speaking, food vending has been open to the marginal and has historically reflected migration patterns, ethnic and racial makeup, and social and economic position (Ray, 2016, p. 12). Because of specialization and scale, relatively less capital is required for hawkers than other food businesses. By offering a limited range of foods, ingredient, equipment, and labor costs are lower. These structural aspects of hawking – accessibility, smaller financial and cultural capital requirements, employment without a boss – all work to make this a field ripe for innovation, driven by changes in image and status.

The academic concept of an "entrepreneur" has a notably tangled history. In a classic article, Gartner (1988) insists that entrepreneurs create organizations, but he is less interested in the study of entrepreneurial traits. In the Singaporean context, the emergent and distinctive figure of the hawkerpreneur is popularly associated with little else *but* the personal characteristics of the next generation. Entrepreneurs have played a critical role in the national story of Singapore as they have in many consumer capitalist countries. Culinary entrepreneurs, however, are especially noted in Singapore. For example, *kopitiams* (small coffee shops selling drinks and light meals), are important to Singapore's foodscape but also to its entrepreneurial history (Lai, 2012, p. 221).

Ah Koon, a classic example of a *kopitiam* entrepreneur, started the Ya Kun Kaya Toast brand. As Andrew Tam points out, the narrative "of a hardworking man from humble origins serving homemade toast and coffee […] is crucial to the Ya Kun Kaya Toast brand" (Tam, 2017, p. 50). In a written history of the company, this connection between individual life story and company is repeatedly emphasized (Koh, 2010). Yeo Thian In, the founder of Yeo Hiap Seng soy sauce brand, provides another example of a traditional culinary entrepreneur whose life story

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of humble beginnings, adversity, and eventual prosperity define the genre (Yeo, 2010). Soy sauce production and coffee shop chains, while different kinds of businesses, share a similar entrepreneurship narrative. What is clear is that hawkerpreneurs are not entrepreneurial hawkers; they are entrepreneurs who have become hawkers. Theirs is not the story of a single, male migrant who worked hard, overcame adversity to build a business from scratch, and the business then became an empire. Rather, it is the story of a successful entrepreneur who turns his or her attention to hawking.

In early 2017, the Hawker Center 3.0 Committee, a team of public servants, citizens, and interested parties chaired by Dr. Amy Khor, Senior Minister of State, Ministry of Environment and Water Resources, submitted its report. Tasked with developing proposals to improve hawker centers and promote trade, the Hawker Centre 3.0 report detailed strategies for the reinvention of the iconographic Singaporean street food cuisine (Government of Singapore, 2017, p. 5). The report made 11 key recommendations to sustain the hawker trade, support new entrants, improve productivity, enhance hawker center spaces, and "promote graciousness."

One interesting recommendation of the committee was for greater food curation in hawker centers. Echoing the language of museums and art galleries, this form of curation ensures a good mix of foods is available in all hawker centers and "the retention of traditional hawker food where appropriate" (Government of Singapore, 2017, p. 38). Curation, however, also discourages ethnic enclaves, thus mirroring housing policy where each building must reflect the ratio of ethnic groups in Singapore (Sin, 2002, p. 287). In fact, Tam suggests that hawker centers, as public social spaces, were "deliberately constructed to reverse racial segregation" by facilitating racial integration through the provision of multiracial foods in one place (Tam, 2017, p. 47).

A critical part of the revitalization included the training of potential hawkers. Contemporary Singapore's highly competitive and stratified education system, used to reinforce ideals of Singaporean meritocracy, has emerged as a key industry. The island nation is consciously trying to position itself as the "Boston of the East" with a hub of universities and a current international student body of 75,000, from primary to tertiary (Tan, 2016). It comes as no surprise that hawkers are also the subject of education. One strategy, "an incubation stall programme," allowed aspiring hawkers to experience running a stall for six to 12 months under the guidance of mentors (Government of Singapore, 2017, p. 7). Establishment of a resource center with information about licensing, paperwork, and regulations was also proposed.

Specific training schemes recently gained great popularity: one food management hawkers program, for example, received sixty applications for eighteen places. Private providers also play a role, such as the Singapore Hawker Entrepreneur Program, which runs a 15-hour training program covering matters from selecting a location to food safety certification requirements (Singapore Hawker Entrepreneur Program, n.d.). Thus far, these schemes have not proved successful in the long term. Only five of the 46 trainees, who graduated from Dignity Kitchen's Hawker Master Trainer Pilot Programme, are still in the hawking business one year from graduation (Lee, 2016).

Elevating the status of hawkers is a concern of the report and also of hawkers themselves. The *Straits Times* quoted Philip Tan, a 59-year-old hawker of fish ball noodles, who suggested a name change: "Instead of using the word hawker, we should use another term, in the same way bus drivers are now called bus captains" (Straits Times, 2016). A new image is even more important than a new name. Luxury lifestyle magazine, *Peak,* featured seven stalls with 12 next-generation hawkers, "Shaping the Future of Singapore Food," who reflect the new hawker image:

> A young woman bravely sat her father down for a firm talk about who's boss. Two brothers gave up good degrees in IT and engineering to flip dough. Still others sacrificed sleep and personal time to sweat it out over a hot stove. Their stories are here. And they stem from one thing: passion. (Koh, 2016).

The young hawkers have common themes – they were all successful in something else before they chose to become hawkers. What is critical in this narrative is that they had high status positions already (engineers, marketing specialists) and chose to leave those to become hawkers. Joel Chia was a "sharp-suited foreign exchange trader working 'short and sweet' hours at a local bank," who gave that lifestyle up for the long hours and physicality of working in a curry rice stall. Sebastian Kwek's story gives additional culinary gravitas to hawking – he worked in respected European restaurants before taking over his grandmother's pulled noodle stall. Kwek chose a hawker stall over a prestigious restaurant, but the entrepreneur turned hawker also emphasizes the business advantages of this: "if these ideas fail, I will lose just a bit of money [...] So, if it works, good. If it doesn't, at least I gave it a try" (Koh, 2016).

This 3.0 generation also presents well – a hawkerpreneur is noticeably fashionable. The hawkers represent the three main

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ethnic groups of Singapore – Chinese, Malay, and Indian – and these are beautiful people, coiffured, suited, and glamorous. They look like they would be more at home in a fashion shoot than a busy hawker stall. Echoing the images in *Not for Sale*, the photographs in *Peak* evoke the past, but a very different, glamorous one, with vintage-tinged design elements hinting at 1930s Shanghai cocktail lounges and classic Bollywood. And, unlike the vanishing hawker, these photographs are sharp and in full color, with the textures of the tweeds clearly visible, and clothing labels carefully noted for fashion-conscious readers.

A hawkerpreneur can be rugged as well as fashionable. Habib Mohamed, who runs an Indian Rojak (mixed chopped salad) stall, is photographed next to a case of redolent vegetables and fritters, like a Bollywood star in his silver suit. He tells how hard he worked, including covering for a staff member suddenly called away for a number of weeks. In the language of *Peak:* "But tough times don't last – only tough men do." Hawking is hard work and not for the faint-hearted. Brothers Mohamed Dufail and Almalic Faisal make their popular prata by hand, kneading flour and fat in large batches to make a special bread, crisp on the outside, soft in the center. This is craft, described as "the magic that happens when the dough is tossed by deft hands," inducing customers to queue for 30 minutes or more. That it takes time frustrates some customers, but as Mohamed says, "This isn't McDonald's" (Koh, 2016).

These hawkerpreneurs represent the opposite of industrial-scale food production. Three siblings from the Sai family work at the intersection of traditional methods and modern coffee aesthetics. They make coffee using the traditional sock method but also offer lattes, using traditional kopi techniques and ingredients, such as evaporated milk. Faye Sai notes that some customers expect a latte to come from an espresso machine: "Sometimes, people peek inside our shop when they order a latte and try to look for a machine. And then I'll get very angry. You don't need (machine-pulled) shots to do a latte" (Koh, 2016). This next generation is both innovative and adaptive, able to negotiate tradition and techniques to emphasize old and new craft.

Hawkerpreneurs are both artisans and innovators. Gwern Khoo and Ben Tham started their first hawker stall with "a premium rendition" of a local staple, wonton noodles. Making this a high-end dish was initially seen as a novelty, but winning a Bib Gourmand award in 2016 helped "A Noodle Story" to develop a cult following and international status. With restaurant experience under international chefs, such as Tetsuya, the pair consciously brought fine-dining restaurant techniques to street food, making only 200 bowls a day of "thin springy noodles, tender slices of 36-hour sous vide char siew, wonton made from fresh Indonesian minced pork, and half an egg with a molten yolk" (Koh, 2016). Sous-viding the char siew (Chinese style barbeque pork) immediately locates the dish in a restaurant space. Their customers are cosmopolitans too – not the average Singaporean, who is locally referred to as a heartlander (Goh, 1999). Khoo notes: "[…] our customers are mostly office executives. They are well-travelled, eat more widely, are more receptive to new creations and are willing to pay for quality" (Koh, 2016).

Structural changes in status have been critical to the reimagining of hawking. Singapore was the first Southeast Asian nation to be rated by the Michelin Guide, and in 2016 (the first year of rating) several hawker stalls were awarded Michelin stars (Henderson, 2017). Systems of awards are a clear form of culinary infrastructure, moving beyond its traditional focus on fine dining. The significance of this was not confined to the individual hawkers; the mere possibility of winning a Michelin star elevated the status of hawking as a profession. Coiffured, suit-wearing, beautiful people, dedicated to craft could now receive international recognition and prestige in line with their status as existing entrepreneurs.

The Michelin winners, however, were actually of the old-school hawker variety. Chan Hon Meng, owner of Hong Kong Soya Sauce Chicken Rice and Noodle, for example, has been a hawker for 35 years. A short film produced by Michelin tells Chan's story. The aesthetics of the film, including soundtrack, are very reminiscent of the film *Jiro Dreams of Sushi*, produced by Iwashina and Pellegrini (2011), linking Chan with the story of 85-year-old Jiro Ono, sushi master and owner of a 10-seat, three-Michelin-star restaurant in a Tokyo subway station. These are older Asian men who are masters of their art. Chan is humble. When he received the invitation to attend the Michelin gala dinner he was "uncertain", and "I asked them, 'Are you joking? Why would Michelin come to my stall?'" His humbleness is not just about his food but his status as a hawker. He said to the Michelin representative: "'I've never heard of Michelin inspectors visiting a street stall, can even a hawker be nominated?" (Michelin Guide Singapore, 2016). That question, "can *even a hawker* be nominated?" speaks directly to the issue of transformation of status. For the next generation to want to be hawkers, hawking needs to have a high status, and Michelin awards provide this.

Chan's narrative explains how this transition works: "For us chefs we long for the day we are recognized internationally. It is a form of honor. As if we are in university and now graduating." By casting the award in terms of education and honor, Chan

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is translating the award into culturally recognizable forms. In a society that emphasizes education and meritocracy (Barr & Skrbiš, 2008, p. 60), this narrative framing especially suits a Singaporean audience. Chan suggests that chefs and hawkers cook as if every plate of food were being tasted by a Michelin inspector (Michelin Guide Singapore, 2016). For hawkers, cooking as if being judged by the world makes the act of food preparation competitive, demanding, and worthy, further working to elevate the status of hawking.

CONCLUSION

Street food is understood in multiple ways, including as a cuisine and byword for local food. In contemporary Singapore, it is also a shorthand for nation. Together, hawking and hawker food do significant cultural and social work in Singapore, in particular around belonging and identity. Spatial reflections of identity, from street food to coffee shops (Lai, 2016, p. 103), have occupied scholars, as has the rise of culinary nostalgia. Hawker centers are the quintessential eating spaces of Singapore, and as Kong (2007, p. 19) suggests in her book on hawker centers, these are places that "have mirrored the changing life and landscape in Singapore over time."

Singapore has undergone remarkable transformation with potentially disorienting speed. The island's geographic territory has expanded through land-reclamation and its built environment is subject to perpetual redevelopment with inevitable social and technological changes. Commentator George (2000, p. 193) suggested that the rate and scale of change affects the Singaporean psyche because "even if they stay put, the country moves around them, and Singaporeans find themselves eventually in a new place, clinging only to ghosts". Hawkers are being made into ghosts through redevelopment, codification of the past, and reinvention. But they have been entrepreneurial and reinvented before. Whether the coiffured generation will become the next hawkerpreneurs, time will tell.

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FORUM

Invited article
Original version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180310

"BEER WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS": MARKETING BEER UNDER MAO

"Cerveja com características chinesas": Marketing de cerveja sob o regime maoísta

"Cerveza con características chinas": Comercialización de cerveza bajo Mao

ABSTRACT

This essay explores the nationalization of beer in twentieth-century China. Using the theoretical framework of "culinary infrastructure," it shows how the physical facilities and technologies of brewing and marketing interacted with local drinking cultures to shape the understandings of beer in China. It begins by describing how a western consumer good originally marketed to colonial representatives was gradually adopted by the urban Chinese as a symbol of modernity in the first half of the twentieth century. It then reviews the nationalization of foreign-owned breweries and the growth of domestic production in the first decades of Communist rule. The essay concludes that the Chinese acquired a taste for beer as an everyday marker of urban privilege that survived Maoist radicalism and remains to this day a defining feature of Communist China.

KEYWORDS | Beer, China, Great Leap Forward, socialist marketing, nationalism.

RESUMO

Este estudo explora a nacionalização da cerveja na China no século XX. Usando o quadro teórico da "infraestrutura culinária", mostra como as instalações físicas e tecnologias de fabricação e comercialização interagiram com culturas locais de bebida para moldar os entendimentos de cerveja na China. Começa por descrever como um bem de consumo ocidental originalmente comercializado por representantes coloniais foi gradualmente adotado pelo chinês urbano como símbolo da modernidade na primeira metade do século XX. Em seguida, analisa a nacionalização das cervejarias de propriedade estrangeira e o crescimento da produção doméstica nas primeiras décadas do regime comunista. O estudo conclui que os chineses adquiriram o gosto pela cerveja como marca diária de privilégios urbanos que sobreviveu ao radicalismo maoísta e permanece até hoje uma característica definidora da China comunista.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE | *Cerveja, China, Grande Salto Adiante, marketing socialista, nacionalismo.*

RESUMEN

Este ensayo explora la nacionalización de la cerveza en la China del siglo XX. Usando el marco teórico de "infraestructura culinaria", muestra cómo las instalaciones físicas y tecnologías de producción de cerveza y comercialización interactuaron con las culturas de beber locales para formar los entendimientos de la cerveza en China. Comienza describiendo cómo un bien de consumo occidental originalmente comercializado a representantes coloniales fue adoptado gradualmente por los chinos urbanos como símbolo de modernidad en la primera mitad del siglo XX. Entonces, reseña la nacionalización de cerveceras de propiedad de extranjeros y el crecimiento de la producción local en las primeras décadas del gobierno comunista. El ensayo concluye que los chinos adquirieron el gusto por la cerveza como un marcador cotidiano de privilegio urbano que sobrevivió al radicalismo maoísta y permanece hasta hoy como una característica definitoria de la China comunista.

PALABRAS CLAVE | *Cerveza, China, Gran Salto Adelante, comercialización socialista, nacionalismo.*

JEFFREY PILCHER
jeffrey.pilcher@utoronto.ca
ORCID: 0000-0002-3540-5310

YU WANG
gengshi.wang@mail.utoronto.ca
ORCID: 0000-0001-9109-9015

YUEBIN JACKSON GUO
jacksonyuebin.guo@mail.utoronto.ca
ORCID:0000-0002-5931-6689

University of Toronto, Department of History, Toronto, ON, Canada

INTRODUCTION

China's recent global economic ascendancy has prompted widespread attention to the country's particular version of state capitalism, which the architect of economic reform, Deng Xiaoping, labeled "socialism with Chinese characteristics." As is the case in countless other industries, China is also the world's largest producer of beer, and attempts by international firms to enter the Chinese market since the 1990s have met with limited success. To explain the ability of Chinese brewers to compete with more technically advanced foreign rivals, the economist Junfei Bai and his coauthors emphasized the distinctive nature of the local market, paraphrasing Deng's slogan with "beer" in place of "socialism." They cited Chinese preferences for undifferentiated quality, low price, and unique tastes, such as that for clam-juice beer, as evidence that foreign firms selling premium brands "just do not 'get' the China beer market" (Bai, Huang, Rozelle, & Boswell, 2011, p. 184).

Although local knowledge is unquestionably vital for successful marketing, evaluating the development of the Chinese beer industry from a historical perspective also requires careful attention to chronology. Noting that beer remained a luxury until economic reform began in 1978, Bai and his colleagues pointed to the 1990s as the turning point in Chinese brewing. This interpretation fits within a broader social science literature emphasizing the transformative nature of consumerism following the privations of the Great Leap Famine (1959-1961) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) (Jun, 2000; Davis, 2000; Latham, Thompson, & Klein, 2006; Gerth, 2010; Li, 2010). But historians have noted important antecedents to contemporary industrial modernity and consumer culture in early-twentieth-century China (Cochran, 1999; Lu, 1999; Gerth, 2003; Dikötter, 2006). Both social scientists and historians have largely shared the assumption that the growth of Chinese consumerism was temporarily suppressed under the rule of Mao Zedong, who insisted that people be provided with the "necessary" but not the "superfluous" (Hoffmann, 1971). Nevertheless, beer had become enough of a necessity in China that the number of breweries increased more than tenfold between 1949 and 1976. Whereas only about seven firms served a largely foreign clientele on the eve of the Communist revolution, the hundred or more breweries operating at the time of Mao's death set the stage for reform-era growth (Zhu, Qi, & Wu, 1980).

One historical study that spans the twentieth century—Zhiguo Yang's exemplary account of the brewery in Qingdao—emphasizes the progressive nationalization of beer in China. Founded in 1903 by German colonists, the brewery adopted the colonial spelling Tsingtau, later Tsingtao, and served a predominantly European clientele. When Japanese forces seized the German concession in Shandong Province during World War I, the new owners sought to market the beer to local consumers; however, sales remained low because the Chinese had not yet acquired much of a taste for beer. After World War II, the Nationalist managers hoped to expand Tsingtao's sales in major cities, such as Shanghai and Nanjing, but made little progress due to the instability caused by the civil war. When the Communists took over, they saw the brewery as a valuable source of foreign revenue, and the beer was not marketed nationally until the 1990s (Yang, 2007). Because of its distinctive origins and export markets, the brewery at Qingdao can offer only limited insights on the wider Chinese beer industry.

Building on Yang's work, this essay explores the nationalization of beer throughout twentieth-century China with a special focus on the Maoist period. It adopts the theoretical framework of "culinary infrastructure" to show how the physical facilities and technologies of brewing and marketing interacted with local drinking cultures to shape the understandings of beer in China (Pilcher, 2016; Wilson, 2005). The narrative begins by examining how a western consumer good originally marketed to colonial representatives was gradually adopted by urban Chinese as a symbol of modernity in the first half of the twentieth century. It then outlines the nationalization of foreign-owned breweries and the growth of domestic production in the first decades of Communist rule. The essay concludes that the Chinese acquired a taste for beer as an everyday marker of urban privilege that survived Maoist radicalism and remains to this day a defining feature of Communist China (Eyferth, 2009; Brown, 2012).

MAKING BEER CHINESE

Upon first tasting beer in 1905, a Chinese consumer spat out: "Ugh, what kind of black brew is this? It looks like medicine! And that foam on top! You can't drink it—not on your life!" (Höllmann, 2014, p. 149). Although this particular encounter with dark Russian ale may have been more extreme than the usual reaction to light German lagers, western beer did not gain immediate acceptance among Chinese drinking cultures. The problem was not with alcohol per se, because the Chinese have been making and drinking intoxicating beverages for thousands of years. Nor was it necessarily the bitter taste of beer; few would consider the shots of *baijiu* (distilled spirits) traditionally consumed during banquets as mild (Smart, 2005; Shen & Wang, 1998). Instead, the association of beer with imperialist powers meant that the appeal

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of the beverage, which might otherwise have been appreciated by many, was originally limited to progressive, urban Chinese. These modernists, often writers for western-style newspapers that proliferated around the turn of the century, played a crucial role in the domestication of beer. Together with the brewers themselves, they tried to strike a fine balance between the foreign and the national, emphasizing the allure of modernity while preserving connections with Chinese antiquity (Gerth, 2003).

Westerners introduced beer to China in the nineteenth century, and it remained for some time a source of imperial distinction. Merchants imported beer to the colony of Hong Kong, the "treaty ports" of Shanghai and Tianjin, and even interior provinces, such as Hunan (Parsons, 1900). Russians established the first breweries in China around 1900 in the Northeastern cities of Harbin and Mukden to supply beer to workers on the Trans-Manchurian Railway. A few years later, Germans founded two breweries in their Shandong concession—the Brauerei Germania with its Tsingtao brand and Brauerei Gomoll, which specialized in Berlin-style Weissbier ("Bierausfuhr aus Japan," 1908; Ohlmer, 1914; United States. Dept. of State, & United States. Bureau of Foreign Commerce, 1908). Investors from the United States financed the Oriental Brewery in Hong Kong in 1909, but the firm failed after just a few years and the machinery was shipped to Manila, where it supplied American colonial troops engaged in suppressing a Philippine insurgency ("Beer Making in China," 1910; "Fred Hauswirth, Brewmaster", 1918). Shanghai, with the largest concentration of foreigners, supported two breweries at various times. The Union Brewery was founded in 1911 by German or French interests, sold to Norwegian businessmen in 1919, and held briefly by the flamboyant real estate mogul Victor Sassoon around 1935. At about that time, the British trading company Jardine Matheson built a new brewery in a striking modernist building located on the waterfront (Zhu & Qi, 1981).

Despite these various western enterprises, Japan was the imperial power most dedicated to building local markets for beer. Beginning with the Meiji era (1868-1912), Japanese officials were determined to modernize the country and adopt European technology and culture, including beer. Two firms, Dai Nippon (Great Japanese) and Kirin (a mythological beast), had consolidated the domestic beer market by 1906 and looked abroad for growth in places such has Manchuria, where the Japanese had recently defeated the Russian army (Alexander, 2013). A German journalist optimistically declared: "In China, as in Korea, the local population is turning ever more toward a taste for beer" (Globus, 1906, p. 339). Nevertheless, Japanese imports had undercut German brands among Chinese consumers as well as Japanese merchants (*Berichte Consularämter,* 1908, p. 37). Dai Nippon's construction of a factory in Shenyang around 1910 and its acquisition of the Tsingtao Brewery in 1916 extended its control over the nascent Chinese market (Smith, 2012).

The first Chinese-owned brewery, Shuanghesheng (Double Prosperity), was founded in Beijing in 1914 by Zhang Tingge, or perhaps purchased from the previous Swiss owners. Zhang was born in a peasant family in 1875 and moved to Vladivostok at the age of twenty-one. He learned to speak Russian and partnered with a friend in 1898 to open a grocery store, the original Shuanghesheng. With the outbreak of war in 1904, the cooperative prospered by supplying the Russian Army, and perhaps impressed by the soldiers' thirst for beer, Zhang moved to Beijing in 1914 and began brewing Five Star beer (Zhang, 2008; Zhang, 2014). Newspaper accounts described the sensory experience of the factory, including the unusual fragrance of beer and the overwhelming noise of the machinery. Unaware that hops were native to China, reporters explained that the flavoring of *kuhua* (bitter flowers) had formerly been imported from Russia but were now purchased in the United States. The company developed local sources for malt using barley grown in nearby Heibei province. Fermentation was carried out in underground chambers using pure yeast imported from Copenhagen and natural ice. Austrian and Czech technicians oversaw a workforce of 200 Chinese laborers. Cases were shipped from the nearby Guanganmen train Station to markets in Hangzhou, Shanghai, and as far away as Southeast Asia ("Sanyue shisan," 1920; "Beiping Shuanghesheng," 1932).

This success inspired Chinese entrepreneurs to open breweries at Yantai, Tianjin, and Hangzhou in the 1920s (Woodhead, 1926, pp. 170-171), but it was another decade before China had its first native brewmaster, Zhu Mei (see Figure 1). Although little is known of his background, he studied at the Pasteur Institute in Paris in 1931 and graduate from the Belgian National Brewing Institute in 1935. After a year of practical training at the Brasserie Chasse Royale in Brussels, he returned to China and began work at the Yantai Brewery (Yang, 2007; Xu, 1939a). Founded in 1921 near Qingdao, the company had originally employed an Austrian brewer, and built strong markets in Shanghai, although financial problems caused it to be taken over by the Bank of China in 1934 (Godley 1986). The Chinese expert saved the company money on spurious foreign expenses charged by the previous brewer, who had pocketed $5,000 annually for chemicals to produce carbonated gas that was actually a natural product of fermentation. Zhu also solved the problem of cold-weather turbidity, eliminating winter-time returns from retailers (Zhu, 1991; Zhu, 1939a).

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Figure 1. **Zhu Mei, China's First Brewmaster**



Note: Courtesy of Qingdao Beer Museum.

The infrastructure for marketing consumer goods had already become well established in Chinese port cities by the early twentieth century, as can be seen in a 1917 report by the United States consul in Shanghai, Thomas Sammons. He advised potential exporters to ship only light colored beers, noting that "there seems to be little or no demand for dark beers upon this market." Notwithstanding the lack of a dedicated American liquor merchant in Shanghai, he recommended working through American merchants, for although a specialized alcohol broker might have a better distribution network, he warned about the tendency of "these dealers to push the goods of their respective countries." His advice for publicizing new beer brands differed little from that of any modern city at the time. "Newspaper advertising, first in Shanghai, to be followed later by insertions in leading Tientsin and Hankow papers, is a minimum requirement." These could be followed up by inexpensive "novelties, handbills and calendars, and also by the display of posters on walls and signboards, in street cars, and on slides in motion-picture houses" ("Foreign Trade Opportunities," 1917, pp. 136-137).

So who were the first Chinese beer drinkers? We know a few exceptional figures, and their examples point to broader social histories and drinking cultures, especially among modernist intellectuals with foreign connections. Jiang Zhiyou (1866-1929), a venerable magistrate and supporter of the radical journalist Liang Qichao, reputedly loved drinking beer and would order it whenever he went to a restaurant in Shanghai (Xu, 1917). As the historian Mark Swislocki (2009) has observed, such restaurants were an important site for cross-cultural exchange, not only between Chinese and westerners, but also among migrants from different regions of China. By the 1930s, beer had reportedly spread from western restaurants in Shanghai to traditional Chinese dining places in Beijing as well (Xiao, 1937). The Shanghai writer Zheng Yimei (1928) pointed to another common site for drinking when he recalled having tasted beer for the first time in a Russian brothel. The historian Catherine Yeh (2006) has explained how courtesans in Shanghai's Foreign Settlements served as important cultural brokers, creating status for themselves through their mastery of both Western and Chinese culture. Just as intellectuals and courtesans moved across ethnic and class lines, beer reached into working-class Chinese neighborhoods. The historian Hanchao Lu (1999) has described how manual laborers, students, and clerks gathered at *pulou guan* (proletarian restaurants) to eat porridge and noodles and to drink beer and Chinese alcohol purchased from nearby wine shops.

When advertisers promoted beer, they emphasized a modern lifestyle and European quality, even while drawing on Chinese cultural references. The historian Norman Smith, in his book *Intoxicating Manchuria*, has described the way early Japanese beer advertisements displayed their international pedigree by using text in three languages: English, Japanese, and Chinese. The images portrayed men and women in western clothing and modern situations (Smith, 2012). Later on, perhaps responding to nationalist pressure, foreign brewers made more attempts to localize their products. In the early 1940s, the Japanese management at Qingdao created an advertisement recalling the classic *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, in which three ancient Chinese folk heroes took an oath of brotherhood while drinking (Yang, 2007).

Logos provided an important form of branding, particularly for marketers seeking to broaden their customer base beyond the educated elite. The original Germania Brewery in Qingdao had appealed to colonists with imagery of the imperial eagle and classical European female figures. Japanese advertisers took the trouble of translating brand names into Chinese, but remained heavily invested in their own imperial iconography of the rising sun. Dai Nippon translated its flagship brand Asahi as Taiyang (sunlight), while the breweries in Shenyang and Qingdao produced new products named Da Yang (Big Sun) and Hong Xing (Red Star) (Smith, 2012). Only in 1946, after the defeat of the Japanese, did Nationalist Chinese managers at Qingdao adopt the city's iconic harbor lighthouse as the brewery's logo, and even then, they used a simple cartoon at first (see Figure 2). A few years later an artist refined the image with the classic modernist lines that still appear on bottles of Tsingtao to this day (see Figure 3). Other logos used in the 1930s included Yantai's "Immortal Island," "Two-Headed Birds," and "Three Glories"; Shuanghesheng's "Five Star"; and the Guangzhou Brewery's "Five Goats," a beloved local symbol ("Domestically Produced Beer," 1935; Reports of Guangdong, 1937).

Unlike advertisers, Chinese intellectuals writing about beer sought to trace a native genealogy for the beverage within the

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broad category for alcohol, *jiu* 酒. Beer was transliterated in the early twentieth century as *pi jiu* 啤酒, although at first some used an alternate character, 皮酒, meaning "skin." Another early term, mentioned by Xu Ke in his *Qing bai lei chao* (Collection of Anecdotes and Romances of the Qing Period, 1917), was *mai jiu* 麥酒, literally a fermented alcoholic beverage made of wheat or barley. Xu noted a reference from the Han Dynasty (25-220 CE) of mai jiu being brewed by Fan Ran in honor of a friend's appointment to the bureaucracy. This genealogy continued to be elaborated by later authors. In 1982, Cao Zongye pointed to another early Chinese version of beer known as *li* 醴泉, a sweet, thin alcoholic beverage made from *nie* 蘗 (malt). Cao quoted the Ming Dynasty scientist and scholar Song Yingxing (1587-1666): "Since ancient times, people have used *qu* 麴 (wine yeast) to produce jiu and nie to produce li. Later on, people detested the thin taste of li and discarded the methods of making nie." Thus, Cao concluded, "we can regard China as one of the oldest birthplaces of beer" (Cao, 1982, p. 133).

Images of beer in newspapers, whether intended as product placements or simply depictions of modern life, situated the western beverage within Chinese drinking rituals—both good and bad. A photo from 1948 of seven, clean-cut young men sitting around a banquet table in matching workers' coveralls was captioned "Fat chicken and beer are perfect for the Chinese Spring Festival." This jovial Chinese New Year celebration contrasted with a menacing reference to competitive masculine drinking from 1944. A barrel-chested man in a gangster-style coat and hat, framed by two open beer bottles in the foreground and a shelf full of bottles behind, held up a mug to the camera and challenged the reader: "Twenty bottles of beer, let's empty them!" (Yin, 1944). When women did appear along with beer, they were often associated with production rather than consumption, for example, in an image of female factory workers ("Pijiu gongchang," 1941).

Figure 2. **Tsingtao Beer Label, brewed for export, c. 1946**



Note: Courtesy of Qingdao Beer Museum.

Figure 3. **Tsingtao Beer Label, brewed for export, c. 1947**



Note: Courtesy of Qingdao Beer Museum.

Chinese brewers and intellectuals at times joined together in overt nationalistic opposition to foreign brewers, particularly from Japan. Beer was included in a boycott of Japanese goods declared in 1920 in response to the continued occupation of Qingdao after the end of World War I, and protests against the 1931 invasion of Manchuria extended all the way to Chinese merchants in Burma, who refused to carry Japanese-made beers ("Beer and Boycott," 1920; "The Brewing Industry in Japan," 1932; Yang, 2007). In his book *China Made*, the historian Karl Gerth reproduced a 1930s image from the daily *Shenbao* (Shanghai News) entitled "Bashing Foreign Beer" in which "an angry cudgel-wielding bottle of 'national product beer' and two drinking glasses chase after three bottles of 'foreign beer'" (Gerth, 2003, p. 320). When the Nationalists took over the Tsingtao Brewery in 1946, their advertisements emphasized the Chinese character of the beer, by highlighting, for example, the quality of Laoshan spring water (Yang, 2007).

Even while grounding beer in local traditions, Chinese authors also emphasized the health benefits and sensory

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pleasures of beer. Xu Ke (1917) differentiated the western drink from traditional Chinese liquors by emphasizing the lively bubbles within bottles of beer, which aided digestion and prevent food from decaying inside the body. Likewise, the journalist Xiao Zu 1937, pp. 74-75 introduced beer to Chinese consumers as a luxury beverage with beneficial effects: "In a banquet, with snow white tablecloth and colorful lights in the air, the golden fluid is served in a glass. . . . In early summer, a sip of beer makes one feel buoyant, like entering into a cool world that in which all troubles are gone." The emphasis on drinking beer in the summer fit with Chinese humoral beliefs which discouraged the consumption of cold food or beverages during winter. Meanwhile, Yantai's brewmaster Zhu Mei cited western nutritional experts Wilbur Atwater and Max Rubner in newspaper articles explaining the health benefits of beer (Zhu, 1939b).

On the eve of the Communist Revolution in 1949, western beer had made only limited inroads among Chinese consumers. Of the dozen or so breweries founded in China during the first half of the twentieth century, only seven were still in operation, mostly in the northeastern part of the country, with the breweries in Shanghai and Guangzhou being exceptions. Even these factories were in poor shape after two decades of foreign invasion and civil war. Total output from the national industry amounted to a mere 7 million liters, and consumption was limited to the urban middle classes, especially intellectuals, and some well-off workers (Zhu & Qi, 1981). Nevertheless, Chinese brewers and modernists had succeeded in localizing the product to such an extent that the Communists sought to revitalize production of beer rather than ban it as a symbol of western imperialism and bourgeois decadence.

Beer and revolution in China

In January 1958, Chairman Mao called for a Great Leap Forward, a massive program of industrial modernization and agricultural collectivization, which was intended to launch China to the top ranks of industrial nations but instead resulted in a famine that killed some 30 million people (Thaxton, 2008; Dikötter, 2010). Although generally associated with heavy industry, particularly the disastrous attempt to build backyard steel mills, the Great Leap also sought to increase production of consumer goods, including beer. Unlike steel, which could only be effectively produced in large-scale factories, beer could in fact be brewed successfully in small-scale communal factories, and output peaked at 146 million liters in 1960 – in the midst of the great famine (Zhu & Qi, 1991). The image of party cadres and factory workers drinking beer while farmers starved in the countryside offers a telling portrait of rural-urban inequality that pervaded Maoist attempts to modernize China.

Notwithstanding dramatic policy reversals over its first quarter century, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) remained unwavering in its pursuit of industrialization. The Party embraced foreign technical knowledge, and considered the prevalence of small-scale industry in the countryside, including countless distilleries for making *baijiu*, as an obstacle to industrial modernity. Agriculture remained largely in private hands through the First Five Year Plan (1953-1957), as party leaders debated whether collectivization could precede industrialization, but with the Great Leap Forward, Mao pushed ahead with plans to exploit the agricultural base to finance industry. In the disastrous aftermath of the famine, reformers sought to offer higher prices to rural producers, but grain self-sufficiency for village collectives remained a central goal until Mao's death, and agricultural production remained relatively stagnant. Meanwhile, party leaders did not consider industrialization simply as an end in itself but rather as contributing to a rise in the standard of living, particularly for urban workers, and beer became an expression of that goal.

In the first years of the revolution, beer was a low priority for the CCP, which did little more than nationalize existing factories. Government ownership of the brewery in Qingdao ensured a smooth transition to Communist management, but the case of Jardine Matheson's Ewo Brewery in Shanghai was more complicated. The Communist regime sought to assert its economic interests, without incurring the cost of outright appropriation, by revoking concessions that had been made to foreign enterprises. In 1952, Jardine Matheson declared the brewery bankrupt and sold it to the government, which renamed the firm Huaguang (Light of China) (Yang, 2007; Shai, 1989).

Nationalization also required the development of local supply chains and skilled technicians. Foreign-owned breweries had insisted on importing raw materials from Europe and North America, while keeping technical knowledge of brewing secret from Chinese workers. The economic embargo imposed on the People's Republic during the Korean War added new urgency to finding local sources of barley, hops, and yeast. Such efforts had begun decades earlier, when brewers at Shuanghesheng had recognized the nearby province of Hebei as an excellent source of European-style two-rowed barley. Likewise, in his time at the Yantai Brewery, Zhu Mei had begun breeding yeast to save the cost of importing dried yeast from the Carlsberg Laboratory in Copenhagen. Meanwhile, during the occupation of Manchuria, the Japanese had built a hop-drying facility near Yimianpo in Heilongjiang province. While

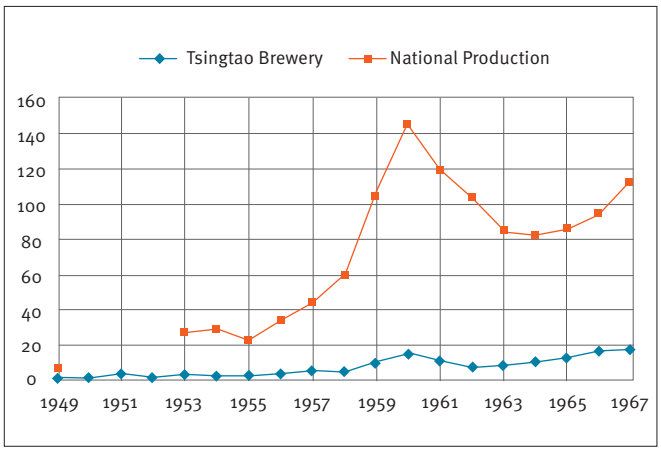
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expanding these initiatives, the government also sought to train a skilled workforce. In 1952, the Ministry of Light Industry transferred Zhu Mei from Qingdao to Shanghai to replace foreign technicians at the nationalized Huaguang Brewery. He later recalled: "I felt it was my responsibility to teach the workers how to operate the machinery and to explain the theory behind it. It was too slow to hold classes, so I ended up working together with them and taught them through actual practice" (Zhu, 1991, p. 49; see also Yang, 2007; Zhu, Qi, & Wu, 1980).

Marketing beer posed another challenge as the new regime sought to develop socialist alternatives to capitalist commerce. The Tsingtao Brewery, which began exporting beer in 1954 to overseas Chinese customers in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia to earn much needed foreign currency, fell under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Trade (Yang, 2007). Within the domestic market, officials recognized that few Chinese people had acquired a taste for beer and most lacked the income to purchase it on a regular basis. Factory output of beer, like other commodities, was distributed under the bureaucratic system of *tonggou tongxiao* (unified purchase and guaranteed sale) intended to maximize production with little regard for market demand (Solinger, 1984). In practice, beer was largely reserved for party elites, which gave it a measure of socialist distinction. The former Shuanghesheng, renamed as Capital Brewery's venerable Five Star brand, became the official beer for state banquets at the Great Hall of the People, reportedly at the behest of Premier Zhou Enlai, who drank beer in Europe in the 1920s. Marketing was also closely tied to Communist propaganda; for example, the Beijing Brewery commemorated the Revolution's tenth anniversary in 1959 by launching a premium brand called Beijing Special (Cao, 1982).

Chinese beer production more than doubled with the Great Leap Forward and then dropped by 40% as a result of the famine (see Graph 1). The Ministry of Light Industry provided the impetus for the initial growth in April 1958 by convening a conference at the Yuquan Model Brewery near Harbin with representatives from sixteen provinces and cities. The choice of Harbin rather than Tsingtao carried symbolic weight as the site of China's first brewery, established by Russians, a Cold War ally. Indeed, Russian technical writings dominated a five-volume series, *Zhijiu yicong* 制酒译丛 [Collection of Translated Articles on Brewing], published between 1957 and 1959. Yuquan also served as a model because of its small size and focus on domestic consumption, unlike the giant, export-oriented factory in Qingdao. Zhu Mei explained the goals of the conference in a short volume called *Zenyang ban xiaoxing pijiuchang* 怎样办小型啤酒厂 [How to Run a Small-Scale Brewery]. After touting the health benefits and good taste of beer, he lamented that, except for those in coastal cities of Shanghai and Guangzhou, Chinese breweries remained concentrated in the Northeast, and the costs of shipping beer to interior provinces was prohibitive. Zhu then explained the skills needed to run a small brewery, including sanitizing equipment, boiling, mashing, fermenting, and packaging in bottles or kegs. He concluded: "Most Chinese cities need beer, and they need it urgently" (Kraus, 2015).

Graph 1. **Chinese beer production, 1949-1967 (million liters)**



Sources: Zhu & Qi (1981, pp. 41-54); Guo (2006, p. 188).

To facilitate this national expansion, the Chinese government made ambitious plans to increase supplies of raw materials. Brewers experimented with new sources of malt, especially maize, which was grown widely in the north as a source of animal feed and had long been used as a brewing adjunct in the United States (Tsingtao National Brewery, 1958). Meanwhile, at a National Hop Conference held in 1958, Du Zhiduan, the Minister for Light Industry, set a goal of achieving self-sufficiency in hop production within three years. Qi Zhidao, manager of the Tsingtao Brewery, encouraged local cooperatives to grow hops, supplying them with vines and growing racks. The farmers were reluctant at first to sacrifice their autonomy to a single purchaser, but they prospered from steady sales to the brewery. The Ministry of Light Industry eventually established a network of experimental hop farms throughout the country, both in coastal industrial centers such as Tianjin, Shanghai, and Zhejiang, as well as in more remote locations of Gansu, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia (Zhu, 1990).

Despite the surge in output, the Great Leap did not achieve the stated goal of the Yuquan Conference, and brewing remained concentrated in coastal industrial cities, particularly in the Northeast. Such a geographical distribution fit more with the unstated purpose of the Great Leap, exploiting agriculture to finance industrialization. In 1959 and 1960, China exported

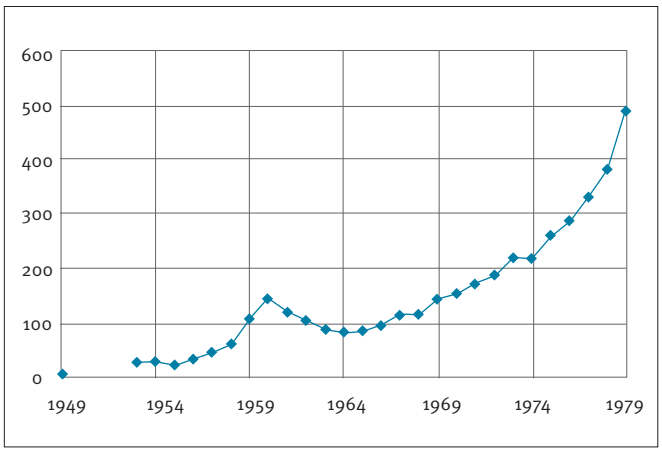
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ISSN 0034-7590

6 million tons of grain, even as national production fell by more than 50 million tons (Ash, 2006). Nevertheless, the Tsingtao Brewery remained China's only significant beer exporter at the time, and it accounted for no more than 10% of national production. Admittedly, urban workers also suffered during the Great Famine, although not on the scale of rural starvation (Brown, 2012). Even discounting exaggerated production figures, the Great Leap clearly made beer more available to privileged sectors of society—including party cadres, the military, and workers in strategic industries—at the expense of China's peasantry.

Although beer production declined for the next five years, industrial consolidation set the stage for slow but steady growth throughout the Cultural Revolution (see Graph 2). Even as the reformers Deng Xiaping and Liu Shaoqi temporarily sidelined Mao in the aftermath of the Great Leap, central planning remained fundamental to Chinese economic policy. In 1964, the Ministry of Light Industry convened a second brewing conference at the flagship brewery, declaring: "The beer industry should learn from Qingdao" ("Qingdao pijiu", n.d.). The move from Harbin was a part reflection of the 1960 Soviet-Chinese split, but equally important was the shift away from small-scale brewing that had been encouraged by the publication of Zhu Mei's 1958 book. Technicians assembled at Qingdao in 1964 produced a comprehensive volume entitled *Tsingtao pijiu caozuofa* [Operating Methods of the Tsingtao Brewery] as a handbook for the entire industry ("1964 quanguo", n.d.; Hong, 2001). Encouraged by growing demand among ethnic Chinese consumers in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, the Ministry of Light Industry made significant investments in the 1960s and 1970s to increase capacity at Qingdao. Nevertheless, officials sought to balance export growth with the demands of domestic breweries in Shanghai and other major cities (Yang, 2007). Meanwhile, the government consolidated hop production in two remote western provinces of Gansu and Xinjiang, where dry climate made for irrigated and favorable growing conditions, and which freed up periurban agricultural land for more valuable truck farming, since the hops could easily be dried and shipped to breweries (Luo, n.d.).

By the 1970s, beer had become a typical consumer good in socialist China, with all the shortages, inequalities, and imperfections that this entailed. Access to consumer goods was generally determined by workplace, with staple foods distributed at the end of the week or before holidays. The Ministry of Light Industry also maintained a network of stores, where shoppers could make purchases with ration books and coupons, if they could find anything on the shelves (Davis, 2000). Under Chinese socialism, the quality of goods was ranked by "fame" (*mingsheng* 名声) instead of price. Tsingtao Beer was declared a "famous alcoholic beverage" at the Second National Alcohol Exhibition in 1963, and therefore, qualified for national distribution, although it was mostly reserved for export. Provincial bureaucrats distributed "locally famous alcoholic beverages," such as Shenyang Snow, Shanghai Seagull, and Beijing Special beers within the urban markets where they were produced (Cao, 1982). The Qingdao *Gazetteer* left a revealing record of beer's availability in the brewing capital of China: "After 1970, on the National Day and Spring Festival, every household could get five bottles of beer with their coupons. Draught beer was open for supply, though inconsistently" (Qingdao shizhi, 2000, p. 242).

Graph 2. **Chinese beer production, 1949-1979 (million liters)**



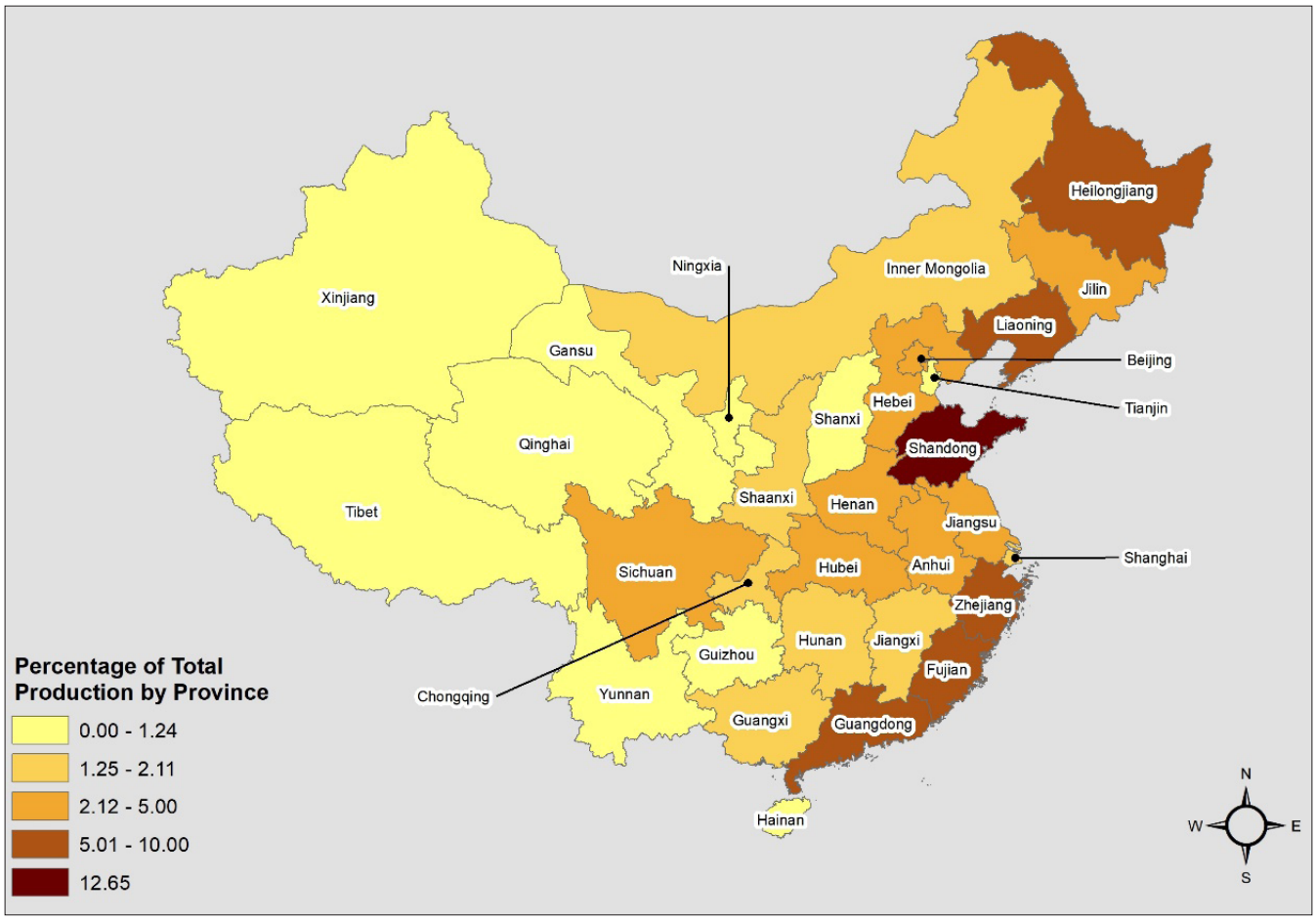
Sources: Zhu & Qi (1981); Guo (2006, p. 185, 188).

After the launch of economic reforms, production rose from 600 million liters in 1980 to 6 billion in 1990, but industrial structures inherited from the Maoist period persisted into the 1990s and beyond (Guo, 2006). "Literally hundreds of small breweries emerged from the rice paddies," wrote the economist Bai Junfei and his colleagues, with only a measure of hyperbole (Bai, Huang, Rozelle, & Boswell, 2011, p. 268). The decollectivization of agriculture and the growth of farm productivity made it possible to divert grain to brewing, but factories were still mostly inefficient, state-owned enterprises. "A county's beer factory frequently was its status symbol" (Bai, Huang, Rozelle, & Boswell, 2011, p. 268). Brewing remained concentrated in industrial centers, particularly along the coast, as it does to this day (see Figure 4). Zhejiang alone accounted for more than 100 of the 741 breweries at the peak of the industry's numerical growth in the mid-1990s. Most of these enterprises were unprofitably small in scale, but local

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officials were reluctant to close them down, as this would cause job losses and damage local pride. Infrastructure continued to limit the distribution of beer to local markets, and consolidation came largely through unsupervised contract brewing, which essentially meant putting the labels of famous beers like Tsingtao and Five Star on inferior local products. With such arrangements, Tsingtao achieved a national presence, but until 1995, the company had a sales force of just two employees, both essentially bookkeepers (Guo, 2006).

Figure 4. **Beer Production in China by Province, 2003**

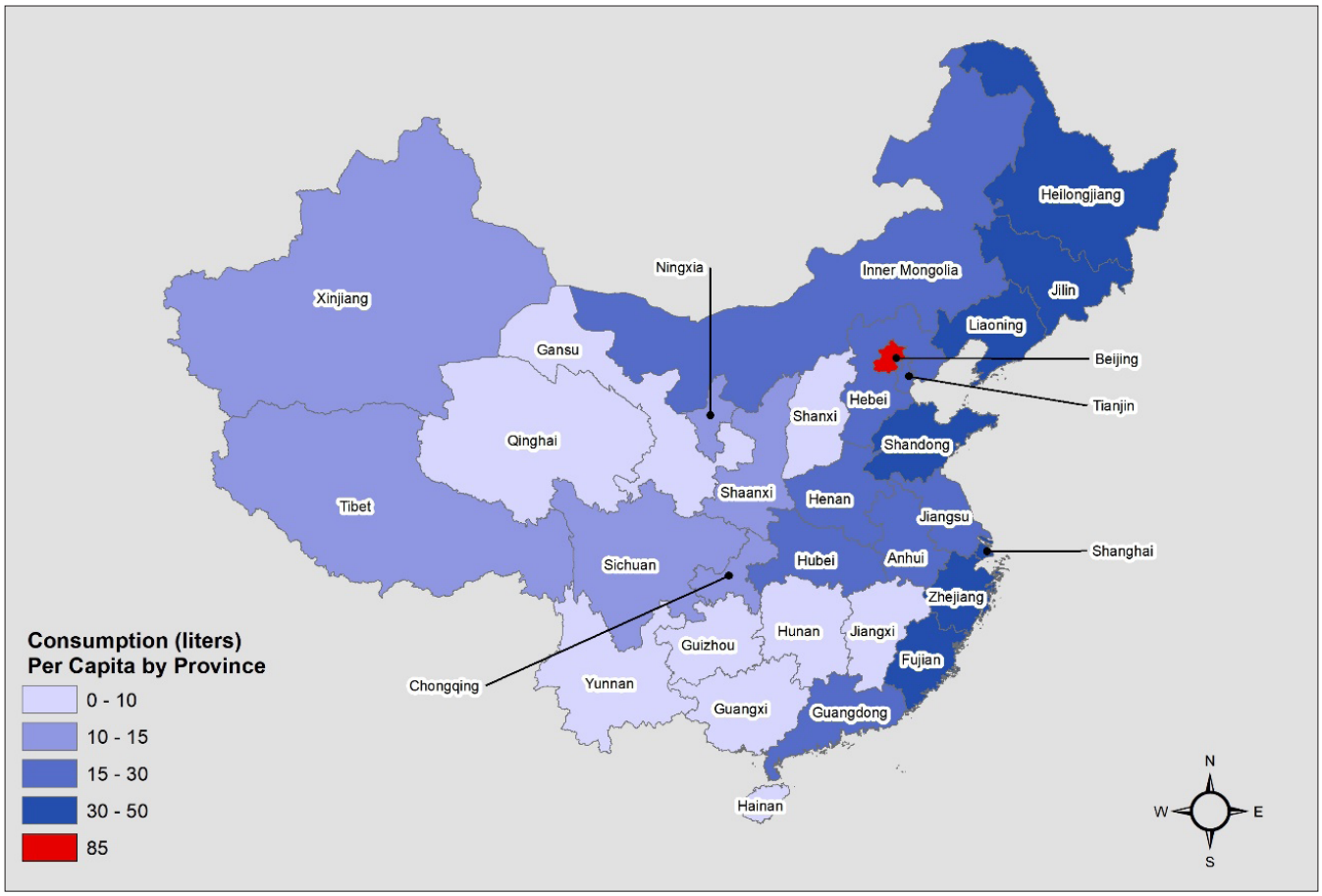


Source: Guo 2006, p. 187. Drawn by William Sturm.

Even as Maoist-era shortages were overcome, beer remained the privilege of urban Chinese society. A map of per capita beer consumption correlates strongly with income: Beijing was at the top, followed by industrial centers along the coast, and the impoverished south and west were at the bottom (see Figure 5). But the map also reveals the historical legacy of beer drinking in the Northeast, particularly in the largely rural province of Heilongjiang. Although quite comfortable financially, in comparison to other agrarian provinces, Northeasterners drink more beer than their counterparts in the far wealthier industrial province of Guangdong, where the tropical heat might seem to call out for cold beer. Per capita averages can conceal wide inequalities within provinces, but a survey of urban consumers at the turn of the millennium found that even among the working poor half of all households consumed beer. Income clearly still mattered, since the highest rates of consumption (72%) was by the richest 5% of the population (Cui & Liu, 2001). Drinking cultures reflected these disparities; while modest urban dwellers might share a beer at domestic family celebrations, the newly rich drank beer regularly in restaurants and nightclubs, such as the brightly lit Taipei-style *pijiuwu* (beer halls) that became fashionable in Shanghai and Beijing in the 1990s (Farrer & Field, 2015; Gold, 1993).

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Figure 5. **Beer Consumption in China Per Capita, 2003**



Source: Guo 2006, p. 187. Drawn by William Sturm.

A final legacy of Maoist era brewing was the persistence of low quality, even in the face of global competition. As late as the 1990s, more than half of all breweries reportedly failed quality tests. Shopkeepers and customers alike faced a game of Russian roulette, as by some estimates, roughly one inferior glass bottle in every case exploded before it could be consumed. Wary drinkers learned to fill plastic bags with beer from the kegs displayed prominently in corner stores across urban China (Slocum, 2006; "Beer Too Strong," 1999). But low quality had been a tradeoff that China's original brewmaster, Zhu Mei, was willing to make in order to put beer in the hands of the proletariat. Although capable of brewing full-bodied Munich dark beers, he focused on the cheapest of adjunct lagers, and rather than spend valuable foreign currency on imported pure yeast, he bred his own yeast, overlooking any imperfections that resulted (Zhu 1939b). His plan to build small-scale breweries foundered on the grain shortages of the Great Leap Forward, but he was nevertheless promoted to the rank of senior engineer in the Ministry of Light Industry, where he continued to develop the national industry. By the late 1970s, beer accounted nearly a fourth of all the alcohol produced in China, a figure that has now grown to nearly 90% (Guo, 2006). Despite Chairman Mao's preference for the potent liquor Maotai, Zhu had the final word with his plan to convert the Chinese from *baijiu* to beer.

CONCLUSION

The available evidence suggests that brewing was a rather ordinary industry in Mao's China, which is to say autarkic, backward, inefficient, politically fraught, and intensely nationalistic. With its modern, industrial production, beer appealed to the CCP as a mildly alcoholic and more grain-efficient alternative to the hard liquor produced in rustic distilleries throughout the Chinese

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countryside. But to achieve that promise required significant work, for the handful of factories that existed in China in 1949 had been neglected during two decades of warfare. Zhu Mei and his colleagues rebuilt the national industry with minimal outside assistance, improvising solutions to the myriad technical complications that arose. The failures of agricultural collectivization severely limited the volume of grain that could be brewed into beer, and the best quality product was, in any event, exported to earn foreign currency. Nevertheless, the communally owned enterprises founded during the Maoist period provided a base for the explosive growth of brewing that followed economic reforms in 1978.

The experience of Maoist China also has relevance for the marketing of beer around the world, demonstrating that it was not mass advertising alone that made lager a ubiquitous global commodity. Although promotional campaigns and modernist intellectuals in pre-revolutionary China collaborated to develop a genealogy of beer that made it seem simultaneously patriotically local and alluringly foreign, the taste for beer remained limited to a handful of cities before 1949. The CCP seems to have encouraged a much wider demand for beer through non-market forms of conspicuous consumption. Simply put, beer became a form of urban privilege in a society defined by scarcity. Zhu himself provided oblique evidence for this point when he recalled: "During the great famine, no employees of the beer factory experienced dropsy" (Zhu & Qi, 1981, p. 54). While intended as a testimony to the health qualities of beer, it provided a more telling statement on the profound inequality of food distribution within Maoist China. The great thirst for beer in the decades that followed was in some ways a response to that era of deprivation.

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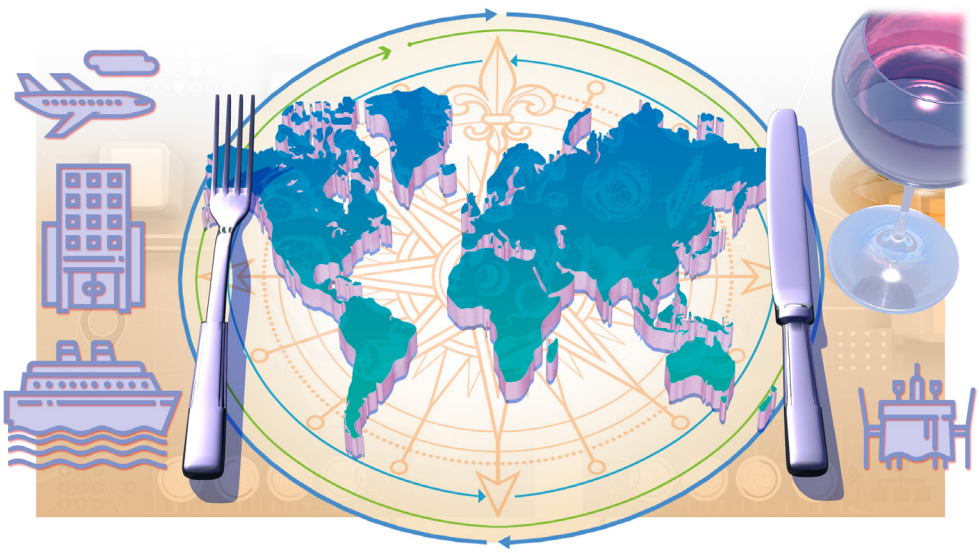
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ESSAYS

Invited article
Original version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180313

CULTURAL POLITICS IN CULINARY TOURISM WITH ETHNIC FOODS



INTRODUCTION

Culinary tourism features food as the primary attraction or motivation for travel (Boniface, 2003; Hall & Sharples, 2003; Hjalager & Richards, 2002; Long, 1998, 2004; Quan & Wang, 2004). It is a highly popular and profitable industry in both international and domestic tourism segments and has a significant impact on food-related businesses. The identification, selection, evaluation, and interpretation of the cuisines and dishes included in such tourism are issues of power, that is, cultural politics. Who gets to make those selections? Whose recipe is used to represent a culture? Whose definition of the cuisine is presented? Who is considered the authority, by whom, and how did they come to be in that position?

Cultural politics become even more complicated when culinary tourism features ethnic foods, that is, cuisines, dishes, ingredients, belonging to a heritage considered outside the foodways of the mainstream culture. Ethnic foods are defined partly by how they differ from the foods of the dominant culture, and their place within that culture reflects a history of being "other." Culinary tourism focuses attention on the food's otherness, making that otherness one of its central attractions. It offers new tastes and an entry into strange new cuisines through those tastes. In the US, food businesses have historically offered one of the most accessible contexts for employ-

LUCY M. LONG
lucymlong@gmail.com

Center for Food and Culture, Bowling Green, OH, United States of America

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ment and financial stability for immigrants. The current popularity of culinary tourism offers a wealth of marketing and economic opportunities for ethnic food businesses, but also poses challenges in terms of how those foods are then selected, defined, and presented.

This essay offers an overview of the intersection of cultural tourism, ethnic food businesses, and cultural politics. It identifies some of the issues involved, and explores examples addressing those issues. It asks whether culinary tourism can be channeled in such a way that it strengthens people's connections to their heritage and identity through food while also using that food for practical and entrepreneurial benefits. Furthermore, it offers a humanities perspective on these issues, emphasizing the ways in which meaning shapes people's behavior. Cultural politics recognizes that interpretations of meaning reflect questions of power over whose voice is heard and listened to.

DEFINITIONS

The phrase "cultural politics" is used differently in different disciplines. Within cultural anthropology, folkloristics, cultural studies, and other fields with a base in the humanities, it refers to the understanding that all cultural practices are shaped by power structures. It includes the practical ramifications of those structures, as well as the more intangible questions of authority over defining a culture. Jordan and Weedon (1995) summarized the major questions asked in cultural politics: whose culture is considered the official, normative one and who gets to represent it; whose history is recognized; whose voices are heard; and so on. Studies of cultural politics trace the history of power structures to identify who benefits and in what ways from the exercising of that power. They frequently focus on one practice to explore how its meanings and uses are shaped by various historical and contemporary conditions.

Cultural politics applied to food refers to a similar range of approaches. Anthropologists James Watson and Melissa Caldwell use the phrase in their 2005 reader to explore "food as a window on the political… [beginning] with the premise that food practices are implicated in a complex field of relationships, expectations, and choices that are contested, negotiated, and often unequal." (Watson & Caldwell, 2005, p. 1) In this sense, the cultural politics of food refers to the practical implications of power, such as geographic access to food or its pricing. Watson, Caldwell, and others also recognize that cultural politics encompasses issues, such as who has the authority to define the meanings and representations of food and eating, how that authority was established, and how it is being exercised. For example, the volume *Political Meals* by folklorists and ethnologists further addresses these questions, allowing also for individual agency within larger power structures (Bendix, 2014). This perspective recognizes the complexity of human beings, who act upon a diverse set of motivations and do not always act in what would seem to be logical ways.

Using cultural politics as a lens for observing culinary tourism and ethnic foods highlights the role of power in how those concepts are defined and applied, both by scholars and the general public.

CULINARY TOURISM

The tourism industry has begun to recognized food as a primary attraction and motivation for travel only since the late 1990s and early 2000s (Hall & Sharples, 2003; Long, 2004; 2012; 2013). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), using gastronomic tourism in place of "culinary tourism", defines it as "tourists and visitors who plan their trips partially or totally in order to taste the cuisine of the place or to carry out activities related to gastronomy" (WTTC, 2017, p. 7).

As a biological necessity, food has always been an aspect of travel, but it was perceived in most western cultures as more of an amenity and hospitality service than something that would actually drive tourism. This is partly due to limited perceptions about tourism and what constituted food worthy of attention. There have always been individuals who appreciated fine dining and would travel to the locations that were known to offer it. Certain countries and cities with either renowned cuisines or renowned restaurants and chefs became destinations for those individuals. France, Italy, and Spain tended to be emphasized as offering such cuisines, while only a few cities in the US were deemed of interest—Charleston, SC; New Orleans, Louisiana; and a few restaurants in New York City and Chicago. Travel to such locations for food, however, was not considered tourism, and might actually be more accurately thought of as pilgrimage, in which the traveler holds an appreciation and respect for the food and are seeking it in its authentic form (Long, 2012). Such travelers usually have prior knowledge of the cuisine—enough to know what they are looking for—and tend to represent an elite group within their society. In this sense, culinary tourism as an industry grew out of wine tourism, expanding that niche to include meals, restaurant visits, tours of farms and markets, and cooking classes that represented the chosen cuisines.

Once the tourist industry became aware of the potential for food as an attraction and destination, it began expanding beyond the accepted canon of worthy cuisines to include a larger number of food cultures and regional and ethnic specialties within those cultures. The industry also began recognizing other aspects of foodways beyond simply consumption in restaurants to include production (agritourism and farm tours), procurement (tours of markets and

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groceries), and preparation (cooking classes; cooking demonstrations), and even conceptualization about food (museum exhibits and lectures).

The culinary tourism industry is now a significant force in the global economy. According to a 2016 summary, 88.2% of travelers consider food a significant component in their selection of a vacation destination, as well as in their vacation activities. The recent report by an industry organization claims that travel and tourism contributes $2.3 trillion to the global economy (WTTC, 2017) shows that culinary tourists can have a major monetary impact.

A variety of forms of culinary tourism have since been developed. Tours or "trails" are probably the most common and usually feature a combination of restaurants, grocery stores, and food producers and makers, including home cooks. Cooking classes and food demonstrations are a way for tourists to more fully experience a food culture and are offered sometimes as a destination in itself, or one among many attractions for a traveler. Food festivals, which had frequently been a part of local celebrations, also became tourist destinations, and food expo's and "taste of the town" events became popular venues for displaying the food businesses of a location. Food is now seen as a significant resource for "branding" a place, so that local governments and tourist providers frequently develop lists and maps that promote an area. Farmers discovered that tourism could bring in additional money and began offering dinners made from the foods being raised as well as opportunities for tourists to visit and even participate in the daily operation of the farm.

Culinary tourism initially appears to be a highly beneficial industry that can bring money to communities while also affirming their food culture. However, aside from the usual problems with tourism, in general, in its potential harmful impacts on local environments, economies, and societies, culinary tourism raises questions about the understanding of food itself (Cohen & Avieli, 2004; Heldke, 2003; Long, 2013). Food becomes valued for its potential to attract tourists, entertain them, and satisfy their aesthetic sensibilities. It is then treated as a source of revenue, as a commodity, rather than as a carrier of memory and identity. Emotional connections to a dish or ingredient may be threatened or manipulated as the dish is put on display for tourists. Definitions of the industry tend to emphasize the "exotic" quality of the food necessary for tourism. The US-based World Food Tourism Association points out that, in order to attract culinary tourists and create a favorable experience for them, the food being offered should be unique, high quality, and memorable. While marketing surveys attempt to quantify those qualities, they are perceptions that can differ according to each individual, social group, and culture. Again, cultural politics comes into play in who gets to define what foods are unique and high quality, and memorable.

These issues are further complicated by the fact that culinary tourism involves a number of stakeholders representing different interests and concerns, including tourism providers, tourists, governing institutions in the location of the tourist activity, and the host community. What may be beneficial to one group or individual might be considered harmful to another. These categories may overlap or individuals might be members of more than one stakeholding group at a time. This means that there can be not only multiple interests and motivations for participation in tourism projects but also multiple understandings of tourism, food, and culture. When ethnic food is the focus of culinary tourism, the stakeholders can be further divided into ethnic tourism providers, ethnic food providers, ethnic communities, and ethnic consumers. This adds again to the multiplicity of issues around the authority to define and represent a food culture.

These issues of cultural politics can be clarified by applying the original scholarly definition of culinary tourism. (Long, 1998; 2004) This humanities-based definition emphasizes that the perceived exoticness of the food is one of the primary motivating factors for tasting it. It draws from tourism scholarship pointing to curiosity as an essential quality in tourism, so a cuisine, dish, ingredient, or other aspect of foodways needs to be different enough to warrant leaving home (Urry, 1990; Hall & Sharples, 2003). Culinary tourism in this sense can be negotiation of exotic and familiar. Foods need to be exotic enough to elicit curiosity but familiar enough provide a sense of safety in trying new odds. Perceptions of what foods are exotic and familiar reflect not only cultural patterns, but also individual experiences. Who then has the authority to determine where a particular food is on that continuum? From a culinary tourism perspective, these questions of who gets to select and present foods for tourism reflect larger questions over how societies and cultures are structured and separate groups into "Others."

DEFINING ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC FOODS

This leads us to the question of what is meant by "ethnic" within the framework of culinary tourism (Long, 2014). The term is frequently used to refer to a culture other than one's own. For example, Ray (2004) states in his study of Bengali-American foodways, that "ethnic food is other peoples' food." (p. 78) Implicit in that definition is the idea that "ethnic food" is more than just foreign or international food. It reflects a social status of being Other, and of existing within another larger, more dominant culture. It is the foodways of a cultural heritage perceived as not belonging to the mainstream culture. This means that another culture is understood as the

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normative one, and the ethnic one is evaluated and defined in relation to that culture. A differential identity emerges around the ethnicity in that the characteristics recognized as defining it are those that differ from the dominant one (Lockwood & Lockwood, 1991).

Similarly, foods that seem "different" may also be used by the mainstream culture to lump together ethnicities that in other ways are dissimilar. Asian American has become an enduring category based on the use of rice as a staple, ignoring differences in spicing, flavor principles, and other ingredients as well as other cultural features, such as language and religion.

If ethnicity is based on such perceptions of a shared heritage contrasting with the mainstream culture, it is easy to see how cultural politics comes into play. Who gets to define what either the mainstream or the ethnic culture are? Who shapes the perceptions and interprets them? These perceptions are also essential to culinary tourism, since such tourism is based on a perception of otherness and difference. Such tourism becomes a negotiation between outsiders and insiders but also between members of the group itself. Some individual members of an ethnicity might want to highlight those differences, while others choose to downplay them and emphasize similarities.

FORMS OF CULINARY TOURISM

Culinary tourism initiatives featuring ethnic foods take a variety of forms, the most popular being tours and trails, restaurant visits, public events, such as festivals and "tastings," and cooking classes or demonstrations. Each form has its own set of issues pertaining to cultural politics, involving the negotiation of the exotic and familiar in different ways by different stakeholders.

FORMS: RESTAURANTS

Restaurants are perhaps the most obvious destination for culinary tourism. They are promoted as such by a variety of stakeholders, including individual ethnic entrepreneurs. As public and commercial spaces, restaurants are open, in theory, to anyone interested in the food being offered. I say "in theory" because these spaces might not present a welcoming feel to certain groups of people. Smaller "Mom and Pop" types of ethnic restaurants, for example, are frequently run by a family and focus on a clientele that has same ethnicity as the owners. Signage and menus, therefore, might be in a language other than English, and patterns for interacting with cooks or wait staff might be unfamiliar to individuals from ethnicities other than that of the proprietors. Such details might be perceived as unwelcoming by individuals unsure of the cuisine or the culture. Some of these restaurants are in fact, more oriented towards the local community, but as a commercial business, they technically are open to all. Furthermore, their in-group focus might be the actual attraction for certain culinary tourists--the more adventurous ones or ones who already have some familiarity with that cuisine.

Be that as it may, people go to restaurants for a variety of reasons, not just to "eat out of curiosity." Hunger, necessity, escape, comfort, entertainment, and socializing are just some of the reasons. Ethnic restaurants are no different. They also provide a relatively safe environment for trying a new cuisine. Certain health and safety standards have to be met in order to operate legally, and an adherence to mainstream aesthetics and ethos are usually expected. Also, the exchange of food in this context is a business transaction, although it may include a sharing of friendship or an expression of cultural identities. Rejecting the food then, is not a personal affront to the owners, making it possible for customers to select and consume dishes according to their tastes, values, or circumstances.

Ethnic restaurants in the US are a growing presence within culinary tourism. A 2014 study estimated that across the US, there were about 7100 Mexican restaurants and 43,000 Chinese ones. It also found 16,783 Italian restaurants in 10 large cities, leaving the reader to assume that there are actually many more. The most popular cuisines remain Chinese, Mexican, and Italian, but not only new cuisines, but also new approaches to ethnic cuisines are gaining interest. A study on the leading trends in consumption of ethnic foods in restaurants in the US for 2015, offered some of the following statistics. "Fusion cuisines" were projected to be popular by 58% of the chefs, followed by "authentic ethnic cuisine" (56%), "regional ethnic cuisine" (54%). Those were followed by specific cuisines, such as Peruvian (54%), Southeast Asian (e.g., Thai, Vietnamese, and Malaysian; 52%), Korean (50%), Native American (49%), Nordic/Scandinavian (44%), and African (42%) (Institute of Food Technologists [IFT], 2013; Statista, 2018). Interestingly, there was also at 45% projection of regional American cuisines being popular.

These statistics do not represent the number of actual restaurants that are specializing in ethnic foods. The multicultural eating habits of Americans mean that ethnic dishes may be offered in mainstream restaurants or by restaurants of other ethnicities. Similarly, a restaurant offering an ethnic cuisine may be run by individuals of other ethnicities, frequently by other heritages that are grouped together, but also by individuals from the dominant culture, raising controversies around cultural appropriation.

Cultural politics comes into play on several levels with culinary tourism, restaurants, and ethnic foods, and the commercial character of such enterprises complicates these issues. The power to define a cuisine seems to rest with the restaurant owners. They select the dishes to include

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on their menus and determine the actual ingredients and cooking styles for preparing them. They also make decisions over how to present the ethnic identity of the restaurant—the name, the décor, the languages used on signs and menus. These selections may reflect the owners' understandings of their own food and their attitudes towards it as a carrier of identity, but these are also business decisions. If an owner is trying to expand their clientele beyond their own ethnic community, they need to satisfy the palates and pocketbooks of those new customers. They may hope to introduce their cuisine to new eaters and in so doing, teach about their culture, but they also need to satisfy those customers in order to make their venture financially sustainable. This may require adapting the food being served.

Korean restaurant owners in the MidAtlantic in the 1980s, for example, frequently offered a milder version of *kimchi*, a fermented vegetable dish that is a staple of every traditional Korean meal. Believing that American customers would find the dish too spicy and too malodorous, they often watered it down or changed the fermentation time to a minimum. Korean food was considered exotic enough for culinary tourists without needing to offer potentially offensive dishes. Contemporary culinary tourists want the exotic—but they also want it to be tasty and frequently, innovative, so restaurant owners must negotiate between what they might consider authentic with innovative in order to please those customers.

Ethnic restaurants now also frequently promote themselves as tourism destination. Some hold events to attract "outsiders" and offer to educate audiences about those foods. Other restaurants describe themselves in advertisements and other marketing material as a place to satisfy one's curiosity about a cuisine or dish, appealing specifically to culinary tourists. In these instances, the ethnic restaurant owners have power over the ways in which their cuisine and culture are being presented.

FORMS: FOOD TOURS AND FOOD TRAILS

Food tours and trails are currently a popular form of culinary tourism being developed and sponsored by tourism businesses and government tourism and economic development divisions. Tours take visitors to specific venues where they can view or taste food, while trails are venue listings and maps that can then be followed by tourists on their own. Since the venues chosen will presumably receive more business than those not chosen, the selection process reflects issues of power in a very practical sense. As with other forms, though, the selection process oftentimes reflects what is considered exotic and familiar to the potential tourists rather than what is perhaps representative of the group. Some tours do try to address that possible discrepancy, including everyday types of foods that are representative of that ethnic group, or dishes that carry special meanings to the group but are challenging to mainstream palates.

Food tours are organized in a variety of ways. They may be around a particular dish, such as wine, chocolate, tacos), neighborhood, or as ethnicity. They may also try to mix public with private venues, taking tourists into homes as well as restaurants and grocery stores. For example, an advertisement for a tour in the city of Columbus is typical of other tours in that it emphasizes the best and the unique in ethnic food.

> Travel the world without leaving Columbus – If you're looking for fun things to do in Columbus, this guided culinary tour will introduce you to some of the best ethnic food in the city. We'll experience Somali cuisine, eat Vietnamese sandwiches, sample Nigerian food, visit a Mexican bakery, learn about Southern Indian delicacies … and more. This unique city tour centers on the thriving ethnic enclaves of north Cleveland Avenue, where much of Columbus' immigrant community lives, eats, and plays. (Columbus Food Adventures, n.d.)

The ad continues, however, with an assurance of familiarity and comfort, so that the experience will not be too exotic in an unpleasant way. Also, individual preferences can be taken into account.

> Join us in our comfortable 14-passenger van and learn about the cuisines and cultures of some of Columbus's finest immigrant kitchens. If you're a food lover, this tour is not to be missed!

This food tour is priced at $60.00 and includes: tastings at five stops; air-conditioned van transportation (to and from downtown Columbus and all stops in-between); and an experienced guide with plenty of local culinary knowledge. This tour runs on Friday evenings at 6pm. We can accommodate vegetarians on this tour with advance notice. (Columbus Food Adventures, n. d.)

Food tours are organized with different purposes in mind and address different groups of stakeholders. The issues surrounding them differ accordingly. Educational and community institutions also offer food tours as a way to teach people about ethnic cultures or to raise awareness of the diversity within a place. Food is used as a window into different cultures, besides being an attraction in itself. It can also serve the practical function of refreshment while enabling the hosts to extend hospitality.

Ideally, individuals of ethnic heritage are involved as stakeholders in all tours of these types; thus, the needs of the ethnic food businesses, as well as the ethnic community as a whole, get represented. However, the ventures do raise questions about who represents a community. Individuals of ethnic heritage will have their own opinions on what best defines that ethnicity, as well as opinions on how busi-

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nesses should be run, and what the relationship with outsiders should be. Individual ethnic food business owners do not necessarily feel obligated to serve the community, but might be focused more on their own personal survival and success. Just as with restaurants, the existence of a tour organized by members of an ethnic group does not necessarily mean that they speak for all other members and that they will ensure that the community benefits. Cultural politics comes into play again.

FORMS: PUBLIC EVENTS—FESTIVALS AND "TASTINGS"

This category of culinary tourism takes a variety of forms, ranging from festivals to expos or "taste of the town" events promoting local food businesses to tastings—offerings of samples of food, usually accompanied by discussions of the culture of that food or how to evaluate its aesthetic qualities. Since these events are public and oftentimes commercial ventures, they raise issues similar to other those for other forms over the selection and presentation of dishes as well as the representative image of the ethnic group. These events are frequently fundraisers, so foods are selected partly for their potential to first attract, and then, please visitors. Foods become a commodity, and their experience, a business transaction, although it may also serve other functions.

Food expos and "tastes of the town" events are the most blatantly commercial of these events. Oftentimes organized by local governing or civic organizations, they promote local food businesses, providing a venue for them to show off their specialties. They purport to stimulate local economic development and oftentimes contribute to creating a "brand" for a geographically specified area (neighborhood, town, city, county, or state). That brand or image created is used for marketing the area to bring in culinary tourists, as well as new businesses and residents. These events usually promote what the organizers consider to be "the best" of what is available—an idea that automatically brings up cultural politics. Ethnic food businesses might be included in these events, if they exhibit the "best" characteristics, as defined by the organizers. They frequently need to have Americanized their menus, recipes, and settings to an extent that they are not considered too foreign or exotic for mainstream tourists. They also frequently need to address more elitist notions of "good food," catering to individuals interested in fine dining and the culinary arts. Entrance prices for tourists are usually high enough to be prohibitive to many, and these events usually charge a fee from the participating businesses as well, again an obstacle to a full representation of the ethnic foods available in an area.

> Atlanta's "Must Do" Food, Wine, Beer and Cocktail Event. Taste of Atlanta, the city's must-do, unforgettable three-day food festival returns October 20, 21 & 22, 2017 at our new location in Historic Fourth Ward Park! More than 90 neighborhood favorites will show off their most craveable dishes, the hottest local chefs will strut their stuff on three live demo stages...

The 2017 event will take YOU on a foodie adventure through the city's many diverse neighborhoods by featuring the chefs and restaurants that give these communities their unique flair. (Taste of Atlanta, n. d.)

Festivals appear in a wide variety of forms and are more varied than food expos in their treatment of ethnic foods. These events are celebrations and emphasize the more positive aspects of whatever is being celebrated. Thus, the food selected is frequently based on assumptions of what the anticipated visitors will find appealing. Oftentimes, this translates into "snack foods" or "finger foods" that can be easily carried and eaten while tourists wander.

Ethnic Food festivals are oftentimes organized as educational outreach to tourists. Food is seen as a window into a culture, so a festive event featuring an ethnic food can be a way of teaching others about that ethnicity. Schools, churches, and civic organizations sometimes hold international food festivals for that purpose. Further, because sharing food is considered a way to build respect and understanding, these events can have social justice and peace-building as their purpose. An Islamic mosque in northwest Ohio draws numerous culinary tourists every year to its food festival, which features cuisines of different Muslim cultures. As a public event, tourists unfamiliar with those cuisines or with the Islamic religion are welcome to taste foods selected to appeal to "outsiders."

Some of these festivals also include foods thought to be representative of the particular ethnic communities' culture or history. A Hungarian festival, also in Toledo, Ohio features a food—"hunky turkey," which is bread with bacon drippings, chopped onions, and tomatoes that used to be considered an indication of the poverty and poor taste of Hungarian Americans. The name itself uses a derogatory name for the ethnicity and makes a joke of the lack of meat availability for immigrants. Now considered a celebratory food, it is presented along with the history of the community.

FORMS: COOKING CLASSES AND COOKING DEMONSTRATIONS

Cooking classes are the fourth form of culinary tourism currently popular is. Such classes are not always a form of culinary tourism, but many are part of culinary tours and other tourism initiatives. Ethnic food

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classes are extremely popular and tend to appeal to tourists who are already familiar with the ethnic cuisine. They have experienced it previously, liked it, and want to learn more about it by preparing it or being able to recreate the dishes themselves. Additionally, cooking classes are sometimes connected to tours of markets and groceries or to producers' farms.

Cooking classes offer tourists opportunities for one-on-one experiences with cooks presumably steeped in the culture of the cuisine. In such settings, the reasons for selecting certain dishes or ingredients can be fully explained, and tourists can interact with an individual, not just an amorphous group. An example of a typical advertisement for a class is given: "Street tacos--Learn recipes and techniques for traditional Mexican street tacos at this cooking class that doubles as a meal. Menu includes authentic street corn, grilled *carne asada tacos*, *tacos pastor*, *calabacitas tacos* and homemade *churros*. Tickets ($50)" (Isthmus, 2017, p. 30).

Cultural politics is still at play in that the individuals, organizations, or businesses offering such classes have the authority to select the dishes that are included and their presentation. In the class, the teacher is established as the authoritative spokesperson, although class members may challenge that authority and introduce their own experiences or opinions. However, these contexts generally offer more opportunities for discussions around representativeness of dishes or recipes and the role of personal taste or circumstances, as well as issues connected to cultural politics.

Cooking demonstrations are similar to cooking classes in the issues they raise. They differ in the participation of the audience, making these events more "touristic" than classes. Tourists are passive viewers, and the lack of hand-on experience with the foods being demonstrated means that their full engagement with that food will depend a great deal on the prior experience and interest they bring to the event. Depending on the type of culinary tourist in the audience, the authenticity of the dish is oftentimes emphasized.

A different type of food demonstration is intentionally educational and attempts to convey a deeper understanding of the dish itself as well as the cuisine and culture surrounding it. The food is a vehicle for engaging the audience and uses a cultural form considered universal—cooking—so that audiences can then relate the demonstration to their own interests and experiences. While restaurants and food businesses may also offer such demonstrations, they are especially popular in museums, particularly "living history village" and "folk park" types of venues, as well as cultural and educational institutions. The model is frequently presented as a tourist attraction but expects audiences who are motivated by curiosity about that particular or are just curious about the event or venue. The organizers, then, must address a wide range of interests and previous knowledge in the audience.

The Smithsonian Institution, for example, has developed models for such demonstrations at their long-running Folklife Festival (Long, 2015; Long & Belanus, 2011). These demonstrations are given by a "community scholar," an individual considered knowledgeable and representative of their ethnic community. Such individuals can range from home-cooks to restaurant owners to famous chefs who have gained attention from mainstream or "foodie" audiences. The question of who best represents a community is discussed among the organizers and community members, allowing for as many voices to be heard as possible. The same process is used to select the dishes being presented. The demonstration itself occurs in a public space with a "presenter" who introduces the cook and the food being presented, helps to mediate questions from the audience to the cook, and may fill in with additional information, as needed. The purpose is to give audiences a sense of the historical, contemporary, and personal meanings of that dish. Culinary tourists, individuals motivated by an interest in food or curious about a particular food culture, are frequent audiences to these more educational events, but the events also try to reach audiences who do not hold those motivations. Issues of cultural politics frequently arise in the manner in which these demonstrations are presented, in the selection of individuals representing the community, and in the interactions with diverse audiences. The organizers are frequently scholars from folkloristics, anthropology, or other ethnographic disciplines and tend to be well aware of the presence of these issues and the need to negotiate them. One approach is to explain the issues to the tourists themselves, so that they also have a voice in that negotiation.

CONCLUSIONS

This overview of cultural politics in relation to ethnic food within culinary tourism suggests the complexity of those issues. Culinary tourism industries, ethnic food entrepreneurs, and other providers of food-related hospitality services need to juggle the demands of business with sensitivity to the nature of food and power. Culinary tourism projects trade in food as more than a commodity. They draw upon the meanings and emotional associations that food has for individuals and cultures. They emphasize food as carrying identity and history. As such, defining and representing food highlights the variety of interpretations that can be given to those meanings. Selecting interpretations then reflect issues of power, that is, who has the authority to make those decisions and why. Ethnicity further complicates the issues.

A number of culinary tourism initiatives, organizations, and businesses are

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aware of cultural politics (Hall & Gossling, 2012; Long, 2013; Parasecoli & Abreu e Lima, 2012). Sustainable tourism offers perspectives and strategies for tourism providers to address some of the issues. The UNWTO proclaimed 2017 the international year of sustainable tourism for development and included in their 2017 report the following statement:

> The intangible cultural heritage of gastronomy differs from that of traditional sites and monuments in that it evolves and develops alongside its respective culture. Thus, we must take into account the emergence of new cultures and traditions and recognize gastronomic tradition as a process of continuous evolution. (Perdomo, 2017, p. 14)

A first step in addressing cultural politics is recognizing that food itself is complex, intertwined with all aspects of life, and carries multiple meanings (Long, 2015; 2017). A recognition of the complexity of ethnic identities is also needed. Ethnic groups are not homogenous, but made up of individuals with diverse experiences and interpretations of that identity. That diversity carries over to food. Culinary tourism needs to recognize that diversity, enabling the variety of voices to be heard, and have a role in the selection and representation of ethnic foods.

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ISSN 0034-7590

ESSAYS

Invited article
Original version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180314

OF *POROTOS* AND BEANS



Academic studies have tried to bring to light the process of establishing a national narrative on cuisine, focusing mainly on how the clash between the upper class and the popular cuisine is presently affected throughout the construction of a new perception of history (Bornand, 2012). In general terms, even more homogeneously than it may seem at first glance, there is a prevailing thesis on the formation of Latin-American national cuisines which claims that these are miscegenated entities. It claims, in Brazil's case, that indigenous and African recipes have been assimilated and improved through the adoption of European techniques, creating the national cuisine. Even in the case of excolonies, the highlight is given invariably to the dominance of adoption processes of European techniques, as in a global adaptation of western cuisine itself. Thus, as far as preparation is concerned, native cultures are subjects in a "disappearance" process, only seen by the few marks they leave in the ever-increasing globalization. The importance given to corn in the Americas is a great example, with original techniques of its handling being overshadowed, such as in the case of nixtamalization among the Mexican peoples. This is explained—fundamentally—by the contradictory necessity of the *Crioulo* elite to trace back its roots to the West, at the same time it links itself to its native culture. A "deaf opposition" between "community" and "society," or *Gemeinschaft–Gesellschaft* dichotomy as proposed by Tonnies (1961), seems to be the theoretical background that informs the analyses which are accomplices to the nationalistic discourse.

CARLOS ALBERTO DÓRIA
cadoria2@gmail.com

Faculdade das Américas, São Paulo, SP, Brazil

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The idea of "convergence" is what truly leads this narrative strategy, in a way that a new understanding of this part of the West—created by colonialism—is achieved. Among Brazilians, for instance, two narratives had been imposed in the 20th century: the mixture of natives, blacks, and whites (Cascudo, 1997) and the convergence of "regions" around a single national body (Freyre, 1946), with a highlight to the so-called leading and unifying contribution of the Portuguese. From this perspective, the *Crioulo* cuisine, or the national cuisine, is the destination of the concrete historical adventure. From the perspective of food that comprises vast territories, it is also important to consider the early diffusionist theories which were dear to those who suffered great influence of theoreticians like Franz Boas, as did Gilberto Freyre. To Boas (1966), diffusion is a phenomenon that is observed from polar types and, by induction, admits the existence of intermediate types. In his words,

> The introduction of new ideas must by no means be considered as resulting purely mechanically in addition to the cultural pattern, but also as an important stimulus to new inner developments. A purely inductive study of ethnic phenomena leads to the conclusion that mixed cultural types that are geographically or historically intermediate between two extremes give evidence of diffusion. (p. 291)

Thus, miscegenation (historical development) and diffusionism are our theoretical problems, though there is common ground between them: the pure types disappear throughout history.

But this is no simple theoretical question to anthropology. After the assembling and musealization of a series of artifacts from cultures around the world, the West saw itself in charge of deciding if those assimilated had been originated from parallel development or from diffusion. These artifacts were grouped according to families, genus, and species as if they were natural things, ordered in sequences that highlighted the change from simplicity into complexity in accordance with rationalism that claimed that in culture, just as in nature, like effects implied like causes. Facing this, Boas (1966) notably points out the lack of studies that related any cultural traces of a people to the other elements of that same culture, before considering diffusion or evolution. And this diffusion should also respect the limited scope of contact among neighboring peoples, that is, from a same "geographical province"—in some way relatives. Besides these features in common, Boas (1966) recognized the original independent development, but it all needed to count on a scrupulous differentiation of the elements being studied. Thus, he faces the discussion of cultural features that had evolved through their own means and from a common starting point. Therefore, through Boas' method (1966), it was first necessary to have available comprehensive information of a tribal people, followed by the historical analysis of neighboring groups and their contacts, in a way that assumptions could be made about the origin and distribution of some cultural features in order to search for laws of cultural development that ended up being, invariably, those of diversity and differentiation from the same origin. For more details, consult Martínez-Hernáez, A. (2011), *El dibujante de limites: Franz Boas y la (im)posibilidad del concepto de cultura en antropologia*.

However, coming back to our problem—that of eating practices—we must recognize that the territorialist/local idea in which is embedded the notion of *terroir*, such as to determine the quality of foodstuffs. The human work is subsumed by the ecosystem, or something similar, and "history" is of little use as an instance of determination of concrete forms. That is, this notion of *terroir* "naturalizes" human work as well as history (Dória, 2009). On a different note, it is self-evident that we can outline a cuisine from the dispersion of certain ingredients over a territory, but that will be a rough depiction because when we focus on a dish, each one of the ingredients such as biomes is not important. What matters is how this dish is made, and how, in a single dish, a plurality of ingredients is gathered, associated in a persistent form, being re-signified across time and space. Besides, we must recognize that insofar as building a nation's culinary identity is concerned, we need to be alert to the century-long process of selection of and fixation on ingredients, farming methods, cooking techniques, and popular eating habits, which at a given moment are promoted to a symbolic expression that connects them with the Nation-State.

Tilly (1992) had already called attention to how authoritative the construction of a Nation-State (e.g., language, religion, education) is—and this is no different when eating practices are concerned. If we observe the behavior of Latin-American elites in the 19th century, we can easily notice the diffusion of French culture throughout the way of speaking and writing, as well as the consumption of the most common products, etiquette at the table and long-lasting taste preferences. This globalization of taste, and consequently its standardization, echoed across former colonies, where *Crioulo* elites "internationalized" themselves.

However, this is not how the lower classes behaved. It suffices to observe the persistence in localisms and old habits which prove their nonparticipating, except marginally, in the standardization done by the elite. This leads to two distinct cuisines: a globalized and centralized one that circles around Paris, and another one of limited scope, detached and multifaceted—one that challenges that which Gramsci (1975) called the "absolute historicism" and should, for that reason, be cherished in its details.

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This way, and empirically, it is seen how the two cuisines claim the same animal in different ways; creating, for instance, the concept that there are parts of it which are of "higher quality" and others of "lower quality." The latter is destined for popular consumption. Furthermore, even sanitation guidelines will highlight this difference by prohibiting, quite often, the commercialization of certain popular parts of the same animal. Thus, the diversity which popular cuisine shows rarely invokes the national identity as long as it remains an essential expression of submissive classes. Few dishes will play that role, as is the case of the *Brazilian feijoada* in Brazil's first republican period. The adjective is enough to demonstrate the character of a construct. Many are the bean stews in Portugal and Brazil, but the "Brazilian feijoada" was born in Rio de Janeiro, in the early 20th century, made with black beans (i.e., staple to both cariocas and gauchos), pork parts and sided with kale and orange.

It should also be considered that when something is "national," a symbolic barrier arises between nations. It becomes a challenging issue for the sociology of food because it requires a significant amount of detailed historical information covering an extended period of time; since no complex dish is created "out of the blue" in a given place, not to mention being given the status of a national symbol. This requires a full and silent process of confrontation and demarcation of differences among similarities in distinct countries. Moreover, it would be extremely difficult to establish the decision-making process of beyond-border food that integrates a dish, as well as the sense of yearning it raises. Wilk and Barbosa's (2012) *Rice & Beans* is an excellent example of a book that makes a methodological effort to show standardization among the different culinary practices of two species associated in a single dish and in distinct countries.

Thus, in a broader time perspective, what persists is the recurrent problem of a poorly documented history on popular food, which leaves no footprints behind—except for those observed by the upper classes, which generally dwell in a different eating mindset. Colonial chronicles of Brazil, for instance, only kept a record of indigenous populations that inhabited the coast and practically nothing on what was happening in the hinterland. They wrote a lot on the use of manioc while neglecting the use of corn, which is more common in the countryside. Therefore, when questions are raised about a foodstuff common to all South-American peoples, rarely do we have accurate answers. Even the bibliography on ancient eating habits will show opposition between the locations where corn was produced in the Andean area and the Brazilian coastal area where the manioc was produced. And it is notable how the romantic history of Varnhagen (1948) has imbued in the Brazilian historiography the notion of a "Brazilianness" in manioc, with little to no mention of corn. This led to an image of cultural duality which is difficult to verify. I intend to show here the difficulty of dealing with this problem.

Within the studies on "preagricultural agriculture" (Iriarte, 2009), archeology and archaeobotany will help us discover the age of certain American foodstuffs. Corn, pumpkin, arrowroot, manioc or cassava, yam, sweet corn root, and peanut had already been domesticated in South America. In a similar way, llama and alpacas had already been domesticated in Peru; and, guinea pigs and Muscovy ducks went through the same. In the Peruvian coast and in Ecuador, clay artifacts have been found with traces of corn, pumpkin, peanuts, beans, and pacay (Vigne, 2004, p. 40). There are also recent studies in Brazil highlighting the presence of corn and other foodstuffs in the vast precolonial hinterland, which challenges the monopolistic interpretation based on chronicles from the 16th to the 18th century—those who charted a Brazilian eating practice revolving around the manioc.

The classic *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward, 1946), explicitly in its first volume on marginal tribes, recorded the variety and spread of corn, peanut, pumpkin, and other vegetables domesticated by indigenous populations who inhabit or inhabited the Brazilian territory. Although it focuses predominantly on the beginning of the 20th century, the book shows how a variety of domesticated and artificially-selected products were part of the eating habits of countless tribes, mainly corn, manioc, pumpkin, yam, sweet potato, beans, and peanuts. A variety of these were often mixed together. Thus, several tribes shared a common diet, supplement with the specific vegetables and animals present in their own territories.

Undoubtedly, these species were diffused by contact throughout the precolonial and colonial period, resulting in a common food source among very distinct peoples. Despite the violence and the so-called process of deculturalization, they had suffered, many species were transformed into culinary ingredients that spread throughout the West (Ribeiro, 1996). Therefore, we were led to distrust any simple explanatory scheme based on the unilateral logic of cultural imposition which other civilizations have followed. The Pre-Columbian cuisine, which shows itself as a great repertoire of adaptation to colonizers, greatly amplified the concept of utility to the West. It presented plenty of reasons for being preserved, instead of destroyed, in a way that the object of study in colonialism should be the global exchanges performed by the Portuguese, and not merely a national cuisine. About this question, see the book *A aventura das plantas e os descobrimentos portugueses* de Ferrão (2005).

Beyond the national repertoire that came to be regarded as "raw material," it is also paramount to observe the diffusion

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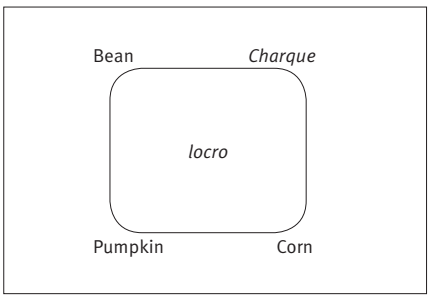
of techniques in food preparation. At first, many techniques were known to several pre-existing peoples, making it impossible to rank them in the way traditional sociology and historiography do. The most remarkable one is the extensive use of pottery in boiling, ever since men invented the ceramic. Others have developed in the opposite direction—from colonized to colonizer. Preservation of *charque* (salty, dried meat, similar to jerky), from *charki quechua*, initially from the meat of llamas and adapted to the meat of cattle, soon reached the Argentine and Gaucho *pampas,* having got to Pelotas in 1780. It later reached the northeastern region of Brazil as a substitute for the dry meat which was typically prepared there before the droughts of 1777 and has become a staple among travelers and sugar-cane workers. This unique way of preserving meat was sustained, having experienced its decline only after the invention and diffusion of the refrigeration industry. And then we can ask ourselves: would a certain technique—such as the Peruvian preservation of *charque*—expand and conquer a whole continent by itself or would it be followed by products of similar origin in this expanding trend?

Whoever reads Couty's report (2000) on the *charque* industry in the south of the continent will notice the variety of processes and adaptations that permeated its structuring, with a highlight on how this product challenged human creativity, resulting in a wide culinary field which not only raised cattle but also looked after preserving the meat so it could endure long distances, being food for great populations who could not spend their time on livestock. To this procedure, as Couty shows, national preferences are added, including taste preferences. As of today, *charque* still is a central ingredient in the diets in northeastern and southernmost Brazil, even though refrigerators are very common. Thus, if salting is no longer needed as a preservation method, how can we explain the existence of this element if not for the taste and identity aspects revolving around it? The same happened to the Yerba mate, adopted in several countries, which present sensitive differences in agriculture, its drying and consumption, with differences in what is done in Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, and Uruguay. In Brazil, there are even regional differences, as in the *pampas* and in Mato Grosso's *pantanal*. The same could have happened in mixed dishes where dried meat and other elements were present.

A case in point is the Peruvian *locro*. In 1950, Joseph de Acosta, a Jesuit, reported in his book *História moral y natural de las Índias* (apud Krebs, 2015) that potatoes were the main ingredient in the *locro*, as the high altitude did not allow for harvesting corn or wheat—*chuños,* however, being freeze-dried potatoes, were fitting as the basis for making "cierto guizado o cazuela, que lhaman locro." In 1653, priest Barnabé Cobo wrote on the highlands of Peru, where "desta cecina que ellos llaman charqui, y de la carne fresca, no sabían hacer más que una suerte de olla o guisado, lhamado locro, con mucho aji, chuño, papas y otras legumbres" (apud Krebs, 2015). Other references point to varying and mandatory ingredients, such as corn or pumpkin, with the "locro limeño" eventually incorporating the pumpkin as the central ingredient of the dish. In a few words, this stew saw its spread associated with dried meats, occasionally incorporating whatever legumes were available.

Locro is now present in several countries, varying in versions which are closer to its original Peruvian roots, being understood and celebrated as an Argentinian "national dish," composed of white beans and corn, as well as other ingredients, fresh meats, and *enchidos,* with distinct features in each province. In general, the *locro Crioulo* included soaked and dried corn, soaked and dried white beans, pork ribs in small cuts, cattle meat (hips) in small cubes, pig's trotters in pieces, smoked bacon, onion, common lunch meats with red pepper, yellow pumpkin, and chives. The only exception seems to be in Paraguay, where the class of *locros*, based on corn, differs from the class of dishes based on beans – the *jopara*. We can then assume, as a general hypothesis, that the following culinary ingredients "traveled together," to which populations in the new destinations added their own frequent ingredients (see Figure 1):

Figure 1. **The *locro***



Apart from its precolonial consumption, the presence of corn in the Figure 1 is of great importance since, as we now know it, it spearheaded in Brazil and at the beginning of the 17th century the formation of ranches and fallows along *Bandeiras'* routes. It was food to both animals and "*negros da terra"* ("black of the land," the name given to the enslaved indigenous peoples), it ensured the domestication of pigs and poultry, as well as diversifying and multiplying settlers' recipes and dishes. We can then see in the *locro* and other similar dishes a traveling "culinary solution" which was able to establish roots in a vast colonial territory in South America, having become a popular dish with several qualities, as a "full meal" or as a unity capable of absorbing into a single legume-based stew a variety of locally produced meat coming from Iberian animals. It is also important to note a similarity to the "olla o guisado," that is, its technical approximation to European cuisine.

Would it be the case of asking ourselves why the *charque* "traveled" across Brazil without "companions"? And, proba-

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bility-wise, would it be hard to assume that a similar dish, combining four ingredients or more, might appear far from its historical origin? It is true that in Brazil there is no *locro*, with the exception of Pantanal, allowing us to speculate on a possible "contamination" via Andes cuisine. However, we do have a similar dish, put together in the countryside of Bahia in the first half of the 20th century. It is the *pintado* (Portuguese for "spotted"): "equal parts of beans and crushed corn, salt, black pepper, cumin, garlic and crushed onion, all cooked with bacon in water, to which are added *charque,* pork and ham hock—thoroughly crushed so no bone marrow is lost" (Dória, 2014, p. 199).

Furthermore, though named differently, it is a relative of the *locro* family, lacking only pumpkin to be "genuine." It should be noted that the relation between beans and pumpkin in the "Northeastern" or "*pernambucana* bean stew" is very common—almost mandatory. In other words, they all belong to the same family of "beans" or "*porotos*" laid on the table. It is here that the researchers, mainly anthropologists, will have to decide if they are in fact of a "diffusion" or a "parallel invention," things which result in theoretical and methodological paths that are quite diverse. And if the hypothesis of a historical or cultural contact between Bahia's countryside and Peru is discarded—which is not very likely, due to the diffusion of complex elements as in a recipe—the probability of a parallel invention will depend on the assumption that the ingredients which are an integral part of this invention share an equivalent participation (homology) in both culinary clusters. That would already be an interesting question, given that culinary analyses tend to prioritize analogies, not homologies. However, according to Boas' perspective (1966), we would have to find the intermediate types if we wanted to be in accordance with the scientific method. "It seems to us that the uniformity of early patterns cannot be proved. By analogy of the phenomena recently mentioned, we may rather infer diversity of early patterns" (Boas, 1996, p. 294).

In Brazil, as is the case in Peru and other countries next to the Andes strip, where domestication was shared even before precolonial times, elements like beans, pumpkin, corn, peanut—all equally domesticated—belonged to several cultures spread across the territory, with limited exchange, before being forced into an undesired and integrating coexistence by colonization. Thus, we can imagine that the accumulation and association between *charque*, pumpkin, beans, and corn have been relatively recent if compared to the Andes. Anyhow, *charque,* beans, corn, and pumpkin have been enshrined as privileged, popular foods in the colonial system, as in a convergence between taste preferences of king and peasant, mainly in the form of a stew. The colonial "*pot au feu*," which comprises everything, also approximates colonizers and colonized through the sharing of the same technical procedure of pot cooking. While pot cooking in Europe helped develop "vegetable garden legumes," among us, Americans, this garden depended on the improvement of a sedentary form of agriculture that was not always present. Omnipresent, however, were beans, corn, and pumpkin, even if not originally surrounded by the medical "Galenic values" which imposed the existence of a vegetable garden to colonizers' eating standards, up until the late 18th century.

Maybe the central element in these culinary solutions called *locros* is the way they meet the needs of the poor. Expressions like "*ganarse los porotos*" or, in Brazil, "not having a bean tree," speak thousands of words when evidencing the relationship between poverty and this *fabaceae*. The rustic association between beans and corn, or beans and pumpkin, is blatant not only for the botanic features (beans "fertilizing" the soil) but also for cultural ones, as in the association between "cold" ingredients and "warm" ones. Pumpkin and rice, for instance, are regarded as "cold" food, finding their balance with beans, garlic, and pork fat, which are "warm" ingredients. This classification was European, not native. When it classifies native raw material, a "bridge" is built between colonizer and colonized. Thus, we have the fossilization of all the elements that compose these dishes—*locros* and *pintado*—as a food source available to the poor captive populations in the vast colonial system. In colonialism, at least two types of land relations were developed: intensive exploitation of plantations and subsistence agriculture; around the plantations, the poor feed themselves with beans, pumpkin, corn, and dried meat, and sometimes with pork or chicken.

Generally, the use of beans is similar to the use of pasta in Italy: from the ancient lasagna shape (what was known to be the topping of a "pie"), new shapes branched out in different locations, with different cuts and "fillings" ("sauces"), also relative to their locations (Sabban & Serventi, 2002). When the unification of Italy started, this diversity had already been configured and served many times later as a testimony to the cultural vitality of local and regional features. In other words, the Italian pasta is universalized at the same time it is particularized. Among us, many species and hundreds of beans are named after local expressions, seeming to be entirely distinct types, although they only demonstrate the central participation of beans in diets of all corners. Linguistically, it is possible to see how other food components, such as the corn adopted by precolonial *guaranis* who dwelled across north and south, were seen as diverse in similar functions: *canjica, curau, mungunzá, pamonha, quirera/xerém* are more than synonyms—they have developed as an expression of isolation where common food solutions came to light throughout the centuries.

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Along these lines, would we be willing to recognize the bean-pumpkin association, sometimes with corn, and together with meat, as the staple of our most enduring tradition? Given that the urban popularization of rice only happened after the Portuguese Court came to Brazil in the early 19th century, would it be even more of a staple than rice and beans? The widespread appeal of beans and pumpkin and the close relations between corn and domestic creations will transform this set of products and popular familiarity into a springboard for related food solutions, in varying combinations and present in large portions of a territory. However, admitting to this also means renouncing the Treaty of Tordesillas, or, more recently, the borders in South American nations, and accepting that the *locro*, taken as an example here, suggests more of the continuity of this immense territory, rather than its discontinuity. The study of our culinary arts, however, is heavily taxed by "nationalism," blurring the image of the forest where one sees the tree. Exchanges between precolonial peoples are part of an obscure subject in our history and anthropology. Moreover, different food paths based on similar raw materials show that the analysis on the culinary must consider the cultures and history of dish formation, rather than just focusing on the simple study of agriculture as a universalizing force and commodity producer.

Besides the *locro*, others could be added here to help "measure" the distance which a popular dish may cover throughout the colonial period, at which time the importance of recipe books is little or nonexistent. We all know that the couscous, whether from semolina or steamed, arrives in Brazil in the Captaincy of São Vicente in the 17th century. There, semolina from durum wheat, from Maghreb, is replaced by corn flour. Afterwards, this same association—corn flour and steam cooking—will conquer the Brazilian countryside where corn was always present, with its occurrence being verified from the northeastern backcountry and part of the Amazon rainforest to the lowlands (*pampas*), where the exquisite *cuscuz missioneiro* (Portuguese for "missionary couscous") is found, in the border between Brazil and Argentina. Its diffusion is a result of expeditions from *Bandeirantes* and troops articulated with São Paulo.

Cases like these point to the necessity of reviewing the "canonical" theses that defend the formation of a Brazilian cuisine deriving from a simplistic miscegenation of European techniques and ingredients from colonized peoples. As a hypothesis, we may assume that certain examples of diffusion happened during colonialism; others, less noticeably but equally explicable, require a more profound way of perceiving historical processes, including the precolonial ones that allowed for the exchange between cultures which colonialism itself separated and destroyed. Thus, it makes no sense to believe that stews, broadly speaking, have originated from Portuguese dishes, once cooking techniques with water were standard to the Portuguese and other peoples subjugated by them. At the same time, the territorial dynamics of the *locro*, or even couscous, show preserved forms as "dishes," traveling across time and space, or "parallel inventions," and these can only be explained by approaching history from a different perspective.

In order for a comprehensive perspective to be developed in food anthropology and historiography, it is important to abandon the sociopolitical division of the culinary that opposes regional, national, and international spaces, as if it were the State deciding on the popular food—which it has never done—and not only abandon the symbolism of eating as a "nation" or "region"—something which it has frequently done.

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ISSN 0034-7590

PERSPECTIVES

Invited article
Original version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180311

GLOBAL JUNK: WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE OBESITY EPIDEMIC?

WATCHING THE NUTRITIONAL TRANSITION IN BELIZE

I visited southern Belize for the first time in 1976. As an archaeology graduate student, I was assigned the task of digging test trenches in a newly discovered ancient city, right at the beginning of the rainy season. As my excavations flooded, I spent time sitting in nearby houses chatting with Q'eqchi' Mayan people in the adjacent village. They convinced me to switch my career to cultural anthropology. Three years later, I returned to carry out research for my dissertation; I spent a year living in three different villages, helping people clear and plant their cornfields, tagging along on hunting and fishing expeditions, and engaging in many hours of chatting and interviewing people in their homes, often over a meal.

Everybody who could walk worked long hours every day. While the men cleared and planted, women carried heavy loads of corn for kilometers over difficult trails. Women chopped firewood, hauled water, tended pigs and fowl, and spent hours every day grinding corn for the daily staple of handmade tortillas and tamales. The diet was almost entirely locally based—over fifty kinds of plants grew in their gardens, and the forest provided a steady supply of wild foods, small game, and fish. There were a few small shops in the villages that carried canned goods, kerosene, basic medicines, soft drinks, rum, candy, and snacks, as well as wheat flour, sugar, and salt. While almost everyone had an adequate diet, nobody had much cash, so they could not afford foreign. A small can of mackerel, a handful of sweets for the kids, a jar of instant coffee— these were occasional treats. People built their own houses entirely from materials gathered in the rain forest. Thinking back to my time there, I realize that I never saw an overweight or obese Q'eqchi' person during the entire year.

When I left southern Belize in 1980, things were already changing. In the more accessible villages, children were getting better education and learning to speak English. Many adults found jobs on nearby farms, and they were starting to earn more cash from selling rice, pigs, and cacao—and, for a short time, marijuana. Metal roofs began to replace thatch, and people bought clothes, radios, and bicycles.

RICHARD WILK
wilkr@hotmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0001-8623-7874

Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, United States of America

Through the 1980s, I mostly lived and worked in other parts of the country, but I could see that the pace of change was increasing. The rutted trails I once walked became usable roads traveled by motorbikes and a few trucks; wells, schools and outhouses popped up; and a few villages got potable water systems and electric generators. Young people started to leave, for high school or to seek jobs, and many families moved to new villages founded along the main highway headed north and closer to the capital city, Belmopan.

In 2011, I took a group of nine students to Belize for a food studies field school sponsored by my university. The students spent three weeks living with Maya families in the northern villages on the highway, and then three weeks working in the tourist industry on the nearby coast. The idea was to see if we could find ways to get more local food from Maya farms onto the tourists' plates. One student, a bio-anthropologist, worked in a local health clinic.

What we found in the Maya villages was very similar to what the *Times* article "How big business got Brazil hooked on junk food" (Jacobs & Richtel, 2017) describes in Brazil. Among the Maya in Belize, many people had unreliable and badly paid jobs in the banana plantations and shrimp farms, while others sold crafts and raised cash crops like citrus and cacao; few people were subsistence farming anymore, and there were huge disparities in housing and living conditions. Some women, especially those in richer families, tended to stay at home, cooking on gas stoves, and did little physical work; they married later and had fewer children, but with improved healthcare, infant mortality rates plummeted. In the 1980s tuberculosis and periodic measles outbreaks killed many children and young people. Cell phones and TVs were everywhere.

Even though there were no fast food outlets and little food advertising, the locals' diet has become obesogenic. Wheat tortillas made from refined imported flour and lard or shortening have displaced corn; Danish or Brazilian canned meat has become common; and sugary soft drinks have replaced corn porridges or homemade cocoa. Cup noodles (high in salt, fat, calories, and preservatives) are a common lunch for busy workers. Overall there is much more meat in the diet—particularly chicken, which is produced at an industrial scale in Belize with subsidized feed. Children pester their parents for small change to buy sweet or salty snacks from the store. With the rise in the salt, sugar, and fat in the diet, overweight and obesity have become common, especially among women, and with them higher rates of diabetes and high blood pressure. Because these people are poor, rural, and poorly served by the health care system, they often cannot get the medications that would prolong their lives and stave off amputations and blindness.

This is the notorious "dual burden"—the combination of malnourishment and obesity, stunting and overweight, overeating and vitamin deficiency (Popkin, Adair, & Ng, 2012). The cruelest thing of all is that as people become fatter, they are also more exposed to modern culture's idealized expectations of thinness, as peddled by the beauty and diet industries through television, which is mostly US cable channels. Though there is very little advertising targeted directly toward them, those US channels are rife with ads for fast food and convenience foods, as well as diet foods and diet plans. They watch programs with model-perfect hosts and shows like *The Biggest Loser*. It is hard to tell what effect these contradictory messages have on their diet, but because so much of their food is now imported, snack foods and empty calories are cheap and always available. Why has their environment become so obesogenic in a relatively short time?

WHO IS TO BLAME?

One of the most fundamental principles of modern capitalism is consumer sovereignty—the right of consumers to buy whatever they can afford—but some people have considerably more choices than others. It does not matter how much people would like to buy organic kale juice if they cannot find it. This is the point of discussions of food deserts, places where healthy foods are not available. The ideology of consumer sovereignty hides the practices that determine our range of choices. Manufacturers tell us that if there is a demand, someone will satisfy it, and that, therefore, they should not be blamed if there are bad health consequences, because they are just giving people what they want. Faced with food producers who say, "let the buyer beware," it is easy to fall back on the common narrative of the evil corporation, the seduction of the consumer, and the hapless suffering victim, but there are many other parties involved in the story.

Experience has taught us that corporations will sell whatever product is legal (and some that are not) to whomever they can, wherever they can, when they can make a profit or expand their market. They see this as their mission. Expecting corporations to ignore potentially lucrative markets is like asking a river to flow uphill. The only things that can stop giant multinationals from selling junk food to children are willing governments. Only governments can set in place legal constraints that forbid, license, tax, or regulate products in the name of public health. Most countries, for example, have some laws that regulate tobacco advertising and sales, even though many people want to smoke. International agreements and national laws forbid buying and selling many other products that are judged to be dangerous to public health (e.g., melamine) or the natural environment (e.g., DDT). Only public pressure supported by medical science can

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force governments to regulate a popular and profitable product. In the case of obesity, the need for public support and government action is so urgent that we find normally reserved academics willing to use terms like "epidemic," "crisis," and "emergency."

Many governments do not respond to public pressure or medical advice. Particularly in poor countries, wealthy multinational companies wield substantial power and political weight, and they use every legal means to fight local regulations that close or limit their access to consumers. All governments must weigh the financial influence of multinationals against the increasing cost of health services and treating diseases connected with diet and weight. Places where more than 40% of the adult population has diabetes or dangerously high blood pressure truly represent a public health emergency that requires heroic measures. Governments that cannot provide treatment and appropriate medicine for these conditions compound misery and kill people. No economy can thrive with a debilitated workforce, and NGOs, charities, and businesses alone cannot fill the gap.

Does this mean we should just blame governments for the crisis? No. We do have some shining examples of local and national governments actively fighting childhood obesity. For example, despite strong opposition from the food industry, Chile has taken dramatic action, regulating children's exposure to advertising for unhealthy foods, requiring warning labels, taxing soft drinks, and banning junk food from schools. We do not yet know if these measures have reduced the incidence of obesity.

More importantly, there are structural factors in capitalism that set up situations where convenience foods and snack foods become accessible and popular. These fit into the category of what Galtung (1969) and Farmer (1996) defined as "structural violence," aspects of the political economy that create the conditions of poverty and hunger, and then present the solution as cheap food. I prefer the term used by Indian social economist Naila Kabeer, "structures of constraint" (Kabeer, 1994), which makes it clear that while people may be making choices, they often have no healthy or positive options. This concept pushes us away from easy explanations that tend to blame the victims.

These structures of constraint are largely invisible because initially they do not appear to be about food at all. In many places, inequality in the ownership of property, particularly farmland, is a structure of constraint; if you do not have access to land, you cannot grow food. We have to include the property laws and corruption that often drive people off small farms to create giant cattle pastures, groves of oil palms, banana plantations, shrimp farms, and soybean fields. People who could once choose how to use their land end up as low-paid manual laborers on the plantations and cattle ranches, sometimes on the same land they used to own. On the coast, people who were once independent artisanal fishers are displaced by tourist development, the homes of the rich, and the kind of land development and fishing practices that destroy the resources that people once depended upon. Once-thriving self-sufficient communities disperse into isolated individuals and families who seek work as waiters, maids, janitors, street vendors, or underemployed laborers. To call this a "choice" is a cruel irony.

We also live in a global food economy that is structured by booms and busts, fads and fashions. Van Esterik (2006) found that many of the foods poor people depended upon in rural Laos vanished from their diets after the foods were discovered by foreign gourmets, causing prices to rise. What happens when the boom passes? McDonnell's (2015) work with quinoa farmers in Peru shows that at the peak of the boom, when prices were high, their diet shifted toward eating less nutritious non-indigenous foods. Now that quinoa is no longer a cutting-edge miracle food and is being grown more cheaply in the United States and other countries, its price in Peru has gone down, but the families have had a difficult time switching back to their quinoa-based diet. In many places, ethnicity, class, and status are closely connected to what you eat, and social mobility motivates a change in diet.

When small farmers leave the countryside for the city, they find many new structures that constrain their choices and options for food. Poor urban neighborhoods are often food deserts, located far from both affordable markets and workplaces. With multiple jobs, parents often depend on highly processed convenience foods, meaning that their children grow up with little appetite for the staples of rural people. And how can we blame them, when impoverished farmers usually have a relatively monotonous diet of porridge, tubers, or bread?

The distribution of retail trade and the proliferation of supermarkets constitute another structure of constraint. The decisions about what goes on supermarket and store shelves are hardly transparent, and they may even be industrial secrets. In the United States, for example, wholesalers and manufacturers of food must pay retail supermarket chains for shelf space; this is called a "placement fee," "slotting fee," or "slotting allowance." The Center for Science in the Public Interest argues that this practice favors large corporations over small and startup companies, reduces innovation, and makes it possible for the purveyors of junk food to place their products in crucial store locations, especially at checkout counters (Rivlin, 2016). You literally cannot shop in most American supermarkets, or any other chain retail store, without going by rack after rack of high-calorie confections and salty snacks.

The structures of constraint also include the rules of international trade, a system that still allows large rich and powerful countries to subsidize cheap food for export, while

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advocating "free trade." Price supports for corn in the Midwestern United States, for example, keep the price of high fructose corn syrup and corn oil low on the global market, where they displace local products. I will never forget eating grilled turkey tails from a street vendor in Ghana in the 1980s, a cheap export from the United States, where the fatty morsels are considered "waste"; Americans ate the lean cuts and sent the fat abroad. Gewertz and Errington (2010) document the same kind of trade in "meat flaps," fatty sheep bellies from New Zealand and Australia throughout the islands of the Pacific. They also investigated the growth of the instant noodle industry (Errington, Gewertz, & Fujikura, 2013).

Of course, the global food industry takes advantage of these structures of constraint. When people no longer have access to fruit trees or honey, they are happy to buy cheap candy, soft drinks, and snack foods. When they can no longer grow their own corn, they will buy whatever cheap starchy staple is available in the local market, flavor it with salt, and cook it with plenty of fat. In Belize, local entrepreneurs cannot get their own snack foods, banana chips, or sesame sweets into the supermarkets. They do not have access to the best technology for preservation and packaging, and they lack resources to competitively advertise and distribute their products. Locally bottled coconut water spoils quickly, sesame candies melt, and the chips become rancid. Locals' snack foods cannot compete with colorful (and eternally unspoiled) tubes of Pringles® delivered weekly by truck.

The manufacturers of snack foods spend millions of dollars developing ways to dress up and display their products in convenient packages that will attract the eye and the dollar. They build their own racks and displays and find numerous ways to make it easier to see and buy their products. They are adept at turning out "greenwashed" foods—deceptively marketed and promoted as being environmentally friendly, healthy, or natural. Public health officials have to contend with shelf after shelf of foods that are scientifically designed to contain irresistible combinations of salt, sugar, fat, and enticing artificial flavors (Moss, 2013; Schatzker, 2015). If we accept the sovereignty of the consumer as the basic principle of retail trade, these cheap foods are the ones that people will gravitate toward, and no public health authority can match the advertising budget or political power of a multinational food corporation.

CONCLUSION: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Developments in richer countries offer some reason for hope. In the United States, obesity rates have peaked and are starting to decline, and people are eating less beef and more fish. The movement toward whole and organic foods is having a market influence, even in the absence of substantial regulation by the federal government. According to Popkin et al. (2012), over 20 countries have banned sugary beverages from schools, and 12 have banned 100% fruit juice. Nestle's (2017) book on sugary sodas proposes several different strategies for reducing their consumption. Certainly, governments at all levels have many tools they can use to directly improve peoples' diets.

As I argue above, the fundamental causes of obesity and related diseases are structural constraints, but I have omitted several other structural issues such as gender roles and income inequality. If we want to change these constraints, we need to begin with agricultural policy, trade agreements, land tenure, and the system of retail marketing, among other issues. Food is what Mauss (1990) called a "total social fact," which extends into every aspect of human life. Just as food studies requires the participation of many disciplines, food policies cannot just focus on diet and nutrition. We should not center our attention on the Q'eqchi' father who buys his daughter a cold Coke® on a hot day, but instead address the systems that make Coke® the only option.

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ISSN 0034-7590

PERSPECTIVES

Invited article
Translated version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180312

OBESITY MUST BE TREATED AS A PUBLIC HEALTH ISSUE

"The diet is killing us."
Anthony Winson, researcher at the University of Guelph (Canada)
in an interview with The New York Times

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, excess weight is a global issue. Currently, 40% of the world's population is overweight—three times more than 40 years ago (World Health Organization [WHO], 2018). In Brazil, one in two adults and one in three children are overweight (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics [Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, IBGE], 2010). A recent study published by Cancer Research UK (2018) showed that the generation born in the 1980s and 1990s - the so-called millennials - is about to become the group with the highest incidence of excess weight in history.

According to the National Cancer Institute (Instituto Nacional do Câncer [INCA], 2018), obesity increases the risk of deadly diseases such as diabetes, heart disease, and at least 13 types of cancer, which are among the main causes of death in Brazil. Healthy eating, regular engagement in physical activity, and maintenance of a healthy body weight are estimated to prevent approximately 33% of the most common types of cancer in Brazil. In addition, according to the WHO (2018), approximately 13% of cancer cases in the country are related to excess weight and obesity.

According to these numbers, obesity is now a public health issue that affects an increasingly significant part of the population. Nevertheless, it is still largely associated with individual behavior. It is seen as a problem that affects those who have no food discipline and who cannot resist "temptations" or are unable to establish a "balanced" diet. Not having the willpower to perform regular physical exercise, the careless individual gains weight to the point of putting their life at risk. This view on obesity – and on obese people - is wrong and needs to change.

ANA PAULA BORTOLETTO MARTINS
anapaula@idec.org.br
ORCID: 0000-0003-3560-4472

Instituto Brasileiro de Defesa do Consumidor , São Paulo, SP, Brazil

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The accelerated increase of obesity is due to changes in the dietary pattern of the population, which favors ultra-processed products with high levels of sodium, sugar, and saturated fats instead of eating homemade, fresh, or minimally processed foods (Monteiro & Louzada, 2015). An ultra-processed diet, including sugary beverages and fast foods, contains a high concentration of these critical substances and has high energy density.

There is a robust body of scientific evidence linking the consumption of these products to weight gain. Evidence also points to increasingly early exposure to poor diet in childhood (IBGE, 2015). This situation is not only part of the Brazilian reality, it also happens in other developing countries as the food and beverage industry eyes a promising consumer market in the countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. As their sales fall in richer countries, food multinationals are increasing their presence in developing countries and aggressively marketing their products, thus changing traditional local eating habits.

One example is the African country Burkina Faso, where the prevalence of obesity among adults has grown by 1,400%, according to a recent article *in The New York Times*, "In Kenya, and Across Africa, an Unexpected Epidemic: Obesity." In Ghana, Togo, and Ethiopia, this growth was 500%. According to a survey appearing in the same article, eight of the 20 global nations with the highest rates of obesity increase are in Africa (Gettleman, 2018).

Data by the international consultancy Euromonitor published in another recent article in *The New York Times*, "How Big Business Got Brazil Hooked on Junk Food", show that the sale of processed foods grew 25% worldwide compared to only 10% in the United States. The article says that "an even more drastic change occurred with soft drinks: sales in Latin America have doubled since 2000, exceeding consumption in North America in 2013, according to the World Health Organization." Soft drinks are considered a major cause of obesity (Jacob & Richtel, 2017).

The documentary *The Industry of Obesity*, produced by the German TV channel ZDF (2018), explores the industry's strategies to induce the low-income population in low- and middle-income countries to consume ultra-processed foods such as cookies, soft drinks, and seasonings. Door-to-door sales are the central strategy of companies such as Nestlé, Unilever, and Danone in the outskirts of major cities, enabling their products to reach those who rarely go to the supermarket or cannot afford to pay cash for food products.

DISCUSSION

Because of this overwhelming issue of obesity and chronic noncommunicable diseases, most of the world's population already lives in countries where more people die from excess weight than from problems related to undernourishment and even urban violence, which is prevalent in developing countries. An analysis of 27 Latin American countries by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (UN/FAO) showed that excess weight and obesity account for 300 thousand deaths per year in these nations - compared to 166 thousand people murdered. In 2015, 117 thousand people died because of diseases caused by obesity in Brazil, a figure 2.44 times greater than the number of murders (Berdegué & Aguirre, 2018).

Obesity is a multifactorial problem, and fighting it requires an equally diversified effort. The key ingredient, however, is the role the government plays in establishing effective and innovative policies to combat the obesogenic environment created by the food industry.

Here, there is an interesting similarity with the fight against tobacco. Smoking cigarettes was once considered a habit. Today it is regarded as a deadly addiction, a public health issue. Considering the overwhelming and irrefutable evidence linking cigarettes to diseases such as cancer and other deadly medical complications, Brazil invested in efficient policies that reduced the number of smokers by a third, according to INCA (2018). Research by the same institute also showed a reduction in lung cancer mortality among men. Today, the Brazilian anti-smoking program is considered an international standard.

It is likely that many people who gave up this addiction did so out of personal motivation. However, it was only thanks to broad and deliberate measures that thousands and thousands of smokers stopped smoking. Tobacco-free environment laws (such as for bars and restaurants), raising the price of cigarettes, and warnings printed on packs caused a drastic drop in cigarette consumption - and a huge gain in health and well-being for the whole of society.

There is great resistance to dealing with the issue of obesity in the same way as for smoking. It is not a matter of comparing foods, even unhealthy ones, to cigarettes. Yet, both categories of products are associated with deadly diseases that compromise the health and well-being of millions of people, burdening public expenditures, and jeopardizing the future of entire generations. Like smoking, obesity is a public health issue that must be tackled. Here are some suggestions.

a) Front of pack nutritional labeling

This is growing in prominence on the international agenda. There is a consensus that consumer decisions need to be simplified by clearly and objectively condensing the nutritional information

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table and the list of ingredients. These two items are fundamental in guiding healthier choices but are not always seen or understood. The international recommendation is that relevant information be displayed on the front of the pack so that it can be easily found and assimilated (Branca, Nikogosian, & Lobstein, 2007).

To this end, an innovative approach was tried in Chile, where a new type of warning was implemented. It is a black seal in the upper left corner of packs showing that the product contains high levels of sugar, sodium, total and saturated fat, and calories.

The measure was implemented in 2016 and has been very well accepted by Chileans. In a survey conducted by the government, 92.4% of consumers rated the measure as "good" or "very good," and 37% said that the seal made them change some food choices (Ministerio de Salud – Minsal, 2018). This is the world's first compulsory measure of this nature, a pioneering achievement recognized internationally.

The Chilean example has been spreading throughout the world. Canada, Israel, South Africa, Uruguay, and Peru are some countries that are studying or implementing the Chilean model. In Brazil, the National Health Surveillance Agency (Agência Nacional de Vigilância Sanitária [Anvisa]) is also analyzing the option, which was presented by the Brazilian Institute of Consumer Protection (Instituto Brasileiro de Defesa do Consumidor [IDEC], 2018).

It is important to note that the Chilean front of pack labeling mechanism, besides impacting consumers, has also worked as an important stimulus for change in the food industry. About 20% of products that contained one or more black seals in their packages have already been reformulated to become healthier and have the warning seals removed.

b) Restricting children's advertising

A few years ago, IDEC (2012) evaluated the nutritional quality of processed foods directed to children. It analyzed 44 products and the result was impressive, 84% of them had excessive amounts of health-critical nutrients such as sugar, sodium, and fat. Therefore, these products were considered unhealthy foods.

Foods with similar nutritional profiles are now widely marketed to children through advertising. It is estimated that 50% of all advertising aimed at children is for food and, of these, more than 80% is for unhealthy products. According to the American Dietetic Association (ADA), exposing children for only 30 seconds to food commercials can influence their food choices.

There is a great deal of literature on this subject and growing evidence linking unhealthy food consumption to obesity. The conclusion is that advertising directed at children and children being overweight go hand in hand. Tackling this issue necessarily requires restricting advertising.

This is a consensus that has been built by several sectors of society. In the medical field, the WHO and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO, 2014) have already stated that efforts must be made to protect children from the impact of unhealthy food marketing and give them the opportunity to grow and develop in a suitable environment.

Recent landmark decisions of the highest levels of the Brazilian justice system have strengthened this point. In 2016, the Supreme Court of Justice (Superior Tribunal de Justiça [STJ]) created the first precedent that considers food advertising directly or indirectly aimed at children to be abusive. A year later, another STJ decision followed the same direction. Both legal actions were against multinationals in the food industry advertising ultra-processed products (IDEC, 2017).

c) School environment protection

In the specific case of children and adolescents, the school environment is considered a priority in the promotion of healthy and appropriate food consumption, because it is characterized as an environment for shaping the development of individuals, where people spend much of their time, live, learn, and work.

It has been proven that health promotion programs at school, such as those aimed at combating obesity, expand knowledge for families and communities, improve populational health, prevent negative health habits, reduce teacher and student absenteeism, improve knowledge about health services, and stimulate educators in their work. Due to their wide scope, schools can do more than other institutions to create healthier habits.

However, research has shown that currently the school environment contributes in a systematic way to the adoption of food practices considered unhealthy, and therefore has an important role in overweight and obesity rates. Most snacks sold and/or prepared at school canteens are low in nutrients and high in sugar, fat, and sodium (Ministério da Saúde, 2007).

The discussion of these issues leads to a debate about legal measures that can transform schools and school catering services into healthy food and meal providers, and encourage the adoption of equally healthy habits inside and outside school. The regulation of canteens, the restriction of sugary beverages in schools, and the inclusion of nutritional education in the school routine are some of these measures - many of them with a significant history at the municipal and state levels.

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d) Taxing sugary beverages

The WHO (2016) already stated that the consumption of sugary beverages is one of the main causes of obesity and diabetes. It is not difficult to understand why. Most sugary beverages have no nutritional value. They contain "empty" calories that cannot be compared to the nutritional calories of other foods. For example, the fiber of an apple makes the person who eats it feel more satisfied and less hungry than someone who drinks a soft drink - even if both have the same number of calories (Mourao, Bressan, Campbell, & Mattes, 2007).

Regardless of the empty calories in sugary beverages, the sugar they contain alters the body's metabolism, affects insulin and cholesterol levels, and can cause inflammation and high blood pressure.

The WHO recommends consuming up to six teaspoons of sugar a day. A single 355 ml can of soda has about 9.5 teaspoons - this cannot be considered healthy and safe. In addition, studies show that the human body does not respond in the same way to the intake of calories ingested in liquid and solid forms. As a consequence, liquid calories result in more rapid weight gain (DiMeglio & Mattes, 2000).

Evidence shows that raising taxes would help reduce the consumption of sugary beverages as it reduced the consumption of cigarettes. Here in Brazil, a recent survey showed that 74% of the population would decrease their consumption of soft drinks and other products, which would result in an enormous gain in health and well-being (Cancian, 2017).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Obesity is a challenge for Brazil and the world. The paths to a solution are multiple, and isolated actions cannot adequately address the problem. Only integrated and articulated policies can constitute effective engagement.

However, it is well known that these paths will not be easy. The industry that promotes unhealthy foods and beverages is strong and uses a range of tactics to oppose public welfare. However, countless countries in Latin America and in the world have resisted, placing public health at the center of discussions and decisions, and adopted measures aimed to ensure a healthier and more appropriate diet for everyone.

It must be acknowledged that Brazil has formally expressed its political will in the signing of international agreements and the design of national plans. However, this is not enough. Intentions and plans need to be put into practice.

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ISSN 0034-7590

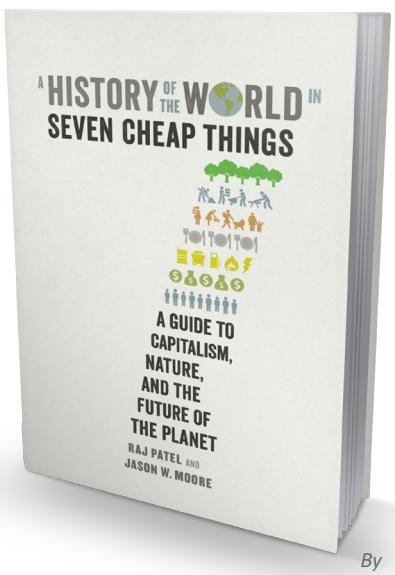
BOOK REVIEW

Original version
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180315

NO ESCAPE FROM CAPITALISM'S UNRELENTING LOGIC OF CONQUEST AND COMMODIFICATION

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN SEVEN CHEAP THINGS: A guide to capitalism, nature, and the future of the planet

Raj Patel and Jason W. Moore. Berkeley, USA: University of California Press, 2017, 328p.



By

BY KRISHNENDU RAY
krishnendu.ray@nyu.edu
ORCID: 0000-0002-3947-8111

New York University, Department of Nutrition and Food Studies, New York City, NY, United States of America

A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things is extraordinary because it unapologetically links Western capitalism to the ills of the global food system, and shows how the epistemological questions regarding the choices to divide and separate nature from society, natives from colonialists, and men from women are complicit in remaking the world in the image of capitalist values. This is noteworthy for a book intended for a non-academic audience. In contrast to most consumerist critiques of the food system written in the developed world, this book incisively connects global natural destruction and the decimation of indigenous populations to the very logic of capital accumulation by arguing that extractive relationships based upon class, race, and gender are structurally connected to the global First and Third-World division, and thus define the very nature of the Capitalocene (instead of the broader formulation of the Anthropocene). There is no escape from the capitalistic exploitation of nature and culture. There is no room for good capitalism in this book. This is a bracing and necessary argument that is often never made, especially in the United States, where a variety of ameliorative propaganda about values-based capitalism is routinely peddled, even by members of the good-food movement. *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things* provides a rare synthesis that theoretically connects the disparate work of critics in culture, economics, politics, and philosophy; in the end, it is an incisive political-ecological critique that accounts for both political-economy and cultural politics. This is successful grand theorization at the highest level.

The book begins by discussing cheap nature before burrowing through cheap money, cheap work, cheap care, cheap food, cheap energy, and ending with cheap lives. Cheap Nature opens with the execution of an unnamed "sorceress" of Tlaxcala, New Spain on Sunday, July 18, 1599. This anonymous woman allegedly smashed crosses and incited Chichimec Indians to rebel, but her worst crime was dreaming of a deer riding atop a horse. As a symbol of local Chichimec nature, the deer rode astride the livelihood of the colonizers. It was thus judged to be a seditious challenge to the cosmos of the Conquistador. Killed as a witch, the authors retell the story of this woman, who dreamt of a radically different ecology, as a balm against neglecting alternatives to capitalism's "world-ecology."

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The hyphenation of "world-ecology" echoes the "World-Systems" analysis of sociologists Wallerstein (2011) and Arrighi (2010), who served as central theoretical sources for this book regarding the food-system. The food system in question is one that is world-spanning in origin. The authors argue that it is a system that can only be overthrown by an equally global and internationalist movement. Their regret is that people can easily imagine the end of the world, but not the end of capitalism. This accusation underpins the entire book.

I primarily focus on the Cheap Nature concept in order to convey the scope and depth of the authors' work within the limits of this review. "Our Chichimec woman," they argue "was killed by a civilized society because her natural savagery broke its rules" (p. 45). As recently as 1330, the authors note, savage meant valiant. However, this positive association faded during the fifteenth century. Not coincidentally, the terms *nature* and *society* were produced as a binary that required separation so that society's rules could be imposed on nature and anything natural. This was in order to contain indigenous populations, inferior races, women, and nature itself. The authors argue that this classification continues today with analogous consequences. To understand the ambition and scope of Patel and Moore's work, it is necessary to substantially quote them here:

> We take for granted that some parts of the world are social and others are natural. Racialized violence, mass unemployment and incarceration, consumer cultures – these are the stuff of social problems and social injustice. Climate, biodiversity, resource depletion – these are the stuff of natural problems, of ecological crisis. But it's not just that we think about the world in this way. It's also that we *make* it so, acting as if the Social and the Natural were autonomous domains, as if relations of human power were somehow untouched by the web of life. In this book, we use these words – *Nature* and *Society* – in a way that's different from their everyday use. We're capitalizing them as a sign that they are concepts that don't merely describe the world but help us organize it and ourselves. Scholars call concepts like these "real abstractions." These abstractions make statements about ontology – *What is?*—and about epistemology – *How do we know what is?* Real abstractions both describe the world and make it. (p. 47)

It is noteworthy to mention that, once they are constructed, real abstractions help govern the world. This nature-culture concept is powerful because it addresses the problems of power that social constructionists have been addressing, but without disregarding the natural or the human narcissism that is sometimes embedded in the social.

Nature is a way of organizing and cheapening life. It is a way of lumping and splitting a continuum (i.e., humans, animals, plants, and other living things) into poles that can be separately governed by those with money and power. Patel and Moore argue that capitalism could not have emerged without the cheapening of nature and the domination of anything natural, including forests, plains, rivers, Native Americans, and women. Capitalism is a world-ecology of power with boundaries between black and white, nature and culture, and male and female. Yet hope exists in the challenges of social movements to bridge those binaries, as we see with gender, sexuality, and species-based identity today. What is radical about this range is that the authors pose that neither class, race, gender, sexuality, nor nature are more important than one another.

Humans have repeatedly considered themselves different from the rest of nature, but what was forged by capitalism and its handmaiden (fashioned by epigones of Western Philosophy such as Rene Descartes [1596-1660]) is the fastness of that separation. The authors assert that Descartes learned much of his philosophical reasoning from studying the Mexican philosopher Antonio Rubio (1548-1615). This mischief, in stretching the limits of what is "Mexican," allows Patel and Moore to do two things. First, they invert the site of philosophy from the metropole to the periphery. Second, they position the margin as the focus of the capitalist story (traditionally told as transformations at the center). The usual arguments involve creating markets and honoring contracts, ideologies of free labor, Protestant ethic, democracy, and states with limited power, none of which are at capitalism's origin. What lies at its source is expansion into nature and domination over natural things and peoples.

The authors compellingly join money capital and territorial power to command life, work, and resources. There is no money without authority; there is no authority without monetary dependence. This authority is primarily able to make war and police recalcitrant subjects. Here Patel and Moore connect New World silver and Genoese banking to modern military construction (the singular advantage of the modern West) based on economic financialization. Thus, bankers need governments despite the fractious marriage between money and territorialism. "If cheap work, food, energy, and raw materials are the necessary conditions for capitalist booms, cheap credit makes them all possible" (p. 68). Here, their work is dependent on the conceptions of Braudel (1992) and Arrighi (2010).

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The chapter on Cheap Care shows that the origin of the modern household lies in European capitalist ecological changes. Based on Clark's The Working Lives of Women in the Seventeenth Century (1993), the authors show the shift in the economic geography of care and production. Women's work on the commons included fuel gathering, gleaning, and providing social insurance that was often based on religious, personal, and social kin-work. However, these arrangements were incompatible with agricultural innovations like the plough, enclosed holdings, monocultures, and private property arrangements that disinherited and immiserated women. Cheap waged labor, on which industrialization was built, needed care work to transform into unpaid work, which was overwhelmingly assigned to women. The expansion of care work (estimated to grow by 70% in the US by 2020 [p. 134]) is dependent on caregivers moving, historically as slaves, servants, and wet nurses, and today as health care professionals, nannies, and pregnancy surrogates. "The global household has always done the work that makes possible the global factory and the global farm" (p. 134). The authors conclude that a world in which care is valued requires a post-capitalist environment.

The chapter on Cheap Food shows how such food makes cheap labor possible. Capitalism uses Cheap Energy to cheapen other factors of production. It begins with deforestation (i.e., wood harvesting), followed by wind and peat (mastered by the 16th century Dutch), then coal (UK) and oil (USA). They predict that, without 21st century cheap nature frontiers to externalize development costs, social movements will arise that will be difficult to contain.

Conquering and cheapening global life requires mapping. Hence, much attention is paid to cartography and other forms of knowing the world in modern European knowledge systems. Domination cannot be separated from knowledge. The authors argue that early modern materialism was designed to interpret the world and control it. This is an homage to Marx. The book concludes by demanding recognition of capitalistic binaries and a call for reparation, redistribution, reimagination, and recreation. This last concept involves celebrating the joys of idleness and good work, thus inferring the concept of alienation in Marx's The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (2011).

Here, critics will target the book as having Marxist blinders. The authors mostly ignore the record of state socialism in devastating the natural and indigenous worlds. If capitalism came from violent conquest, can socialist history be separated from it? They subsume state-socialism with capitalist world-ecology, but the argument needs elaboration beyond two claims, as follows: "For Stalin (as for the Americans), nature was 'an object to be manipulated… [and] an enemy to be subjugated'" and Mao's assault on the four scourges of fleas, flies, rats, and sparrows that contributed to the Great Chinese Famine of 1959-61 (p. 107-108). This raises a question that fundamentally haunts the book. That is, are capitalism and territorialism always congruent and never contradictory? What about the rich literature, including aspects of world-systems analysis that argue that capitalism could not have emerged within a world-empire? *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things* must be matched by an equally incisive critique of the environmental and methodological consequences of state-socialism. However, that critique is not urgent, in my view, given the irrelevance of state-socialism as a real contemporary alternative. In contrast, capitalism rules, so the target of this book is aptly chosen.

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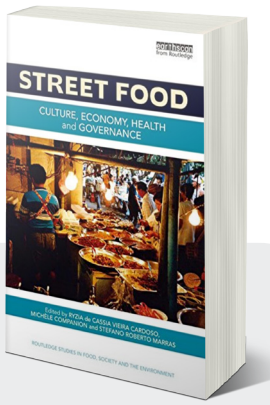
BOOK RECOMMENDATIONS

Original version

FOOD, THE CITY, AND THE STREET

Noah Allison | allin115@newschool.edu | ORCID: 0000-0003-1123-7487

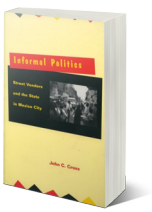
Food businesses are vital to the development and sustainability of cities, and are essential for the livability and conviviality of urban spheres. The enormous amount of scholarship that analyzes metropolises has often overlooked food as a crucial factor in understanding cities. The following volumes provide rich conceptual and empirical discussions on the ways in which food business influences physical and social environments, as well as public and urban policy. The texts examine both the impact of food businesses vis-a-vis cities from a macro-scale perspective, and the influences that such businesses have on the urban realm from a micro level. Together, they provide a starting point to understand the entangled relationships of food commerce and urbanism. **Noah Allison** is a doctoral candidate in Urban Policy at The New School in New York City.



STREET FOOD: CULTURE, ECONOMY, HEALTH & GOVERNANCE

Ryzia de Cássia Vieira Cardoso, Michèle Companion, and Stefano Roberto Marras, (Eds). London, UK: Routledge, 2014, 300p.

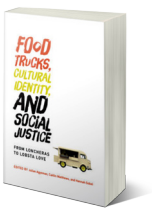
The editors of this volume are the first to provide a comprehensive social science perspective on the diversity of street food and forms of micro-entrepreneurship that are found around the world and throughout history. The business of feeding others on the street represents a culturally diverse, multifaceted, and economically significant phenomenon, particularly for poor and marginalized groups, including women and migrants. This work highlights case studies from specific cities in different regions of the world.



INFORMAL POLITICS: STREET VENDORS AND THE STATE OF MEXICO CITY

John Christopher Cross. California, USA: Stanford University Press, 1998, 284p.

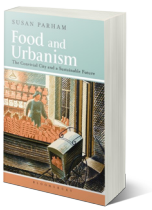
Examining street vending in Mexico City as a political process, Cross develops new theoretical insights into social movements, state institutions, and politics at the fringe of society, where legality blurs into illegality and the informal economy intersects with its political counterpoint—informal politics. Studying political processes at the street level and then tracing them up the political structure, Cross reveals the basic processes by which the Mexican state operates, illustrating that when they are well-organized, street vendors can influence state policy-implementers, even when state policy-makers are influenced by powerful interest groups, such as large national and multinational corporations.



FOOD TRUCKS, CULTURAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: FROM LONCHERAS TO LOBSTA LOVE

Julian Agyeman, Caitlin Matthews, and Hannah Sobel. Cambridge, USA: MIT Press, 2017, 352p.

Examining the food truck phenomenon in North American cities from Los Angeles to Montreal, this book considers the motivating factors behind a city's promotion or restriction of mobile food vending, and how these might connect to or impede broad goals of social justice. The contributors investigate the discriminatory implementation of rules, with gentrified hipsters often receiving preferential treatment over traditional immigrants; food trucks as part of community economic development; and food trucks' role in cultural identity formation. Ultimately, *Food Trucks, Cultural Identity and Social Justice* illustrates that cultural identity formation and community economic development are the two frameworks through which social justice can be identified in policy and practice.



FOOD AND URBANISM: THE CONVIVIAL CITY AND A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

Susan Parham. New York, USA: Bloomsbury Press, 2015, 376p.

Cities are now home to over fifty percent of the world's population, and the figure is expected to grow. Shifts of this magnitude have engendered a huge demand on urban resources and infrastructure; however, food is still often overlooked as a key factor in the planning and designing of cities. In *Food and Urbanism*, Parham explores the connections between food and place in past and present design practices, looking for new methods for extending the "gastronomic" possibilities of urbanity. In doing so, she offers insights into how the interplay of physical design and socio-spatial practices involving food can help propagate and maintain socially rich, productive, and sustainable urban space.



TEN RESTAURANTS THAT CHANGED AMERICA

Paul Freedman. New York, USA: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2016. 560p.

Ten Restaurants that Changed America illustrates how restaurants in the United States tell the story of America's development. Crafting a social history that profiles ten restaurants, Freedman unearths a broader account of ethnicity, class, immigration, and assimilation by examining fine dining restaurants, as well as genteel urban lunch spots catering to women, and institutions that pioneered middle-class family dining. Ten Restaurants that Changed America is an innovative work in a completely new genre of developmental history.

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ISSN 0034-7590

BOOK RECOMMENDATIONS

Original version

COMPREHENDING BRAZILIAN CULTURE THROUGH ITS DIVERSE CULINARY

Adriana Schneider Dallolio | ORCID: 0000-0002-0101-6800 | adriana.dallolio@gmail.com

According to anthropologist Clifford Geertz, individuals are inherently unfinished and incomplete beings, who are completed by culture. Thus, culture assumes a key role in forming a group's identity, and food must be recognized as a fundamental unit of analysis of a group's culture. From this perspective, we offer a short list of book recommendations that highlights major classic and pioneering authors in Brazilian food studies literature, as well as some basic references for the international researcher. **Adriana Schneider Dallolio** is a doctoral candidate in Business Administration at FGV EAESP.



HISTÓRIA DA ALIMENTAÇÃO NO BRASIL

Luís da Câmara Cascudo. São Paulo, BR: Global Editora, 2011. 972 p.

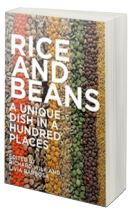
História da Alimentação no Brasil, recounts the country's history through food, highlighting not only the key historical influences of Native Indians, African slaves, and Portuguese colonizers, but also detailing the ingredients, habits, superstitions, and rituals surrounding Brazilian cuisine.



FORMAÇÃO DA CULINÁRIA BRASILEIRA

Carlos Alberto Dória. São Paulo, BR: Três Estrelas, 2014. 280 p.

This book examines the historical foundations and social processes that influenced Brazilians' culinary habits and use of ingredients. In this new, enlarged edition, the author signalizes the challenge of characterizing a national Brazilian cuisine, highlighting the regional particularities and different perspectives of social groups, as well as the impacts of market development and perspectives for future Brazilian cuisine renovation from the recent experiences of gastronomic poles such as São Paulo.



RICE AND BEANS: A UNIQUE DISH IN A HUNDRED PLACES

Richard Wilk & Lívia Barbosa (Editors). London, UK: Berg Publishers, 2012. 256 p.

This book explores how the same two ingredients may assume different meanings, values, and symbologies across various cultural contexts. It features Lívia Barbosa's article, *Rice and Beans, Beans and Rice, the Perfect Couple*, in which the author reflects upon the Brazilian alimentary identity, the recent changes in the production and consumption of these ingredients, as well as the reasons for its sustained importance in the eating habits of Brazilians.



BRAZILIAN FOOD: RACE, CLASS AND IDENTITY IN REGIONAL CUISINES

Jane Fajans. London, UK: Berg Publishers, 2012. 160 p.

This book offers a fair portrait of the role of food, cooking practices, and ingredients in the regional identity formation of Brazilians. Despite not thoroughly covering the regional particularities across the entire country, the author highlights some symbols, cooking traditions, and historical facts that characterize the regional identity of different social groups in some of the major areas of the country.



D.O.M: REDISCOVERING BRAZILIAN INGREDIENTS

Alex Atala. London, UK: Phaidon Press, 2013. 320 p.

The author is a Brazilian chef who is concerned with the integrity of ingredients, the rediscovery of the roots of national cuisine, and the social healthiness of the whole production chain. His book should be read not just for its amazing recipes and beautiful pictures, but also as a true encyclopedia of Brazilian (Amazonian) native ingredients and a sample of the recent process of food's "gourmetization" in daily Brazilian cooking.

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ISSN 0034-7590