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**Anti-manual for the organizational construction
of authenticity in postcolonial contexts**

by

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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Management has been composed by myself and that the work has not and will not be submitted in whole or in part for any other degree or professional qualification. I confirm that the work submitted is my own, except where work that has formed part of jointly authored publications has been included. My contribution and those of the other authors to this work have been explicitly indicated below.

Chapter 2 was presented at EGOS 2022, submitted to Organization as “Decolonizing authenticity: A critical review” by Belinda Zakrzewska, Michael Beverland, and Stephan Manning and received an invitation to revise and resubmit. Belinda Zakrzewska carried out the data collection and analysis, and the writing of the manuscript. Michael Beverland and Stephan Manning were responsible for providing feedback and corrections to the manuscript.

Chapter 3 was presented at EGOS 2021 is being prepared to be submitted to the Journal of Management Studies as “Stratal institutional work: How elite cultural producers influence social orders” by Belinda Zakrzewska, Michael Beverland, and Stephan Manning. Belinda Zakrzewska carried out the data collection and analysis, and the writing of the manuscript. Michael Beverland and Stephan Manning were responsible for providing feedback and corrections to the manuscript.

Chapter 4 was submitted to the Special Issue Rediscovering *and Theorizing Craft in Organization Studies* as “Recipes for crafting authenticity and coloniality” by Belinda Zakrzewska, Michael Beverland, and Stephan Manning and received an invitation to revise and resubmit. Belinda Zakrzewska carried out the data collection and analysis, and the writing of the manuscript. Michael Beverland and Stephan Manning were responsible for providing feedback and corrections to the manuscript.

Summary

Authenticity claim-making practices are considered valuable organizational strategies that lead to several benefits according to the Western scholarship in Management and Organization Studies (MOS). However, less is known about how these practices reproduce and manifest power structures, especially in former Western colonies in the Global South. These postcolonial nations are characterized by coloniality, that is, colonial power structures that have survived the decolonization process and have shaped internal social divisions between elites and subordinate groups.

In this light, this paper-based dissertation is guided by the following research question: How does hegemonic power operate through authenticity claim-making practices in the organizational field? In my first paper, I present a critical review of the current scholarship on marketplace authenticity in MOS where I problematize the assumptions guiding this body of work and present a decolonial agenda for future studies. My remaining two papers are ethnographic studies of the contemporary Peruvian culinary field. In my second paper, I examine how local elite chefs shape social orders through hybridized authenticity claim-making practices and, in my third paper, how they shape coloniality through craft-based authenticity claim-making practices.

The overarching topic, findings, and contributions that tie together these three papers are reflected in the title of this dissertation: *Anti-manual for claiming marketplace authenticity in postcolonial contexts*. That is, this is a manual for the critical assessment of seemingly benign authenticity claim-making practices carried out by cultural elite producers in postcolonial contexts. Although each paper deals with a set of contributions that advance the literature on decolonial studies, institutional theory, and craft respectively, the overall contribution of this dissertation is shedding light on the tensions that result from the hegemonic operation of power.

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Dedication

Your absence has gone through me
Like thread through a needle.
Everything I do is stitched with its color.

— Separation, by W.S. Merwin

This doctoral dissertation is dedicated to my *tataś*, Jerzy Zakrzewski

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Rationale and research aims

In this dissertation, I critically examine the hegemonic operation of power through organizational authenticity claim-making practices in postcolonial contexts. To do so, I formulate three research aims. First, I problematize the current assumptions underpinning the literature on authenticity through a decolonial perspective. Second, I examine how authenticity claim-making practices carried out by elite cultural producers shape social orders. Third, I examine how elite cultural producers shape coloniality through craft-based authenticity claim-making practices. These objectives are important because the current body of literature presents a sanitized version of authenticity that overlooks the role of power structures and the potential of postcolonial contexts to provide new insights. Thus, the title of this dissertation, “Anti-manual for the organizational construction of authenticity in postcolonial contexts”, reflects the overarching theme that ties together these research aims as well as their findings and contributions.

Due to the importance of authenticity as a valuable attribute for organizations, there is a growing interest in the strategic construction of authenticity in cultural fields. One stream of work has focused on authenticity claims based on the compliance of an entity to specific cultural requirements associated with “verifiable links to people, places, or periods” (Lehman et al., 2019, p. 25). Organizations achieve this by highlighting their traditional methods of production (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000; Kroezen & Heugens, 2019; McKendrick & Carroll, 2001) and notions of provenance (Beverland, 2005a; Guy, 2007; Smith Maguire, 2018b) and locality (Toraldo et al., 2018). Another stream of work has directed attention to authenticity claims based on the reinterpretation of culture through the use of modern techniques and appropriate skills and tools (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009). This is the case for organizations such as modern wineries (Negro et al.,

2011), gourmet food trucks (Schifeling & Demetry, 2021), and new creative cuisines (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; Cappelen & Pedersen, 2021; Svejenova et al., 2007) that combine traditions with innovation. Regardless of the strategy, authenticity claim-making practices lead to organizational benefits such as competitive advantage (Demetry, 2019; Kovács et al., 2014), higher consumer ratings (Kovács et al., 2014; Lehman et al., 2014), legitimation from external audiences (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005; Grazian, 2003), and the establishment of price premiums (Beverland, 2005a; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021).

As the research above demonstrates, authenticity claim-making practices mirror forms of institutional work whereby they are aimed to maintain or change the boundaries and conventions of cultural categories (Lehman et al., 2019). However, studies on authenticity share the limitations of institutional theory regarding the identification and examination of “problematic uses of power” (Munir, 2015, p. 90, 2020; Willmott, 2015). In other words, the bodies of research on institutional work and – by association – on authenticity have focused on episodic expressions of power (Lawrence et al., 2001) by underscoring the agency of actors to carry out authenticity claim-making practices. This overlooks systemic expressions of power working through “ongoing practices to advantage particular groups without those groups necessarily establishing or maintaining those practices” (Lawrence, 2008, p. 176; Lawrence et al., 2001). In this way, the literature on authenticity disconnects field-level practices from structures of power, domination, and oppression (Chrispal et al., 2021; Munir, 2015, 2020; Willmott, 2015) in which they are embedded, thus, leading to an uncritical and sanitized version of authenticity claim-making in the organizational context.

The lack of research attention on the hegemonic operation of power in the construction of authenticity can also be explained by the significant empirical attention to the Global North (i.e., the West or developed countries) as they are underpinned by the

premise that authenticity plays an important role in Western culture (Grayson & Martinec, 2004). This overlook disregards the potential of the Global South (i.e., developing countries) to provide new insights, especially postcolonial nations (i.e., former Western colonies), which are particularly interesting due to their remnants of colonial power structures. Known as coloniality (short for coloniality of power, Quijano, 2007), these colonial power structures that have survived the decolonization process are manifested in internal classist and racist social relations between dominant and subordinate groups (Grosfoguel, 2008). Thus, postcolonial nations offer an interesting context to the body of research on authenticity for the critical examination of authenticity claim-making practices and their relation to larger and broader societal issues rooted in asymmetrical power relations. This raises several questions about the role of authenticity claim-making practices in cultural fields and the role of elite cultural producers in the reproduction and counteraction of structures of power, domination, and oppression.

In this light, I ask: How does power operate hegemonically in the organizational construction of authenticity in postcolonial contexts? To answer this question, I look at the case of the contemporary Peruvian culinary field as it provides a fertile empirical setting for two reasons. First, as a former Spanish colony, Peru is characterized by the logic of coloniality (Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Quijano, 2007) that is manifested in racialized geographic differences between local elites settled in the capital (i.e., Lima) and subordinate racialized/ethnic groups in the periphery (i.e., other coastal areas, the Andean mountains, the Amazonian jungle) (Matta, 2021). Second, due to the embeddedness in these larger and broader structures of power, coloniality is manifested and reproduced in the Peruvian culinary field. Elite chefs, born and settled in the capital, are spearheading a new cuisine based on the adoption of products and techniques of indigenous communities' traditional cuisines that have been long marginalized by local

elite groups (Matta, 2010, 2016; McDonell, 2019). Elite chefs' authenticity claim-making practices act as gastronationalist discourses (DeSoucey, 2010) aimed at "heal[ing] the wounds inflicted by long histories of colonial violence, exclusion, and inequality" (Matta & García, 2019, p. 5). Thus, this context is favorable for the examination of my research question as authenticity claims are inseparable from coloniality.

1.2. Main concepts for operationalization

In this dissertation, I draw on the concepts of coloniality, institutional work, and craft. I define them and explain how they are useful to examine and dismantle different aspects of the hegemonic operation of power in the organizational construction of authenticity in postcolonial contexts next.

1.2.1. Coloniality

Although the concept of coloniality is related to colonialism, each implies a different set of practices of domination and oppression. While colonialism entails the political, social, and cultural domination of a nation-state over another enforced through a colonial administration (Grosfoguel, 2008; Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018), coloniality is a form of domination present in former Western colonies whereby "the old ideas of superiority of the dominant, and the inferiority of dominated under European colonialism were mutated in a relationship of biologically and structurally superior and inferior" (Quijano, 2007, p. 171). In other words, coloniality refers to colonial power structures that have survived the decolonization process (Quijano, 2007) and naturalized in internal classist and racist social relations between elites and subordinate racialized/ethnic groups (Grosfoguel, 2008). This concept is useful to understand the sociodynamics in postcolonial contexts and how the logic of coloniality operates through the rhetoric of modernity (Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018) embedded in authenticity claim-making practices carried out by elite cultural producers.

1.2.2. Institutional work

Institutional work is “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 215). Since categories are cultural-cognitive institutions (W. R. Scott, 2014), authenticity claim-making practices mirror forms of institutional work aimed at the maintenance and creation of categories. For example, one stream of work has focused on how organizational producers claim authenticity for their products and organizations by conforming to the conventions of institutionalized categories and how such claims are assessed by external audiences such as consumers, gatekeepers, and critics to safeguard those conventions (Lehman et al., 2019). Here, claims of authenticity are aimed at the maintenance of categories. On the other hand, authenticity claim-making practices can embody the reinterpretation of conventions that leads to the creation of new categories (Lehman et al., 2019). These field-level categories are associated with societal-level categories or social groups. For instance, in cultural fields, highbrow and lowbrow categories are produced for high and low-status groups respectively (Hahl et al., 2017) although there is evidence that these hierarchies have been replaced by new ones such as authenticity and mass production (Johnston & Baumann, 2015; Smith Maguire, 2018b) or cosmopolitan and traditional (Sammells, 2014). In this way, the concept of institutional work is useful for addressing my second research aim of how authenticity claim-making practices carried out by elite cultural producers shape social orders.

1.2.3. Craft

Building on the insights above about how authenticity claim-making can both preserve or reinterpret the conventions and boundaries of categories, studies have shed light on how craft, whose imagery is leveraged to make authenticity claims, acts as “a powerful carrier of tradition and, as such, can be a means of both maintaining culture as well as

changing it.” (Bell et al., 2021, p. 9). The imaginary of “craft-in-the-past” (Bell et al., 2021) aimed at maintaining culture can be leveraged to make authenticity claims based on traditional production methods, provenance, and locality. This is also known as authenticity as connection (Lehman et al., 2019). On the other hand, “future-oriented craft imaginaries” (Bell et al., 2021) aimed at changing culture are manifested in authenticity claim-making practices for reinterpreted categories. Using craft to change culture does not forget about the past, on the contrary, it builds on it to transform it through creativity and innovation. This resonates with the concept of “craft authenticity” coined by Carroll and Wheaton (2009) in their study on the evolution of the Chicago restaurant scene which underscores the use of appropriate tools, sophisticated ingredients, and hands-on techniques to describe cuisines that do not conform to an institutionalized category. However, the term “craft authenticity” is confusing and misleading as it is used to address authenticity claims based on “future-oriented craft imaginaries” while overlooking the importance of “craft-in-the-past” (Bell et al., 2021). Overall, this concept of craft is useful to address my third research aim, that is, how elite cultural producers project images of craft and coloniality through organizational authenticity claim-making practices.

1.3. Methodology

1.3.1. Transformative paradigm

To investigate the hegemonic operation of power in the organizational construction of authenticity in postcolonial contexts, I adopt a transformative paradigm. Although it lacks a unified body of literature, this paradigm has its own specific set of philosophical beliefs that address issues of power and justice and diverse marginalized groups (Mertens, 2015).

From an ontological stance, the transformative framework acknowledges that the nature of reality is multiple and, thus, reality should be placed “within a political, cultural, and economic value system to understand the basis for the differences” (Mertens, 1999,

p. 5). In other words, different realities emerge based on power and privilege asymmetries between actors and taken-for-granted structures that maintain systems of oppression (Creswell, 2013; Mertens, 2015). What is “real” needs to be critically assessed to transform the status quo.

From an epistemological stance, reality can be known through “an interactive link between the researcher and the participants in a study” which also requires awareness of social structures and the historical, social, and cultural context in which they are embedded (Mertens, 2007, p. 216). This entails an ongoing collaboration to shed light on issues around power to make systems of oppression visible and transform realities in line with social justice aims (Mertens, 2009, 2015).

From an axiological stance, the transformative framework is underpinned by values that advocate for the “enhancement of social justice, furtherance of human rights, and respect for cultural norms” (Mertens, 2010, p. 470). This means that the researcher has a moral responsibility to unveil taken-for-granted structures of oppression “to challenge societal processes that allow the status quo to continue” (Mertens, 2009, p. 48).

Of the theories within the transformative paradigm, I adopt the decolonial theory which should not be confused with the postcolonial theory. Although both theories strive to acknowledge and address the legacies of colonialism to better understand and challenge ongoing systems of oppression, they differ in three main aspects: their geographical origin, the time frame they address, and their aim.

On the one hand, postcolonial theory emerged from the work of Middle Eastern and South Asian scholars, and it refers to the study of colonialism and its effects on the colonized countries and their people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Bhabra, 2014). Postcolonial scholarship looks at the long-term effects of colonization, such as the

political and economic inequality that persists in many former colonies, as well as the cultural and psychological trauma that colonial rule has had on indigenous peoples.

On the other hand, decolonial theory emerged from the work of South American scholars and the time frame it addresses begins with the moment of European invasion, when the colonizers first arrived and began to impose their laws, customs, and beliefs onto the indigenous people and their land, that this, the fifteenth century onwards (Bhambra, 2014). In this way, decolonial theory entails “a process of actively dismantling the colonialist power dimensions that still exist in contemporary (twenty-first-century) society” (Weston & Imas, 2017, p. 121) as an attempt to address and overcome these structures of power.

Adopting the decolonial theory is in line with the ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions of the transformative paradigm as it seeks to make visible and undo colonial power structures that are entrenched with modernity (Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018).

1.3.2. Research strategy

I followed a modified version of grounded theory to elaborate an understanding of how power operates hegemonically in the organizational construction of authenticity in postcolonial contexts. Unlike the purist version of grounded theory, this adaptation requires an interplay between induction and deduction methods, the ongoing comparison and contrast of data and theory, and the intersection of data collection and analysis (see Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Suddaby, 2006). This is why, as I coded my data, I followed a theoretical sampling to seek additional data until my categories were fully developed and their properties and dimensions showed variation and were integrated (i.e., theoretical saturation, Corbin & Strauss, 2015). I coded the data following an open, axial, and selective coding process (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) with the use of NVivo. Throughout

this process, the initial codes were discussed with my thesis advisors who provided an outsider's perspective. This allowed me to reshape categories and connections between them. I also discussed the initial findings with participants that accepted the offer to provide feedback which reinforced the reliability of the study.

1.3.3. Methods

I used three qualitative methods to answer the research question: semi-structured interviews, online ethnography (i.e., netnography), and secondary data. I explain how I carried them out in detail next.

First, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 27 different market actors (see Appendix A) who I selected following a purposeful sampling strategy (Creswell, 2013), that is, based on their knowledge about and key role in the Peruvian culinary field. As my coding progressed, I interviewed more participants following a theoretical sampling strategy to develop my codes as well as their dimensions, properties, and relations between them. I emailed participants using my Sussex email account and presented myself and provided a brief description of my research (see Appendix B). I also attached the participant information sheet for further details (see Appendix C). I conducted the interviews via Zoom in Spanish as all participants and I are Spanish-native speakers. Some interviews were conducted via WhatsApp due to the lack of connectivity of the participants. At the beginning of each interview, I asked for verbal consent (see Appendix D) and I tailored the questions according to the participant's profession; however, they had shared common themes such as questions about the work of elite chefs and challenges and opportunities for the Peruvian culinary field (for interview schedules for elite chefs, see Appendix E; for food critics/journalists, see Appendix F, for members of staff, see Appendix G; and for producers, see Appendix H). All documents were originally presented in English for their approval by the Social Sciences & Arts Cross-Schools

Research Ethics Committee of the University of Sussex and translated to Spanish for their delivery to participants. The audio and video recordings were stored separately from the interview transcriptions in my Sussex OneDrive.

Second, I used non-participatory netnography (Kozinets, 2020) to collect TripAdvisor reviews. I retrieved 7,450 reviews from 12 different restaurants owned by elite chefs (see Appendix I). I excluded reviews posted from 2020 onward due to the influence that the COVID-19 pandemic had on the sector. Reviews were transferred to Word documents and stored in my Sussex OneDrive. This set of data provided consumer insights into the organizational construction of authenticity.

Third, I collected secondary data which included 26 academic articles, three academic books, four academic book chapters, and 297 online newspaper articles and food critiques from five well-known food journalists/critics that were published in four national and international newspapers: *El Comercio*, *Cosas*, *El País*, and *Somos* (Appendix J). The selection of these articles and critiques was based on the popularity of culinary journalists and critics in writing about Peruvian cuisine and the mention the names of elite chefs, their restaurants, or their projects in the title or the description. Each article was transferred to a Word document and stored in my Sussex OneDrive. This set of data allowed for the triangulation of the results by providing further insights into the history of Peruvian cuisine, activities of these chefs outside the restaurant, trends and changes in the industry, and the role of power structures.

To ensure the trustworthiness of my research, I made sure to address the four trustworthiness criteria of qualitative research (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shah & Corley, 2006). First, to ensure credibility, I engaged in the triangulation of three types of data to provide a truthful depiction of the hegemonic operation of power through organizational authenticity claim-making practices in postcolonial contexts. Second, to

ensure transferability, I followed prior studies (Nag et al., 2007; Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012) and provided visual representations of my data structure (i.e., how my first-order, second-order, and aggregate dimensions emerged) along with detailed descriptions of how my data was analyzed to make sure the findings and contributions are generalizable. Third, to ensure dependability, I gave an account of the emerging codes and theory to my thesis advisors who provided an outsider's perspective to verify that the findings are consistent and can be repeated by other studies. Two studies also benefitted from a peer review process. Fourth, to ensure confirmability I provided a detailed account of how I collected my data in the Appendices. In addition, following Pratt (2009), I provided "power quotes" (i.e., most compelling verbatim quotes) to support and illustrate my arguments and "proof quotes" (i.e., additional verbatim quotes) for each study to demonstrate that the findings emerged from my data and not from my bias.

1.3.4. Positionality

I was born and raised in Lima to a Peruvian mother and a Polish father. My mixed cultural background created opportunities but also posed challenges when conducting my research.

Having lived in Lima for almost 23 years, I had previous knowledge about Peruvian cuisines, the actors who have played an important role in the field, and the social issues that characterize the nation. However, since I grew up in a culturally mixed household with a strong Polish cultural influence, I do not share the deep-seated gastronationalist sentiments of Peruvians whose "obsession with everything that has to do with "their" food manifests indeed in everyday expressions of national pride" (Matta,

2014, p. 64). Thus, having dual citizenship has enabled me to develop cultural awareness to be open to identifying the power dynamics that take place in the culinary field.

Having a Polish surname and doing a PhD in England but contacting participants through emails written in Spanish caused bewilderment on certain occasions. During the interviews, some participants would directly ask me about my background while others had assumed that I was not Peruvian but had learned Spanish and spoke it very well until I explained my background to them. Fortunately, this did not cause any mistrust and, as a Spanish native speaker, I was able to conduct interviews without any language barriers.

1.4. Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. In this chapter (Chapter 1), I have outlined the rationale and research aims of my study, explained how key concepts are useful to answer my question and discussed the methodology guiding my empirical papers.

In Chapter 2, I present a conceptual paper titled “Decolonizing authenticity: A critical review” where I critique management and organization knowledge (MOK) of the scholarship on marketplace authenticity. By reviewing 49 articles and five books, I identify three assumptions underpinning the mainstream studies: authenticity is socially constructed, has a recursive power relationship with institutions, and is instrumental in providing benefits at different levels of analysis. I problematize these assumptions due to their potential to simplify the social complexity of contexts where the logic of coloniality operates. Drawing on reviewed studies that have adopted a critical approach to marketplace authenticity, I present three new but complementary assumptions: authenticity is orchestrated, has a recursive power relationship with ideologies, and is used to oppress subordinate racialized/ethnic groups. From this, I propose a decolonial agenda for the study of authenticity that contribute to existent endeavors toward decolonizing MOK.

In Chapter 3, I present my first empirical paper titled “Stratal work: How elites counteract and reinforce social orders” where I examine how elite actors shape social orders through hybridized authenticity claims. Using qualitative sources of data, I explore how Peruvian elite chefs claim authenticity for a new national cuisine whose hybridized authenticity combines elements of highbrow haute cuisines and lowbrow national cuisines. The findings reveal that their authenticity claim-making practices counteract and reinforce the existing social orders of field and societal categories. Thus, my central contribution is the introduction of stratal institutional work as authenticity claim-making practices that lead to a recursive influence between a new cultural category and pre-existing ones from which it was created. From this I make two main contributions: (1) I put forth new forms of institutional work based on hybridized authenticity claims in cultural fields, and (2) identify the tensions embedded in the practices of authenticity that have contested outcomes on social orders.

In Chapter 4, I present my second empirical paper titled “Recipes for crafting authenticity and coloniality” where I examine how elite actors shape coloniality through craft. I do so by adopting a decolonial approach and focusing on the contemporary Peruvian culinary field where local elite chefs are spearheading a new cuisine based on the appropriation of cultural elements of indigenous communities. Drawing on an ethnography of the new Peruvian cuisine, I find that elite chefs counter coloniality through three craft-based authenticity claim-making practices: the rediscovery, reinterpretation, and revaluation of marginalized cultural elements. However, these enchanting claims disguise practices of extraction, elevation, and exploitation of marginalized cultures whereby the logic of coloniality operates. From this, my main contribution to the literature on craft authenticity is putting forth a process model of

cultural appreciation/appropriation whereby elite actors both counter/reproduce coloniality through craft-based authenticity claims.

In Chapter 5, I conclude the dissertation with an overview of the main findings and present the theoretical and practical contributions and provide guidelines for future research.

Chapter 2: Decolonizing authenticity: A critical review

2.1. Introduction

The scholarship on marketplace authenticity has provided multiple understandings of what is considered authentic by different audiences in the various organizational fields (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Lehman et al., 2019; Nunes et al., 2021). In cultural fields, “authenticity as connection” (Lehman et al., 2019) is a valuable organizational attribute that can be projected and perceived through a product’s provenance or place of origin (Beverland, 2006; Negro et al., 2011; Smith Maguire, 2018b), the use of traditional methods (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000; Kroezen & Heugens, 2019), association with cultural producers’ identity (Gaytán, 2019; McKendrick & Hannan, 2014), or symbolic links to the past (Grayson & Martinec, 2004; Houston & Meamber, 2011). However, cultural fields are characterized by racial hierarchies and class-based inequalities (Bourdieu, 2008; Hahl et al., 2017), thus, authenticity can be linked with harmful stereotypes. Few studies have shed light on how claiming and perceiving authenticity relates to the exotification and commodification of cultural products and identities of racialized groups in the Global North (e.g., Grazian, 2003; Laybourn, 2018) and South (e.g., Howard, 2016; Korpela, 2010; Terrio, 2000).

Despite lesser attention to power structures based on racial hierarchies in the study of authenticity in cultural fields, these studies have raised important questions about the Eurocentric system of knowledge that prevails in Management and Organization Studies (MOS) (Alcadipani et al., 2012; Ibarra-Colado, 2006, 2008; Ul-Haq & Westwood, 2012), that is, “the knowledge model that represents the local European historical experience and which became globally hegemonic since the seventeenth century” (Escobar, 2007, p. 185). In response to calls for further examination of how Western-centric management models and practices have guided and constrained knowledge (Banerjee, 2022;

Jammulamadaka et al., 2021; Murphy & Zhu, 2012; Yousfi, 2021), we adopt a decolonial lens to dismantle the coloniality in the scholarship on marketplace authenticity and propose a decolonized agenda for the study of authenticity.

We conduct a critical review by following a problematization methodology (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011; Sandberg & Alvesson, 2011). Our analysis of 49 articles and 5 books reveals two sets of assumptions regarding the nature, power, and instrumentality of authenticity practices. The dominant assumptions indicate that (1) authenticity is constructed by different members of the field who negotiate and jointly agree on the meanings according to each context, (2) is shaped by, but also shapes institutions, and (3) generates benefits in neutral settings such as everyday management and organizational activities or problematic settings related to pressures from the external environment. We problematize these assumptions using the second set of assumptions that stem from studies that adopt a more critical approach to the concept of authenticity. These assumptions are complementary to the former as they extend their meanings and add to them by pointing out that (1) authenticity is orchestrated by dominant groups who manufacture consent from subordinate racialized/ethnic groups to accept authenticity claims that oppress them, (2) has a recursive relationship with ideology, and (3) is used by dominant groups for the oppression of subordinate groups.

Building on these findings, we contribute to recent endeavors on decolonizing MOK by arguing that the current organization scholarship on marketplace authenticity presents three interrelated epistemic challenges that have ethical risks for scholars: the dominance of instrumental rationality, Eurocentric meanings, and a “West vs rest” focus in understanding marketplace authenticity. These put researchers at risk of becoming complicit in the maintenance of oppressive power structures and the reproduction of epistemic coloniality and dismissing or even covering up internal practices of oppression

by local elites, especially in former Western colonies. Since decolonizing MOK entails not only criticizing the dominant Western-centric academic model but also imagining and developing alternatives (Mbembe, 2016; Mohnot et al., 2021; Scobie et al., 2021), our second interrelated contribution is the development of a decolonial agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity which includes unveiling the logic of coloniality embedded in the meanings and claims of authenticity, putting forth authenticity claim-making practices as a form of resistance, embracing a pluriverse understanding of authenticity by acknowledging the Other's cosmovision, turning scholarly attention to authenticity claim-making practices by local elites in postcolonial contexts, and examining the perils of hybridity authenticity.

In the remainder of the paper, we outline the methods of data collection and analysis, present three dominant assumptions underpinning the body of research on authenticity, problematize them with three critical but complementary assumptions, and finalize by putting forth a decolonial agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity.

2.2. Methodology

We conduct a critical review through problematization, a methodology that entails “taking something that is commonly seen as good or natural and turning it into something problematic” (Sandberg & Alvesson, 2011, p. 32). This is aligned with the objective of this review to identify and question the taken-for-granted line of thought underlying the literature on authenticity. In this section, we outline our methodology which was guided by the six principles for problematization (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011).

The first principle entails the identification of a domain of literature (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). In this case, the domain of concern is “authenticity as connection” which means that “an entity is authentic to the extent that it is connected to a particular person, place, or time as claimed” (Lehman et al., 2019, p. 6). We are interested in this

conceptualization on its own and its intersection with the notion of “authenticity as conformity” or compliance to the norms of an institutionalized category; however, we are not concerned with “authenticity as consistency” displayed in the concord between an entity’s internal values and external expressions (Lehman et al., 2019).

Table 2.1: Overview of search strategies

Phase	1 st search strategy	2 nd search strategy
Search domain	Five areas of the AJG: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General Management, Ethics, Gender, and Social Responsibility: 115 journals. 2. Marketing: 76 journals. 3. Organization Studies: 38 journals. 4. Sociology: 88 journals. 5. Strategy: 20 journals. 337 journals	List of journals: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poetics 2. Journal of Consumer Culture
Initial search	Inclusion: Search term authentic* in the title 597 articles	Inclusion: Search term authentic* in title, abstract, and keywords 40 articles
Second criteria	Exclusion: Search terms related to authentic leadership, interpersonal relationships, authentic self, and emotion management. 174 articles	Exclusion: topics not related to marketplace authenticity. 15 articles
Third criteria	Exclusion by document type: conference paper (1), erratum (2), and note (2). Exclusion by language: French (1). 168 articles	
Fourth criteria	Exclusion: Articles not related to construction, projection, assessment, or perception of marketplace authenticity as connection in cultural fields. 34 articles	

The first author (hereafter I) conducted two search strategies to retrieve articles from journals in the Academic Journal Guide (AJG) and journals outside the AJG but well-known for publishing authenticity-related articles (see Table 2.1). This was complemented by including five well-cited books on authenticity. Regarding the first

search strategy, I began by identifying leading journals in the AJG published in 2021 by the Chartered Association of Business Schools. I focused on five areas: (1) General Management, Ethics, Gender, and Social Responsibility (115 journals); (2) Marketing (76 journals); (3) Organization Studies (38 journals); (4) Sociology (88 journals); and (5) Strategy (20 journals). This resulted in a list of 337 journals. Second, I used Scopus to search for articles by using the search term *authentic** in the title of the documents across the 337 journals. I decided to do so because articles that contain the term *authentic** in their titles are more likely to engage with the concept of authenticity instead of using it as an adjective in their abstracts or keywords (e.g., “authentic research methods”). This resulted in 597 documents. Third, I proceeded to exclude articles that were not related to the domain of concern by using search terms related to authentic leadership, authentic self, human brands, “authentic enterprise”, interpersonal relationships, emotion management, and topics around CSR and the LGBTQ community. I used a combination of Boolean logic terms (“and” or “or”) and wildcards (“*”). This resulted in 174 documents.

Fourth, I excluded three types of documents: conference paper (1), erratum (2), and note (2). This resulted in 169 articles. I also excluded one French article which resulted in 168 articles in English. Fifth, I proceeded to read the abstracts of the 168 articles to assess their relation to the construction, projection, assessment, or perception of marketplace authenticity in cultural fields. For instance, I excluded articles related to authenticity as consistency (Lehman et al., 2019) when they were not related to culture (e.g., brands being committed to values, entities perceived as faithful and truthful, and the authenticity of celebrities). I also excluded articles whose empirical context was not related to cultural fields such as adoption and mental health. This resulted in 34 articles.

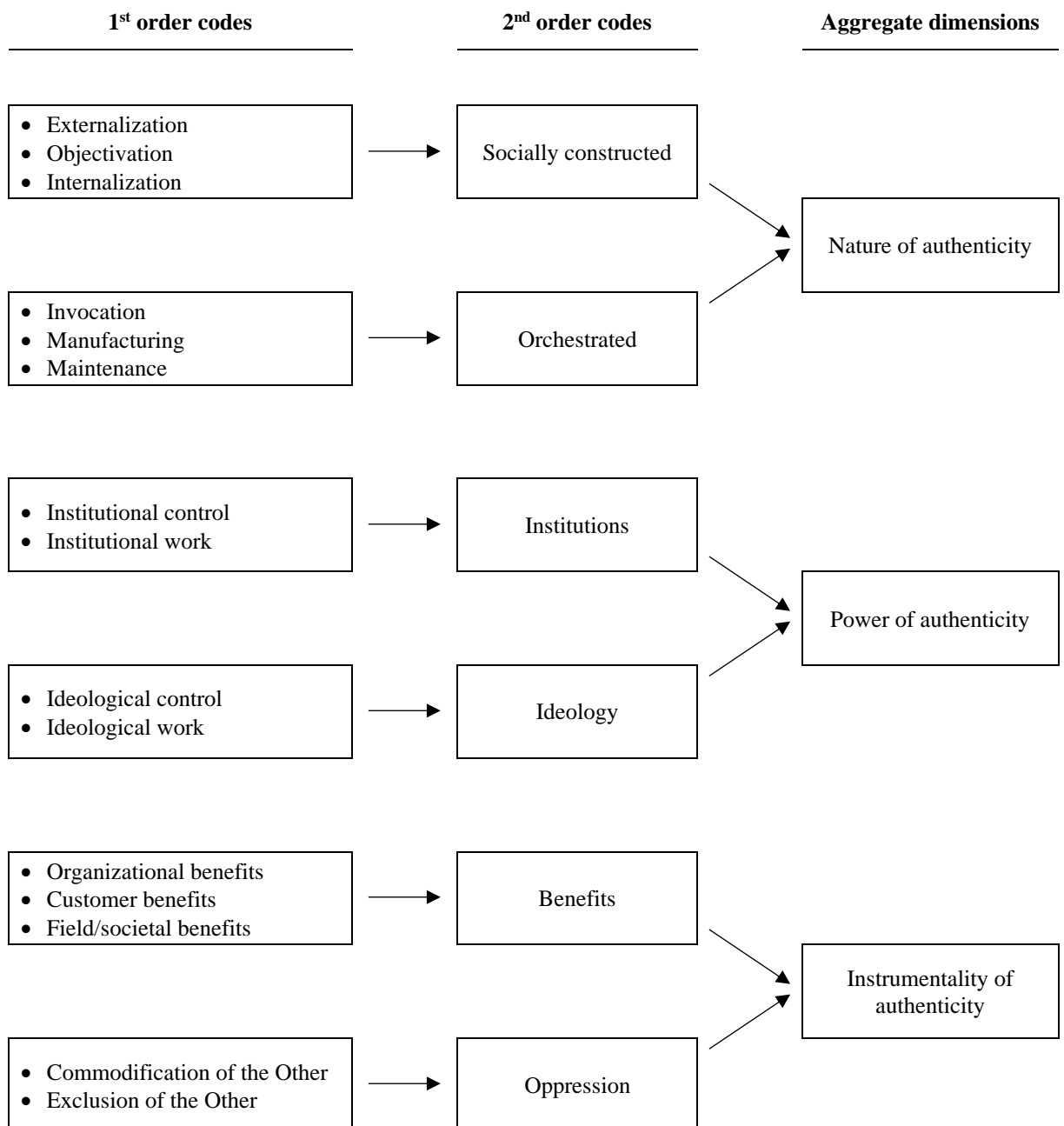
Regarding the second search strategy, I decided to focus on two journals: *Poetics* and *Journal of Consumer Culture*. Since the research domain encompassed only two journals, I decided to expand the search of the term *authentic** in titles (as I did in the first search strategy) and include it in the abstracts and keywords. This resulted in 40 articles, 27 from *Poetics* and 35 from the *Journal of Consumer Culture*. After reading the abstracts, I excluded articles that were not related to marketplace authenticity, I retrieved 15 articles, seven from *Poetics* and eight from the *Journal of Consumer Culture*.

The second principle for problematization entails the identification of assumptions underlying the literature (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). To do so, I adopted an inductive approach. I began reading the articles, manually coding, and making notes on recurrent themes. After a reiterative process, I pinpointed three main themes: the nature, power, and instrumentality of authenticity. Following the advice of various authors (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Nag et al., 2007; Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012), we present our data structure in Figure 2.1. I noticed that most articles in the sample contended that authenticity is socially constructed (which includes the fabricated, staged, and negotiated meanings of authenticity), that institutions shape and get shaped by authenticity claims, and that authenticity is a valuable organizational attribute that leads to several benefits for organizations, consumers, industries, and society (see Appendix K).

The third principle involves evaluating the assumptions to assess if they are worth being challenged (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). During the coding process, I noticed that some articles have a critical approach to authenticity. For example, the assumption that authenticity is socially constructed held true but did not capture more pervasive aspects regarding oppressive meanings of authenticity created by dominant groups that alluded to subordinate groups and their cultures. Likewise, while the assumption regarding the power of institutions remained valid, it did not account for how institutions can serve as

vehicles for dominant ideology, and the assumption that authenticity leads to benefits obscures potential negative outcomes on subordinate groups and their culture (see Appendix L).

Figure 2.1: Data structure



The fourth principle is the development of alternative assumptions (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). Building on the findings of the aforementioned articles, I uncovered

three complementary but critical assumptions. First, the nature of authenticity is orchestrated by dominant groups. Second, the role of power is manifested in dominant ideologies that are infused in institutions. Third, authenticity claims are a tool for oppression by dominant groups and resistance for subordinate groups.

The fifth principle entails relating the alternative assumptions to audiences (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). I believe that these three new assumptions open up research avenues for postcolonial and decolonial scholars concerned with decolonizing MOK and engaging with indigenous knowledge (e.g., Alcadipani et al., 2012; Banerjee, 2022; Escobar, 2007, 2010; Jammulamadaka et al., 2021). Scholars can further explore authenticity claim-making practices carried out by elite cultural producers or consumers in the Global North concerning indigenous groups and their culture. However, we also believe that scholarly attention should be directed to internal coloniality, that is, colonial power structures that have survived the decolonization process and that are present in power asymmetries between local elites and subordinate racialized/ethnic groups in postcolonial contexts (Grosfoguel, 2008).

The final principle involves evaluating the new assumptions (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). The new assumptions aim to unmask the operation of coloniality behind claims of authenticity that lead to different forms of oppression in postcolonial contexts. Thus, we believe that the alternative assumptions set a decolonial agenda that can generate new theories on how authenticity meanings are orchestrated by local elites, has a recursive relationship with dominant ideologies, and how authenticity claims are a tool for internal oppression by local elite cultural producers and resistance for indigenous/oppressed groups.

Besides the principles for problematization, it is also important to mention that I am aware of the reproduction and reinforcement of existing power structures in our

methodology in two instances. First, during journal selection as journal rankings shape what is considered legitimate knowledge and what is not and, second, in the language restriction to articles in English. This relates to the coloniality of knowledge, that is, the intellectual hegemony of the West in the production and dissemination of knowledge (Quijano, 2007).

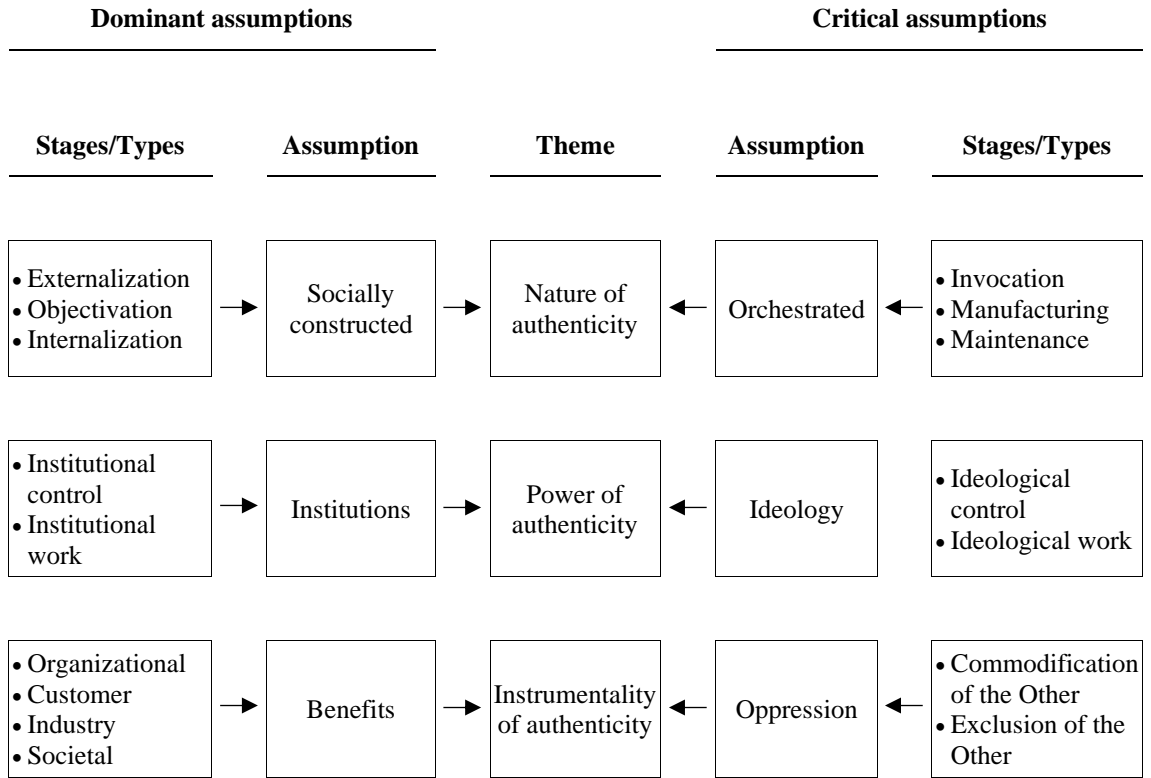
The presence of coloniality of knowledge in MOS scholarship on marketplace authenticity motivated us to propose a decolonial agenda for the study of authenticity with a special focus on internal power relations in postcolonial contexts. This motivation is linked to the positionality of the first author. As an upper-middle-class, mixed-race woman born in a postcolonial nation, I am deeply aware of the internal social differences between elite groups (mainly Whites of European ancestry located in capital cities) and indigenous communities in the country, a reality that extends to other former Western colonies in the region. My identity as a scholar has been shaped by these asymmetrical power relations that are translated into practices of discrimination and marginalization that are palpable in day-to-day interactions.

2.3. Findings

Our findings reveal dominant and critical assumptions underpinning the review sample regarding the nature, power, and instrumentality of authenticity. Dominant assumptions indicate that authenticity is socially constructed, has a recursive relationship with institutions, and is a tool for benefits at different levels of analysis. Critical assumptions are complementary to the former as they extend their meanings and add to them by pointing out that authenticity is orchestrated during social interactions, has a recursive relationship with ideologies that are infused within institutions, and can also be a tool for the oppression of subordinate groups by dominant groups. Following prior studies (Nag et al., 2007; Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012), we present a dynamic view of our data structure

in Figure 2.2 and representative quotes for each assumption in Appendix M, Appendix N, Appendix O, Appendix P, Appendix Q, and Appendix R.

Figure 2.2: Dominant and critical assumptions



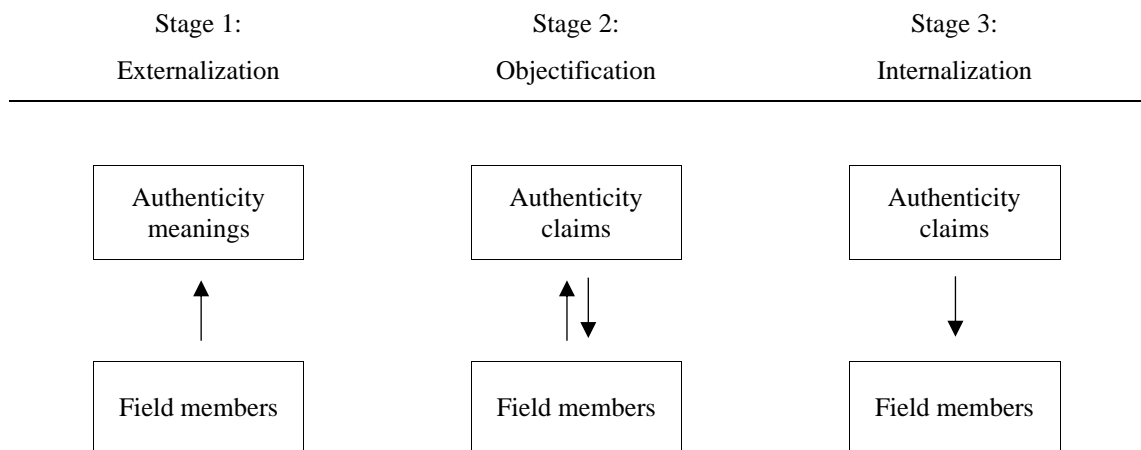
2.3.1. The nature of authenticity claims

2.3.1.1. Authenticity as socially constructed

Most of the articles reviewed suggest that the nature of authenticity is socially constructed (Nunes et al., 2021; Peterson, 2005a). This entails that meanings of authenticity are contingent on human interpretations and contexts and, thus, multiple meanings are created and constantly negotiated and renewed through interactions. Even the validation of notions of connection such as locality and history presents degrees of social construction when presenting them as objective facts (Carroll & Kovács, 2021; Sassatelli & Arfini, 2017). This is in line with the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) which contends that reality is constructed through ongoing social

interactions whereby meanings and understandings are formed and expressed through three stages: externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Building on them, we discuss how the sample of studies has portrayed the social construction of authenticity, a process that we illustrate in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: The social construction of marketplace authenticity



Externalization entails the projection of individuals' meanings into reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The reviewed studies indicate that there are two ways in which meanings of authenticity are externalized. First, it can be viewed as a top-down process whereby meanings are deliberately constructed by powerful actors in the field, generally producers, and conveyed to external audiences who then assess and might negotiate those meanings. Coined as the "fabrication of authenticity" in a study of country music (Peterson, 1997), this has also been found in the domains of luxury wineries (e.g., Beverland, 2005a), new cuisines (e.g., Cappelen & Pedersen, 2021), and fashion (e.g., Colucci & Pedroni, 2021). It can also be viewed as a bottom-up process that emerges with the production of personal claims of authenticity by external audiences based on, for instance, stereotypes and expectations about a culture that are adopted and negotiated by producers. This is noticeable in the case of ethnic-themed restaurants (e.g., Gaytán, 2008; Lu & Fine, 1995) as well as tourist sites such as themed parks (e.g., Houston & Meamber,

2011). However, both approaches have in common the commitment of different field members to actively participate in the construction and negotiation of different authenticity meanings.

Objectivation refers to the reification of signs through social interactions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). This implies that authenticity meanings are legitimized and institutionalized into authenticity claims through continuous communication between field members. A useful concept to understand this discursive interplay is the interactional model of communication (Schramm et al., 1997) which depicts conversations as a ping-pong match where a message is sent by the speaker and received by the listener who then makes it their turn to speak and so on. In the objectivation of authenticity, claims can either be agreed on or rejected by external audiences. This informs organizations on how to manage their strategies for claims to be endorsed and validated. For example, in the case of luxury wines, critics and consumers raised their concerns about the stylistic dilution of a winery which drove it to return to traditional styles of production (Beverland, 2005a). In the culinary scene, diners and organizers in underground restaurants “mediate meanings of authenticity through an active process of coperforming illusions” (Demetry, 2019, p. 21). Through this interactional communication, authenticity claims become reified into institutional markers such as regulative (e.g., rules and laws), normative (e.g., standards and expectations), and cultural-cognitive (e.g., categories and frames) symbols (W. R. Scott, 2014) and become taken for granted.

Internalization implies learning and adopting the subjective construction of reality (that is perceived as objective) as part of one’s subjectivity through socialization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In this stage, field members have already forgotten that the meanings they have ascribed to authenticity claims are their creations. These institutionalized meanings of authenticity are learned through socialization so they

become part of a shared set of beliefs that serve as the basis for the assessment of authenticity claims. This is present in the case of invented traditions (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012). For example, the legend of *Dom Pérignon*, a French Benedictine monk, that “invented” Champagne in the 17th century was established as a historical fact to create an authentic image of the product (Guy, 2007). Similarly, the legend of Marie Harel, a farmhouse wife from Normandy, as the inventor of Camembert took over in France and the cheese began to be mass-produced as the authentic national cheese of France (Boisard, 2003). This shows how authenticity claims are socially constructed and reified into industry canons, regulations, and traditions that govern as objective facts and control the meanings of what is authentic and what is not.

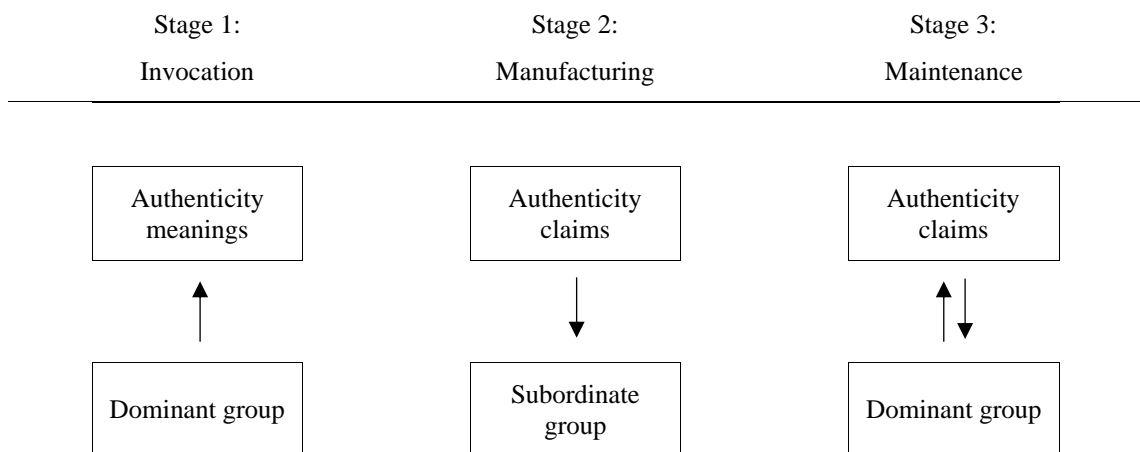
2.3.1.2. Authenticity as orchestrated

Some of the articles reviewed suggest that the nature of authenticity is orchestrated. Like the social construction of authenticity, the orchestration of authenticity claims is a social act; however, unlike the former, interactions between field members are characterized by long-standing power relationships between dominant and subordinate groups. In other words, the current assumption that authenticity meanings are jointly negotiated and agreed on is not suitable to capture historical power structures and oppressive meanings embedded in authenticity claim-making practices carried out by dominant groups for the maintenance of their hegemony and the oppression of subordinate racialized/ethnic groups also known as “the subaltern” (Spivak, 1988) or the Other. Drawing on studies of our sample that have adopted a critical lens on authenticity, we uncover three stages in the orchestration of authenticity: invocation, manufacturing, and maintenance which we illustrate in Figure 2.4.

Invocation entails that dominant groups engineer dominant meanings of authenticity that are infused with the logic of coloniality. For example, Western tourists

and travelers define the Other and their culture in terms of tradition and spirituality in contrast to the West which is characterized by modernity and materiality (Howard, 2016; Korpela, 2010). This shows how authenticity meanings driven by the “colonial imagination” of Western consumers deny the colonial and postcolonial history of these groups and their agency to change (Korpela, 2010). Dominant groups can also use social categories such as class, race, and ethnicity informed by old ideas of European colonialism as the basis for authenticity meanings. For example, the category of race and, specifically, “blackness” seems to be an authenticity marker in the music industry such as rap (Laybourn, 2018) and blues (Grazian, 2003) music. Such Othering reinforces oppressive stereotypes and leads to the commodification of blackness.

Figure 2.4: The orchestration of marketplace authenticity



Manufacturing refers to the way dominant groups manage to obtain consent from subordinate groups to accept their oppressive authenticity meanings during the interplay between these groups. A useful concept to illustrate this encounter is the transactional model of communication, a process whereby sending and receiving messages occur simultaneously and is affected by the knowledge and experience of the participants that are embedded in the larger environment (Barnlund, 1970). As a transactional process, the

manufacture of consent implies that oppressive meanings of authenticity are assented to and legitimized by subordinate groups (even if it leads to their subjugation) and reified into authenticity claims used by dominant groups for the maintenance of their hegemony. For example, artisans produce handicrafts that conform to what buyers perceive and believe to be authentic (Wherry, 2006), Indian nationalists adopted Western ideas of India “as a home of ancient wisdom” (Korpela, 2010, p. 1307), and Brazilian capoeira practitioners connect “capoeira objects to symbols of blackness recognizable to tourists” (Hedegard, 2013, p. 2). This demonstrates that although subordinate groups capitalize on the colonial imagination of Western consumers, it remains difficult to find an authentic voice in the South free from external influences (Srinivas, 2012).

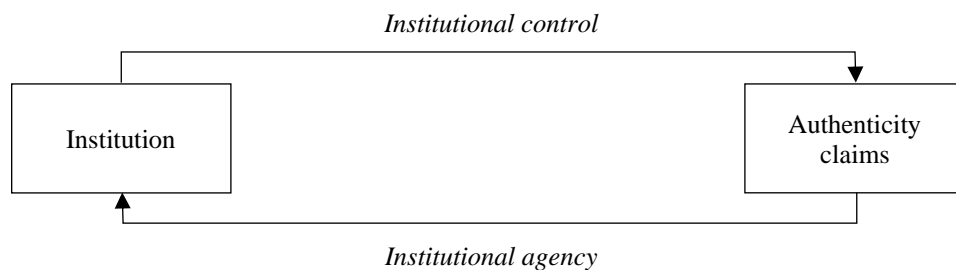
Maintenance implies that dominant groups renew, defend, and modify authenticity claims to uphold their dominant hegemony. This is especially important for dominant groups in the face of expressions of resistance from subordinate groups. For example, a study on the themed parking of the Amana Colonies in southeastern Iowa revealed that heritage professionals benefit from authentic representations of the group’s communal and pietist past, however, Amana people “find no charm in re-enacting the actual past that they consciously rejected” (Barthel-Bouchier, 2001, p. 236). This illustrates how subordinate groups are not passive actors and can challenge and resist oppressive authenticity claims that reference them, thus, putting dominant and oppressive meanings and claims of authenticity at risk. These threats can also be a product of social changes. For example, French chocolatiers used to make claims of authenticity by intensifying the exoticization of indigenous African producers of cacao and portraying them as child-like and inferior in their advertising material; however, this promotional strategy did no longer work during postcolonial times as the exoticism of Africans was lost when they started to migrate to France (Terrio, 2000).

2.3.2. The power of authenticity claims

2.3.2.1. Authenticity as shaped by and shaper of institutions

Institutions are symbolic systems that provide meaning and stability to social exchange that can be classified into three pillars (W. R. Scott, 2014). The regulative pillar enforces rules and sanctions, the normative pillar sets values and norms, and the cultural-cognitive pillar establishes categories and types (W. R. Scott, 2014). In this way, institutions are important because they can enable or constrain the content of authenticity claims. Organizations must conform to institutional demands when making authenticity claims to garner acceptance and credibility from external audiences (e.g., consumers, critics, and gatekeepers). However, organizations that divorce from institutional pressures can bring about the creation or reinterpretation of an established institution. In this section, we discuss the recursive relationship between authenticity and institutions whereby institutions control the content of authenticity claims (i.e., institutional control) but authenticity claims can also create, maintain, or disrupt institutions (i.e., institutional work). We illustrate this in Figure 2.5.

Figure 2.5: The recursive relationship between authenticity and institutions



Institutional control is “the ways in which institutions organize, encourage and diminish particular forms of thought and action in organizational fields” (Lawrence,

2008). In the reviewed studies, institutional control means that authenticity claims are shaped by institutions such as categories, regulations, and cultural canons that reify the notions of history and tradition. Cultural market offerings need to comply with the norms of their cultural category or genre to be authenticated by consumers (e.g., Grayson & Martinec, 2004), and critics and gatekeepers (e.g., Beverland, 2005a; Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005). For instance, listed buildings are perceived as authentic because they comply with charters and conventions (Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2019), microbreweries for their traditional production process (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000), and Peter Jackson's *The Lord of The Rings* movie franchise due to the preservation of the spirit of J. R. R. Tolkien novels (Jones & Smith, 2005). In this way, external audiences use "categories to control the criteria for authenticity attributions" (Lehman et al., 2019, p. 14). This resonates with the processes of objectivation and internalization in the social construction of authenticity.

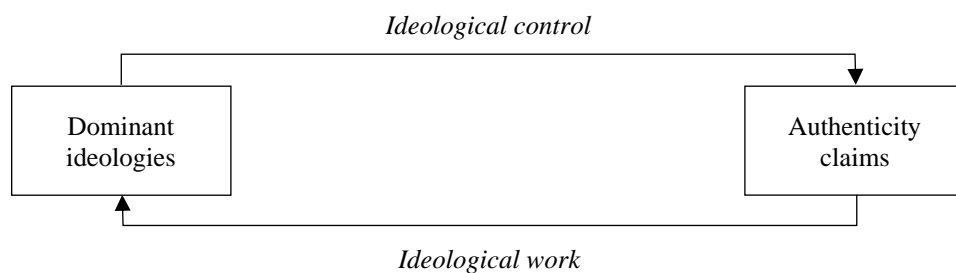
On the other hand, institutional agency refers to "the work of actors to create, transform, or disrupt institutions" (Lawrence, 2008, p. 181). In the reviewed studies, institutional agency is manifested in the capacity and ability of organizational actors to use authenticity claims to create new institutions which, in some cases, entails the transformation rather than the disruption of pre-existing institutions. This has been examined in innovative contexts related to culinary offers such as the New Anatolian Kitchen which reinterprets traditional dishes in a modern way (Cappelen & Pedersen, 2021), and gourmet food trucks that emerge as an upscale version of food trucks (Irvin, 2017; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021). Likewise, in the wine industry, high-status critics engaged in a process of category divestment to redefine rosé as an elite cultural product (Fitzmaurice, 2017). Contrary to institutional control whereby categories exert control over the assessment of authenticity claims, institutional agency describes how

organizational actors can “actively engage with a category and its boundaries in pursuit of authenticity” (Lehman et al., 2019, p. 15) which resonates with the processes of externalization in the social construction of authenticity.

2.3.2.2. Authenticity as shaped by and shaper of ideologies

The current assumption that authenticity shapes and gets shaped by institutions is not sufficient to capture the role of dominant ideologies informed by the logic of coloniality in meanings and claims of authenticity. Drawing on previous studies that have shown how colonial institutions can act as vehicles for ideology such as in the case of English Medium Schools in India (Faust & Nagar, 2001) and the British Pharmacopoeia (S. Anderson, 2010), dominant groups rely on institutions to maintain their ideology, that is, “a set of systematically structured values and ideas about the state of the world and what it should be, in terms of social groups and social arrangements” (Alvesson, 1984, pp. 73–74). Brought to the context of authenticity, we propose that dominant ideologies infused with the logic of coloniality have a recursive relationship with authenticity claims when they are orchestrated by dominant groups. We illustrate how ideology controls the content of authenticity claims (i.e., ideological control) and how authenticity claims also create, maintain, or disrupt ideologies (i.e., ideological work) in Figure 2.6.

Figure 2.6: The recursive relationship between authenticity and ideology



On the one hand, ideological control entails that the dominant ideology imbued in social categories, cultural practices, and cognitive frameworks, controls the content of authenticity claims. This is noticeable in Western ideas of authenticity relating to the Other and its culture in terms of being ancestral, traditional, spiritual, and “untainted by the polluting forces of modernity and capitalism” (Houston & Meamber, 2011, p. 179; Howard, 2016; Korpela, 2010). This is the case of Western tourists that construct ideas of authenticity about the city of Varanasi in northern India (Korpela, 2010) and the Himalayas (Howard, 2016). This Western vantage point is informed by the disenchantment of the world due to modernity and Orientalism (Said, 1979) as a way of defining the West against “the rest”. Likewise, authenticity meanings can be informed by racial ideologies and reified in social categories. For instance, considering authentic Blues musicians are Black (Grazian, 2003) or references to violence, alcohol, and drugs to authentic rap music as “black” music (Laybourn, 2018).

On the other hand, ideological work means that authenticity claims can create, maintain, or disrupt ideologies imbued in social categories, cultural practices, and cognitive frameworks. For example, brewers in New Zealand project images of authenticity for their beers by linking them with images of Kiwi blokes, that is, rural Pākehā (White settlers) masculinity (Kuehn & Parker, 2021). While this organizational projection of authenticity maintains the “culture of [White] middle-class maleness”, the study also found that Māori brewsters (women brewers) contest these ideas through the use of Māori iconography and signifiers (Kuehn & Parker, 2021, p. 520). In this way, subordinate groups can resist and challenge dominant ideologies by finding their voice in the marketplace. Dominant ideologies can also be disrupted through authenticating acts, that is, “self-referential behaviors actors feel reveal or produce the ‘true’ self” (Arnould & Price, 2005, p. 140). For instance, DeBerry-Spence and Izberk-Bilgin (2021, p. 155)

found that dressing in African attire is a way for African Americans to “highlight past injustices and nourish the desire to overcome them”. In this way, subordinate groups can resist and challenge dominant ideologies through consumption practices and objects that display their authentic identity against Western conceptions of authenticity based on colonial imaginaries.

2.3.3. The instrumentality of authenticity claims

2.3.3.1. Authenticity as a tool for benefits

Authenticity has been examined in different settings such as everyday management and organizational activities (Beverland, 2005a; Demetry, 2019), the creation of new cultural products and genres (Demetry, 2019; Irvin, 2017; Peterson, 1997), growing industries (Pozner et al., 2022; Verhaal et al., 2017; Verhaal & Dobrev, 2022), changing cultural categories (Fitzmaurice, 2017; Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005), and problematic social identities (Gaytán, 2019; McKendrick & Hannan, 2014). In these scenarios, authenticity claims are depicted as a tool for shared benefits as they can alleviate present or potential problems for the organization while positively impacting external audiences, the industry, and even society. For instance, cultural products, categories, and organizations can obtain a competitive advantage (Demetry, 2019; Kovács et al., 2014), get higher consumer ratings (Kovács et al., 2014; Lehman et al., 2014), attain credibility and legitimation from external audiences (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005; Moeran, 2005), and establish price premia (Beverland, 2005a, 2006).

On the other hand, perceptions of authenticity benefit consumers who can feel transported to a different spatial-temporal dimension in the case of tourist sites (Grayson & Martinec, 2004; Houston & Meamber, 2011) and themed restaurants (Carroll & Wheaton, 2019), feel part of the co-production of authentic experiences (Demetry, 2019; Thyne & Hede, 2016), and play a role in influencing other consumers' opinions (Kovács

& Horwitz, 2021; Nunes et al., 2021). Authenticity also leads to industry renewal through the creation and emergence of categories (Cappelen & Pedersen, 2021; Svejenova et al., 2007) and the reinterpretation of pre-existing ones (Negro et al., 2011; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021). Authenticity claims also lead to societal benefits such as the maintenance of architectural heritage (Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2019), providing unique consumption spaces (Irvin, 2017), and the strengthening of cultural and economic aspects of society (Delmestri et al., 2005; Jones & Smith, 2005).

2.3.3.2. Authenticity as a tool for oppression

The current assumption that authenticity leads to organizational benefits fails to address how authenticity meanings and claim-making practices can also be harmful to subordinate groups and their culture in seemingly unproblematic settings such as everyday tourism (Howard, 2016; Korpela, 2010; MacCannell, 1973). This is because the bulk of studies on authenticity focuses on neutral or problematic settings related to everyday management and has paid less research attention to the operation of the logic of coloniality, that is, the naturalization of classist and racist social orders (Mignolo, 2011; Quijano, 2007) that governs different modern aspects of life such as the ways of organizing (Alcadipani et al., 2012; Jammulamadaka et al., 2021). Drawing on studies of our sample that have adopted a critical lens on authenticity, we reveal some ways in which authenticity can be a tool for oppression.

Authenticity claims can entail the commodification of Others' identities such as in the case of blackness and black culture in music (Grazian, 2003; Laybourn, 2018) and advertisement (Botterill, 2007) and culture in the case of cultural appropriation through the organizational projection of authenticity. For example, tiki bars became an authentic social category in the US; however, this was the result of the commodification and Othering of Hawaiian culture (Carroll & Wheaton, 2019). Cases of cultural appropriation

are prevalent in music genres such as rock n' roll and hip-hop which originated from black Americans and became popular among White listeners and performers (Hedegard, 2013). When organizational actors from dominant groups engage in authenticity claim-making practices that involve the appropriation of cultural elements of subordinate groups, they might misrepresent, weaken, or erase the cultural value of the product (Scafidi, 2005).

Authenticity claims can entail the exclusion of the Other and their hardships through consumption. This is especially noticeable in the tourist field where Western tourists are on the quest for authenticity while not wanting to live the full experience of locals. For example, in Vietnam, tourists seek to buy authentic local handicrafts such as conical hats without wanting to live the experience that gave rise to them, that is, that of Vietnamese women who wear these hats to protect them while mending the roads from the sun (Beverland, 2005b). Similarly, tourists that visit theme-parked sites such as the Amana Colonies in southeastern Iowa seek an authentic recreation of the past while avoiding the experience of the Amana life which entails “hard labor, daily and lengthy church services, lack of electricity, lack of consumer goods and rudimentary education and health care” (Barthel-Bouchier, 2001, p. 236). In this way, Western ideas of what is authentic dismiss the real lives of people, their life experiences, and their problems.

2.4. Toward a decolonial research agenda

Drawing on our findings, we argue that the current research presents three interrelated epistemic challenges that have ethical risks for scholars. To address these epistemic and ethical challenges, we propose a decolonial research agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity. We present them in Table 2.2 and expand on them next.

Table 2.2: Toward a decolonial agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity

Epistemic challenges	Ethical risks	Decolonial agenda
The dominance of instrumental rationality	Attack on life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unveiling the logic of coloniality embedded in the meanings and claims of authenticity. • Putting forth authenticity claim-making practices as a form of resistance.
The dominance of Western ideas	Epistemic blindness and erasure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embracing a pluriverse understanding of authenticity by acknowledging the Other's cosmovision.
The dominance of West vs rest focus	Omission of internal coloniality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turning scholarly attention to authenticity claim-making practices by local elites in postcolonial contexts. • Examining the perils of hybridity authenticity.

2.4.1. Against the dominance of instrumental rationality

The dominance of instrumental rationality guiding the current body of scholarship can put researchers at risk of becoming complicit in the maintenance of oppressive power structures and dominant ideologies. Instrumental rationality entails that knowledge is at the service of achieving managerial and organizational ends efficiently and effectively (Fleming & Spicer, 2007). However, in empirical settings where asymmetrical power relations take place, putting forth authenticity claim-making practices for the maximization of profit can be damaging for the Others who might go along with it out of necessity. For instance, oppressive othering and the commodification of Others' identities for the sake of claims of authenticity can lead to the destruction of local cultures (Barthel-Bouchier, 2001; MacCannell, 1973).

In this way, the body of work on marketplace authenticity is susceptible to overlooking ethical questions around "the attack on life in order to obtain profit" (Dussel & Ibarra-Colado, 2006, p. 502). As reviewed studies suggest, the search for authenticity

by Western actors (especially in non-Western settings) is set before the defense of the Other, their culture, and their meanings of authenticity which tend to be reduced to mere externalities. For instance, in the field of ethnic and tourist arts, “[a]uthentic forms that match buyers’ tastes will be preserved in the service of profit, while artisans will produce inauthentic forms in response to buyer demand” (Wherry, 2006, p. 7). That is, subordinate groups accommodate to dominant ideas of authenticity out of economic necessity which puts their own meanings of authenticity at risk of extinction. Moreover, Western tourists’ quest for authenticity tends to appreciate places, products, and experiences while dismissing local people (Korpela, 2010). Thus, scholars guided by instrumental rationality can ignore the negative consequences that the quest for authenticity can have on the Other.

Building on these insights, a decolonial agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity would focus on the structures of power at play to unveil the logic of coloniality behind meanings, claims, and perceptions of authenticity. This entails exposing how meanings of authenticity are orchestrated by dominant groups, infused with dominant ideologies, and used as a tool for oppression. By doing so, researchers can raise awareness of the pervasive role of power and encourage academic and non-academic reflection against oppressive belief systems and the defense of the lives of those who have been and continue to be systematically marginalized and oppressed. In other words, in a decolonial approach to authenticity, knowledge should be at the service of the emancipation of subordinate groups to enable their agency to refuse and challenge oppressive meanings of authenticity.

In this way, a decolonial agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity would also detach from the logic of coloniality behind meanings, claims, and perceptions of authenticity by putting forth strategies of authenticity as a tool for resistance. For instance,

authenticity based on craft can block dominant ideologies and enable subordinate racialized/ethnic groups to express their voices such as in the case of Mayan women who expressed their voices through “embroideries as documentation of state oppression and human rights violations” by the Ladino (non-indigenous) population during the Civil War in Guatemala (Scholz, 2012, p. 166) and the New Chilean Song (in Spanish: *La Nueva Canción Chilena*), a social movement and music genre by which Chilean musicians fought for freedom in the face subjugation to consumerism, capitalism, and hegemonic power structures through traditional folk songs (Pino-Ojeda, 2015).

2.4.2. Against the dominance of Western ideas

The Eurocentric meanings of authenticity in the West guiding the current body of scholarship can put researchers at risk of becoming complicit in the maintenance of epistemic coloniality. As scholars have previously contended, the hegemony of Western knowledge still prevails in MOS (Alcadipani et al., 2012; Ibarra-Colado, 2006, 2008; Ul-Haq & Westwood, 2012) and the body of work on marketplace authenticity is no exception. Considerable research attention has been focused on claims, meanings, and perceptions of authenticity by Western actors regarding Western and non-Western cultural offerings. These Western ideas of authenticity become dominant not only in the settings where they are researched but also in the way research is conducted. This epistemic coloniality leads to epistemic blindness and erasure, that is, the invisibility and negation/subjugation of non-Western ways of knowing respectively (Banerjee, 2022).

In this regard, a decolonial research agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity would engage in epistemic disobedience to detach from the Eurocentric systems of knowledge. This would give way to decolonial options that embrace a pluriversal understanding of authenticity. Pluriversality entails the coexistence of different ways of knowing and knowledges without one being better than the others and

acknowledging different ontologies that differ from the Eurocentric model that creates hierarchies between human beings and modes of being (Banerjee, 2011; Escobar, 2010; Manning, 2021). In this way, a pluriversal understanding of authenticity would recognize other ontologies. For instance, some indigenous groups conceive Eurocentric notions of provenance linked with natural resources and places in a more holistic way where nature is personified or can acquire distinct powers (e.g., indigenous peoples of the Andes worship *Inti*, the sun god of the Inca Empire, during the traditional religious ceremony of *Inti Raymi* to ensure a healthy harvest).

2.4.3. Against the dominance of West vs “the rest” focus

Finally, while critical studies on authenticity have advanced our knowledge of the dangers of authenticity, they are dominated by a “West and the rest” focus. This can put researchers at risk of dismissing or even covering up internal practices of oppression by local elites, especially in former Western colonies (for an exception see Wherry, 2006). Among the reviewed studies that have adopted a critical stance on marketplace authenticity, some have focused on the colonial practices carried out by Western actors in the Global South with a focus on tourism (Howard, 2016; Korpela, 2010; Wherry, 2006) while others on oppressive practices carried out by dominant groups toward subordinate groups in the West (e.g., Botterill, 2007; Laybourn, 2018). In this way, several questions around the role of local elites in former Western colonies in orchestrating dominant meanings of authenticity and using authenticity claims to uphold their hegemony while oppressing subordinate groups are left unanswered.

A decolonial agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity would focus on authenticity claim-making practices carried out by local elites that lead to internal expressions of coloniality. This is important because white elites have maintained colonial power relations to the present which exclude people of color in various aspects

of daily life (Grosfoguel, 2008). As previous studies have shown, local elites can use discourses to diffuse Western values, norms, and ideologies and legitimize their actions (Imas, 2005; Toivonen & Seremani, 2021). In the context of authenticity, elite Latin American writers gained recognition for their novels that portrayed local indigenous groups in an animalistic way (Chacón, 2017). This shows how individuals of European descent carry on with the oppression of these groups started by their colonizer ancestors through authenticity claims that allude to subordinate racialized/ethnic groups.

A decolonial agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity would also scrutinize hybridized authenticity claims carried out by local elites. Hybridity or the mixture between the cultures of the colonizer and colonized (Bhabra, 2014) can act as a tool for resistance for the Other (Islam, 2012) but also as a tool for local elites to carry on colonial practices (Toivonen & Seremani, 2021). Likewise, hybridized authenticity, or the combination of two forms of authenticity (Irvin, 2017), can be oppressive tools in contexts where asymmetrical power relations are at play. For instance, the recent emergence of “haute traditional cuisines” (Sammells, 2014) in Latin America spearheaded by local elite chefs has resulted in hybridized authenticity claims that exalt the superiority of the chef’s craftsmanship to transform indigenous products that cosmopolitan diners consider “unpalatable” or “uneatable” into culinary creations in line with Western ideals while indigenous individuals are reduced to mere sources of knowledge and product supply (Matta, 2021; Zanette et al., 2021).

Chapter 3: Stratal institutional work: The influence of hybridized authenticity in social orders

3.1. Introduction

Cultural fields, such as art, cuisine, literature, music, and theatre, are milieus influenced by the authenticity claim-making and authentication practices of actors who create, distribute, assess, and consume cultural goods (Gualtieri, 2021; Peterson, 1997). For example, cultural producers constantly construct and project authenticity (Delmestri et al., 2005; Jones & Smith, 2005; Peterson, 1997, 2005a) while external audiences such as consumers, critics, and gatekeepers engage in authentication processes (Fine, 2003; Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005; Grazian, 2003). This shows that authenticity practices mirror forms of institutional work as they are aimed at the creation, maintenance, reinterpretation, and legitimation of cultural categories (Lehman et al., 2019). However, similar to institutional theory, the body of research on authenticity also tends to overlook “problematic uses of power” (Munir, 2015, p. 90) as it directs considerable attention to episodic expressions of power (Lawrence et al., 2001) evidenced when actors engage in practices of authenticity while overlooking systemic forms of power “vested in social and cultural systems, rather than in individual actors” (Lawrence, 2008, p. 176).

Systemic power is present in cultural fields through social orders, that is, the “arrangements of people and of the artifacts, organisms, and things through which they coexist” (Schatzki, 2001, p. 51). For instance, highbrow cultural categories have been “produced to meet cultivated or sophisticated standards” and lowbrow cultural categories “by or for members of low-status groups” (Hahl et al., 2017, p. 829). However, recent studies show that such hierarchies have been diluted with the emergence of, for instance, cultural omnivorousness, that is, elite actors’ cultural tastes that cross both high and lowbrow categories (Hahl et al., 2017; Peterson, 2005b; Smith Maguire, 2018a). This

dilution is also found from a production side in “hybridized authenticity”, that is, when cultural producers blend two forms of authenticity together (Irvin, 2017). For example, modern Indian art combines traditional Indian artwork with criteria of the international fine art world (Khaire & Wadhvani, 2010) and gourmet food trucks serve upscale dishes while preserving elements of the traditional street food experience (Schifeling & Demetry, 2021).

Building on these insights, we direct attention to authenticity and its relationship with systemic forms of power by asking: How do elite actors shape social orders through hybridized authenticity claims? To address this question, we use qualitative sources of data to examine the contemporary Peruvian culinary field where local elite chefs have created a new cuisine based on the adoption of marginalized foodways from traditional cuisines of indigenous communities and their reinterpretation by drawing on modern techniques. However, this setting is complicated by its embeddedness in broader and larger social structures infused with the logic of coloniality (Quijano, 2007) manifested in internal classist and racist social relations between elites and subordinate racialized/ethnic groups (Grosfoguel, 2008). In other words, the foodscape presents asymmetrical power relations between indigenous communities and their culinary traditions that have long been rejected by the upper-class and elite chefs who have created a new cuisine. In this way, the contemporary Peruvian culinary field provides a fertile empirical setting to investigate our research question.

Our findings revealed that the hybridized authenticity claims of elite chefs influence social orders at the field (i.e., traditional and new Peruvian cuisines) and societal levels of analysis (i.e., elite and indigenous communities). At a field level, practices of authenticity can counter traditional culinary hierarchies by crafting democracy through the revaluation of indigenous products and the generation of a resonant frame that appeals

to sentiments of gastronationalism (DeSoucey, 2010) that positions the new Peruvian cuisines along with other national cuisines within the categorical system of Peruvian cuisines. However, they can also reinforce culinary hierarchies by crafting distinction through the aestheticization of products by detaching them from lowbrow meanings and infusing them with highbrow meanings, and the protection of exclusivity by establishing price premiums. At a societal level, elite chefs' practices of authenticity can counter social hierarchies by crafting economic, social, and symbolic benefits through real commitments with producers and their visibilization but reinforce them by crafting coloniality by contriving the commitment with producers and excluding them from the marketplace where their products are being transformed and sold at premium prices.

Our central contribution is the introduction of the concept of stratal institutional work as authenticity claim-making practices that lead to a recursive influence between a new cultural category and pre-existing ones from which it was created. From this, we make two contributions. First, we put forth new forms of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) based on practices of hybridized authenticity aimed at the creation and resignification of high and lowbrow categories in cultural fields. Second, we examine the tensions embedded in practices of authenticity that influence social orders at a field and societal level.

In the following sections, we outline the theoretical background, describe the context and methods, present the findings, and conclude with the contributions and avenues for future research.

3.2. Authenticity, elites, and social orders in cultural fields

From an institutional standpoint, practices of authenticity are important for the production, reinterpretation, evaluation, and legitimization of cultural categories to which products, producers, and organizations conform (Gualtieri, 2021; Lehman et al., 2019).

This has been largely explored in cultural settings such as cuisines (Cappelen & Pedersen, 2021; Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Demetry, 2019; Gualtieri, 2021; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021), wine (Beverland, 2005a; Negro et al., 2011; Smith Maguire, 2018b), craft beer (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000; Kroezen & Heugens, 2019; Lamertz, 2021; Pozner et al., 2022), and music (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005; Grazian, 2003; Peterson, 1997). In these contexts, categories are ruled by conventions that entities need to comply with or reinterpret to be perceived as authentic by external audiences such as consumers (Beverland, 2005a; Demetry, 2019), gatekeepers (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005), and critics (Durand et al., 2007; Rao et al., 2005). Such endeavors mirror forms of institutional work which we explain as follows.

One stream of research has focused on authenticity as the compliance of a product or organization to the shared understandings, codes, and norms of its category (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Lehman et al., 2019). For example, cultural producers commit to traditional production methods (Lamertz, 2021; McKendrick & Carroll, 2001), small-scale production (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000; Pozner et al., 2022), and *terroir* which is “the holistic combination in a vineyard environment of soil, climate, topography, and the ‘soul’ of the wine producer” (Beverland, 2005a; Boisard, 2003; Guy, 2007, p. 2; Smith Maguire, 2018b) to construct and project authenticity. Commonly referred to as “type authenticity” (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009) or “authenticity as conformity” (Lehman et al., 2019), these practices mirror forms of institutional maintenance work which “involves supporting, repairing or recreating the social mechanisms that ensure compliance” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 230). Such compliance serves as the basis for assessments of authenticity by external audiences who can reward products or organizations for their membership to a category, thus, ensuring the maintenance of the criteria for category membership and authenticity.

Another stream of research has examined the “fabrication of authenticity” (Guy, 2007; Peterson, 1997) through the agentic action of cultural producers to reinterpret pre-existent categories and create new ones (Lehman et al., 2019). This is present in the case of modern Italian winemakers (Negro et al., 2011) and new culinary categories such as Modern Spanish cuisine (Svejenova et al., 2007), the New Anatolian Kitchen (Cappelen & Pedersen, 2021), and gourmet food trucks (Schifeling & Demetry, 2021) that combine traditional elements of pre-existing categories with novelties. These examples illustrate how cultural producers claim hybridized authenticity – two forms of authenticity blended together (Irvin, 2017, p. 44) – for new categories. In these scenarios, external audiences might support such reinterpretations (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005; e.g., Rao et al., 2005) or oppose them. These practices of authenticity resonate with institutional creation work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) and, specifically, with category emergence defined as the process by which new categories are formed by importing elements outside an existing category system that generates material novelties (Durand & Khaire, 2017).

As these two streams of research show, studies on authenticity from an institutional standpoint have directed significant attention to episodic expressions of power (Lawrence et al., 2001) by focusing on the agency of organizational actors in the construction, projection, and assessment of authenticity claims. However, these studies have paid less attention to systemic expressions of power manifested through “ongoing practices to advantage particular groups without those groups necessarily establishing or maintaining those practices” (Lawrence, 2008, p. 174). Notable exceptions include Grazian’s (2003, p. 42) study of blues musicians where he reveals that perceptions of authenticity are associated with black artists which reinforces “traditional racial stereotypes of rhythmic and uncivil blacks” and Terrio’s (2000, p. 249) study of French

chocolatiers whose advertising claims intensified the exoticization of indigenous African cacao producers, portraying them as “naïve and childlike inferiors”.

Although they tend to be studied separately, both expressions of power are interrelated as “episodic power creates the conditions for systemic forms of power to operate, which in turn provide the resources and legitimacy necessary for actors to engage in instances of episodic power” (Lawrence et al., 2012, p. 109). Institutional studies have demonstrated how power structures privilege the agency of certain elites who establish institutions that “go unquestioned for years to come” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 157) such as the ritual of college dining at the University of Cambridge (Dacin et al., 2010), recruitment models of elite French business schools (Raynard et al., 2021), and the monopoly control of the telecommunication sector (Goodstein & Velamuri, 2009). However, elite actors can also maintain more problematic institutions within their society such as systems of oppression and domination (Hamann & Bertels, 2018), and defend repressive institutions such as patriarchy in Bangladesh (Mair et al., 2012) and child marriage in Indonesia (Claus & Tracey, 2020).

Despite the attention paid to elites and their power to influence institutions in the literature on institutional work, less is known about how they do so through claims of authenticity. This is particularly important in cultural fields as elite actors can use claims of authenticity to create, maintain, and reinterpret cultural categories, that is, cultural-cognitive institutions “that individuals use to organize, recall, and communicate information” (Lehman et al., 2019, p. 13; W. R. Scott, 2014). For instance, highbrow and lowbrow categories are produced for or consumed by high and low-status groups respectively. However, elite actors’ hybridized forms of authenticity are eroding this traditional hierarchy (Hahl et al., 2017; Johnston & Baumann, 2015; Smith Maguire, 2018a). For example, elite orchestra critics rendered the adoption of pop interpretations

of classical music as a high-status genre (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005) and gourmet food truckers combine highbrow culinary elements with the lowbrow street food experience (Irvin, 2017; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021). This raises the question of how hybridized authenticity claims for a new category affect the power and prestige of the pre-existent category from which it emerged, and the social groups associated with such categories.

Building on these insights, we ask: how do elite actors shape social orders (the arrangement of cultural categories and of the groups they are produced for) through hybridized authenticity claims? We conceive hybridized authenticity as the authenticity of a new category that combines elements of a highbrow and a lowbrow category. To better understand how hybridized authenticity is formed, we draw on the field of language contact terminology where a stratum – a language that influences or is influenced by another due to close contact – is classified into three types depending on its relative power and prestige: a substratum is a subordinate language that influences a dominant language, a superstratum is a dominant language that influences a subordinate language, and an adstratum refers to languages that have equal power and prestige (Smith, 2020). Thus, we propose the concept of stratal institutional work as authenticity claim-making practices that lead to a recursive influence between a new cultural category and pre-existing ones from which it was created. It encompasses substratal, superstratal, and adstratal institutional work.

We define substratal work as practices of authenticity aimed at the creation of a new highbrow category based on the elements of a pre-existent lowbrow category, superstratal work as practices of authenticity that (un)intentionally lead to the resignification of a pre-existent lowbrow category due to its association with a new highbrow category, and adstratal work as practices of authenticity aimed at the creation of a new highbrow category based on the elements of a pre-existent highbrow category

as well as the resignification of the pre-existent category due to its association with the new category. In this study, the conceptualizations of substratal and superstratal work are important in guiding our examination of the hybridized authenticity claim-making practices of elite chefs in the contemporary Peruvian culinary field. We expand on the empirical setting next.

3.3. Setting: The contemporary Peruvian culinary field

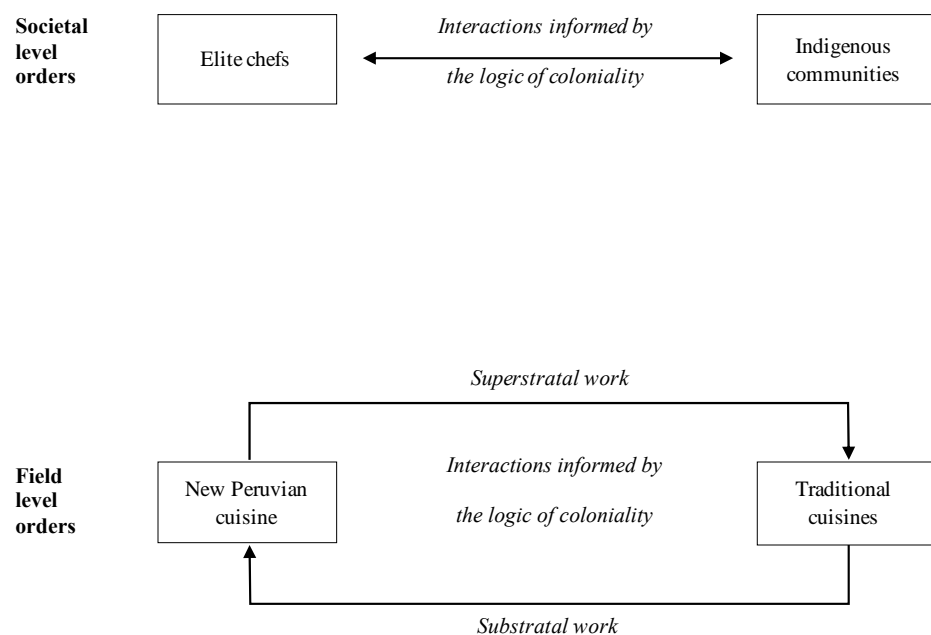
To understand how the contemporary Peruvian culinary field came to being, it is important to explain the influence of systemic expressions of power over organizational life. As a former Spanish colony, Peru is characterized by coloniality, that is, colonial power structures that have survived the decolonization process (Quijano, 2007) and are manifested in internal class and social relations between elites and subordinate racialized/ethnic groups (Grosfoguel, 2008). To further complicate this setting, geography became a proxy for these power relations as “[t]he ‘white’ coastal areas of the country became integrated first into the capitalist economy, thus establishing their domination over the “Indian” Andean and jungle regions, which were branded as underdeveloped” (Matta, 2021, p. 521).

Due to its embeddedness in these social dynamics and power structures, the contemporary Peruvian culinary field is not free from coloniality: elite chefs from Lima (i.e., the capital) are spearheading a new cuisine based on the adoption and reinterpretation of marginalized cultural products from the traditional cuisines of indigenous communities that live in other coastal areas, the Andean highlands, and the Amazonian jungle (i.e., the periphery). The new Peruvian cuisine is a type of “haute traditional cuisine” (Sammells, 2014) whose hybridized authenticity results from the combination of avant-garde ideas and techniques from the highbrow category of French

haute cuisine with native ancestral elements of lowbrow national cuisines to address the quest of authenticity and exoticism of upper-class national and international diners.

The national and international success of the new Peruvian cuisine has spilled over to traditional cuisines by association and restaurants serving dishes from the new and traditional cuisines have begun to flourish not only locally but also abroad (L. Anderson & Benbow, 2017; Sammartino, 2010). Moreover, since the early 2000s, elite chefs' restaurants started appearing in the list of the World's 50 Best Restaurants at a global (50 Best, 2022) and Latin America (50 Best, 2021b) level. In recognition of this and other national cuisines, Peru was awarded the World's Leading Culinary Destination for almost 10 years in a row (2012-2019 and 2021, World Travel Awards, 2022). These changes and accomplishments in the culinary field have been labeled as the “gastronomic revolution” (Lauer & Lauer, 2006) whose one of its most important achievements has been to unify a socially divided nation with a sense of national pride.

Figure 3.1: Interplay of societal and field-level orders in the Peruvian culinary field



In summary, the social order of these national cuisines (i.e., the new and traditional Peruvian cuisines) is rooted in the power/prestige asymmetries of the social groups they represent (i.e., elites and indigenous groups). During the creation of the new Peruvian cuisine, elements from traditional cuisines are adopted and transformed while elite chefs and indigenous producers interact. This interplay of societal and field-level orders in the Peruvian culinary field is illustrated in Figure 3.1. However, the hybridized authenticity nature of the new Peruvian cuisine raises questions about how these field-level and societal orders have been affected, especially since elite chefs have been able to claim authenticity for and authenticate their cuisines and that of indigenous groups.

Building on the insights, the contemporary Peruvian culinary field provides a fertile empirical for examining our research question that we investigate through a qualitative study described next.

3.4. Methodology

3.4.1. Data collection

To develop an understanding of how hybridized authenticity claim-making practices carried out by elite cultural producers influence social orders, the first author (hereafter I) collected three types of data as detailed in Table 3.1.

First, I conducted semi-structured interviews with different actors to capture a diverse set of perspectives. The sample included 27 participants such as elite chefs; members of staff; food journalists, critics, and researchers; historians; and indigenous producers and other peripheral actors that have or had been associated with elite chefs' projects. The interviews were video recorded and, on average, lasted 1.5 hours (min 37 – max 174 minutes). I asked questions regarding the historical development of Peruvian

cuisines, the activities of elite chefs inside and outside their restaurants, perceptions and construction of authenticity, and key challenges and opportunities in the field.

Table 3.1: Data sources and use

Type of data	Data set	Description	Purpose	Analysis
Interviews	27 interviews	A purposive sample of participants interviewed in 2021 <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 5 Elite chefs (37 – 87 minutes)• 2 Historians (75 – 81 minutes)• 8 Journalist (52 – 108 minutes)• 2 Researchers (98– 174 minutes)• 3 Members of staff (53 – 70 minutes)• 7 Suppliers (73 – 56 minutes)	Understand the new Peruvian cuisine and its influence at different levels of analysis.	Input transcriptions into NVivo.
Netnography	7,450 TripAdvisor reviews	A purposive sample of reviews based on 12 elite-chef-owned restaurants. Visits from 2010 to 2019. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Restaurant 1: 2158 reviews• Restaurant 2: 1414 reviews• Restaurant 3: 1338 reviews• Restaurant 4: 679 reviews• Restaurant 5: 523 reviews• Restaurant 6: 507 reviews• Restaurant 7: 273 reviews• Restaurant 8: 148 reviews• Restaurant 9: 123 reviews• Restaurant 10: 104 reviews• Restaurant 11: 101 reviews• Restaurant 12: 82 reviews	Understand the authenticity of the new Peruvian cuisine through consumption.	Input into NVivo.
Secondary data	297 newspaper articles	Written by well-known national culinary journalists and food critics with the names of elite chefs, their restaurants, or their projects in the title or first few lines. XXX from 2010 to 2020. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Author 1 (108 articles, 2013 – 2020)• Author 2 (91 articles, 2015 – 2021)• Author 3 (76 articles, 2015 – 2021)• Author 4 (13 articles, 2020)• Author 5 (9 articles, 2010 – 2020)	Trace the work of elite chefs in the culinary field and its effects on societal and field-level issues.	Input into NVivo.
	26 academic articles on Peruvian cuisines	Articles with keywords “Peruvian cuisine”, “Peruvian gastronomy”, “Peruvian restaurants”, “Peruvian gastronomic revolution”, and “Peruvian gastronomic boom” via Google Scholar.		
	3 academic books and 4 chapters on Peruvian cuisines	All books were obtained in a digital version from Amazon US and downloaded to Kindle except one.		

Second, I conducted a non-participatory or passive netnography (Kozinets, 2020) by retrieving TripAdvisor reviews from 12 flagship restaurants owned by elite chefs. I excluded reviews of restaurant visits from 2020 onwards from the analysis due to the influence that the COVID-19 pandemic had on the sector. This resulted in 7,450 reviews. Grammatical, spelling and punctuation errors were corrected to enhance the quality of the data.

Third, I collected secondary data to triangulate the results. I retrieved 297 online newspaper articles and food critiques from five well-known food journalists/critics that were published in four national and international newspapers: *El Comercio*, *Cosas*, *El País*, and *Somos*. I complemented this with 26 academic articles, three academic books, and four book chapters on Peruvian cuisines that provided the background context for interpreting primary data.

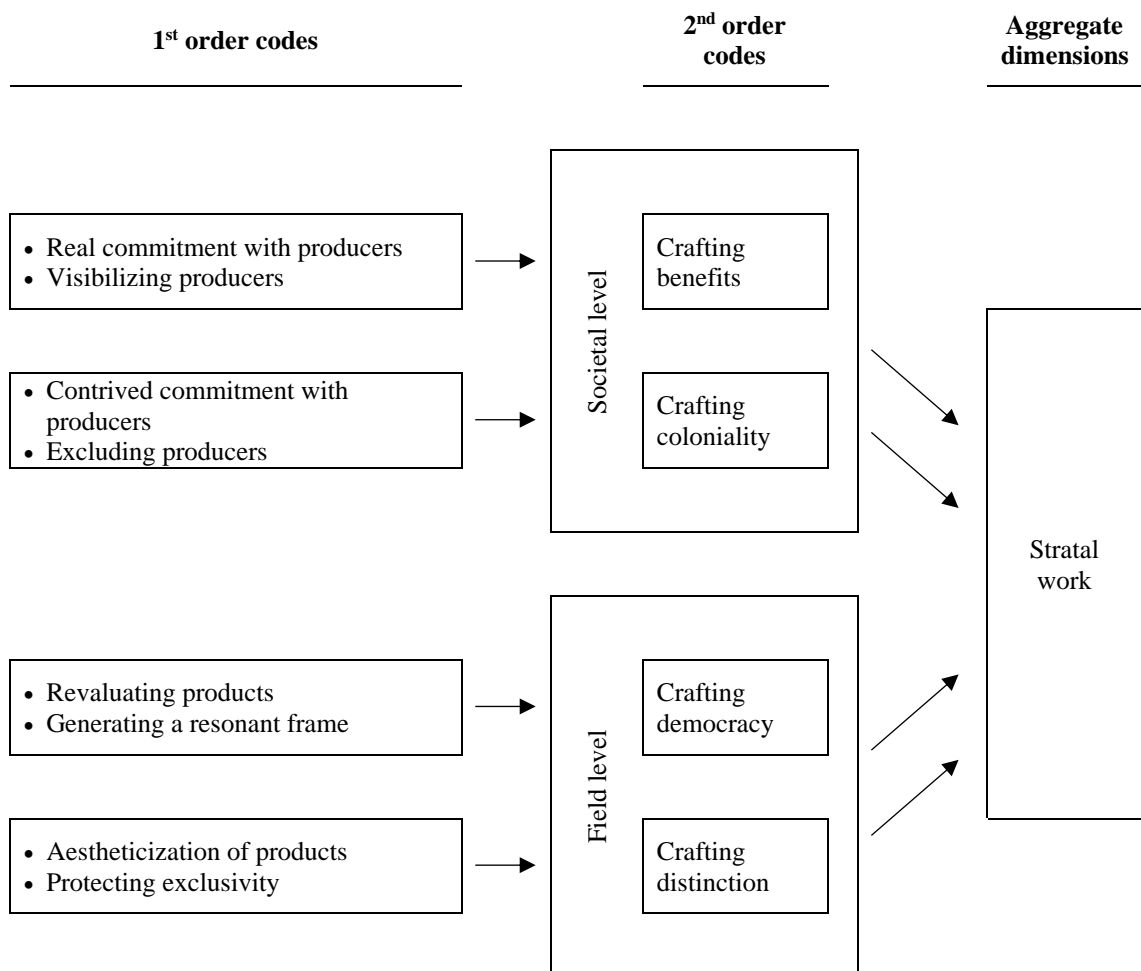
3.4.2. Data analysis

I analyzed the data following a modified version of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which, unlike the purist version, requires an interplay between induction and deduction methods, the ongoing comparison and contrast of data and theory, and the intersection of data collection and analysis (see Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Suddaby, 2006). I began by importing the transcripts of interviews, TripAdvisor reviews, and newspaper articles to NVivo and used open, axial, and selective coding. Throughout this process, I gave an account of the emerging codes and findings to my thesis advisors who provided an outsider's perspective. Following Pratt (2009), the emerging data structure is illustrated in Figure 3.2 and explained next.

During open coding, I created descriptive first-order codes. Since grounded theory requires that data collection and analysis be carried out simultaneously (i.e., “constant comparison”), I went back and forth between coding data and collecting data. As I

conducted more interviews and analyzed more data, I started grouping codes based on similarities and tensions. For instance, descriptive codes such as “fairly compensating producers for their products”, “helping producers through the creation of NGOs”, and “establishing joint ventures” referred to chefs and producers working together on projects which led to benefits for both parties. These descriptive codes were labeled as “real commitment with producers”. On the other hand, codes such as “Otherizing producers” and “unfairly compensating producers” were coded as “contrived commitment with producers”. Overall, first-order codes allude to practices that elite chefs engage with to project authenticity.

Figure 3.2: Data structure



Second-order categories were formed through the constant comparison of the emerging codes, memos, and the similarities and tensions in the dimensions and properties of the first-order codes. In this stage, I noticed that first-order codes had an effect on social orders at the societal and field level. For instance, at a societal level, elite chefs' authenticity claims and authentication practices based on "real commitment with producers" and "visibilizing producers" were grouped as "crafting social benefits" as they led to economic, social, and symbolic benefits for indigenous producers. On the contrary, the practices of "contrived commitment with producers" and "excluding producers" were grouped as "crafting coloniality" as they lead to the reinforcement of the hegemonic power of elites and the oppression of indigenous groups.

During axial coding, I labeled these four second-order categories that allude to contested outcomes on social orders as "stratal work", that is, authenticity claim-making practices that lead to a recursive influence between a new cultural category and pre-existing ones from which it was created. In this case, elite chefs' hybridized authenticity claims manifest this interplay by adopting elements of the traditional cuisine and, in turn, resigning their meanings. This recursive relationship is also experienced at a societal level between dominant (i.e., elite chefs) and subordinate groups (i.e., indigenous communities).

3.5. Findings

Our findings reveal that the organizational practices of authenticity carried out by local elite chefs counteract and reinforce social orders at different institutional levels. At a societal level, elite chefs' practices of authenticity can counter social hierarchies by crafting benefits and reinforce them by crafting coloniality. At a field level, elite chefs' practices of authenticity can counter traditional culinary hierarchies by crafting democracy and reinforce them by crafting distinction. Following Pratt (2009), we present

“power quotes” to illustrate our points and “proof quotes” (i.e., representative quotes) from interviews, TripAdvisor reviews, and secondary data as additional evidence in Appendix S. We expand on our findings next.

3.5.1. Societal-level orders

3.5.1.1. Crafting benefits

Elite chefs’ practices of authenticity can counter social orders by crafting economic, social, and symbolic benefits. One way to achieve this is through direct and real commitments with producers. For example, since authenticity claims are projected by “internalizing and publicly displaying the production process, and its associated workers, tools and inputs” (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009, p. 276), elite chefs highlight chef-farmer alliances (in Spanish: *alianzas cocinero-campesino*) as a key aspect of their restaurants. These are farm-to-table schemes’ that acknowledge the role of farmers and producers within the value chain not only symbolically but also economically (Kollenda, 2019). In the following interview excerpt, a quinoa producer states why selling native products to elite chefs are important:

A farmer who doesn't sell, let's see... I don't think he's satisfied because we also have needs such as education, health, and quality of life. So, that is why it is important, right? To feed ourselves but also for our livelihood. (P6)

In addition to improving the quality of life of producers through chef-farmer alliances, elite chefs also establish and develop projects that provide support to indigenous producers in various areas of their lives. In the following interview passage, a producer underscores the economic benefits of an agreement he made with an elite chef’s research center that consists of replicating the cultivation of native potatoes and selling part of the crop to his restaurants:

[...] the greatest benefit for us is to conserve the varieties [of native potatoes] we have. For me, I think it's the greatest benefit because [...] to conserve this type of potato, investment is needed, costs, budget, materials [...] there was a moment when we said "Hey, we can't go on anymore because this type of work doesn't generate anything, not even 1 cent" but now, thanks to the work we do with [research center], we sell our potatoes but also receive this, what is it called... money, which in part will also come in handy to conserve this type of variety. So, the greatest benefit is to conserve the native potatoes that we have [...] to safeguard, actually, many varieties that are being lost in Peru. (P2)

This economic aid not only generates benefits for the producer but also for local Andean cuisines. Due to the social dynamics of the country, certain marginalized products do not have much demand outside their communities, so peripheral producers prefer not to harvest them. However, the economic support of elite chefs gives producers agency to preserve their culinary heritage.

Another way in which elite chefs' practices of authenticity can counter social orders by crafting benefits is by empowering producers by association. Unlike direct efforts to construct authenticity claims by directly working with producers and, thus, helping them, making claims of authenticity for ancestral products not only revalues the status of products but also of producers. For example, a famous list that awards restaurants and actors in the food industry has named the aforementioned producer of native potatoes one of the 'Gamechanging Producers' of 2021, praising him as '[t]he cerebral farmer turning Peruvian potatoes into wine' and '[a] natural-born culinary wizard' (50 Best, 2021a). As a journalist explains, his relationship with an elite chef based on the purveyance of native potatoes has allowed him to reinvest in the development of his venture of wine made from *oca*, a native tuber, which is sold at this elite chef's restaurant and award-winning restaurants in the capital as well as receive national and international media attention:

For example, [elite chef] knows a native potato producer, who is his supplier of native potatoes [...] who has the capacity, the ability to create due to his professional training, because he is an engineer agronomist. So, for example,

thanks to the connection with [elite chef], he has managed to create these drinks that are native potato ferments from [...] actually, from *ocas*. So, thanks to that connection with [elite chef], of being his gastronomic ally, let's say, he has been able to rely on income to develop a beverage venture [...] So he and his family and his little community are enriched in that way, so this is always good. (J3)

Similarly, a producer of *loche*, a type of butternut squash with bluish-green skin, recounts how having elite chefs as part of his client portfolio has granted him and his product with prestige to target new clients such as a luxurious hotel chain:

So, when I went to [hotel chain], the supply manager says to me: [...] “And who are your clients?” So, I started to tell him: [names of elite chefs]. It is like that when you are going to offer your product because you already have an endorsement from clients. Because anyone who listens, well, [repeats names of elite chefs], they will tell you: “If they buy you, it is because your product is good”, right? [...] Because I tried to reach out to these restaurants on my own before I met [elite chef], and I couldn't [sell my *loche*] because “No, sir, we are not using [*loche*]” [...] “No, we don't know *loche*, we don't use it”. (P4)

These passages illustrate how producers benefit from a prestige spillover from the elite chefs' authenticity claims that act as endorsements and legitimization discourses that grant them stronger confidence and power to achieve social mobility.

3.5.1.2. Crafting coloniality

Elite chefs' practices of authenticity can reinforce social orders by crafting the logic of coloniality. This results from fabricating authenticity claims about the commitment with producers. For example, chef-farmer alliances that overtly project authenticity to external audiences can covertly reinforce disparities in material resources. For example, a journalist reports on a collaboration between two communities in a region in the Andean highlands and an elite chef's research center that collects biological inputs and cultural knowledge that 'feed' his culinary proposal in Lima:

Unlike other gastronomic experiences, at [elite restaurant] attention is not focused only on the table. It starts outside: nine hectares of arable land surround the restaurant [...] In charge of these crops are 24 men and women from [community A] and [community B], the communities with which [research center] devised a

participatory project [...] In addition to a daily wage, they receive *chicha* [a drink made from fermented maize] (a custom inherited from the *ayni* or community work) and 50% of the production at the end of the harvest. (Newspaper article, April 3, 2018)

In an interview with a member of staff in charge of this project, García (2021, p. 82) revealed that although this is true, “that 50 percent is divided among all families in both communities, meaning that each family receives approximately three to four potatoes per harvest”. This demonstrates that authenticity claims based on chef-farmer alliances reinforce the logic of coloniality whereby indigenous groups continue to be exploited.

Another way in which elite chefs’ practices of authenticity can reinforce social orders is by reinforcing the marketplace exclusion of producers. In other words, authenticity claims for these award-winning restaurants reinforce their exclusivity and, in turn, this restricts access of indigenous communities and producers to these expensive restaurants. Moreover, most interviewees concurred that a culinary decentralization is one of the challenges for Peruvian gastronomy as all the elite chefs’ restaurants – except for one – are located in upscale districts in the capital. So, while, the geographic distance hinders the access of producers in the periphery to these restaurants located in the capital, they also cannot afford to pay for elite chefs’ culinary offers based on their products and traditions. In the following interview passage, a *loche* producer reflects on the price of a beer made from his *loche* sold by an elite chef:

[...] a *loche* beer, those small 380 ml bottles, I think it costs... How much? 20, 20 *soles* and... On one occasion, for example, I asked [elite chef]: “[elite chef], you know what? I want to buy that beer because I would like to have it for my dad's birthday” and he tells me “OK, [producer], of course, contact the person who produces it and I'm going to tell him that it's for you, that you're the *loche* producer, and that thanks to you we have this beer”. Then the manager tells me “[producer], to cover my expenses, I will sell it to you for 3.50 *soles*”. Then you just realize the difference between 3.50 *soles* which is the expense and 20 *soles* which is what costs in the restaurant, right? (P4)

This shows that, even though producers are being paid fairly for their products, they see that the prices at which goods and dishes based on their products are sold are exorbitant and that they themselves cannot afford.

3.5.2. Field-level orders

3.5.2.1. Crafting democracy

Elite chefs' practices of authenticity can counter field orders by crafting democracy. One way to achieve this is by revalorizing lowbrow foods. For instance, a group of elite chefs adopts marginalized ingredients from the Andes and Amazon unknown to the national upper class and tourists while another group of elite chefs recreates familiar lowbrow dishes (e.g., popular dishes that incorporate animal viscera) through modern techniques to suit contemporary standards and expectations. By incorporating these indigenous products and lowbrow dishes into the culinary offer of their award-winning restaurants, they transform the symbolic and economic value of these foods. I illustrate these forms of revaluation in the following TripAdvisor reviews presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Revaluation of non-familiar and familiar lowbrow food

Revaluation of non-familiar lowbrow food	Revaluation of familiar lowbrow food
<p>It's a total surprise of flavors, presentation, and creativity. We had a very elaborated meal synthesized in small morsels of sophisticated results. The theme is definitely "Peru" because they use all local ingredients, some known flavors, and some new ones. I don't want to ruin the experience by giving away too much. Potatoes, <i>huacatay</i> (herb), <i>ollucos</i> (root), alpaca, piranha, and <i>cocona</i> (fruit) will be part of the meal. (TripAdvisor review, Restaurant 2, February 9, 2018)</p> <p>I was surprised by the warm bread, perfect butter, and then the tiradito de selva which is their version of the traditional Peruvian sashimi with a sorbet made of <i>taperiba</i> (<i>Spondias dulcis</i>, a fruit from the Amazon river area) that was very</p>	<p>A bit of a weird menu. Tons of intestines; liver, kidneys, <i>mollejas</i> [gizzard], <i>mondonguito</i> [tripe stew], etc. Also, more normal items like Osso Bucco, meat and fried rice. (TripAdvisor review, Restaurant 6, April 15, 2017)</p> <p>The restaurant serves oversized, family-style portions of traditional northern coastal dishes like <i>ceviche de pato</i> (duck ceviche) and <i>asado de tira</i> (beef short ribs). The house specialty is the fish that is brought in each morning and sold by the size and preparation you desire, with options like steamed, fried, breaded, or stuffed. Designers have done a fine job of recreating the bare-bones feel of an authentic <i>picanterías</i> [traditional restaurant specializing in spicy dishes] here, with picnic-style tables and cane ceiling panels.</p>

creative and tasty. (TripAdvisor review, Restaurant 11, September 2, 2018)

(TripAdvisor review, Restaurant 9, March 17, 2017)

In addition, the hybridized nature of the new Peruvian cuisine allows elite chefs to authenticate traditional Peruvian cuisines, that is, act as critics and gatekeepers. By carrying out activities outside their restaurants such as hosting culinary TV shows and publishing gastronomic books and cookbooks, they revalorize traditional cuisines. This is illustrated in the following excerpt with a producer who praises the work of an elite chef who, in his TV show, used to travel around Peru visibilizing traditional cuisines:

[...] and there comes the merit of [elite chef], of being a leader, of having made visible that hidden gastronomy, made invisible through time, through history, and that they were only identified [in], what they were called, *huariques* [informal restaurants or eating establishments that are not easy to find] [...] I think that the great merit of [elite chef] is to make visible that underworld where gastronomy was alive, it was thriving, it was recreating itself, and it was, let's say, maintaining itself. (P1)

Overall, the construction of authenticity and projection through their new culinary offer as well as the authentication of traditional cuisines revalorize ingredients, techniques, and dishes that were long marginalized outside their communities of origin.

Another way in which elite chefs' practices of authenticity can counter field orders by crafting benefits is by generating a resonant frame. In our context, this is achieved through discourses of "gastronationalism", that is, "the use of food production, distribution, and consumption to demarcate and sustain the emotive power of national attachment, as well as the use of nationalist sentiments to produce and market food" (DeSoucey, 2010, p. 433). While elite chefs' endeavors to revalorize products – and the international attention that Peru has received as a culinary mecca as a result of that – has led to sentiments of national pride, it has also enabled them to position their cuisine as part of a larger categorical system: that of Peruvian cuisine. This is illustrated in a food critic's commentary on her dining experience at an elite chef's restaurant:

[restaurant's name] gets complicated, and that's why we come back. Because behind that extensive and meticulously explained menu there is hard work that educates the diner at the table without snobbery. It surrounds them with flavors that are so distant but so close, it introduces them to new meats and fruits that are lifelong, it induces them to experiment, it arouses their curiosity. Isn't that what we all look for in a restaurant? What is tasty [is], the smile of finding what we did not know was also ours. (Newspaper article, 2010-05-31)

The use of oxymorons such as “flavors that are so distant but so close”, and the introduction of ‘new meats and fruits that are lifelong’ alludes to the lack of knowledge and interest of people in the capital for the traditions and ingredients that have been long rejected by the upper class. However, elite chefs as cultural intermediaries address this issue by using this marginalized paraphernalia in their cuisines and generate a sense of national pride. By employing the first-person plural pronouns (i.e., “finding what we did not know was also *ours*”), market actors reinforce the resonant frame that elite chefs construct to generate a collective sense that not only counters cultural divisions but also culinary ones. As an elite chef contends:

[...] and also, this civic factor that gastronomy has that made us Peruvians feel proud again of being Peruvians, of no longer thinking that a Peruvian dish was not up to a table or an important celebration, right? But, on the contrary, it was at the same level as any other type, any other cuisine, right? (C3)

This demonstrates that, when elite chefs incorporate marginalized cultural paraphernalia in their restaurants, they project authenticity by underscoring “the identification and sourcing of appropriate tools, supplies and ingredients” (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009, p. 268). In doing so, they spread information about products and techniques to close cultural gaps and reduce prejudices about traditional cuisines.

3.5.2.2. Crafting distinction

Elite chefs’ practices of authenticity can reinforce field orders by crafting distinction through the aestheticization of lowbrow ingredients. In this case, the group of elite chefs

that use indigenous ingredients and techniques detach lowbrow meanings and infuse them with highbrow meaning through their craft. For example, guinea pigs are traditionally cooked and served whole in the Andes (Matta, 2013); however, elite chefs “hide” the meat of guinea pigs inside ravioli, gyozas, or tacos so it does not put off upper-class diners (Cox Hall, 2020; García, 2013). This is illustrated in the following TripAdvisor reviews, which have not been edited to avoid misrepresenting the reviewers’ posts, where diners recount their experience eating guinea pig:

A culinary experience like no other in Peru. The menu is a fusion of Japanese Nikkei cuisine with locally sourced ingredients (e.g., guinea pig gyoza and Amazon River snails with potato foam). (TripAdvisor review, Restaurant 3, June 23, 2016)

Flavors that will blow your mind, senses, and expectations. I had the *taco de cuy*, which is the guinea pig taco, and I will dream about this until I get the chance to return and eat it again. (TripAdvisor review, Restaurant 1, November 8, 2019)

As a historian explains, this aestheticization entails making lowbrow food “decent” so that it is accepted by upper-class diners that are on a quest to try exotic and authentic flavors (Johnston & Baumann, 2015):

[...] As I say, it is to make [food] decent, right? So, for it to be attractive to a group of consumers who are willing to try flavors from the mountains, but they don't want to see the head of the guinea pig because you put [in the plate] little pieces of it... You know you're eating guinea pig but you don't see the head [...] let's say, eating the head of an animal is no longer civilized. (H1)

On the other hand, the group of elite chefs that recreate familiar lowbrow dishes by incorporating modern techniques without changing their essence. For example, an elite chef born outside Lima reinterprets his northern traditions to render them suitable for his upper-class diners. During our interview, he recounted how he changed the way a northern dish is made which consists of salt-cured fish that is cooked and served with spicy pickled onions to hide the strong and intense flavors of the fish:

[...] So instead of that fish, which is salt-cured for 2 or even 3 months, almost rotten, I take a [*mero*] *murique* [broomtail grouper (fish)] that has arrived a day ago, I cook it, I cure it in salt, I put it in the cold [fridge], I don't let it rot [...] and then I cook it medium well, juicy in the center, I put a pickle with some onions [...] or I pick a lobster and I do exactly the same. (C5)

Regarding this aestheticization, a culinary advisor for elite restaurants comments that elite chefs have been able to put ordinary cheap dishes from traditional cuisines on a “white tablecloth”:

[...] what happened many years ago is that food from Chiclayo or Arequipa, or a *cevichería* [restaurant that sells *ceviche* and other seafood dishes], well, they were foods... I don't know... I mean, [foods that are] not white tablecloth, let's say, not luxurious, but rather a whatever kind of meal, let's say, cheap food to put it that way. So, all of them [elite chefs] began to put [this food], let's say, one point higher, and several points higher [...] (E1)

These examples show how elite chefs aim to render norm-breaking products and dishes socially near through their craftsmanship so they are suitable for gourmet consumption (Johnston & Baumann, 2015).

Another way in which elite chefs' practices of authenticity can reinforce field orders is by protecting the exclusivity of the new category. In this case, elite chefs' practices of authenticity that celebrate ‘the artistry and mastery of the chef’ (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009, p. 268) bolster the highbrow and exclusive nature of their restaurants which is reflected in their exorbitant prices and location in the capital.

[...] we are talking about a tremendously elitist industry. We are talking about people who are... restaurants that have armies of chefs and service personnel to attend very few tables, people who can pay, well, I don't know. €500 between two people for a meal, right? [...] depending on the country, the percentage of people who can pay that is more or less negligible. [...] On the other hand, I think that [...] centralism is not a defect exclusive of or caused by the industry itself, it has to do with the social and economic dynamics of the country, but it is obviously a challenge for the industry because it cannot be that an industry – on the one hand so powerful but also on the other hand that it has done so much good and that of which we feel so proud of – is focused solely and exclusively on the capital of the country, and that has to change. (J4)

As food critics have pointed out, this is problematic because while the new Peruvian cuisine restaurants are concentrated in the capital and target national and international elite diners, various actors in the periphery do not see the same economic benefits despite their willingness and openness to provide the inputs necessary that serve as the basis of the new Peruvian cuisine.

3.6. Discussion

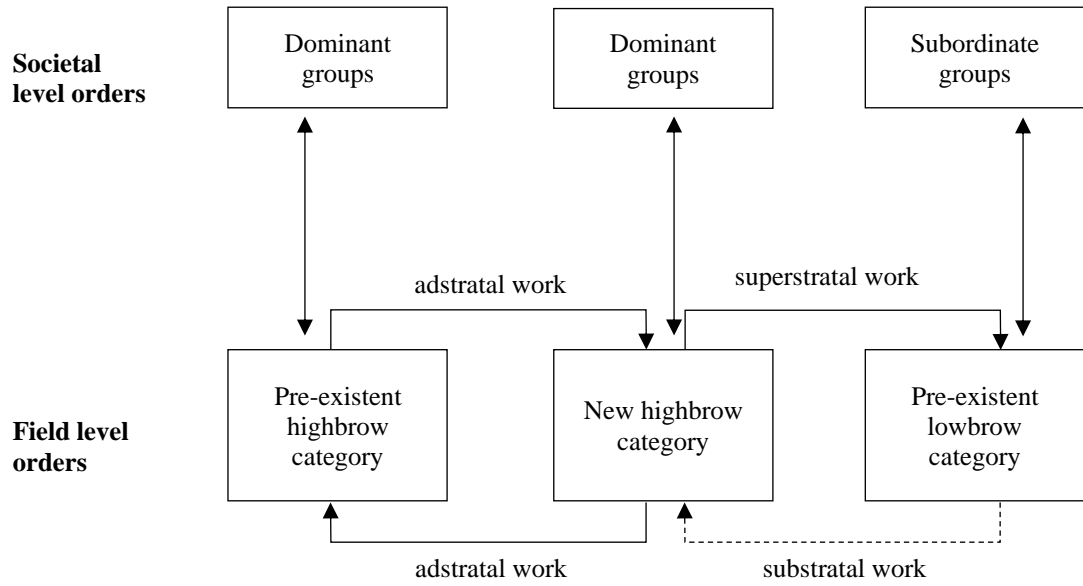
Our findings revealed that elite chefs' stratal work counteracts and reinforces the logic of coloniality that informs the social orders of elites and indigenous groups, and the new and traditional cuisines produced by them, respectively. From this we make two main contributions: (1) we put forth new forms of institutional work based on authenticity claims in cultural fields, and (2) identify the tensions embedded in the practices of authenticity that have contested outcomes on social orders. We expand on these next.

3.6.1. Institutional stratal work

Our first contribution is putting forth new forms of institutional work that allow for recursive influence between a new cultural category and pre-existing ones from which it was created by considering the power and prestige differences between categories. Prior literature on institutional work has identified practices that address the influence of an old category on a new one and vice versa. For example, mimicry links new practices "with existing sets of taken-for-granted practices, technologies and rules in order to ease adoption" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 221). However, as a form of creation work, it addresses the stability of a pre-existing category for the creation of a new category but not the other way around. In a similar vein, mythologizing entails [p]reserving the normative underpinnings of an institution by creating and sustaining myths regarding its history (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 230). While it addresses the maintenance of a pre-existing category through the creation of myths, it does not entail a process of

category creation (Durand & Khaire, 2017). We go beyond these forms of institutional work by considering three elements: the recursive relationship between two cultural categories, their power and prestige rooted in the groups they are produced for, and the role practices of authenticity.

Figure 3.3: Stratal institutional work



Drawing on language contact terminology, we propose that stratal institutional work, that is, authenticity claim-making practices that lead to a recursive influence between a new cultural category and pre-existing ones from which it was created, encompasses substratal, superstratal, and adstratal institutional work as we illustrate in Figure 3.3. First, substratal work refers to practices of authenticity aimed at the creation of a new highbrow category based on the elements of a pre-existent lowbrow category. Second, superstratal work entails practices of authenticity that (un)intentionally lead to the resignification of a pre-existent lowbrow category due to its association with a new highbrow category. For instance, gourmet food trucks have stretched expectations about street food (Schifeling & Demetry, 2021) and modern Indian art emerged as an endeavor

of art historians and critics that aimed to redefine Indian art as “‘provincial’ or ‘decorative’ [to] a variety of modernism” (Khaire & Wadhvani, 2010, p. 1282). Third, adstratal work entails practices of authenticity aimed at the creation of a new category based on the elements of a pre-existent highbrow category as well as the resignification of the pre-existent category due to its association with the new category. Although adstratal work has not been discussed in this article, similar to the case of gourmet food trucks (Irvin, 2017; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021), the new Peruvian cuisine draws on haute French and other modern techniques while also redefining what is considered “haute”, “gourmet”, and “fine-dining”.

Our conceptualization of stratal institutional work is useful to understand the implications of category creation (Durand & Khaire, 2017) on the hierarchy of other categories within the category system as it goes beyond studies focused on how category creation takes place by exploring the recursive influence between a new category and pre-existing ones from which it was created on their symbolic orders. We encourage future research to examine the characteristics of category systems (e.g., depth, inclusiveness, the intensity of interactions) and social, cultural, economic, and legal systems that enable or constrain stratal work. Moreover, since we have limited our examination to superstratal work led by elite cultural producers, future research could investigate how superstratal work takes place when it is carried out by subordinate groups such as indigenous entrepreneurs. In addition, in this study, substratal work entails adopting marginalized cultural elements from traditional cuisines to create the new Peruvian cuisine; however, we did not discuss this in detail. Future research could also examine the process of substratal work and how/if it goes beyond providing lowbrow materials for the basis of a new highbrow category.

Stratal work also contributes to the literature on authenticity by connecting it with large and broader societal issues. Prior studies have focused on how practices of authenticity are shaped and shape the conventions and boundaries of categories. These actions can lead to organizational benefits such as competitive advantage (Beverland, 2005a; Demetry, 2019), higher consumer ratings (Kovács et al., 2014; Lehman et al., 2014), and price premiums (Beverland, 2005a; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021). However, there is still a lack of understanding of how authenticity relates to issues around race, class, and gender inequalities (e.g., notable exceptions: Grazian, 2003; Peterson, 1997; Terrio, 2000). In contrast, this study sheds light on how authenticity claim-making practices that make up stratal work affect orders in category systems and the social/racial hierarchies in which they are rooted. Thus, the interplay of substratal and superstratal work leads to repercussions on social orders at different institutional levels that we expand on next.

3.6.2. Stratal work as the shaper of social orders

Our second contribution is identifying the tensions embedded in the practices of authenticity during the interplay of superstratal and substratal work that have contested outcomes on social orders. In this paper's empirical case, the logic of coloniality informs field and societal-level orders, that is, the status of elite chefs and the new cuisine they spearhead and that of indigenous groups and their traditional cuisines. The practices of authenticity that result from the interplay of substratal and superstratal work result in the counteraction and reproduction of the logic of coloniality by leading to economic, cultural, and symbolic rewards and detriments respectively for indigenous groups and their traditional cuisines. We contend that these contradictory but complementary outcomes arise from the three tensions embedded in the hybridized authenticity of the new Peruvian cuisine.

The first tension in hybridized authenticity deals with being local and cosmopolitan. Similar to how modern Indian art “developed at the intersection of traditional Indian visual themes and international artistic influences” (Khaire & Wadhvani, 2010, p. 1290), the new Peruvian cuisine is a new category that crisscrosses mainly long-marginalized indigenous products with Western influences. In this paper’s empirical case, what is “local” is stigmatized; however, its resignification to appeal to cosmopolitan diners endows the new Peruvian cuisine with status and shields it and elite chefs from prejudices and stigmatization by association with lowbrow elements. This tension can reinforce and conciliate class and racial/ethnic divisions as they make “cosmopolitan elite fare from dishes associated with poverty [and Otherness] into meals that the poor [and indigenous groups] could never afford” (Sammells, 2014, p. 143).

The second tension is between tradition and innovation. Peruvian elite chefs transform marginalized cultural products and techniques through their craftsmanship to appeal to upper-class diners. This leads to Westernized dishes that could not be identified as Peruvian without claims of authenticity rooted in the notions of provenance and connection. This supports Heldke’s (2003, p. 19) idea that consumers like what is exotic as “somewhat familiar, recognizable, [and] controllable”. So, contrary to the idea that the “[t]he construction of foods authenticity through a dialogue of traditionalism and artistic creativity occurs predominantly in First-World elite culinary settings” (Johnston & Baumann, 2015, p. 80), we show that such dialogue does take place in the Global South and that in the case of former Western colonies, this dialogue shapes and is shaped by the logic of coloniality.

The third tension is between Otherizing and belonging. The process of otherization entails creating a distinction between “us” and “them” based on, for instance, racial/ethnic differences whereby “us” is associated with the Western white culture and

“them” with indigenous groups (Irvin, 2017; Koontz, 2010). In this way, elite cultural producers benefit from creating such distance from indigenous communities and their culture so that their culinary creations can maintain their value as “exotic”, that is, foods that are not only “socially distant on the basis of ethnicity or social class” but are presented “as radically different, exciting, and desirable” (Johnston & Baumann, 2015, p. 96). As this study has shown, hybridized authenticity claims celebrate the revaluation of marginalized cultural products while also otherizing them.

The fourth tension is between democracy and distinction. Similar to the case of gourmet food trucks, the creation of a new category helps elite cultural producers to “cast aside their snobbery for a traditionally lowbrow eating experience, while at the same time, [perpetuating] cultural distinctions through their gourmet products and inaccessibility”(Irvin, 2017, p. 46). This is related to the concept of cultural omnivores, that is, people whose consumption tastes encompass both high and lowbrow preferences (Hahl et al., 2017; Johnson et al., 2017). Since snobbery is frowned upon, consumers tend to move away from highbrow food choices but because taste preferences are still related to social status, the production of symbolic orders between cuisines remains (Bourdieu, 2008; Johnston & Baumann, 2015). In this way, the hybridized authenticity of new categories such as the new Peruvian cuisine and gourmet food trucks appeals to foodies and omnivorous consumers (Irvin, 2017). Thus, we add to the literature on gourmet foodscapes focused on the consumption side by demonstrating that practices of authenticity carried out by elite cultural producers also disguise the reproduction of distinctions through democratizing discourses.

Overall, by directing attention to postcolonial contexts and their colonality (Grosfoguel, 2008; Quijano, 2007), we contribute to the literature on institutional work whose “uncritical, sanitized and dangerously misleading simplification of messy,

complex social phenomena involving oppression” puts institutional theorists at risk “of becoming complicit in the reification and legitimation of structures of domination” (Munir, 2020, p. 1) and “conforming subaltern empirics to imperialist knowledge” (Chrispal et al., 2021, p. 1501). In contrast, we shed light on how stratal work carried out by elite cultural producers can reinforce and counter the logic of coloniality that informs social orders in categorical and social hierarchies in cultural fields. In this vein, we call for further examination of how stratal work can act as a tool for oppression and dominance by elite cultural producers in other settings. Likewise, we encourage the examination of stratal work initiated by subordinate/indigenous groups and how it can act as a tool for resistance.

3.7. Conclusion and future research

In this study, we asked how elite actors shape social orders through hybridized authenticity claims. To answer this question, we focused on the contemporary Peruvian culinary field where local elite chefs have created a new cuisine based on the adoption and reinterpretation of marginalized cultural elements of traditional cuisines. Drawing on language contact terminology, we introduced the concept of stratal institutional to guide our examination. we defined stratal institutional work as authenticity claim-making practices aimed at the creation of a new highbrow category from the elements of the pre-existing highbrow and lowbrow categories that, in turn, lead to the resignification of the latter. From this, I make two main contributions: (1) we put forth new forms of institutional work – substratal, superstratal, and adstratal work – based on hybridized authenticity claims in cultural fields, and (2) identify the tensions embedded in the practices of authenticity that have contested outcomes on social orders.

Chapter 4: Recipes for crafting authenticity and coloniality

4.1. Introduction

Craft modes of production are making a comeback to tackle the disenchantment of the world caused by modernity (Suddaby et al., 2017). Due to its opposition to mass production and standardization (Bell et al., 2018; Ocejó, 2017; Ritzer, 2015), specialist producers can leverage symbolisms and imaginaries of craft to claim authenticity for their products (Bell et al., 2021; Kroezen et al., 2021). Craft-based authenticity claims have an enchanting nature (Bell et al., 2021; Hartmann & Ostberg, 2013) that opens a window to several commercial benefits such as carving out new market opportunities (Schifeling & Demetry, 2021; Verhaal et al., 2017), establishing a premium price for products (Beverland, 2005a; Pozner et al., 2022), and gaining and defending competitive advantages (Cattani et al., 2017). However, some studies have acknowledged that the enchanting effect of craft authenticity can be “a form of symbolic manipulation” (Endrissat et al., 2015, p. 1556) and can cast a spell over audiences to “divert attention from existing power structures, inequalities and precariousness” (Endrissat & Noppeney, 2018, p. 114). Attention to these issues is particularly important with the resurgence of craft because modernity is constitutive of coloniality, that is, colonial forms of domination that persisted after the end of colonialism (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Quijano, 2007).

Building on these insights, we adopt a decolonial approach to the resurgence of craft and ask: How do elite actors shape coloniality through craft? Prior studies in MOS have employed different theories to address remnants of colonialism but two lines of thought have been more prominent: postcolonial and decolonial theories. Postcolonial theory is concerned with distilling taken-for-granted assumptions of the Eurocentric system of knowledge (Bhabra, 2014; Jack et al., 2011) and uses the concept of hybridity to “examine the effect that the colonial encounter has on the transformation of

management practices in developing countries” (Yousfi, 2014, p. 394). In contrast, a decolonial lens is concerned with the modernity/coloniality project (Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018) by which the rhetoric of modernity builds on the logic of coloniality, whereby coloniality refers to the transformation of “the old ideas of superiority of the dominant, and the inferiority of dominated under European colonialism” into “a relationship of biologically and structurally superior and inferior” (Quijano, 2007, p. 171). In this way, a decolonial approach to craft allows for the examination of how craft-based authenticity reproduces or counters the logic of coloniality.

To address this question, we examine the contemporary Peruvian culinary landscape. In Peru, a former Spanish colony, coloniality is manifested in internal classist and racist power relations between creole elites of Spanish descent settled in coastal areas and subordinate racialized/ethnic groups, especially in the Andes mountains and the Amazon rainforest (Grosfoguel, 2011; Matta, 2021). These power relations have permeated the foodscape as, in recent years, local elite chefs have been spearheading the new Peruvian cuisine, a novel cuisine that crafts a fine-dining culinary experience using ancestral indigenous ingredients that have been long marginalized by the elite class. As an “haute traditional cuisine”, the new Peruvian cuisine is both “local and cosmopolitan” and “ancestral and contemporary” which can reintroduce or conciliate internal divisions (Sammells, 2014). Thus, the new Peruvian cuisine provides a fertile empirical site for examining how elite specialists shape coloniality through craft and shed light on the role of power structures that remain “largely unquestioned and intact” in contemporary craft (Black & Burisch, 2020, p. 19).

Using semi-structured interviews, non-participatory netnography, and online secondary data, our findings reveal that elite chefs can both counter and reinforce

coloniality through craft. On the one hand, they make craft-based authenticity claims about the rediscovery, reinterpretation, and revaluation of marginalized cultural elements. These authenticity claims are part of the cultural appreciation project that counters coloniality as they generate economic, symbolic, and social benefits for indigenous producers and communities. However, craft-based authenticity claims can also reinforce coloniality when they oppress, disparage, Otherize, and commodify indigenous people in the process of appreciating the cultural elements of these communities. In this way, the dark side of rediscovery, reinterpretation, and revaluation is the extraction, elevation, and exploitation of marginalized cultural elements respectively which are part of the cultural appropriation process.

Drawing on these findings, our main contribution to the literature on craft authenticity is putting forth a process model of cultural appreciation/appropriation whereby elite actors both counter/reproduce coloniality through craft-based authenticity claims. From this, we provide the practical implications of this research and highlight the utility of the decolonial perspective on craft in unveiling the logic of coloniality and bringing to the forefront the voices of indigenous communities.

4.2. A decolonial approach to craft authenticity claims

In the organizational context, craft specialists distinguish themselves from mass-production generalists by adopting “a humanist approach to work that prioritizes human engagement over machine control” (Kroezen et al., 2021, p. 503). To infuse their products with value, they rely on authenticity claims that leverage craft imagery and symbolism. For instance, specialist producers can claim authenticity based on purist notions of craft (Kroezen et al., 2021) that evoke romanticized and nostalgic ideas of making in the past (Bell et al., 2021) such as traditional production methods in the case of bar-to-bean chocolates (Woolley et al., 2022), microbreweries (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000), and

connections to places in wine-making (Beverland, 2005a; Smith Maguire, 2018b), history in silk-tie making (Toraldo et al., 2018), and local communities in craft-brewing (Lamertz, 2021; Lamertz et al., 2016). Alternatively, they can claim authenticity based on creative notions of craft (Kroezen et al., 2021) to project future-oriented craft imaginaries that “provide an alternative to the nostalgic imaginary of craft-in-the-past” (Bell et al., 2021, p. 2) such as in the case of gourmet food trucks (Irvin, 2017; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021) and modern reinterpretations of Barolo and Barbaresco wines (Negro et al., 2011).

Overall, authenticity claims based on craft imagery are an enchanting rhetoric that allows specialist producers to carve out a market niche while countering the modern disenchantment of the world caused by generalists’ mass-production and standardization processes (Bell et al., 2018; Ocejo, 2017; Ritzer, 2015). Most studies have conceived such enchantment as making “the ordinary special”, invoking “the meaningful and seductive elements” (Endrissat et al., 2015, p. 1556) of an organization of product, and adding “mythical, fantastical, and romantic elements” (Hartmann & Ostberg, 2013, p. 884) which leads to “experiences of magic, wonderment, spontaneity and transformative feelings of mystery and awe” (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007, p. 280). However, the polysemic nature of enchantment also encompasses less benign ideas. Some studies have conceptualized enchantment as “a form of symbolic manipulation” (Endrissat et al., 2015, p. 1556) that can cast a spell over audiences to “divert attention from existing power structures, inequalities and precariousness” (Endrissat & Noppeney, 2018, p. 114). In this way, while the enchantment stemming from craft-based authenticity claims has been presented in a positive light, it can disguise pervasive realities.

Due to the ambivalent nature of enchantment, which is potentially dangerous in organizational contexts where asymmetrical power relations take place, a decolonial

perspective is necessary to examine craft-based authenticity claims. A decolonial perspective is concerned with the modernity/coloniality project (Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018) as it seeks to actively dismantle “the colonialist power dimensions that still exist in contemporary (twenty-first-century) society” (Weston & Imas, 2017, p. 121). This perspective is particularly beneficial in the study of cultural appropriation, that is, “the adoption or exploitation of another culture by a more dominant culture” (Oluo, 2018, p. 146). Previous research has revealed how dominant actors appropriate cultural materials from indigenous groups driven by capitalist motives. For instance, the mass production of indigenous objects such as Mayan textiles that are transformed and sold at Macy’s (Munro, 2022) and Inuit-produced soapstone carvings by white Canadians (Blundell, 2012). Dominant actors can also appropriate the images of subordinate racialized/ethnic groups in their promotional material to make claims of authenticity like in the case of a British global fashion company that uses images of Indian and Afghan craftswomen (Gaugele, 2020) and French chocolatiers who, during colonial times, used the images of indigenous African producers of cacao (Terrio, 2000).

As these examples demonstrate, mass producers can leverage craft symbolism and imagery to entice external audiences such as consumers, critics, and gatekeepers by evoking notions of tradition, magic, and myths of a pre-modern past. External audiences might be encouraged to see these acts as the promotion of history and heritage; however, “[e]ven if a culturally appropriative act means to respect culture, it cannot if it can’t understand and respect the past and present power dynamics defining that culture’s interaction with the dominant culture” (Oluo, 2018, p. 146). In other words, cultural appropriation tends to lead to an uneven distribution of benefits that favors dominant actors and, in some instances, it also reinforces the oppression of subordinate racialized/ethnic groups from whom they have taken cultural materials. This is noticeable

in claims of authenticity that depict cultures of subordinate racialized/ethnic groups as “frozen in time” or undiscovered which are harmful as they deny the agency of these groups to change. This is the result of a “colonial imagination” by which “the West defined itself against the colonial ‘other’” (Korpela, 2010, p. 1299). This is due to the creation of pre-modernity or tradition in opposition to modernity, and because the logic of coloniality operates through the rhetoric of modernity, the idea of pre-modernity or tradition reinforces forms of colonial domination in the present (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018).

In contrast to this stream of work focused on mass producers, less is known about how elite specialists use authenticity claims, which are discourses of power (Adamson, 2018), as a mechanism of domination in modern society. Recent studies have shown that contemporary craft movements have been captured by elites such as elite specialists (Ocejo, 2017), that is, anti-mass producers in a dominant position within society. This raises the question of how the two-fold enchanting effect of their craft-based authenticity claims can have positive or negative effects on subordinate racialized/ethnic groups. Following a decolonial perspective, we ask: How do elite actors shape coloniality through craft? In other words, how do they counter or reproduce the logic of coloniality through their craft-based authenticity claims? We address this question by looking at the case of the new Peruvian cuisine which we present next.

4.3. Setting: The new Peruvian cuisine

The Peruvian culinary field encompasses several national cuisines. In addition to regional cuisines that preserve some of their pre-Hispanic traditions, new cuisines emerged throughout Peru’s history due to distinct migratory waves. For instance, with the arrival of Spanish conquistadors in the 1500s to conquer Peru, the mixture of pre-Hispanic and Spanish cuisines led to the emergence of *criolla* cuisine that developed in

and is representative of coastal areas (Matta, 2010). This cuisine served as the basis for other fusion cuisines during the 19th century with the arrival of migrant groups: Italian migrants coming mostly from Liguria developed Italo-Peruvian cuisine, Chinese coolies created *chifa* cuisine, and Japanese labor migrants mostly from Okinawa gave rise to *nikkei* cuisine (Guardia, 2016; Matta, 2010). Likewise, the internal migratory influx of indigenous people from rural areas to the capital has also been changing the culinary landscape (García, 2013; Ypeij, 2013).

More recently, at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, a new national cuisine emerged with the return of Peruvian elite chefs who studied and worked at prestigious institutions and restaurants abroad. They have established upper-scale restaurants in the capital where their cookery combines Western culinary knowledge with long-marginalized indigenous foodways since colonial times which has attracted affluent local and international diners. Due to its novelty and inherent tensions such as being both “local and cosmopolitan” and “ancestral and contemporary” (Sammells, 2014), the meanings of this cuisine are less settled which is reflected in the various labels it has received such as “Peruvian fusion cuisine” (Matta, 2010, 2013), “Peruvian-based fusion cuisine” (Matta, 2016), “Peruvian haute cuisine” (McDonell, 2019), and “Peru’s high-end cuisine” (López-Canales, 2019). To avoid confusion with other fusion-based national cuisines like the ones mentioned above, we refer to these various trends as “the new Peruvian cuisine”.

The new Peruvian cuisine presents conflicting outcomes. On the one hand, it has led the way for the national and international recognition of the country as a culinary mecca as evidenced by the World's Leading Culinary Destination award bestowed to Peru for almost 10 years in a row (from 2012 to 2019 and in 2021, World Travel Awards, n.d.), economic development, and strong sentiments of gastronationalism (Fan, 2013; Matta,

2021). However, the commercial and socio-economic benefits of the new Peruvian cuisine have come at the expense of the appropriation of indigenous cultures in the Andes and the Amazon (López-Canales, 2019; McDonell, 2019). This is due to the power imbalance carried over from colonial times whereby “[t]he ‘white’ coastal areas of the country became integrated first into the capitalist economy, thus establishing their domination over the ‘Indian’ Andean and jungle regions, which were branded as underdeveloped” (Matta, 2021, p. 521) is present in the new Peruvian cuisine.

In summary, the new Peruvian cuisine presents the modernity/coloniality tandem whereby elite chefs settled in the capital have created a new cuisine to carve out a niche in the fine-dining culinary landscape in response to capitalist and globalization demands. However, they have done so by appropriating while celebrating indigenous cultural elements that have been long marginalized outside their communities of origin, especially by the upper class to which elite chefs belong (Matta, 2010, 2021; McDonell, 2019). Building on these insights, the new Peruvian cuisine provides a fertile empirical site for examining how elite specialists shape coloniality through craft. In other words, how do they counter or reproduce coloniality through their cookery? In the next section, we present the collection and analysis of the ethnographic data on the new Peruvian cuisine.

4.4. Methodology

4.4.1. Data collection

To address our research question, we chose qualitative research methods for two main reasons. First, the role of power structures remains “largely unquestioned and intact” (Black & Burisch, 2020, p. 19) in the literature on craft which calls for an exploratory approach. Second, due to the socially constructed nature of craft (Bell et al., 2018; Kroezen et al., 2021) and authenticity (Lehman et al., 2019; Peterson, 2005a), addressing our research question “requires surfacing participants’ ‘tacit knowledge’” (Beverland,

2005a, p. 1008) that can only be achieved through social interactions. In this way, we collected three types of data that are detailed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Data sources and use

Type of data	Data set	Description	Purpose	Analysis
Interviews	27 interviews	A purposive sample of participants who were interviewed in 2021.	Understand the new Peruvian cuisine and how its importance.	Input transcriptions into NVivo.
Netnography	7,450 TripAdvisor reviews	A purposive sample of reviews based on 12 elite-chef-owned restaurants. Visits from 2010 to 2019.	Understand the authenticity of the new Peruvian cuisine through consumption.	Input into NVivo.
Secondary data	297 newspaper articles	Written by well-known national culinary journalists and food critics with the names of elite chefs, their restaurants, or their projects in the title or first few lines.	Trace the work of elite chefs in restaurants and with indigenous communities.	Input into NVivo.
	26 academic articles on Peruvian cuisines	Articles with keywords “Peruvian cuisine”, “Peruvian gastronomy”, “Peruvian restaurants”, “Peruvian gastronomic revolution”, and “Peruvian gastronomic boom” via Google Scholar.	Set the background context for interpreting primary data.	Bibliographic review.
	3 academic books and 4 chapters on Peruvian cuisines	All books were obtained in a digital version from Amazon US and downloaded to Kindle except one.		
	8 menus	A convenience sample of menus retrieved online from elite-chef-owned restaurants’ websites or TripAdvisor.	Identify ingredients and techniques used.	In-depth review of all content of menus.

First, the first author (hereafter I) conducted 27 semi-structured interviews that were recorded and transcribed. I purposefully chose the sample to include diverse actors (e.g., elite chefs, members of staff, culinary journalists, food researchers, historians, local farmers, and other peripheral actors with a close relationship with elite chefs) to gather data from different standpoints within the contemporary Peruvian culinary field (detailed in Table 4.2). On average the interviews lasted for 1.5 hours (min 37 – max 174 minutes)

and questions revolved around historical events about Peruvian cuisines, the restaurant owned by elite chefs, the activities of these chefs outside the restaurant, trends, and changes in the industry, and key challenges and opportunities that chefs encounter in this market.

Table 4.2: Summary of interviews

Interviewees	N°	Description	Minutes	Region
Elite chefs (C)	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5 Elite chefs (four are restaurant owners) 	37 – 87	Core (Metropolitan Lima)
Historians (H)	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 Lecturers with expertise in the social history of the colonial and republican Peruvian eras 	75 – 81	
Journalists (J)	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7 Culinary journalists, 2 of them had been a chairperson for an industry award list 1 Culinary photographer 	52 – 108	
Researchers (R)	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 Culinary researchers with different professional experiences such as teaching, publication of books, and advice to government institutions 	98– 174	
Staff (E)	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Culinary advisor for elite restaurants 1 Chief operating officer at an elite restaurant 1 Chocolatier at an elite restaurant 	53 – 70	
Suppliers (P)	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 Baristas and entrepreneurs working with local producers of coffee and an elite chef. 4 Local producers (of organic vegetables, native potatoes, loche, and quinoa each) 1 Park ranger in a national reserve in charge of the preservation of paiche 	73 – 56	Periphery (Lima, Cuzco, Lambayeque, Puno, Loreto)

Second, I conducted a non-participatory or passive netnography (Kozinets, 2020) to gain a more in-depth understanding of the culinary offer of the new Peruvian cuisine. This builds on previous work that emphasizes the role of consumers in co-constructing meanings of craft and authenticity in the culinary field (e.g., Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Demetry, 2019). I retrieved 7,450 TripAdvisor reviews from 12 flagship restaurants owned by elite chefs. I excluded reviews of restaurant visits from 2020 onwards from the analysis due to the influence that the COVID-19 pandemic had on the sector. I focused

on the content of the review and disregarded the ratings. To enhance the quality of the reviews, I corrected grammatical, spelling and punctuation errors.

Third, I collected secondary data to triangulate the results. This included 297 online newspaper articles and food critiques retrieved based on the popularity of national culinary journalists and critics in three local newspapers and magazines – *El Comercio* (194), *Somos* (41), and *Cosas* (13) – and an international newspaper in Spanish – *El País* (49). Articles were selected if they mentioned the names of elite chefs, their restaurants, or their projects in the title or the description. This is in line with prior studies that contend that journalists and critics as cultural intermediaries play an important role in mediating meanings of authenticity between organizers and consumers and acting as gatekeepers (e.g., Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005; Rao et al., 2005). I complemented this with academic books and articles on Peruvian cuisines that provided the background context for interpreting primary data and the menus of eight flagship restaurants owned by elite chefs to have a better understanding of their cookery.

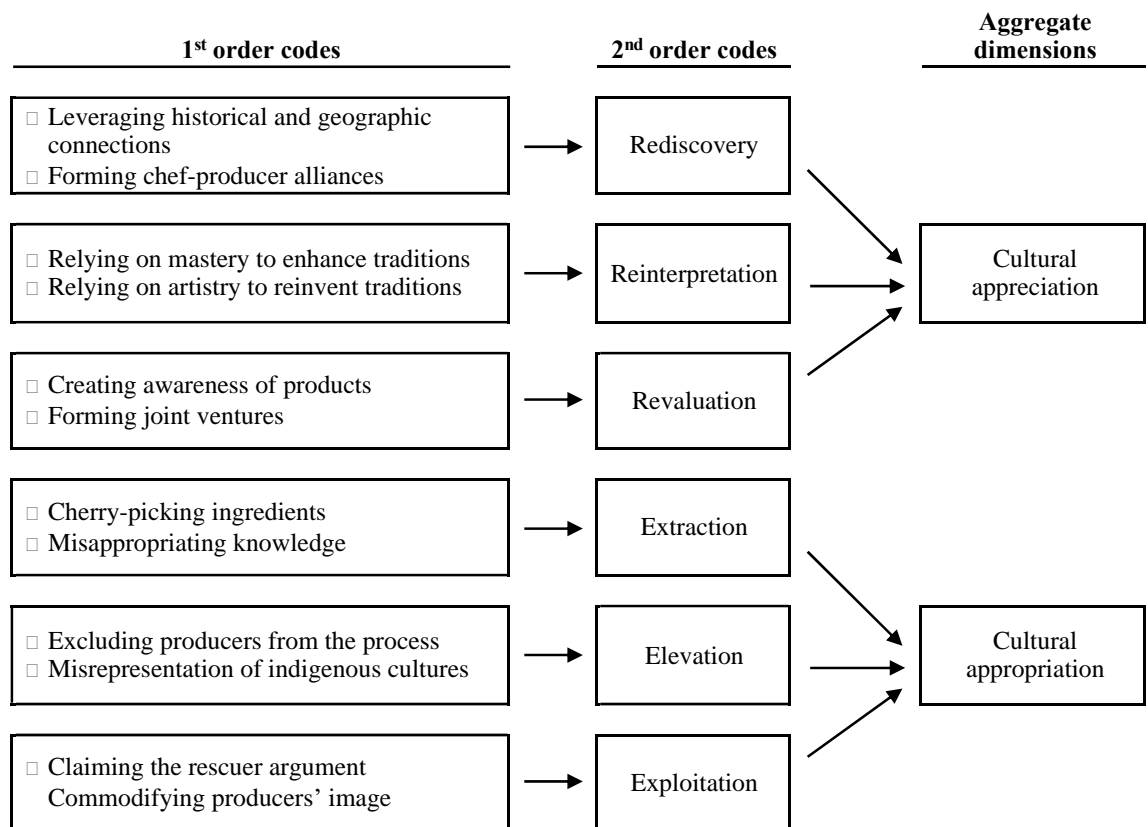
4.4.2. Data analysis

To analyze the data, I imported the interviews, TripAdvisor reviews, and newspaper articles to NVivo and followed a modified version of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which, unlike the purist version, requires an interplay between induction and deduction methods, the ongoing comparison and contrast of data and theory, and the intersection of data collection and analysis (see Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Suddaby, 2006).

I began reading and coding newspaper articles as they set the background context for interpreting primary data. I proceeded to code some interviews and, as some categories were emerging, I used theoretical sampling to conduct more interviews and collect additional data related to the emerging categories for the redefinition and

development of the emerging theory. I also coded TripAdvisor reviews to better understand the new Peruvian cuisine because, as a new culinary category, its meanings are less settled than pre-existing national cuisines. I gave an account of the emerging codes and theory to my thesis advisors who provided an outsider's perspective. Following Pratt (2009), we present our data structure in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Data structure



The analysis was carried out through open, axial, and selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). I began open coding by thoroughly reading the transcripts and identifying common themes without referencing the literature. Initially, these first-order codes were descriptive (e.g., “establishing rapport with local produces”, “fairly compensating producers for their products”, “using avant-garde techniques”, “using creativity”, “giving indigenous ingredients new use”). As I conducted more interviews and analyzed more data, I continued open coding. By going back and forth between the collected data,

emerging codes, and memos, I realized that some codes were becoming saturated. I identified and grouped similarities and tensions in the dimensions and properties of the codes to form first-order categories (e.g., “forming chef-producer alliances”, “relying on artistry to reinvent tradition”).

After developing first-order categories, I identified similarities but also tensions between them that I used to form second-order categories. For instance, some codes related to an initial phase of finding marginalized cultural elements, but the outcomes were conflicting as some led to benefits for indigenous communities (i.e., rediscovery) and others to their oppression (i.e., extraction). Some codes explained and celebrated how chefs transformed the traditional ingredients and knowledge they found (i.e., reinterpretation) while others shed light on the negative consequences of this process (i.e., elevation). I also realized that some codes referred to the appreciation of products (i.e., revaluation) but there was also a dissonance between what was said and what was done (i.e., exploitation)

I engaged in axial coding by going back and forth between the literature and codes. I found that some second-order categories referred to the enchanting nature of authenticity claims as the counteraction coloniality (i.e., rediscovery, reinterpretation, revaluation) while others to the reproduction of coloniality (i.e., extraction, elevation, exploitation) which I grouped into the aggregate dimensions of cultural appreciation and cultural appropriation respectively. I also realized that the second-order codes formed three dialectical tensions (i.e., rediscovery/extraction, reinterpretation/elevation, and revaluation/exploitation) meaning that cultural appreciation and cultural appropriation are two sides of the same coin. I expand on these findings next.

4.5. Findings

Our findings reveal that organizational elite actors shape coloniality through three dialectical tensions: rediscovery/extraction, reinterpretation/elevation, and revaluation/exploitation of marginalized cultural elements. Following prior studies (Nag et al., 2007; Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012), We present the first-order and second-order codes and aggregate dimensions in a dynamic view in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Dynamic view of cultural appreciation/appropriation

Cultural appreciation				
Countering coloniality		Rediscovery	Reinterpretation	Revaluation
	Definition (What?)	Finding marginalized cultural elements that were lost, forgotten, or ignored while generating economic benefits for indigenous groups.	Adapting marginalized cultural elements to the new context while generating economic benefits for indigenous groups.	Infusing marginalized cultural elements with new meaning while generating economic benefits for indigenous groups.
	Purpose (Why?)	To acquire marginalized cultural elements that are the basis for the new cuisine.	To carve a market niche by creating a cuisine based on marginalized cultural elements.	To frame marginalized cultural elements as legitimate to new audiences.
	Mechanisms (How?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leveraging historical and geographic connections • Forming chef-producer alliances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relying on mastery to enhance traditions • Relying on artistry to reinvent traditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating awareness of products • Forming joint ventures
Cultural appropriation				
Reproducing coloniality		Extraction	Elevation	Exploitation
	Definition (What?)	Drawing of the value of carefully selected marginalized cultural elements while disparaging indigenous people.	Stripping away the original symbolism of marginalized cultural elements and sidelining indigenous voices.	Misusing claims about marginalized cultural elements and indigenous people
	Purpose (Why?)	To discard marginalized cultural elements that are not in line with their commercial objectives.	To render marginalized cultural elements “more palatable” for upper-scale diners to benefit chefs.	To enhance their image, status, and reputation.
	Mechanisms (How?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cherry-picking ingredients • Misappropriating knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excluding producers from the process • Misrepresentation of indigenous cultures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Claiming the rescuer argument • Commodifying producers’ image

Following Pratt (2009), we present “power quotes” with a special focus on indigenous voices as evidence to illustrate our points in accordance with the decolonial approach and “proof quotes” (i.e., representative quotes) from interviews, TripAdvisor reviews, and secondary data as additional evidence in Appendix T.

4.5.1. Rediscovery/extraction

4.5.1.1. Rediscovery

Rediscovery takes place when elite chefs find and learn about cultural elements that were deemed lost or forgotten because of their marginalization by the upper class. When establishing rapport with indigenous farmers, producers, and communities, elite chefs look for or stumble upon ancestral culinary paraphernalia from the periphery (i.e., especially from the Andes and the Amazon but also coastal areas) and learn about local foodways and biodiversity that are then used as a creative input for the making of new Peruvian cuisine dishes. For instance, an elite chef recounts her encounter with indigenous groups in the Amazon to learn about *tucupí*, a sauce made from the juice of manioc root where she also got the chance to learn about their culture:

[...] This community [is composed of two groups who] are the Bora and the Huitoto who are in [location in the Amazon]. More than anything, let's say, [I went there] to learn about *tucupí* in my case, right? Because it was the project that I got into with [fellow elite chef] in the [fellow elite chef's project], but I loved that everything was led by women. I mean, that really surprised me. Women are in charge of the economy, they are the ones who organize everything, and men dedicate themselves only to hunting and *mambear*, which is chewing coca leaves, but... it is incredible. (C4)

In this way, elite chefs can leverage the history and geographic connections of a cultural element with an indigenous group to claim authenticity. This is supported by a producer of *loche*, a type of butternut squash with bluish-green skin, who explains that for him and his community, *loche* represents not only history but also a source of income:

Loche represents a lot, not simply because of the quality [of *loche*] that we have, which is one of the best, but also because the *loche* in our area, apart from being sold as a product itself, sells, sells history. It sells history. Why? Because *loche* is a very old product that was already cultivated by our pre-Incas there in [region in north-western Peru] [...] In addition, *loche* is our first source of economic income for our community. That is also very important because eh... [community's name] is characterized by it: it is characterized and known for [its] *loche*. (P4)

Elite chefs can also claim authenticity based on the geographic specificity or *terroir* of ingredients in the menus (Fan, 2013). For example, Figure 4.3 presents the extract of three menus of elite chefs where it is possible to appreciate that the dishes contain the names of rediscovered ingredients (e.g., *tucupi* in Menu #1, *paiche* in Menu #2, and *oca* in Menu #3) and techniques (e.g., *huatia* in Menu #3) and their *terroir* (e.g., Amazonian in Menu #1 and Andean Forest and Frozen Cordillera in Menu #3).

Figure 4.3: Extract of menus of avant-garde elite chefs

Menu #1	Menu #2	Menu #3
<p>HOMEMADE YUCA ÑOQUI Served on palm tree and chonta creamy sauce</p> <p>FISHING MASATO Steamed fish, tapioca and roasted leeks</p> <p>AMAZONIAN CONCOLON Paiche chorizo, tarapoto prawn, smoked pork, sweet chilis and plantain</p> <p>TAJARIN WITH PIGEONS Homemade pasta with stewed pigeons and mushrooms</p> <p>FISHING ROBATA Lacquered pig flavor, potato salad and dashi jelly</p> <p>CRISPY BELLY PORK Chocolate pipian, apple and pork sauce</p> <p>DUCK AND TUCUPI Stewed leg in black tucupi, seared duck breast, blackberries, farofa and garden greens</p>	<p>PAICHE Cassava • Mishkina • Cocona</p> <p>OCTOPUS TENTACLES Lentils • Sachatomate • Caper</p> <p>PORK BELLY Oca • Molle • Cabuya</p> <p>ARRACACHA AND CARROT Burned Vegetable • Huamantanga</p> <p>SEA BASS AND OLLUCO Rough Lemon • Sea Lettuce • Coconut</p> <p>COW CHEEKS Corn • Purple Cabbage • Chillies</p>	<p>PRESERVATION Freeze Dried Potato Chuño, Corn, Wild Uchucuta, Oca</p> <p>PLATEAU Cabuya Nectar, Lamb, Kañihua Grain, White Quinoa</p> <p>ANDEAN FOREST Lupinus Legume, Pork Belly, Avocado, Rocoto Pepper</p> <p>DIVERSITY OF CORN Piscoronto, Chullpi, White Corn, Local Cheese</p> <p>EXTREME ALTITUDE Duck, Black Quinoa, Lake Blue-Green Algae, Wheat</p> <p>CENTRAL ANDES Potatoes, Stems, Chaco Clay, Chincho</p> <p>FROZEN CORDILLERA Wild Muña, Tumbo, Kjolle</p> <p>HUATIA OF CACAO Mashwa, Coca Leaf, Cacao, Mucilage</p>

The rediscovery of marginalized cultural elements also enables elite chefs to claim authenticity based on chef-farmer alliances (in Spanish: *alianzas cocinero-campesino*). Since “making the supply chain’s producers and practices visible and verifiable is

becoming important for craft authenticity” (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009, p. 276), elite chefs seek to make farmers visible in the supply chain and cooperate with them through commercial agreements that ensure fair payment and the direct sales of their products (Kollenda, 2019). In the following interview passage, a producer of organic vegetables recognizes the importance of these chef-farmer alliances:

This alliance that [elite chef] proposed, this chef-farmer alliance, has definitely been a historical milestone that marks how chefs – allying themselves with farmers, with small farmers, medium-sized farmers who provide 70% of the food [eaten in Peru]– have managed to give a qualitative leap regarding what gastronomy means. So, let's say, it is interesting, very valuable... and one of the things that should also be highlighted: The fact of reactivating gastronomy as a, let's say, tourist service, has generated a series of chain benefits. That means, many products that previously did not have a commercial value have acquired commercial value. (P1)

This demonstrates that chef-farmer alliances benefit elite chefs who learn about native products from the producers and authenticity claims based on such discovery trigger the revaluation of those products. This, in turn, reactivates the economy of the producers and other economic sectors.

4.5.1.2. Extraction

However, the “dark side” of rediscovery is extraction, that is, the careful selection of tangible and intangible cultural material, and drawing of their value to make craft-based authenticity claims while disparaging or oppressing indigenous groups. For instance, some producers stated that, despite the economic benefits obtained from these alliances, they faced strict requirements regarding the appearance of their ingredients, monthly sales volume, and delivery times. So, while elite chefs are guided by moral imperatives to help, they also need to conform to the logic of a competitive culinary market that overlooks the reality of the farmer who generally lacks the necessary means to transport the products

from the periphery to the capital or the productive capacity to satisfy their demand for products:

[elite chef restaurants] want a standard, a size, a quality that are often similar to the requirements in form or appearance of conventional products, and many times still the buyer or the consumer is not identifying the value of an organic product, so they can say “oh yeah, this is organic but I want it not to have a blemish, not a scratch, not to have anything”, [however] to achieve those products with 100% no damage, one would have to apply poisons, right? [...] it is better for us to be in the popular neighborhoods than to be in the luxurious neighborhoods. Luxurious neighborhoods kind of don't want to change their standards, they want... they are used to seeing that the product is impeccable, while the popular neighborhoods accept them [organic products]. (P1)

For instance, elite chefs select and take only the most profitable marginalized cultural elements that they know will appeal to their upper-class patrons. When elite chefs render marginalized cultural elements that have been carefully selected as “exotic” by calling them “lost” or “forgotten” to enhance their authenticity claims, they disparage the history of this cultural paraphernalia and the fact that they have long been part of indigenous communities. In the following quote, a culinary researcher criticizes the work of an elite chef known for “rediscovering” *cushuro*, a bluish-green spherical algae that grows in some lakes and lagoons of Peruvian highlands that is popularly known as “The Andean caviar”:

[...] what he does is, to me, distort the information about Peruvian cuisine. And, to me, *because of him*, some people think that *cushuro* is rare because *for him* it is rare, but for the rest of Peruvians, it is normal! I mean, it's not my fault that he doesn't know it. And then, the other things that he is “discovering” [...] He doesn't discover anything! But everything that he plays to discover, actually, on the one hand, is irrelevant for [Peruvian] cuisine because it does not affect [its] flavors [...] (R2)

Elite chefs can also extract knowledge without compensating producers. In the following interview excerpt, a producer dedicated to the preservation, conservation, and cultivation of Andean grains narrates how an elite chef published a book about quinoa based on the knowledge he shared with him:

Yes, [elite chef's name] arrived for the International Year of Quinoa. We have been here in [Andean region], particularly in my little home. So, he has come up with a television channel, I think. We have shown all the qualities [of quinoa], right? How [it is that] we put the added value and also the ecotypes and varieties of quinoa. So [elite chef's name], for the first time, I think, has been aware of the black quinoa *ayara*, right? [...] we explained that *ayara* is the mother quinoa because all the ecotypes and varieties of quinoa have been generated from it. So there [elite chef's name] became quite interested, he investigated a little more, and the book that he has published has been titled *Ayara*, right? So, the title of that *ayara* quinoa came from the bosom of our family so that [elite chef's name] could research and publish this book at the end, right? (P6)

When asked about the compensation he received, he said: "I did not receive anything, everything was a willingness to participate and [share] information about our Andean knowledge and culture". (P6)

4.5.2. Reinterpretation/elevation

4.5.2.1. Reinterpretation

Reinterpretation is the reconceptualization of existing attributes and features according to the new context where they are introduced (Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Kroezen & Heugens, 2019; Negro et al., 2011). In the contemporary Peruvian culinary field, two main groups of chefs are distinguished by external audiences based on how they reinterpret tradition: purists and avant-garde. These culinary styles of reinterpretation are not a dichotomy but a continuum where chefs and their culinary offers can be placed.

On the one hand, purist chefs rely on their mastery to bring up-to-date traditional recipes. Their menus show that most dishes maintain their traditional names or have slight changes to reflect modern adaptations, but they are not entirely conforming to classic recipes. For instance, Figure 4.4 presents an extract of a menu of a purist chef where traditional dishes (e.g., *Cau Cau*, *Seco de Asado*, *Tacu Tacu*) present modern twists in terms of new cooking methods that were not used in traditional recipes (e.g., "slow cooked"). On the other hand, avant-garde chefs rely on their artistry to express themselves

on a plate and reinvent traditions. By combining cultural elements of local communities with their knowledge and skills, they plate unique culinary inventions as demonstrated by the menus previously presented in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.4: Extract of a menu of a purist elite chef



Although avant-garde reinterpretations are difficult to understand for producers and their communities, they support these culinary innovations as they declare that they are proud that their products, long marginalized, are now part of the menu of well-known restaurants which, in turn, generates economic revenues for them.

What we [the producer and his community] have is the idea that our product has reached a modern cuisine, modern in the sense that it is no longer only used for dishes that we knew, right? [...] so, the only thing left for us is to adapt and take it well because if we are going to demand that a traditional cuisine keeps being maintained in terms of our product, our sales are going to be limited, and therefore we are going to be harmed. (P4)

By contrast, the cuisines of purist chefs are easier to understand for producers; however, the feeling of pride and the economic advantages that these reinterpretations generate are shared too.

[...] it's delicious because the quinoa, the vegetables from the coast, some products from the jungle, and the peppers, especially the peppers are spectacular, right? So, the food combined with the inputs of the regions of Peru is delicious. [...] So, it seems extraordinary to us that the activities of chefs or cooks develop the economic activity of Peru. (P6)

This demonstrates that authenticity claims based on the reinterpretation of marginalized cultural elements generate benefits for chefs who can generate profits through their restaurants, but also for producers who receive economic and symbolic benefits.

4.5.2.2. Elevation

However, the “dark side” of reinterpretation is elevation, that is, the Westernization of marginalized cultural elements for their acceptance as part of the fine-dining scene. This entails balancing the exoticism of the rediscovered cultural elements so that they are framed as “somewhat familiar, recognizable, controllable” (Heldke, 2003, p. 29) while still being portrayed as exciting and desirable (Johnston & Baumann, 2015) for their international clientele. Thus, elite chefs make food “more palatable” while stripping away their cultural resonance and sidelining the voices of indigenous people.

This is the case of the guinea pig, an animal with sacred value for the Incas and for current Andean communities which is used during celebrations where it tends to be cooked and served whole (Matta, 2013). Conversely, in the new Peruvian cuisine, elite chefs aestheticize the guinea pig by dismembering it or “hiding” it as a filling inside ravioli, dumplings, or tacos (Cox Hall, 2020; García, 2013) so upscale diners can taste it without being put off by its appearance. In the following excerpt from a newspaper article, a food critic reviews his experience eating guinea pig at an elite chef’s restaurant:

The guinea pig, on the other hand, demands bigger words. I crave a mouthful: the puffy skin, light and crunchy, the meat soft and tender... Too bad they sell it without the head, which is its best chunk, as a concession to the tourists who populate the restaurant. (Newspaper article, April 8, 2016)

This also occurs in the case of ancestral techniques such as the *huatia*, an earthen oven used since the days of the Inca empire in areas of the Andes to cook potatoes and

other native tubers like *ocas* and *mashuas*. The *huatia* has been appropriated by elite chefs (see an example in Figure 4.3, last dish on the top-right menu) who divorce this tradition of poor people from its original context to resituate it in their upper-scale restaurants. That is, traditions born out of poverty are romanticized and sold at high prices (García, 2021).

Thus, elite chefs fail to correctly represent indigenous communities whose cultural elements have been appropriate and transformed. For example, a park ranger in a national reserve in the Amazon – home to *paiche*, the largest freshwater fish in the Amazon River basin, and the Kukama-Kukamiria indigenous people – tried an elite chef's preparation of *paiche* and compares it with how it is consumed in the jungle to point out the differences in flavors and that it is not to the taste of the community:

Look, we eat *paiche*. I eat it, but I don't season it with sesame oil. I don't know what else they [elite chefs] would put on it. For example, they... they put onions, tomatoes, and they all grill over charcoal. Instead, we cook it and it has a different flavor because we don't add those ingredients that they put on it. We do it in a very different way because we all cook, but we don't have that flair for cooking [...] and then here our countrymen from [region of Peru], our jungle people, are not really consumers of this type of thing. That is, they do not like sweet foods because when it is prepared with onion, food always comes out sweet [...] So, you like it [elite chefs' preparation] at the moment, but you don't like it as a daily consumption. (P7)

These reinterpretations are also problematic because indigenous people have no control over the presentation of their heritage. For instance, a producer states that the transformation of his *loche* into value-added products fills him and his community with pride; however, he also states that he was surprised to see this which means that he was not asked for his input in this process.

[Elite chefs made] a *loche* cream soup but they also made, I think, a dessert from *loche*, a *loche* drink, they made eh... from *loche*, they turned it into flour and made noodles out of *loche*, they made bread out of *loche*, and I even think once they made panettone out of *loche*, that is, they did many things that we as farmers were really unaware of, and well, it fills us with pride, and also with happiness because we know that our product is at least useful for many things here in that restaurant that has the conditions to make or transform the product, right? (P4)

This happens because farmers sell their products to elite restaurants and indigenous communities share their ancestral knowledge with elite chefs, but they are not consulted or asked to participate in the transformation of their heritage. They learn how their products have been transformed afterward when they are invited to the restaurants to see and taste what chefs have created for marketing purposes.

4.5.3. Revaluation/exploitation

4.5.3.1. Revaluation

Revaluation refers to the legitimization of cultural productions, that is, the “process whereby the new and unaccepted is rendered valid and accepted” (Baumann, 2007, p. 48) which also includes the revalorization of indigenous producers. Some chefs leverage the information they retrieve during the rediscovery stage to diffuse information on indigenous ingredients and traditions through different means such as book and cookbook publications, culinary TV shows, or their social media platforms. Most chefs, however, engage in taste-making through “service teaching” (Ocejo, 2017), that is, they and their staff educate customers about “exotic” ingredients and culinary traditions by providing information regarding their provenance, history, nutritional values, or connection to local communities. Through authenticity claims based on the revaluation of marginalized cultural elements, elite chefs communicate “[l]ess-visible elements associated with craft authenticity” (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009, p. 276) and infuse indigenous cultural paraphernalia with new status and economic value. In the following excerpt, a chef recounts how he taught customers about *mero murique*, broomtail grouper (fish), when he first served it in his restaurant:

People said: “*Mero? Mero murique?* What's that?”. [...] when it arrived at [elite chef's restaurant] we popularized it, it began to be bought in many restaurants, but again this issue came up that when there is a lot of demand the price goes up

[...] We used to put *murique* and a fillet of *lenguado* [English: sole (fish)] on a plate, and we began to explain the differences, right? The differences, the quality of the fish, the firmness of the fish, and then when it comes to cooking it, the preparation. (C5)

The revaluation of marginalized cultural elements is also manifested in the establishment of joint ventures. Unlike chef-producer alliances focused on the supply and fair payment of ingredients, joint ventures go a step further as chefs and their teams are actively involved in helping producers improve their production by financing projects and imparting knowledge. In the following excerpt, a native potato producer recounts the benefits of working with the research center of an elite chef:

We made an agreement to make a replica of growing native potatoes there in [archaeological site in the Andes], to see in the issue of adaptation, the issue of soil, pests, diseases... if this type of potato could really be adapted to this type of altitude eh... Therefore, the benefit that we have actually helped us a lot to be able to preserve our products. I think that is the most important thing. Well, we sell the potatoes to his restaurants, and all that money also comes in for us, to do more research, and that helps us a lot to continue advancing in more projects. (P2)

These joint ventures allow elite chefs to work side by side with producers and give them the necessary tools to revalue and preserve their products while providing them with economic benefits. Thus, authenticity claims based on the revaluation of marginalized cultural elements benefits both parties.

4.5.3.2. Exploitation

However, the “dark side” of revaluation is exploitation, that is, misusing claims regarding cultural elements and indigenous people to make the most out of the “rescue argument” (Young, 2008). Narratives of revaluation heroically portray elite chefs as rescuers of marginalized cultural paraphernalia while the contribution of indigenous producers and communities that have used and preserved these products and techniques for years is sidelined. That is, elite chefs have a stronger claim to rescuer. This reproduces the

colonial idea of white saviors whereby whites, embodying virtues and heroic qualities, have the moral responsibility to rescue “helpless” nonwhites (Hughey, 2010).

Exploiting is manifested in the dissonance between authenticity claims and actions of rediscovery. For instance, some elite chefs exploit narratives regarding chef-farmer alliances to enhance their authenticity claims and moral stance but, in practice, they engage in these alliances only for marketing purposes. This came across during our interviews where producers stated that, although they have received economic benefits from working with elite chefs, they rarely visit them in the periphery and, when they have done so, it was only for commercial self-serving interests. A producer also expressed the need to establish more rapport to further develop these alliances and the success of Peruvian cuisines:

[...] sporadic visits in passing sometimes, right? But it would be good to sit down and talk, and maybe welcome [elite chefs] in the community for a couple of days, something like that... and also do some practice of preparing a meal to share, right? (P6)

Similarly, in our interviews with two baristas who display specialty coffee in the restaurants of an elite chef, they comment that the chef and his group from their research center have only been to visit the producers a couple of times.

Well, [elite chef's research center team] has visited some of our producers. We have gone [to the farm] so that they can be also a little aware of where it [high specialty coffee] is coming from, the location, and also that all the team that is in [elite chef's restaurant #1] or in [elite chef's restaurant #2] can also understand a little the work that is being developed so that it is not just theoretical. So yes, we have had visits to the farm together with [elite chef's research center team] on 2 or 3 occasions (P3)

These baristas, raised and lived in Cuzco, work with coffee producers in the *ceja de selva* (Andean jungle) helping them harvest high specialty coffees. However, this task has not been easy since the producers did not want to stop harvesting regular quality

coffees until they managed to convince one of the producers who won first place in a national contest with high specialty coffee. When the elite chef proposed to work directly with the high specialty coffee producers, the baristas were shocked because they had been the ones who had changed the mentality of the producers, which took many years:

There was a time when they offered us: “Hey, share the contact of your producers so that we can work directly with them” but there came a point that we said: “Hey, and what about us?”. In other words, what we have to understand is that this [coffee shop] is a business and we have worked [for] 5 years to change the producer’s chip, to change their work philosophy, their lives, their lifestyle, their economy, their vision [...] So, it is a job that is costing us, well, it has cost us 5 years and it continues to cost us (P5)

This demonstrates that authenticity claims about the use of locally produced specialty coffee are being used for self-serving purposes of exploiting the rescue argument but there are no direct efforts to help continue the work of changing producers’ mindsets about the type of coffee they plant.

In some instances, exploiting the rescue argument can be harmful. This is especially noticeable when elite chefs extract and embellish racial/ethnic features from indigenous individuals during marketing activities. In the following interview extract, a culinary journalist describes how an elite chef and his team exotify and commodify the image of indigenous individuals for promotional purposes:

[...] there is a group of chefs who use the producer's product as a promotional weapon. To me, the clearest is [elite chef’s restaurant], and to me, the clearest is [elite chef] [...] you can visit the website and you always find that they make a trip every 3 or 4 months with [elite chef’s name] to look for new products that strangely never appear in the restaurant, and you will see that the photos and videos with producers - they are all dressed in regional costumes. They had two meetings in [region of Peru] [...] with potato producers, with corn producers, and you will see them [producers] harvesting, lying on the ground dressed in regional costumes, the ladies harvesting corn with skirts, with those skirts that are embroidered in gold and silver [...] (J8)

This shows that, in order to make claims of authenticity about the revaluation of marginalized cultural products, some chefs decide to appropriate the symbolism of the stereotyped image of indigenous producers to exploit it for profit as this captures the attention of their target audiences who see it as “exotic”.

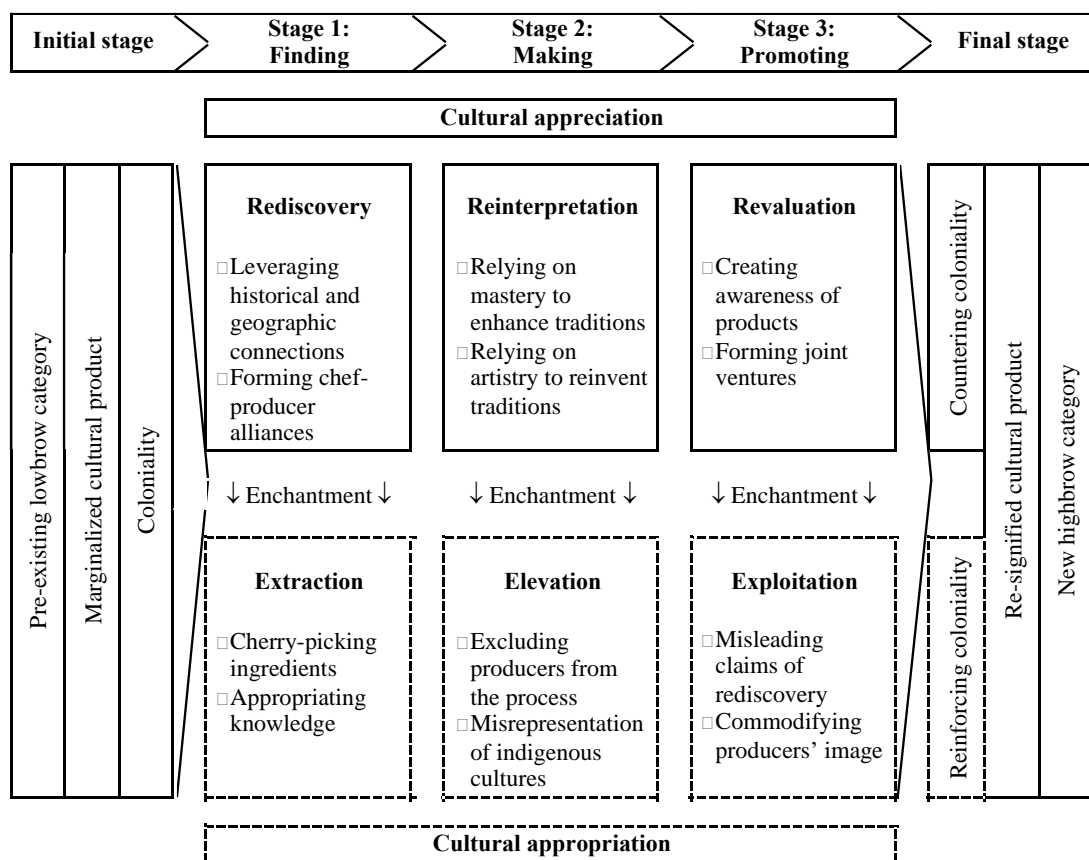
4.6. Discussion

Our findings revealed that, in the process of claiming authenticity for the new Peruvian cuisine, elite chefs transform marginalized cultural elements into delicacies while counteracting and reproducing the pre-existing logic of coloniality present in relationships of superiority and inferiority between elites in the capital and indigenous groups in the periphery. We unearthed three dialectical tensions that take place during this process. The first tension, rediscovery/extraction, alludes to an opening stage whereby elite chefs need to find marginalized cultural elements. The second tension, reinterpretation/elevation, refers to the making of new Peruvian cuisine dishes based on the retrieved elements. The last tension, revaluation/exploitation, underscores the elite chefs’ endeavors to promote those elements. Drawing on these stages and practices, we propose a process model of cultural appreciation/appropriation which we illustrate in Figure 4.5. The former elements of the tensions which allude to authenticity claim-making practices of cultural elements are represented in solid lines to indicate their overtness. Their enchantment disguises their counterpart, that is, practices of cultural appropriation which we represent in dotted lines to indicate their covertness.

Our process model is helpful to interpret previous studies in new ways. For instance, a study on Brazilian haute cuisine spearheaded by Brazilian elite chefs suggests that the practices of cultural appreciation and appropriation are present in elite chefs’ authenticity claims (Zanette et al., 2021). Indeed, this process model can be generalizable to other culinary fields in former colonies (i.e., postcolonial nations) where elites are

creating “traditional haute cuisines” (Sammells, 2014) to comply with capitalist and globalization demands. This process model is also applicable to other fields such as the fashion industry. For instance, the *mochilas* (in English: knapsack) from the Arhuaco and the Wayuu indigenous groups in Colombia (Barrera, 2022) and wedding shirts from the Otavalo indigenous group in Ecuador have been rediscovered and reinterpreted by local and foreign designers (Antrosio & Colloredo-Mansfeld, 2015) so they can be sold in new markets. However, during this process, the symbolic meanings of the embroidery and, in some instances, it pressures indigenous groups to re-appropriate these imitations to appeal to tourists and be competitive in the market. Further research could delve into the process by which indigenous groups resist the appropriation of their heritage.

Figure 4.5: A process model of cultural appreciation/appropriation



Our process model can also be used as part of a much bigger agenda: the process of nation-building in postcolonial contexts. As Blundell (2012, p. 252) states “cultural artifacts of colonized aboriginal peoples have been used by colonizing groups in processes of nation building”. In this way, practices of cultural appreciation/appropriation can be used to reconcile internal social divisions and build a sense of national pride; however, in this process, cultural divisions between different ethnoracial groups can also be blurred to celebrate the internal diversity or *mestizaje* of the country. In this study, indigenous producers mentioned in various instances that the work of elite chefs and the creation of the new Peruvian cuisine based on their ingredients generates a sense of pride not only for them but for all Peruvians. Due to the success of Peru as a culinary mecca, Peruvian cuisines have become a source of national pride. Thus, this process model becomes a practical guide for elite organizational actors who aim to engage in national projects such as “gastronationalism” (DeSoucey, 2010) while informing about the mechanisms and practices that could potentially lead to the reproduction of coloniality. This also calls for further examination of the role that state actors play in enabling or constraining authenticity claim-making practices of elite actors based on the adoption of cultural elements of indigenous groups.

Finally, this process model also extends previous studies that have adopted a critical view of the concept of enchantment (Endrissat et al., 2015; Endrissat & Noppeney, 2018) by considering the role of colonial power structures in the making of the enchanting effect of craft-based authenticity claims. Our findings revealed that subordinate racialized/ethnic groups do not oppose or defy the appropriation of their culture as they see value in what elites do as they obtain economic and symbolic rewards from it. This demonstrates that indigenous producers can act as strategic entrepreneurs who find a way to overcome the systemic barriers that hinder the introduction of their cultural heritage

and products into the national and global market. In turn, this shows that adopting a decolonial perspective on craft helps unveil the logic of coloniality and bring the voices of Indigenous communities to the forefront.

4.7. Conclusion

In this paper, we asked: How do elite actors shape coloniality through craft? We identified that, in the case of Peruvian elite chefs, they counter coloniality during the process of cultural appreciation whereby they project images of craft through three authenticity claim-making practices: the rediscovery, reinterpretation, and revaluation of marginalized cultural elements. However, the enchantment of these practices can disguise the practices of extraction, elevation, and exploitation which are guided by the logic of coloniality and, thus, part of the cultural appropriation process. Building on these findings, we extend the literature of authenticity claims based on craft imagery by adopting a decolonial stance. Our main contribution is putting forth a process model of cultural appreciation/appropriation whereby elite actors both counter/reproduce coloniality through craft-based authenticity claims.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this dissertation, I asked: How does power operate hegemonically in the organizational construction of authenticity in postcolonial contexts? This question is relevant because the current literature in MOS presents a sanitized version of authenticity that overlooks the operation of systemic expressions of power (Lawrence, 2008; Lawrence et al., 2001). As I have demonstrated throughout this dissertation, this is particularly important in postcolonial contexts because the logic of coloniality, which is manifested in the internal classist and racist social relations between elites and subordinate racialized/ethnic groups (Grosfoguel, 2008; Quijano, 2007), can be found in organizational fields. However, since the literature in authenticity has paid less attention to these contexts, it has ignored how authenticity claims made by elite organizational actors can act as discourses of power and lead to new forms of oppression in modern society.

In this final chapter, I present the theoretical contributions of my critical review and two empirical studies on the contemporary Peruvian culinary field. Next, building on my empirical papers, I present the contributions of this dissertation to foodways studies. I conclude this chapter with the limitation of my research and avenues for future research.

5.1. Theoretical contributions

In this section, I present the theoretical contributions of my critical review presented in Chapter 2 to decolonial studies, of my first empirical study presented in Chapter 3 to institutional theory, and of my second empirical study presented in Chapter 4 to craft studies in MOS. Taken together, I summarize the overall contribution of my dissertation.

5.1.1. Contributions to decolonial studies

My first contribution is to the literature on decolonizing MOK by arguing that the current scholarship on marketplace authenticity presents three interrelated epistemic challenges

that have ethical risks for scholars. First, the dominance of instrumental rationality puts researchers at risk of becoming complicit in the maintenance of oppressive power structures as studies overlook ethical questions around “the attack on life in order to obtain profit” (Dussel & Ibarra-Colado, 2006, p. 502). Second, the dominance of Western ideas meanings puts researchers at risk of becoming complicit in the reproduction of epistemic coloniality. Third, the dominance of “West vs rest” focus puts researchers at risk of dismissing or even covering up internal practices of oppression by local elites, especially in former Western colonies.

Building on these insights, I propose a decolonial agenda for the study of marketplace authenticity. To address the first challenge, a decolonial agenda would focus on the structures of power at play to unveil the logic of coloniality behind meanings, claims, and perceptions of authenticity. This entails exposing how meanings of authenticity are orchestrated by dominant groups, infused with dominant ideologies, and used as a tool for oppression. To address the second challenge, a decolonial agenda would mean that researchers engage in epistemic disobedience to detach from the Eurocentric systems of knowledge. This would give way to decolonial options that embrace a pluriversal understanding of authenticity as they recognize other ontologies. To address the third challenge, a decolonial agenda would scrutinize authenticity claim-making practices by local elites in postcolonial contexts and examine the perils of hybridity authenticity.

Beyond unveiling the logic of coloniality, a decolonial perspective on authenticity advocates for the legitimation of pluriversality by challenging the traditional, Eurocentric notion of authenticity. In other words, authenticity in relation to indigenous groups is not seen as a static or pure version of reality, but rather as a constantly evolving, fluid, and heterogeneous concept, made up of diverse perspectives, stories, and cultures. For

instance, it allows us to examine how indigenous people have adapted their practices and beliefs over time to accommodate changing environmental, cultural, and political conditions rather than perceiving indigenous cultures as untouched by modernity. This allows for multiple truths and realities to coexist and be respected, leading to a more inclusive and equitable world. Thus, a decolonial perspective on authenticity advocates for heterarchies by recognizing the legitimacy of multiple forms of knowledge, including those that come from indigenous sources. This approach values not only scientific but also traditional knowledge, and emphasizes the interconnectedness of all forms of knowledge, rather than privileging one over another.

Moreover, a decolonial perspective on authenticity opens the possibility to create a less appropriative version of the cultural appreciation/appropriation dynamic described in Chapter 4. This could involve meaningful engagement with indigenous communities who developed these forms of knowledge and organization, involving them in decision-making around their own forms of knowledge and organization, and respecting their right to determine how they are used and shared. Decolonial authenticity claims should also advocate for economic, social, cultural, and political benefits for indigenous groups such as language, songs, stories, and art preservation; promote understanding and appreciation of Indigenous history, culture, and identity; return of sacred artifacts and remains to their rightful Indigenous owners; recognition of Indigenous rights and sovereignty; and advocacy for environmental justice and the protection of sacred sites.

5.1.2. Contributions to institutional theory

My second contribution is to institutional theory, specifically, to the body of research on institutional work by putting forth the concept of stratal institutional work in Chapter 3. I defined stratal institutional work as authenticity claim-making practices aimed at the creation of a new highbrow category from the elements of the pre-existing highbrow and

lowbrow categories that, in turn, lead to the resignification of the latter. In the case of the contemporary Peruvian culinary field, the new highbrow cuisine spearheaded by elite chefs is influenced and influences traditional cuisines of indigenous communities that are regarded as lowbrow. This recursive relationship between culinary categories has a ripple effect on the social hierarchy between elite and indigenous groups by affecting the logic of coloniality that informs it. In this way, stratal institutional contributes to the literature on institutional work in various ways.

Stratal institutional work goes beyond the extant literature on institutional work that has addressed the unidirectional relationship between two categories (e.g., mimicry, Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) by focusing on how two categories influence each other by considering their power and prestige rooted in the groups they are produced for. By doing so, it connects the field-level orders of categories with societal-level orders of the groups they are produced for. Stratal work also underscores the role that practices of authenticity have in shaping not only institutions (i.e., the stratification system of categories and social groups) but also the ideologies that inform them. The findings of the contemporary Peruvian culinary field illustrate the assumption that authenticity has a recursive relationship with dominant ideologies in postcolonial contexts which I put forth in Chapter 2. As I unearthed, elite chefs' authenticity claim-making practices can both reproduce and counter the logic of coloniality that informs the hierarchy of the new and traditional cuisines and elite and indigenous groups that produce them respectively.

5.1.3. Contributions to craft studies

My third contribution is to the literature on craft in the organizational context by putting forth a process model of domestic cultural appropriation in Chapter 4. In my empirical study, domestic cultural appropriation takes place in the creation of the new Peruvian cuisine whereby elite chefs use cultural elements of traditional cuisines of indigenous

communities that have been long marginalized by elite groups and transform them into delicacies (Matta, 2021; McDonell, 2019). This resonates with the concept of substratal institutional work that I put forth in Chapter 3, whereby the authenticity claim-making practices of cultural elite producers are aimed at the creation of a new highbrow category based on the elements of a pre-existing lowbrow category, thus, leading to hybridized forms of authenticity (Irvin, 2017). Drawing on this, I contend that the process of domestic cultural appropriation in postcolonial contexts entails that local cultural elite producers craft authenticity and coloniality. In this way, my three-part process model of domestic cultural appropriation expands current understandings of craft in the organizational context by showing that practices of craft and coloniality are two sides of the same coin.

As the findings of my ethnographic work revealed, the authenticity claim-making practices based on the rediscovery, reinterpretation, and revaluation of marginalized cultural elements overtly project images of craft while concealing the logic of coloniality of what actually are practices of extraction, elevation, and exploitation. This illustrates the assumption that authenticity is a tool used by organizational elites for the oppression of subordinate groups, which I put forth in Chapter 2, and advances it by uncovering its enchanting role – associated with symbols and imagery of craft – in concealing the reproduction of coloniality. However, my empirical paper also extends this assumption by showing that indigenous producers do not oppose or defy the appropriation of their culture as they see value in what elites do as they obtain economic and symbolic rewards from it. This demonstrates that indigenous producers can act as strategic entrepreneurs who find a way to overcome the systemic barriers that hinder the introduction of their cultural heritage and products into the national and global market.

Moreover, the inevitable interdependence between cultural appreciation and appropriation can be explained by the duality of structure, that is, the recursive relationship between organizational agency and power structures. According to Giddens (1984, p. xxxi), structure refers to “rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction” that enable and constrain agency; however, agency can also produce and reproduce structures. In the case of the Peruvian culinary field, remnants of colonial power structures that translated into social divisions between the core and the periphery have enabled dominant organizational actors to make authenticity claims but, in turn, claims of authenticity based on craft can have negative (un)intended consequences leading to the reproduction of coloniality that is trying to be disrupted.

5.1.4. Overall contribution

The overall contribution of this dissertation is advancing the understanding of authenticity claim-making practices by shedding light on the tensions that result from the hegemonic operation of power. Although the extant literature on marketplace authenticity contends that “authenticity involves a number of paradoxes” (Beverland, 2005a, p. 1004), it has directed attention to how organizational actors navigate organizational and field-level tensions such as conforming versus innovating or being consistent versus evolving (Lehman et al., 2019). In contrast, the papers of this dissertation have uncovered tensions at a larger and broader level of analysis. In Chapter 3, I revealed that elite chefs’ authenticity claim-making practices counteract and reinforce the existing social orders of field and societal categories, and in Chapter 4, that their craft-based authenticity claim-making practices can counter and disguise coloniality. In this way, it is important to shifting to a both/and mentality whereby contradictions and tensions are conceived as complementary and are embraced, navigated, and leveraged rather than solved (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2009).

5.2. Contributions to foodways studies

The gourmet foodscape is on the rise with the emergence of celebrity chefs, award-winning restaurant lists, elite food journalists and critics, and adventurous foodies seeking to savor innovative culinary creations (Johnston & Baumann, 2015; Mapes, 2018; Rao et al., 2003). It is in this context that these actors celebrate claim-making practices of hybridized authenticity, that is, claims of authenticity based on the combination of ancestral cultural elements and avant-garde techniques (Johnston & Baumann, 2015; Sammells, 2014). However, while most studies have adopted an organization and field level of analysis and been empirically focused on the Global North, this dissertation redirects scholarly attention to larger and broader social issues in postcolonial contexts in the Global South. By doing so, I shed light on the hegemonic operation of power through these organizational authenticity claim-making practices and, thus, contribute to foodways studies in various ways.

First, I have demonstrated the potential of the gourmet foodscape in the Global South to provide new insights into the construction of authenticity. Generally, studies portray craft as artistic and luxurious in the Global North (e.g., Endrissat & Noppeney, 2018; Toraldo et al., 2018) but as a means for survival in the Global South (e.g., Plüg & Collins, 2022). In the gourmet foodscape, Johnston and Baumann (2015, p. 80) contend that:

[t]he construction of food's authenticity through a dialog of traditionalism and artistic creativity occurs predominantly in First-World elite culinary settings; authenticity is not generally identified as a result of such a dialog when the setting is a developing country or when the setting is a poor and rural First-World location.

In contrast, I have shown how Peru, a country in the Global South, has become a culinary mecca thanks to the craftsmanship of elite chefs who transform ancestral indigenous cultural elements that have long been marginalized and combine them with

modern and innovative techniques. Nevertheless, due to the operation of the logic of coloniality (Grosfoguel, 2008; Quijano, 2007), the dialog between tradition and innovation that leads to hybridized forms of authenticity (Irvin, 2017) can be dangerous in postcolonial contexts as they can result in practices of domestic cultural appropriation. This is in line with the findings presented in Chapter 4 which revealed that local elite chefs engage in authenticity claim-making practices based on the rediscovery, reinterpretation, and revaluation of marginalized cultural elements; however, these practices reproduce and conceal colonial practices of extraction, elevation, and exploitation. Moreover, this resonates with the new assumptions I presented in Chapter 2: authenticity as a tool for internal oppression.

A vast stream of work has focused on “culinary colonialism”, that is, the appropriation of foodways from cultures in the Global South by individuals from the Global North through cooking and eating (Heldke, 2003; hooks, 1992; Johnston & Baumann, 2015). Although these studies have addressed the concept of cultural appropriation in the culinary landscape, they have done so by considering Global North vs South power relations and examining consumer behavior. In contrast, my empirical studies take a domestic level of analysis in a nation in the Global South from a producer stance and reveal how the organizational construction of authenticity by elite actors leads to a process of cultural appreciation/appropriation. This becomes an important referent for other culinary but also cultural categories that reinterpret tradition through innovations for the study of domestic cultural appropriation in postcolonial contexts and how it can be concealed through the enchanting nature of craft-based authenticity claims.

In a similar vein, the body of research on authenticity in the foodscape has been concerned with what it means to eat authentically for consumers and how organizers successfully construct and project those meanings through their organizations (e.g.,

Cappelen & Pedersen, 2021; Carroll, 2015; Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Demetry, 2019; Schifeling & Demetry, 2021). In contrast, I have connected authenticity claim-making practices with larger and broader structures of power.

In summary, throughout this dissertation, I have demonstrated that the hegemonic operation of power through authenticity claim-making practices carried out by elite cultural producers can both reinforce and counter the logic of coloniality leading to the oppression of subordinate groups. This is an important referent for culinary and other cultural fields where cultural categories organize and reflect the taste preferences of social groups according to their status and class (Bourdieu, 2008; Lena & Peterson, 2008). By redirecting scholarly attention to postcolonial contexts, this dissertation demonstrates that categorical systems not only informed by class but also the logic of coloniality manifested in racialized social relations (Grosfoguel, 2008; Quijano, 2007).

5.3. Limitations and future research

In this dissertation, I have examined the hegemonic operation of power through authenticity claim-making practices by focusing on racial differences between elite and subordinate groups. That is, how “[w]hite Creole elites maintained after independence a racial hierarchy where Indians, blacks, mestizos, mulattoes and other racially oppressed groups were located at the bottom” (Grosfoguel, 2008, p. 349). Future studies could explore the intersection of race, class, and gender. For instance, studies on the coloniality of gender connect race with gender to shed light on the oppression of women of color informed by colonial legacies and patriarchy (Lugones, 2010) which highlights the importance of “the intermeshing of racialization and gendering” (Lugones, 2016, p. 12) and which can be studied in the context of authenticity claim-making practices.

Regarding the methodology of this dissertation, due to COVID-19 restrictions, I could not carry out observations in Peru or conduct face-to-face interviews. This creates

an opportunity for future research to incorporate participant or non-participant observations in the field and also examine how the pandemic has affected the authenticity claims made by local elites in Peru and in other postcolonial contexts where an “haute traditional cuisine” (Sammells, 2014) is being developed (e.g., Zanette et al., 2021). Likewise, I did not interview government and state authorities which opens a window for examining how these actors play a role in enabling or restricting elite actors to engage in authenticity claim-making practices that reinforce or counter the reproduction of the logic of coloniality as well as fostering or constraining the agency of indigenous communities to resist oppression through their own authenticity claim-making practices.

Regarding the sampling method of Chapter 2, relying on the AJG list as a sampling device increases the risk of reproducing coloniality in academic research, that is, the tendency to privilege Western knowledge, research, and perspectives over those of non-Western countries or cultures. The AJG list is a compilation of articles from journals that are largely based in the Global North, which could lead to the exclusion of research from the Global South. This could result in a lack of representation and diversity in the research, which could perpetuate colonialist views and assumptions.

Moreover, when relying on the AJG list for articles, the issue of the English language can be a barrier to full engagement with non-Western perspectives. Research that is solely in English can limit access to non-English speaking scholars, preventing them from fully engaging in debates and conversations taking place in the academic community. Thus, by relying on the AJG list, researchers are likely to reproduce existing power structures and hierarchies that may privilege certain voices and perspectives while ignoring or marginalizing others and, in turn, this can lead to a perpetuation of colonial attitudes and values in academic research.

Building on these insights, I am aware that it is important to seek out research from a variety of sources, including those from the Global South, to ensure that all voices are heard and considered. The Declaration on Research Assessment (DORA) seeks to address this issue by emphasizing the need to assess research based on a broader and more diverse set of criteria, including the quality of research and its impact on society, rather than relying solely on journal impact factors and citation metrics. It is important for researchers to recognize the potential implications of using the AJG list and to consider alternative methods for sourcing and assessing research that can help to reduce the risk of reproducing coloniality.

Regarding the definition of authenticity, this dissertation has focused on marketplace authenticity, specifically in the conceptualization of authenticity as connection and conformity of products, brands, organizational forms, and categories (Lehman et al., 2019). However, authenticity can also be explored at an individual level in terms of being consistent or “true-to-self” (Lehman et al., 2019; Moulard et al., 2021). This raises questions regarding the authenticity of elite chefs regarding their intrinsic motivations for the creation of the new Peruvian cuisine. Moreover, authenticity can also be linked to ideas of belongingness, that is, being part of a community (Beverland et al., 2020; Beverland & Farrelly, 2010). Future research could investigate how organizational practices of authenticity are linked to ideas of nationalism. For example, the case of Peruvian cuisines illustrates the concept of gastronationalism (DeSoucey, 2010) whereby food has become the main source of national pride that unites all Peruvians despite historical social divisions (García, 2013; Matta, 2021; Ypeij, 2013). Further studies could investigate how authenticity claim-making practices facilitate the construction of a sense of collectiveness and how/if such a sense can counter the logic of coloniality in postcolonial contexts.

Moreover, this dissertation raises questions as to how indigenous groups can navigate and embrace the tensions revealed in these papers. Although I have not addressed this directly, there is evidence that indigenous producers and communities are not cultural dopes but, on the contrary, are part of the co-production of these tensions. Future research could examine how indigenous producers act as strategic entrepreneurs by leveraging their connections with elite chefs to overcome structural obstacles that hinder them from selling their products even if it leads to the reproduction of coloniality. Moreover, while these empirical papers have shown how elite chefs navigate the tensions of the new Peruvian cuisine as being local and cosmopolitan or traditional and innovative, less is known about how indigenous chefs do so. This raises questions regarding how their authenticity claims match or differ from those of elite chefs and the impact they have at broader levels such as the resistance of oppression and historical disadvantages.

Finally, policymakers can adopt a paradox mindset to navigate tensions. For example, policymakers can establish official designations of origin such as *appellation d'origine contrôlée* in the case of wineries (Smith Maguire, 2018b) to protect the cultural heritage of indigenous communities and regulate rather than prohibit their adoption and transformation by non-indigenous actors. As the findings in Chapter 4 have demonstrated, there is a fine line between cultural appropriation and appreciation as cultural appropriation can lead to economic, social, and symbolic benefits for indigenous producers but also to their oppression. In this way, establishing norms and rules regarding the adoption and transformation of indigenous cultural heritage that can safeguard the well-being of these communities and their culture while minimizing – and hopefully eliminating – any negative (un)intended consequences are necessary.

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Appendix A: Summary of interviews

Number	Date	Duration	Occupation
1	08/03/2021	02:54:07	Culinary researcher
2	14/03/2021	01:04:30	Culinary journalist/critic*
3	19/03/2021	01:38:03	Professor
4	08/04/2021	01:01:54	Culinary journalist/critic
5	16/04/2021	00:58:50	Elite chef
6	18/04/2021	01:25:38	Culinary journalist/critic
7	22/04/2021	01:15:46	Professor
8	23/04/2021	01:29:00	Culinary journalist/critic
9	26/04/2021	00:54:45	Culinary journalist/critic
10	27/04/2021	00:53:18	Gastronomic consultant
11	29/04/2021	00:59:45	Chief operating officer at an elite restaurant
12	08/05/2021	01:07:20	Producer*
13	08/05/2021	00:52:49	Producer*
14	01/06/2021	00:37:03	Elite chef
15	02/06/2021	01:07:08	Elite chef
16	03/06/2021	00:57:14	Barista/producer family
17	05/06/2021	01:13:57	Producer
18	07/06/2021	01:00:30	Culinary journalist/critic
19	08/06/2021	01:04:01	Barista/producer family
20	09/06/2021	00:55:41	Elite chef
21	11/06/2021	00:56:27	Producer*
22	14/06/2021	00:52:10	Culinary photographer/journalist
23	17/06/2021	01:27:09	Elite chef
24	23/06/2021	01:10:35	Chocolatier at an elite restaurant
25	25/06/2021	0.042257	Producer*
26	25/06/2021	01:48:48	Culinary journalist/critic
27	18/10/2021	01:21:09	Historian

* Denotes that interviews were conducted through WhatsApp due to the lack of connectivity. The rest were conducted via Zoom.

Appendix B : Email draft to contact participants

Dear (name),

My name is Belinda Zakrzewski. I'm a second-year PhD student in Management at the University of Sussex Business School and I am currently working on my doctoral thesis. I am writing to you because I would like to know if you would be interested in taking part in my study.

My research revolves around Peruvian cuisine. I am particularly interested in recent trends and changes in the industry, where the industry might be heading, and the key challenges and opportunities that chefs encounter in this market. I believe that your contribution would be invaluable because of your experience and knowledge in this matter, and I would be very happy to share and discuss my findings with you.

I have attached the information sheet detailing the purpose of my research and how it will be conducted. Please do not hesitate to let me know if you have any questions or concerns regarding myself or my research.

I'm looking forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Belinda Zakrzewski

Appendix C: Participant information sheet

Study Title

New trends, opportunities, and challenges in Peruvian cuisines

“You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully”.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to shed light on historical events about Peruvian gastronomy, trends and changes in the industry, key challenges and opportunities that chefs encounter in this market, and the future of Peruvian cuisines.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited to participate in this study as you are one of the key actors in the Peruvian gastronomic field. Your involvement and knowledge about Peruvian cuisines is invaluable to have a better understanding of the aforementioned issues.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to decline to answer any particular question (or questions) and withdraw a week after the interview without giving a reason. If you decide to withdraw from the study, all information you provide (including recordings) will be destroyed and omitted from the final document.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part of this study, you will be asked to participate in an individual interview that will last around 1 or 2 hours via Zoom.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

By taking part in this study, you will help shed light and further the understanding on important matters linked to Peruvian cuisines.

Will my information in this study be kept confidential?

Yes, all information collected will be kept strictly confidential. Your name will not be linked with the research materials and will not be identified or identifiable in the results of this research. Moreover, all the information collected will be stored in my Sussex OneDrive which is a safe file storage as it complies with The EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDRP).

What should I do if I want to take part?

If you want to take part in this study, I will send you a consent form for you to read and sign and I will set up a Zoom meeting to interview you. If you don't send the consent form before the interview, I will have to ask for verbal consent before interviewing you.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the research will be part of my PhD thesis in Management at the University of Sussex Business School. Part of the results might get published in journals. If you would like to receive a copy of my PhD thesis and/or the published results, please let me know and I will email you the documents. All the information will be retained for 10 years after collecting it and stored in my Sussex OneDrive.

Who has approved this study?

This study has been approved by the Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) ethical review application number ER/BZ73/1.

Contact for Further Information

If you have any further questions, please feel free to send me an email at b.zakrzewski@sussex.ac.uk. If you would like to request further information about my study, please contact my supervisors: Michael Beverland (m.beverland@sussex.ac.uk) and Stephan Manning (s.d.manning@sussex.ac.uk).

Insurance

The University of Sussex has insurance in place to cover its legal liabilities in respect of this study.

Thank you for taking time to read the information sheet**Date**

19/02/2021

Appendix D: Verbal consent

First of all, thank you very much for finding the time to participate in my study. As you are already aware, my research revolves around various topics related to Peruvian cuisine. The aim is to shed light in recent trends and changes in the industry, where the industry might be heading, and the key challenges and opportunities that chefs encounter in this market. I believe that your contribution would be invaluable as you are one of the key actors in the Peruvian gastronomic field. My findings will be part of my doctoral thesis and, if I'm lucky, I will also manage to publish part of my results in academic journals. I would be very happy to share and discuss my findings with you.

You can withdraw a week after the interview has been conducted without being penalized or disadvantaged in any way and you don't have to provide reasons for this. If you choose to withdraw from the study, all the information you provide (including recordings) will be destroyed and omitted from the final paper. If you choose to participate, all information collected will be kept strictly confidential. Your name will not be linked with the research materials and will not be identified or identifiable in the results of this research. Moreover, all the information collected will be stored in my Sussex OneDrive which is a safe file storage as it complies with The General Data Protection Regulation, a very important regulation in EU law on data protection and privacy. The information disclosed will not lead to your identification. All quotes will be anonymized, and I will not provide any specific details about yourself nor the organizations you are involved with that could allow for your identification you in my thesis nor in the articles I might publish in academic journals in the future.

Could you please confirm that...?

- ☐ You are happy to be interviewed by me
- ☐ You are happy for the interview/observation/interaction to be:
 - ☐ video taped
 - ☐ audio taped
- ☐ You are happy to be contacted again for a further interview should that be required.
- ☐ You consent to the use of anonymized quotes in publications from the research (including the doctoral thesis and future publications in academic journals).
- ☐ You understand that any information you provide is confidential, and that no information that you disclose will lead to the identification of any individual in the reports on the project, either by me or by any other party.
- ☐ You understand that no other use will be made of the recordings without your written permission, and that no one besides me will be allowed access to the original recording.
- ☐ You understand that your personal data will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).
- ☐ You consent to the processing of your personal information and data for the purposes of this research study.

- ☐ You agree that your anonymized data will be kept for future research purposes such as publications related to this study after the completion of the study.
- ☐ You understand that your participation is voluntary and that you are free to decline to answer any particular question or questions.
- ☐ You understand that you can withdraw a week after the interview has been conducted without being penalized or disadvantaged in any way nor do you have to provide reasons for this. If you choose to withdraw from the study, all information you provide (including recordings) will be destroyed and omitted from the final paper.
- ☐ You have read the information sheet, had the opportunity to ask questions and understand the principles, procedures and possible risks involved.
- ☐ You agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project

Appendix E: Interview schedule for elite chefs

(I) Verbal consent or introduction to research objectives [10 min]

I will ask for verbal version consent by reading the verbal consent form. Once verbal consent is obtained, I will proceed with the interview questions

(II) Introduction of interviewee and background [10 min]

In this section, the attention is on the background and trajectory of the participant as a chef and a restaurant owner to examine their involvement in the gastronomic field.

1. How long have you been working/have worked as a chef?
2. How many restaurants do you own?
 - Prompt: in Peru and abroad. When were they established? Have any restaurants had to close? Why?

(III) Authenticity [25-35 min]

This section focuses on the participant's conceptions about the category of Peruvian cuisine, what makes it authentic/inauthentic, and the usefulness of labels in his/her restaurant.

3. How would you explain what is Peruvian cuisine to someone that has never tried it?
 - Prompt: could you explain what "contemporary Peruvian cuisine" or "haute Peruvian cuisine"? How do haute Peruvian restaurants differ from traditional Peruvian restaurants?
4. How would you describe your personal take on Peruvian cuisine that is served at your restaurant(s)?
 - Prompt: What makes your restaurant(s) similar or different from other restaurants in Peru?
5. What do you consider "authentic" Peruvian cuisine to be?
 - Prompt: What would you consider "inauthentic" Peruvian cuisine to be?
6. How useful has the label "Peruvian" been for your restaurant(s) to attract different kinds of customers?
 - Prompt: If the label Peruvian is not used, what other label(s) have been useful?

(IV) Restaurant work [20-30 min] – This section should be omitted if there is lack of time. Questions could be asked to restaurant managers/chefs of the restaurants owned by elite chefs.

In this section, the aim is to learn how the participant sees their relationship with different key actors and the impact they have on them.

7. Could you describe your typical customer?
 - Prompt: Who are they? Why do you think they come to the restaurant? Has this changed during the pandemic? If yes, how?
8. Could you describe your relationship with your suppliers?
 - Prompt: Who are they? How and why did you choose to work with these suppliers? Has this changed during the pandemic? If yes, how?
9. Could you describe your relationship with your staff members?

- Prompt: Who are they? How and why did you choose to work with them? How many staff members work in the front and back of the house? Has this changed during the pandemic? If yes, how?

(V) Institutional work [20-30 min]

This section examines the work of chefs outside their restaurants.

10. What do you think is your role as a Peruvian chef?
 - Prompt: inside the country (helping social and economic development of the country, influencing how people think of Peruvian cuisine through cookbooks or culinary TV shows, etc.) and outside the country (representing the country in gastronomic events, increasing awareness of the national cuisine, etc.).
11. Could you tell me about any activities linked to Peruvian gastronomy that you have done and currently do?
 - Prompt: TV shows, affiliation to organizations, publishing books or cookbooks, etc. Do you partner with other organizations that help support your actions? Have you experienced any constraints? What have been the outcomes (positive/negative)? Has the pandemic affected the work you do outside your restaurant?

(VI) Future plans and follow-up questions [15-25 min]

This section focuses on the future of the industry and future conversations.

12. What are two or three key challenges for the industry going forward?
 - Prompt: Why do you feel this way? / Ask for challenges besides the ones originated from the pandemic.
13. Is there anything else that you think might be important to understand the changes in the field that hasn't been asked?

Thank the interviewee for finding the time for the interviews and for providing very insightful information. Ask if it would be possible to ask some follow-up questions by email if needed and if they know someone who would be an interesting person to interview.

Appendix F: Interview schedule for food critics/journalists and researchers

(I) Verbal consent [10 min]

I will ask for verbal version consent by reading the verbal consent form. Once verbal consent is obtained, I will proceed with the interview questions

(II) Introduction of interviewee and background [10 min]

In this section, the attention is on the background and trajectory of the participant to examine their involvement in the gastronomic field.

1. Could you please introduce yourself?
 - Prompt: professional background and experience.
2. What would you say has been one (or more) of your biggest contributions to Peruvian gastronomy from your role as [job title]?
 - Prompt: Why do you feel that way?

(III) Authenticity [20-30 min]

This section focuses on the participant's conceptions about the category of Peruvian cuisine, what makes it authentic/inauthentic, and the requirements for restaurants to be classified as Peruvian/authentic.

3. How would you explain what is Peruvian cuisine to someone that has never tried it?
 - Prompt: National and international dailies talk about a "contemporary Peruvian cuisine" or a "haute Peruvian cuisine", could you explain what it is? How do haute Peruvian restaurants differ from traditional Peruvian restaurants?
4. What do you consider "authentic" Peruvian cuisine to be?
 - Prompt: What would you consider "inauthentic" Peruvian cuisine to be?
5. What basic expectations do chefs need to meet in order to be recognized by foodies or general public as "Peruvian" and/or "authentic"?

(IV) Institutional work [20-30 min]

This section examines the key actors and events in the field as well as the role of chefs outside their restaurants.

6. What have been the most important events and players in Peruvian gastronomy?
 - Prompt: Why do you feel that way?
7. Who do you think has the greatest influence in the field on setting trends or expectations with regard to Peruvian cuisine?
 - Prompt: Why do you think that? What about chefs? What key changes have they introduced in the field?
8. What do you think is the role of Peruvian chefs outside their restaurants?
 - Prompt: Why do you think that? Do you think other actors support the chefs' role? How and why?
9. Could you please give examples of how particular chefs have succeeded or failed chefs to introduce changes in the field?
 - Prompt: new trends, shaping people's perceptions, creation of events, establishment of associations or culinary institutions.

(V) Future plans and follow-up questions [15-25 min]

This section focuses on the future of the industry and future conversations.

10. What are two or three key challenges for the industry going forward?
 - Prompt: Why do you feel this way? / Ask for challenges besides the ones originated from the pandemic.
11. Is there anything else that you think might be important to understand the changes in the field that hasn't been asked?

Thank the interviewee for finding the time for the interviews and for providing very insightful information. Ask if it would be possible to ask some follow-up questions by email if needed and if they know someone who would be an interesting person to interview.

Appendix G: Interview schedule for members of staff

(I) Verbal consent [10 min]

I will ask for verbal version consent by reading the verbal consent form. Once verbal consent is obtained, I will proceed with the interview questions

(II) Introduction of interviewee and background [10 min]

In this section, the attention is on the background and trajectory of the participant as a restaurant manager.

1. Could you please introduce yourself?
 - Prompt: professional background and experience. How long have you been working as a manager of this restaurant? What are your responsibilities?
2. Could you please tell me about [name of restaurant]?
 - Prompt: concept of the restaurant, background, location, number of staff members in the front and back of the house.

(III) Restaurant work [30-40 min]

In this section, the aim is to learn how the participant sees their relationship with different key actors and the impact they have on them.

3. Could you describe your typical customer?
 - Prompt: Who are they? Why do you think they come to the restaurant? Has this changed during the pandemic? If yes, how?
4. Could you describe your relationship with your suppliers?
 - Prompt: Who are they? How and why did you choose to work with these suppliers? Has this changed during the pandemic? If yes, how?
5. Could you describe your relationship with your staff members?
 - Prompt: Who are they? How and why did you choose to work with them? How many staff members work in the front and back of the house? Has this changed during the pandemic? If yes, how?

(IV) Future plans and follow-up questions [15-25 min]

This section focuses on the future of the industry and future conversations.

6. What are two or three key challenges for the industry going forward?
 - Prompt: Why do you feel this way? / Ask for challenges besides the ones originated from the pandemic.
7. Is there anything else that you think might be important to understand the changes in the field that hasn't been asked?

Thank the interviewee for finding the time for the interviews and for providing very insightful information. Ask if it would be possible to ask some follow-up questions by email if needed and if they know someone who would be an interesting person to interview.

Appendix H: Interview schedule for producers

(I) Verbal consent [10 min]

I will ask for verbal version consent by reading the verbal consent form. Once verbal consent is obtained, I will proceed with the interview questions

(II) Introduction of interviewee and background [10 min]

In this section, the attention is on the background and trajectory of the participant to examine their involvement in the gastronomic field.

1. Could you please introduce yourself?
 - Prompt: professional background, product, region.

(III) Institutional work [20-30 min]

This section examines the role of chefs outside their restaurants by exploring their work with producers

2. How did you meet and start working with (elite chef's name)?
3. What does this work with (elite chef's name) entail?
4. What benefits have you perceived from working with (elite chef's name)?
 - Prompt: Why do you think that? What aspects do you think could be improved?
5. Have there been other instances where you've had contact/worked with another chefs?
 - Prompt: What did it entail?

(IV) Authenticity [20-30 min]

This section focuses on the participant's conceptions about the elite chef's cuisine.

1. Have you tried the (name of elite chef)'s cuisine?
 - Prompt: When and how did it happen?
2. What are your thoughts on (name of elite chef)'s cuisine?
 - Prompt: Why do you think that?
3. What are your thoughts on how your product is used by (elite chef's name)?
 - Prompt: Why do you think that?

(V) Future plans and follow-up questions [10-15 min]

This section focuses on the future of the industry and future conversations.

4. What are two or three key challenges for the industry going forward?
 - Prompt: Why do you feel this way? / Ask for challenges besides the ones originated from the pandemic.
5. Is there anything else that you think might be important to understand regarding you, your product, and the relationship you have with (elite chef's name) that hasn't been asked?

Thank the interviewee for finding the time for the interviews and for providing very insightful information. Ask if it would be possible to ask some follow-up questions by email if needed and if they know someone who would be an interesting person to interview.

Appendix I: Summary of netnographic data

Restaurant #	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Restaurant 1	5	108	144	197	188	256	292	292	292	384	2,158
Restaurant 2		22	89	133	133	211	253	221	213	139	1,414
Restaurant 3		8	14	39	100	187	304	286	224	176	1,338
Restaurant 4			7	51	61	86	150	130	109	85	679
Restaurant 5		23	29	51	39	79	106	65	49	82	523
Restaurant 6						57	103	112	127	108	507
Restaurant 7		12	21	30	24	42	33	20	41	50	273
Restaurant 8		12	11	17	18	17	26	13	19	15	148
Restaurant 9				6	9	24	24	19	27	14	123
Restaurant 10				2	11	7	20	25	16	23	104
Restaurant 11									19	82	101
Restaurant 12		4	2	2	9	8	13	12	2	30	82
Total	5	189	317	528	592	974	1,324	1,195	1,138	1,188	7,450

Appendix J: Secondary data

Summary of newspaper articles by source per year

Source	2010	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total
El Comercio	1			11	22	56	27	20	50	7	194
Cosas								3	10		13
El País			2	8	10	6	5	6	12		49
Somos		14	16	10	1						41
Total	1	14	18	29	33	62	32	29	72	7	297

List of books

- García, María E. (2021). *Gastropolitics and the specter of race: stories of capital, culture, and coloniality in Peru*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Guardia, Sara B. (2016). *Cocina peruana. Historia, cultura y sabores* [Kindle]. Lima, Perú: La Universidad San Martín de Porres.
- Lauer, Mirko, & Lauer, Vera (2006). *La revolución gastronómica peruana*. Lima, Perú: Universidad San Martín de Porres.

List of book chapters

- Álvarez Novoa, Isabel (1992). La cocina criolla [Kindle]. In La Universidad San Martín de Porres (Ed.), *Cultura identidad y cocina en el Perú* (pp. 3840–4021). Lima, Perú: Grupo Planeta.
- Bonfiglio, Giovanni (1992). La influencia italiana en la cultura culinaria peruana [Kindle]. In La Universidad San Martín de Porres (Ed.), *Cultura identidad y cocina en el Perú* (pp. 3442–3700). Lima, Perú: Grupo Planeta.
- Matta, Raúl (2016a). Recipes for Crossing Boundaries: Peruvian Fusion. In Steffan Igor Ayora-Díaz (Ed.), *Cooking Technology Transformations in Culinary Practice in Mexico and Latin America* (pp. 139–152). London: Bloomsbury.
- Rodríguez Pastor, Humberto (1992). Del Kon Hei Fat Choy al chifa peruano [Kindle]. In La Universidad San Martín de Porres (Ed.), *Cultura identidad y cocina en el Perú* (pp. 2607–3441). Lima, Perú: Grupo Planeta.

List of academic articles

- Anderson, Lara, & Benbow, Heather Merle (2017). Tradition, modernity and exoticism: plating up Peruvian in Melbourne. *Continuum*, 31, 114–125.
- Consiglieri, Natalia (2019). Integradora y excluyente: el rol de la gastronomía en la Urbanización Santa Cruz (Lima, Perú). *Anthropology of Food*, 14. <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.10031>
- Cox Hall, Amy (2019). Savoring Nostalgia: Food and the Past in Peru's "La Casa de Don Cucho." *Anthropology of Food*, 14. <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.10106>
- Cox Hall, Amy (2020). Cooking Up Heritage: Culinary Adventures of Peru's Past. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 97, 1–21.

- Fan, Judith E. (2013). Can ideas about food inspire real social change? *Gastronomica*, 13, 29–40.
- García, María E. (2010). Super Guinea Pigs? *Anthropology Now*, 2, 22–32.
- García, María E. (2013). The Taste of Conquest: Colonialism, Cosmopolitics, and the Dark Side of Peru's Gastronomic Boom: The Taste of Conquest. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 18, 505–524.
- García, María E. (2014). Culinary Fusion and Colonialism: A Critical Look at the Peruvian Food Boom. *ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America*, 14, 49–52.
- Kollenda, Heidrun (2019). From Farm to Table: Productive alliances as a pathway to inclusive development in Peru. *Anthropology of Food*, 14. <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.9992>
- López-Canales, Jorge (2019). Peru on a Plate: coloniality and modernity in Peru's high-end cuisine. *Anthropology of Food*, 14. <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.10138>
- Matta, Raúl (2010). La construction sociale de la cuisine péruvienne: Une histoire de migrations et d'échanges culinaires. *Hommes & Migrations*, 1283, 96–107.
- Matta, Raúl (2011). Posibilidades y límites del desarrollo en el patrimonio inmaterial. El caso de la cocina peruana. *Apuntes: Revista de Estudios Sobre Patrimonio Cultural-Journal of Cultural Heritage Studies*, 24, 196–207.
- Matta, Raúl (2012). Cocinando una nación de consumidores: El Perú como marca global. *Consensus*, 17, 49–60.
- Matta, Raúl (2013). Valuing Native Eating: The Modern Roots of Peruvian Food Heritage. *Anthropology of Food*, S8. <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.7361>
- Matta, Raúl (2014). Dismantling the boom of Peruvian cuisine. From the Plate to Gastropolitics. *ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America*, 14, 64–66.
- Matta, Raúl (2016b). Food incursions into global heritage: Peruvian cuisine's slippery road to UNESCO: Food incursions into global heritage. *Social Anthropology*, 24, 338–352.
- Matta, Raúl (2019a). El boom gastronómico peruano: entre moda y promesas incumplidas. Entrevista a Isabel Álvarez. *Anthropology of Food*, 14. <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.9987>
- Matta, Raúl (2019b). La revolución gastronómica peruana: una celebración de “lo nacional”. Entrevista a Mirko Lauer. *Anthropology of Food*, 14. <http://journals.openedition.org/aof/9982>
- Matta, Raúl (2021). Food for social change in Peru: Narrative and performance of the culinary nation. *The Sociological Review*, 69, 520–537.
- Matta, Raúl, & García, María E. (2019). The Gastro-Political Turn in Peru. *Anthropology of Food*, 14, 1–10.
- McDonell, Emma (2019). Creating the culinary frontier: A critical examination of Peruvian chefs' narratives of lost/discovered foods. *Anthropology of Food*, 14. <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.10183>
- Sammartino, Gloria (2010). Peruvian restaurants in Buenos Aires (1999-2009): From discrimination to adoption. *Anthropology of Food*, 7. <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.6660>

- Takenaka, Ayumi (2017). Immigrant integration through food: Nikkei cuisine in Peru. *Contemporary Japan*, 29, 117–131.
- Takenaka, Ayumi (2019). “Nikkei Food” for Whom? Gastro-Politics and Culinary Representation in Peru. *Anthropology of Food*, 14.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.10065>
- Wilson, Rachel (2011). Cocina Peruana Para El Mundo: Gastrodiploamacy, the Culinary Nation Brand, and the Context of National Cuisine in Peru. *Exchange: The Journal of Public Diplomacy*, 2, 13–20.
- Ypeij, Annelou (2013). Cholos, incas y fusionistas: El nuevo Perú y la globalización de lo andino. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe*, 94, 67–82.

Appendix K: Illustrative passages for authenticity as socially constructed, having a recursive power relationship with institutions, and instrumental in providing benefits at different levels of analysis

Overview					Nature	Power	Instrumentality
Citation	Type	Focus	Context	Location	Socially constructed	Institution-dominated	Benefits
1 Beverland M (2005) Brand management and the challenge of authenticity. <i>Journal of Product & Brand Management</i> 14(7): 460–461.	Article (Viewpoint)	Brand	Various	Various	“Brand management models assume that brand marketers provide brands with meaning. This view is challenged, arguing that brand meaning is derived from the day-to-day interactions between the brand and subcultures.” (p. 460)	“So while consumers may identify with certain attributes of authenticity – links to past, hand-crafted methods, respect for traditions, or cultural links, all of which downplay commercial motives – when they select brands, the makeup of these attributes will depend on the shared histories of a community of consumers.” (p. 461)	“For example, Dunlop in Australia sponsor local sporting events rather than high profile sports, sponsoring newspaper columns and radio spots on local sports results. This gives Dunlop a significant advantage over larger international rivals, and has resulted in generations of Australians having favourable attitudes toward the brand.” (p. 461)
2 Beverland M (2006) The ‘real thing’: Branding authenticity in the luxury wine trade. <i>Journal of Business Research</i> 59(2): 251–258.	Article (Empirical)	Brand	Alcoholic beverages	New Zealand, Australia, France, Portugal	“As a result, marketer projections and consumer understanding of authenticity consisted of both objective (real) and subjective factors (stylized or fictional).” (p.257)	“The use of region of origin has a long history in the wine trade and was seen by all the wineries as a core brand attribute. This attribute of authenticity was expressed through commitment to <i>terroir</i> [...]” (p. 245)	“We identified six of attributes of authenticity. These are: heritage and pedigree, stylistic consistency, quality commitments, relationship to place, method of production, and downplaying commercial considerations. [...] The quotation above identifies two aspects to a brand’s pedigree: that it will result in a price premium, and a higher expectation of performance.” (p. 253)
3 Beverland MB (2005) Crafting Brand Authenticity: The Case of Luxury Wines*. <i>Journal of Management Studies</i> 42(5): 1003–1029.	Article (Empirical)	Brand	Alcoholic beverages	Australia, France, Lebanon, New Zealand	“[...] authentic images need to be constantly adapted and updated as they represent an interplay between creators, commercial interests, critics, competitors, and consumers.” (p. 1005)	“Although brand managers play a critical role in developing authenticity, the persistence of authenticity also lies in the legitimacy of established institutions, which is partly achieved through the constant use of classifications, routines, scripts and schemas, much of which is derived from the day-to-day interaction in which society members construct mutually shared impressions.” (p. 1005)	“For the wineries, appearing authentic was critical in order to reinforce their status, command price premiums and ward off competitors.” (p. 1003)
4 Boisard, Pierre (2003) <i>Camembert: a national myth</i> . Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.	Book (Empirical)	Product	Food	France	“Of course, a handful of families did not create the entire history of Camembert by themselves. Dozens of small producers, and even a few larger scale enterprises without any family connection with the great dynasties, also played a part.” (p. 117)	“By proclaiming their kindship with the woman who had invented Camembert, Marie Harel’s grandchildren were giving themselves the stamp of authenticity and tradition.” (p. 34)	“[...] all the same, the legendary account of the cheese’s invention does deserve further attention because it is one of the basic myths of the French nation. It may seem somewhat eccentric to find elements of a national identity in a box of Camembert.” (p. 6)
5 Carroll GR and Kovács B (2021) Authenticity: Meanings, targets, audiences and third parties. <i>Research in Organizational Behavior</i> 41: 1–13.	Article (Review)	Targeted entities	N/A	N/A	“[...] a full accounting of an authenticity attribution aimed at a specific target entity involves specifying what particular semantic meaning is being conjured up by which audience segment in interpreting which actions or structure of the focal target entity, perhaps facilitated or hindered by certain third parties.” (p. 3)	“In type authenticity, the focus is on whether an entity meets the criteria or social codes for inclusion or membership in the type or genre. Of course, this usage presupposes the existence of the associated type or genre, which is a culturally defined classification or category system about which there might be more or less agreement among audience members.” (p. 2)	“For instance, when studying handmade furniture, Orvell (1989) suggests that interest in authenticity only became an issue with the onset of mass production. [...] Hahl (2016) suggests that authenticity became important in baseball when extrinsic rewards for players skyrocketed. And Hahl et al. (2017) demonstrate that authenticity may carry greater appeal for high status actors when their status is threatened or insecure.” (p. 5)
6 Carroll GR and Wheaton DR (2009) The organizational construction of authenticity: An examination of	Article (Review)	Organization	Restaurants and dining	US	“In particular, we believe that theory and evidence suggests [sic] strongly that authenticity ‘works’ best (i.e., accrues greater	“In this first general meaning of authenticity [type authenticity], the focus is on whether the object meets the criteria for	“Yet we contend that organizationally constructed images of authenticity gain <u>more attention, gather stronger appeal,</u>

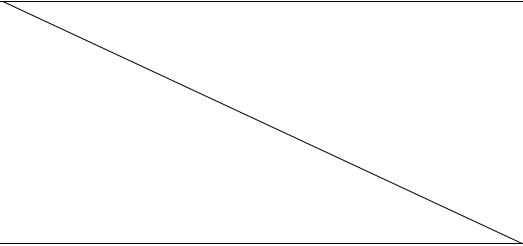
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	contemporary food and dining in the U.S. <i>Research in Organizational Behavior</i> 29: 255–282.				benefits) in modern society when it is organizationally constructed—that is, when the social construction is visibly or centrally supported by, and embodied in the structure and operations of a formal organization.” (p. 256)	inclusion or membership in the type or genre or category. Of course, this usage presupposes the existence of the associated type or genre, which is a culturally defined classification about which there might be more or less agreement among audience members.” (p. 261)	convey better credibility and persist longer than those which are not effectively organizationally embedded.” (p. 257)	
7	Carroll GR and Wheaton DR (2019) Donn, Vic and tiki bar authenticity. <i>Consumption Markets & Culture</i> 22(2): 157–182.	Article (Empirical)	Genre or category	Restaurants and dining	US	“Generally speaking, the above assessment about the tiki bar’s nominal authenticity treats it like a physical entity with a definitive origin that can be determined in an objective black-and-white way. Most importantly, the exercise fails to recognize the socially constructed nature of the tiki bar concept. [...] Rather, in contemporary usage, authenticity often refers to a socially constructed standard.” (p. 174)	“We found that the tiki bar’s authenticity status changed over time. While it was never nominally authentic (which is about provenance), the tiki bar did become type authentic, meaning that it developed its own institutionalized social category with a set of socially expected criteria.” (p. 179)	“The claim is that Trader Vic’s® is ‘creating an authentic tropical haven where guests can immerse themselves in a sophisticated oasis of lush sights, exotic sounds and delicious smells in an environment inspired by the South Pacific.’” (p. 172)
8	Colombero S and Boxenbaum E (2019) Authentication as Institutional Maintenance Work. <i>Journal of Management Studies</i> 56(2): 408–440.	Article (Empirical)	Cultural heritage	Listed buildings	France and Denmark	“Authentication is essentially ‘the process by which authenticity is socially produced and ascribed’ (Askin and Mol, p. 164). This process, which occurs during social interaction, engages a variety of actors in the co-construction of authenticity.” (p. 409)	“Institutional markers of authenticity manifest in international charters and conventions pertaining to architectural heritage.” (p. 422)	“Authentication can help us protect our collective identities, and shape their development, in a deliberate and reflexive manner, using irreplaceable artefacts as a creative starting point.” (p. 435)
9	Demetry D (2019) How Organizations Claim Authenticity: The Coproduction of Illusions in Underground Restaurants. <i>Organization Science</i> 30(5): 937–960.	Article (Empirical)	Organization	Restaurants and dining	US	“[...] these findings show that manufacturing authenticity is a process that involves the active co-construction of meaning, often of an illusionary nature, by both organizers and their audiences.” (p. 19)	/	“For an organization, jointly producing illusions when crafting authenticity can also enhance its relationships with internal and external members.” (p. 21)
10	DeSoucey M, Elliott MA and Schmutz V (2019) Rationalized authenticity and the transnational spread of intangible cultural heritage. <i>Poetics</i> 75: 101332.	Article (Empirical)	Cultural heritage	Cultural practices	Argentina, Uruguay, China, and Hungary	“For tango, acupuncture, and Kodály, the connected practices of individual cultural entrepreneurs, local practitioners, governments, international associations, and others work to qualify them as articles of intangible heritage, promoting their recognition by multiple audiences.” (p. 10)		“States attach claims of authenticity to cultural objects and elements that connote nationhood, serving as symbols of shared identity and history.” (p. 2)
11	Elafros A (2013) Greek hip hop: Local and translocal authentication in the restricted field of production. <i>Poetics</i> 41(1): 75–95.	Article (Empirical)	Genre or category	Music	Greece	“As a ‘renewable resource’, authenticity is socially constructed through the interactions between musical artists, fans and experts (historians, critics, archivists, teachers, documentary makers, etc.). Although authenticity is never an objective quality inherent in things, it is a subjective quality or set of shared beliefs about the nature of things we value in the world.” (p. 77)	“[...] claims of authenticity reveal a great deal about symbolic boundaries—the conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people and practices.” (p. 77)	“Fifth, this article illustrates how hip hop practitioners use two competing processes of aesthetic legitimation—local authentication and translocal authentication—within the restricted field of cultural production.” (p. 75)
12	Fitzmaurice C (2017) How rosé became high class: Categorical divestment and evaluation. <i>Poetics</i> 61: 1–13.	Article (Empirical)	Product	Wine (Rosé)	US	“Overwhelmingly, the consensus in the literature is that authenticity does not take a singular form: it is variously defined by different stakeholders, tied to field dynamics, and often strategically produced and manipulated.” (p. 2)	“Critics, as intermediaries who produce, reproduce, and reify evaluative criteria, worked to redefine the category of rosé. In doing so, they often disavowed the very definitional requirements and cultural identities they once used to endorse this category of wines.” (p. 11)	“Authenticity is also intimately tied to omnivorous taste; as a seemingly objective characteristic, authenticity lends air of objectivity to distinguishing judgments concerning cultural worth” (p. 2)

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13	Gaytán MS (2019) Extending authenticity: Going corporate in a craft market. <i>Poetics</i> 77: 101380.	Article (Empirical)	Brand	Alcoholic beverage	US	“In line with these findings, mezcal consumers seek authenticity and producers promote authentic expectations to secure profit and build brand reputation.” (pp. 9-10)	“More recently, organization researchers have called attention to authenticity’s role in shaping audience perceptions of criterion such as value, quality, and integrity.” (p. 9)	“Authenticity is a critical feature of a brand’s quality, integrity, and reputation.” (p. 1)
14	Gibson M (2014) “That’s hip-hop to me!”: Race, space, and temporal logics of authenticity in independent cultural production. <i>Poetics</i> 46: 38–55.	Article (Empirical)	Category or genre	Music	US	“Authenticity has no objective standard, nor is it inherent in any object or actor. Instead, it is socially constructed, taking different shapes in different fields.” (p.40)	“Evaluative criteria, while often locally stable, may vary across times and fields. In some fields, artists may prioritize recognition by peers; those in others might emphasize consecration by gatekeepers or mass market acceptance.” (p.40)	“Authenticity functions to justify the risk of innovation as well as legitimize their music to consumers who may not (yet) appreciate the still-unconventional sounds they create.” (p. 53)
15	Glynn MA and Lounsbury M (2005) From the Critics’ Corner: Logic Blending, Discursive Change and Authenticity in a Cultural Production System*. <i>Journal of Management Studies</i> 42(5): 1031–1055.	Article (Empirical)	Genre or category	Music	US	“Thus, as part of the gatekeeping role, a critic operating through mass media is a primary ‘institutional regulator of innovation’ (Shrum, 1991, p. 643), legitimating extant agreed upon conventions as authentic and delegitimizing radical deviations from conventions as inauthentic. Hence, critics are crucial agents that help to maintain or change what is considered authentic in a particular cultural genre.” (p. 1035)	In a stable cultural field, critics’ reviews of performances in the field will rely on the conventions associated with the existing canon, genres and the dominant logic. Given canon and genre conformity, critics will tend to focus on the aesthetic quality of performances (e.g. virtuosity and musical interpretation) and judge authentic performances positively.” (p. 1037)	“Proposition 2: In a changing cultural field where competing logics interact, critics will praise performances that feature the traditional canon and genres and will tend to be dismissive of performances that feature more popular works or blend highbrow and lowbrow genres; performances that evidence musical authenticity will receive more favourable reviews.” (p. 1040)
16	Grayson K and Martinec R (2004) Consumer Perceptions of Iconicity and Indexicality and Their Influence on Assessments of Authentic Market Offerings. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i> 31(2): 296–312.	Article (Empirical)	Experience	Touristic sites	UK	“The cues for communicating and perceiving authenticity are at the foundation of this dialogue between marketers and consumers over what is (or is not) authentic, and understanding and specifying these cues is an important step in the process of understanding this negotiation of meaning.” (p. 310)	“When evaluating a market offering that they perceive as authentic, consumers believe they can feel “what it felt like to live back then” (Handler and Saxton 1988, p. 245), can “‘see’ the imagined past” (DeLyser 1999, p. 618), and can experience the “past brought to life” (Phillips 1997, p. 197). We refer to this benefit as a “perceived connection with the past.” (p. 302)	“Because the constructed and imagined nature of authenticity allows for some latitude in the development and marketing of authentic market offerings, organizations have considerable opportunity to profit from consumer demand for authenticity.” (p. 310)
17	Gundlach H and Neville B (2012) Authenticity: Further theoretical and practical development. <i>Journal of Brand Management</i> 19(6): 484–499.	Article (Empirical)	Product	Alcoholic beverages	Australia	“Although definitions are under debate, authenticity is generally agreed upon as a socially constructed concept, a co-created phenomenon that resides in the consumer’s mind, and not an inherent quality.” (p. 485)	“Nine respondents believed that authenticity has a history associated with it or some form of tradition.” (p. 488)	“In addition, they believed that authentic beers would be more expensive as a result of higher-quality ingredients and brewing methods, further distinguishing the brand from mass-produced mainstream and making it exclusive.” (p. 493)
18	Guy, Kolleen M. (2007) <i>When champagne became French: wine and the making of a national identity</i> . Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.	Book (Empirical)	Product	Alcoholic beverage	France	“The wine, much like the rural comminute that produced it, is ensconced in the imagery of tradition and a nostalgia for an idyllic French countryside. Historical narratives are inevitably grounded in a discussion of the components of terroir, enumerated as scientific fact independent of social construction.” (p. 231)	“Consumption of champagne provides natural access to an authentic, organic, France through the intermediary of French <i>terroir</i> . A term with no precise equivalent in English, <i>terroir</i> has generally been used to describe the holistic combination in a vineyard environment of soil, climate, topography, and ‘the soul’ o the wine producer.” (p. 2)	“Since 1900, moreover, this sense of champagne’s importance to the nation, to French collective identity, has been reinforced by the actions of the French government, which aggressively protects the appellation as a part of the national patrimony.” (p. 2)
19	Hartmann BJ and Ostberg J (2013) Authenticating by re-enchantment: The discursive making of craft	Article (Empirical)	Brand	Music	Sweden	“This article, however, aims to add to a second stream of research that contributes to our understanding of authenticity as a social construction [...] Rather than locating authenticity as existing in an object or	“Because consumers’ use of different authenticating strategies is influenced by their specific self-related goals, identity benefits, and cultural frames, consumers choose different authenticity cues to	“In the commercial sphere, the obsession with doing high-quality work pays off when customers are willing to pay a price premium. Therefore, an analysis of how craft production is established in the

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production. <i>Journal of Marketing Management</i> 29(7–8): 882–911.					experience per se (<i>is</i> authentic), this literature demonstrates that objects and experiences are being authenticated (are <i>made</i> authentic).” (p. 885)	ascribe authenticity, and they can authenticate even supposedly non-genuine objects.” (p. 885)	discursive processes of brand re-authentication could prove useful for marketing managers” (pp. 888–889)
20Hatch MJ and Schultz M (2017) Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group. <i>Administrative Science Quarterly</i> 62(4): 657–697.	Article (Empirical)	Organization	Alcoholic beverages	Denmark	“As Carlsberg actors embarked on renewing Semper Ardens, they transferred the historical authenticity of Semper Ardens to newly crafted artifacts. The new artifacts were perceived as authentic as opposed to being ‘fake’ or ‘invented’ in that they were infused with the spirit of Semper Ardens.” (pp. 688-689)	“This conclusion makes organizational historians valuable partners for strategists, not because they can manipulate history to legitimate strategy already formulated but because they can guide managers to use history authentically to align their strategic choices with knowledge of and wisdom extracted from the past.” (p. 692)	“By articulating its potential usefulness as an authentic relic of the past, they recontextualize the rediscovered historical material, and as they do so they appropriate its authenticity into their current context (e.g., Semper Ardens, perceived as lending authenticity to the newly named Semper Ardens Beer or to Carlsberg’s identity project, is seen in the light of its contemporary relevance).” (p. 684)
21Houston HR and Meamber LA (2011) Consuming the “world”: reflexivity, aesthetics, and authenticity at Disney World’s EPCOT Center. <i>Consumption Markets & Culture</i> 14(2): 177–191.	Article (Empirical)	Experience	Touristic site	US	“[...] the producers of themed attractions must embrace the notion of an authentic past, even if it exists only within the magical realm of tourists’ imaginations.” (p. 178).	“As we navigated the carefully scripted terrain of each of the country pavilions, it was the aesthetics of our experience that sustained our idealized, postmodern notions of the “authentic” world of the past.” (p. 186)	“[...] while many theme park tourists use authenticity as an experiential yardstick, they do so only in the context of their greater desires for comfort, safety, and cleanliness.” (p. 178)
22Hughes M (2000) Country music as impression management: A meditation on fabricating authenticity. <i>Poetics</i> 28(2–3): 185–205.	Article (Empirical)	Category or genre	Music	US	“The fabrication of the authenticity of country music was not the product of individuals managing’, their impressions, but of the collective activity of participants in a field of cultural production [...] The fabrication of authenticity of cultural products, therefore, involves the fabrication of an important dimension of the shared meaning of those products.” (p. 187)	“For any specific cultural product, there are many conventions that can be creatively deployed to demonstrate the authenticity of the product. However, in specific applications, conventions are sometimes ignored, violated, or twisted in the service of originality or dynamism, or just getting attention.” (p. 190)	“A key ingredient in being legitimate is being authentic.” (p.190)
23Irvin C (2017) Constructing Hybridized Authenticities in the Gourmet Food Truck Scene: Constructing Hybridized Authenticities. <i>Symbolic Interaction</i> 40(1): 43–62.	Article (Empirical)	Genre or category	Restaurants and dining	US	“[...] the role the physical vending locations, both the brick-and-mortar partners and the neighborhoods where they are operating, play in the construction and negotiation of that identity, as well as the forms of authenticity being expressed.” (p. 44)	“In this case, hybridization is the process by which the two forms of authenticity (food truck and brick-and-mortar) blend together, modifying each original authenticity, in order to produce a temporal form of authenticity.” (p. 44)	“The combinations of typologies discussed in this article demonstrate that the food trucks and the brick-and-mortars together help provide safe but also unique consumption spaces for a variety of consumers across three different types of neighborhoods.” (p. 58)
24Jones D and Smith K (2005) Middle-earth Meets New Zealand: Authenticity and Location in the Making of <i>The Lord of the Rings</i> *. <i>Journal of Management Studies</i> 42(5): 923–945.	Article (Empirical)	Product	Film	New Zealand	“Endorsements from key actors and tourism texts further reinforce the authenticity of New Zealand as Middle-earth.” (p. 938)	“In making and promoting <i>LOTR</i> , creative authenticity is established centrally by assertions that the ‘spirit’ of the films ‘rings true’ to the original J. R. R. Tolkien novels on which they are based, and beyond them to the Anglo-Saxon myths of culture, location and historical lineage which the books assert.” (p. 926)	“Tourism intensification is seen as the most significant spin-off, and tourism campaigns linked to <i>LOTR</i> demonstrate how national identity as established in the <i>LOTR</i> project lends authenticity to tourism rhetoric, and is itself reinforced by tourism rhetoric.” (p. 927)
25Kovács B and Horwitz S (2021) Says who? How the match between the social identity of organizations and their audiences increases perceptions of organizational authenticity. <i>Strategic Organization</i> 19(3): 384–413.	Article (Empirical)	Organization	Restaurants and dining	US	“The socially constructed nature of authenticity could be studied in various domains from music to restaurants, from holiday destinations to clothing. In the theory-buildup below, we situate our main investigations in the domain of food and dining as this domain highlights several	“Type authenticity is also the concept that is automatically triggered on restaurant review websites: by categorizing restaurants as ‘Italian,’ ‘Mexican,’ ‘German,’ or ‘Thai,’ websites prime categorical thinking and make readers recall their prototypes about typical	“Specifically, in the setting of online restaurant reviews and type authenticity of restaurants, we showed in a series of three experiments that a restaurant is perceived to be more authentic if it is endorsed by reviewers whose social identity matches the restaurant’s cuisine.” (p. 406)

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26	Kovács B, Carroll GR and Lehman DW (2014) Authenticity and Consumer Value Ratings: Empirical Tests from the Restaurant Domain. <i>Organization Science</i> 25(2): 458–478.	Article (Empirical)	Restaurants and dining	US	complexities facing those who seek to assess authenticity in organizations.” (p. 387)	‘German,’ ‘Italian,’ and so on, restaurants).” (p. 387)		
					“Authenticity is socially constructed when various facts can point in different directions and authenticity can be put in doubt. As such, authenticity is ultimately not about facts per se but rather about interpretations regarding those fact.” (p. 460)	“[...] we find that consumers perceive independent, family-owned, and specialist (single-category) restaurants as more authentic than they do chain, non-family-owned, and generalist (multiple-category) restaurant” (p. 458)	“Taken together, these studies demonstrate that authenticity generates higher consumer value ratings of organizations.” (p. 458)	
27	Lehman DW, O’Connor K, Kovács B, et al. (2019) Authenticity. <i>Academy of Management Annals</i> 13(1): 1–42.	Article (Review)	Targeted entities	N/A	N/A	“Research within this theme emphasizes the role of audiences in defining the boundaries of social categories and determining membership within them.” (p. 14)	“According to this second meaning, an entity is authentic to the extent that it conforms to the social category to which it has been assigned or that it has claimed for itself.” (p.12)	“To the extent that such assessments of membership are associated with authenticity, consumers tend to reward entities with higher ratings, greater willingness to pay, increased sales, and the like.” (pp. 14-15)
28	Melewar TC and Skinner H (2020) Territorial brand management: Beer, authenticity, and sense of place. <i>Journal of Business Research</i> 116: 680–689.	Article (Empirical)	Organization	Alcoholic beverages	Greece	“This paper aimed to explore the territorial brand management decisions made by a microbrewery in the context of the terroir product of an authentic beer brand imbued with a sense of place in order to convey a place brand origin. One common way for breweries to establish and promote a sense of local identity is through the naming of their beer brands.” (p. 687)	“Certain certification schemes are in place that may help a local brand protect its authenticity claims, thereby increasing consumer confidence in brand origin.” (p. 683)	“Authenticity often comes at a price, yet consumers who value authenticity in the products they purchase seem willing to pay a price premium for this valuable attribute.” (p. 685)
29	Moulard JG, Raggio RD and Folse JAG (2021) Disentangling the meanings of brand authenticity: The entity-referent correspondence framework of authenticity. <i>Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science</i> 49(1): 96–118.	Article (Review)	Brand	N/A	N/A	“For TTI [true-to-ideal] authenticity to be assessed, a consensus about the ideal’s attributes must first exist (Peterson 2005). In other words, the prescribed ideal is socially developed and, thus, is a social construct as described by social constructivism theory.” (p. 99)	“True-to-ideal (TTI) authenticity is defined as a consumer’s perception of the extent to which an entity’s attributes correspond with a socially determined standard.” (p. 99)	“A brand that emphasizes it follows set standards or sticks to tried-and-true methods (i.e., is TTI authentic) may increase consumers’ beliefs that the brand will perform competently.” (p. 105)
30	Newman GE and Dhar R (2014) Authenticity is Contagious: Brand Essence and the Original Source of Production. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i> 51(3): 371–386.	Article (Empirical)	Product	Various	US	“One result we did not predict was the higher authenticity ratings in the brand label condition versus the pure control condition (in which no brand information was provided). It may be that consumers only expect authenticity when some additional information is provided, such as a brand label or information about the company’s origins, which would explain the lower ratings in the pure control condition. This explanation is also consistent with a view that authenticity is often “socially-constructed” to fit the particulars of the situation [...]” (p. 383)	“It is widely acknowledged that authenticity is a critical dimension for consumers that can be assessed along dimensions such as production methods, product styling, connections to a particular location, and firm values.” (p. 372)	“In this article, the authors take a different approach to this topic by demonstrating how beliefs in contagion (the notion that objects may acquire a special aura or “essence” from their past) influence perceptions of authenticity for everyday consumer products and brands. Specifically, they find that due to a belief in contagion, products from a company’s original manufacturing location are viewed as containing the essence of the brand. In turn, this belief in transferred essence leads consumers to view products from the original factory as more authentic and valuable than identical products made elsewhere.” (p. 371)
31	Nunes JC, Ordanini A and Giambastiani G (2021) The Concept of Authenticity: What It Means to	Article (Review)	Product and service	N/A	N/A	“Second, authenticity is conceived of as a composite rather than causal formative construct. As a composite construct, authenticity is defined entirely by its components instead of existing on its own as	“To anticipate the outcome of our endeavor, the fieldwork in stage one facilitates identifying six components of authenticity. As mentioned previously, these include accuracy, connectedness,	“The results also show how authenticity relates to individuals’ consumption intentions, as it is associated with information search, purchase intentions, and

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Consumers. <i>Journal of Marketing</i> 85(4): 1–20.					a latent construct. This means “the indicators, as a group, jointly determine the conceptual and empirical meaning of the construct” (Jarvis, MacKenzie, and Podsakoff 2003, p. 201) rather than simply providing a way of gauging the degree to which it is present.” (p. 2)	integrity, legitimacy, originality, and proficiency. [...] Legitimacy refers to conformity in terms of adhering to norms, standards, rules or traditions, while originality refers to a product or service standing out from the mainstream.” (p. 4).	word of mouth, with consumer attitudes partially mediating this association.” (p. 4)
32 Peterson RA (2005) In Search of Authenticity*. <i>Journal of Management Studies</i> 42(5): 1083–1098.	Article (Review)		N/A	N/A	“Over the course of my research, it became clear that authentication in the field of country music was made not by experts but by the end consumers of the music, the fans. More accurately, no one person or group authenticates country music. Rather there is a cycle of authentication involving everyone active in the field.” (p. 1091)	“This melding of the contradictory elements of authenticity and creative voice was possible in country music, and also in most of the cases analysed in this journal issue, because the performances, objects, or persons are judged in reference to an implicit template of the authentic.” (p. 1093)	“It is not just individuals, firms, or industries that work to establish their authenticity. In this era of global homogenizing, the distinctive social and cultural characteristics of places are obscured, and tourism promoters engage in concerted efforts to recreate something that is taken to be ‘traditional’ especially for the sake of tourists.” (p. 1084)
33 Peterson, Richard A. (1997) <i>Creating country music: fabricating authenticity</i> . Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.	Book (Empirical)	Category or genre	Music	US	“The ironic phrase 'fabricating authenticity' is used here to highlight the fact that authenticity is not inherent in the object or event that is designated authentic but is a socially agreed-upon construct in which the past is to a degree misremembered.” (p. 5)	“Putting these statements about the desired qualities in a new artist together with those about the qualities of a desired song, we see that Ralph Peer’s strategy, enunciated back in the 1920s, to seek authentic talent with original material had become the institutionalized practice of the people choosing who would make country music records.” (p. 193)	“In this chapter, we have shown that in 1953, the year of Hank Williams’s death, a number of efforts and trends came to fruition institutionalizing the field that was coming to be called ‘country,’ and fixing its ethos in ‘authenticity and originality’.” (p. 201)
34 Plüg S and Collins A (2022) The work of “authenticity” in the age of mechanical reproduction: Constructions of authenticity in South African artisanal brands. <i>Journal of Consumer Culture</i> 22(2): 417–436.	Article (Empirical)	Brand	Handicraft	South Africa	“Throughout the data, authenticity was simultaneously discussed as being “naturally occurring” or pre-existing (Ferrara, 1998) and, conversely, as requiring skilled work and intentional transformation.” (p. 433)	“Several companies emphasise the authenticity of their production processes by highlighting that they are rooted in tradition, the methods used have been perfected over decades, and are therefore both genuine and reliable.” (pp. 425-426)	“These analyses reveal how the claim to authenticity adds value to particular kinds of commodities and lifestyles, and is used in the pursuit of social status.” (p. 419).
35 Pozner J-E, DeSoucey M, Verhaal JC, et al. (2022) Watered Down: Market Growth, Authenticity, and Evaluation in Craft Beer. <i>Organization Studies</i> 43(3): 321–345.	Article (Empirical)	Category or genre	Alcoholic beverages	US	“Authenticity—the idealized expectations by which audience members judge an organization’s or object’s character, genuineness, credibility, and appropriateness—is consequential to both consumer evaluations and firm performance.” (p. 332)	“Therefore, we conclude that while institutionalized definitions of categorical authenticity may be largely static, consumers’ orientations toward such definitions shift as the population grows.” (p. 337)	“Authenticity claims, built on traits like organizational form or origin, foster special connections between producers and consumers, motivating consumers to pay price premia.” (p. 332)
36 Rössel J, Schenk P and Eppler D (2018) The emergence of authentic products: The transformation of wine journalism in Germany, 1947–2008. <i>Journal of Consumer Culture</i> 18(3): 453–473.	Article (Empirical)	Product	Alcoholic beverages	Germany	In the wine field, there are a number of actors and institutions, besides the actual producers, who determine whether a fermented grape juice becomes a ‘bargain buy’ in a discount supermarket or a cult wine (p. 457)	The relationships between the participants in a social world are, second, coordinated by way of conventions, or in other words, negotiated rules and agreements. Thus, the winegrowers know what natural alcohol content a quality wine has to have and what styles of wine no longer match current tastes on the international markets (p. 456)	This shows empirically that, in the contemporary field of wine, a fermented grape juice is particularly likely to become a cult wine if – without any changes to its chemical composition and regardless of what country it comes from – it is presented in the field-specific discourse as an aesthetic product which can be characterized by artisanal production, special natural conditions of production, a particular tradition of winemaking and a winegrower who is comparable to an artist (p. 469).

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Citation	Type	Focus	Context	Location	Socially constructed	Institution-dominated	Benefits
37 Sassatelli R and Arfini EAG (2017) Creating value, consuming Bologna: The case of DegustiBo. <i>Journal of Consumer Culture</i> 17(3): 542–561.	Article (Empirical)	Brand	Food	Italy	We thus consider authenticity – and the localities, histories, and practices associated with it – as the final product of a process of cultural mediation. Such process depends not only on authentication by a credenzielizing actor, such as a seal of quality promoter, but also on the transmission of narratives bridging the gap between products, their material conditions of production (place, craft, and history), and the way these may become effectively available to consumers (p. 545)	[...] we claim that the general aim of such initiatives of branding and labeling in the food sector is to secure (a form of) authenticity, by establishing a relationship between a product and its origin. As we shall see, we use “origin” as a dense site of definition that includes not only geographical markers, but also historical and pragmatic specificities (p. 544)	While certifications initiatives arguably originate as a response to fraud and ultimately defend localism as a geographical mark, we deploy the concept of credentialization as it appears to be better equipped to focus on quality branding in its two-fold function of protection <i>and</i> promotion, taking brand value as being loosely coupled with spatial boundaries and ultimately continually constructed together with their cultural drawing (p. 545)
38 Schifeling T and Demetry D (2021) The New Food Truck in Town: Geographic Communities and Authenticity-Based Entrepreneurship. <i>Organization Science</i> 32(1): 133–155.	Article (Empirical)	Genre or category	Restaurants and dining	US	“Authenticity cannot be understood apart from the audiences that perceive it” (p. 3)	“In this research, we investigate how local communities affect a key challenge facing innovative entrepreneurs in markets tied to authenticity: risk of rejection for departing from type authenticity expectations” (pp. 16-17)	“[...] Yet GFTs actually benefited from parts of the stigmatized category of street vending, such as the gritty experience of eating on the street. [...] For GFTs, displaying craft authenticity served as a mechanism to protect themselves from stigma by association.” (p. 18)
39 Smith Maguire J (2018) The taste for the particular: A logic of discernment in an age of omnivorousness. <i>Journal of Consumer Culture</i> 18(1): 3–20.	Article (Empirical)	Genre or category	Alcoholic beverages			“Thus, quality claims have undergone democratization in the sense that terroir has been joined by, or folded within, a more expansive notion of provenance that is linked to wider concerns with and desires for authenticity rooted in the particularities of production” (p. 9)	“At the same time, New World producers’ search for competitive advantage through ‘criteria of speciality, uniqueness, originality and authenticity’ (Harvey, 2002: 100) have given rise to quality claims based on place, regionality, tradition and small-scale production” (p. 8)
40 Thurnell-Read T (2019) A thirst for the authentic: craft drinks producers and the narration of authenticity. <i>The British Journal of Sociology</i> 70(4): 1448–1468.	Article (Empirical)	Organization	Alcoholic beverages	UK	“The above findings illustrate the presence of six modes of authenticity in the narratives constructed by craft distillers and brewers as they talk about their products. It has sought to demonstrate how these modes of authenticity, in combination with each other, become animated through communication of stories about craft drinks, their makers and the places in which they are made.” (p. 1462)	“[Temporal authenticity]: Many made reference to either tradition, in a general sense, or time in a more specific way by stating particular time periods.” (p. 1457)	“[Oppositional authenticity]: Perhaps the most commonly used mode of authenticity, and one already evident in many of the examples offered above, was to contrast the way others were <i>ina</i> uthentic in order to enhance one’s own position of authenticity.” (p. 1458)
41 Thyne M and Hede A-M (2016) Approaches to managing co-production for the co-creation of value in a museum setting: when authenticity matters. <i>Journal of Marketing Management</i> 32(15–16): 1478–1493.	Article (Empirical)	Experience	Touristic sites	New Zealand	“We specifically examine how the co-creation process is managed and how the notion of (in)authenticity is negotiated through co-production in the museum visitor experience.” (p. 1479)	“In the museum sector, notions of authenticity have traditionally focused on whether the objects, or artefacts, were made within the traditions and customs of the culture from which the object originated or by the artist claimed.” (p. 1481)	“For museums, authenticity is considered to be a fundamental measure of their distinctiveness and a key concept at the core of museum values” (p. 1479)
42 Verhaal JC and Dobrev SD (2022) The Authenticity Paradox: Why the Returns to Authenticity on Audience Appeal Decrease in Popularity and Iconicity. <i>Journal of Management</i> 48(2): 251–280.	Article (Empirical)	Product	Alcoholic beverages	US	“But like markets themselves, perceptions of authenticity manifest as the result of a market exchange between producers and consumers and the very customers that bestow authenticity on a firm can ostensibly revoke it just as quickly.” (p. 252)	“The collective agreement that emerges among like-minded members of an audience who share values and beliefs about what is genuine, sincere, and truthful is the mechanism by which authenticity attributions are socially constructed.” (p. 255)	“Interestingly, market success can lead to a whole host of positive attributions by consumers as well, such as higher status, popularity or celebrity, and ultimately, iconicity.” (p. 252)

Overview					Nature	Power	Instrumentality
Citation	Type	Focus	Context	Location	Socially constructed	Institution-dominated	Benefits
43 Verhaal JC, Hoskins JD and Lundmark LW (2017) Little Fish in a Big Pond: Legitimacy Transfer, Authenticity, and Factors of Peripheral Firm Entry and Growth in the Market Center: Little Fish in a Big Pond: Legitimacy Transfer and Authenticity. <i>Strategic Management Journal</i> 38(12): 2532–2552.	Article (Empirical)	Organization	Alcoholic beverages	US		“This gap is particularly important because many peripheral markets that leverage distinct or sharp social identities as a source of legitimacy and competitive advantage are predicated on cognitive claims of authenticity related to organizational size and small-scale production processes.” (p. 2533)	“Finally, we found that peripheral organizations that were able to effectively engage consumers through identity-based claims of authenticity enjoyed increased growth in the market center.” (p. 2548)

Appendix L: Illustrative passages for authenticity as orchestrated, having a recursive power relationship with ideologies, and instrumental in oppressing subordinate racialized/ethnic groups

Overview					Nature		Power	Instrumentality
Citation	Type	Focus	Context	Location	Orchestrated	Ideology-dominated	Oppression	
44	Barthel-Bouchier D (2001) Authenticity and Identity: Theme-parking the Amanas. <i>International Sociology</i> 16(2): 221–239.	Article (Empirical)	Performance	Touristic sites	US	“Amana people do not mind putting on colorful Bavarian costumes in restaurants (costumes that have nothing to do with the heavy black outfits that shrouded their ancestors). But they find no charm in re-enacting the actual past that they consciously rejected.” (p. 236)	“The Amanas present the case of a community that has thrown off earlier forms of social control embedded in social status (the German princes controlling the original estates), religion and tradition. In their stead, current residents have embraced new forms of social control associated with capitalism and consumer society.” (p. 237)	“In communities such as the Amanas, tourist management implies resident management. Residents agree to be managed and controlled if they see a clear profit resulting. The problem for heritage professionals is that greater authenticity does not always imply greater profits, and it almost always implies greater social control over historic representation and interpretation.” (p. 237)
45	DeBerry-Spence B and Izberk-Bilgin E (2021) Historicizing and authenticating African dress: diaspora double consciousness and narratives of heritage and community. <i>Consumption Markets & Culture</i> 24(2): 147–168.	Article (Empirical)	Cultural heritage	Cultural practices	US (African diaspora)	“For example, little is known about the role that the dominant cultural groups’ assimilationist ideologies and practices play on the diasporas’ quest for an authentic identity.” (p. 148)	“African-style clothing meanings are loaded with Black political ideologies that grossly effect interpretations of this clothing and its wearer, such that the African- clothed body becomes a site for identity politics to be played out and contested.” (p. 155)	
46	Korpela M (2010) A Postcolonial Imagination? Westerners Searching for Authenticity in India. <i>Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies</i> 36(8): 1299–1315.	Article (Empirical)	Experience	Touristic sites	India	“A discourse of authenticity belongs also to postcolonial theory in which it is understood as a discourse of power which produces certain subject positions.” (p. 1302)	“In other words, they separate culture and people and eventually ‘imagine’ authentic Indian culture because they avoid encounters with Indian people. Instead of racial ideology, the social distance is now defined in terms of cultural differences.” (p. 1304)	“In this article, I argue that when the Westerners in Varanasi recognise India or Indian people as authentic, they simultaneously deny Indians modernity and agency, thus denying them a voice of their own.” (p. 1302)
47	Laybourn WM (2018) The cost of being “real”: black authenticity, colourism, and Billboard Rap Chart rankings. <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> 41(11): 2085–2103.	Article (Empirical)	Genre or category	Music	US	“Controlling images ‘are designed to make racism, sexism, poverty, and other forms of social injustice appear to be natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday life’ (Collins 2000, 77)” (p. 2086-2087)	“Understanding how racial ideology is implicated in the cultural production of rap music is important because of the pervasiveness of hip hop throughout, not only, U.S. society, but globally.” (p. 2086)	“White corporate owners capitalized on the realness and rawness of rap music and used the artists’ and music’s authenticity as a marketing strategy.” (p. 2088)
48	Botterill J (2007) Cowboys, Outlaws and Artists: The rhetoric of authenticity and contemporary jeans and sneaker advertisements. <i>Journal of Consumer Culture</i> 7(1): 105–125.	Article (Empirical)	Ads	Fashion	US and countries in Europe		“Indeed, within today’s popular culture, black culture and the street have become the hallmarks of the ‘real’ and authentic (Hall, 1996; hooks, 2003). Although studies continue to stress the under-representation of black people in advertising, over 16 percent of the sample contained black models.” (p. 117)	“In 2005, Reebock launched a campaign entitled ‘I am what I am’, which included a highly stylized confessional advertisement designed for rap artist 50 Cents. [...] The legacy of ‘blacksploitation’ lives on in this campaign. Harper (1998) has demonstrated how the popular music industry uses the street and music to authorize and represent authentic blackness.” (p. 120).
49	Howard CA (2016) Touring the consumption of the Other: Imaginaries of authenticity in the Himalayas and beyond. <i>Journal of Consumer Culture</i> 16(2): 354–373.	Article (Empirical)	Experience	Touristic sites	The Himalayas		“Being typically critical of consumer culture, Himalayan travellers often demonstrated positive yet naive appraisal and nostalgia for places and people perceived as non-modern, natural and authentic. Such eco-utopian imaginaries are consistent with media representations of the region and the wider discourse of reflexive modernity.” (p. 354)	“What is more, global tourism as an extension of neoliberal globalisation has been argued to manifest an unconscious resolve to subsume multiple ‘minor realities’ into a Western-centric monoreality.” (p. 355)

Overview					Nature		Power	Instrumentality	
Citation	Type	Focus	Context	Location	Orchestrated	Ideology-dominated	Oppression		
50	Kuehn KM and Parker S (2021) One of the blokes: Brewsters, branding and gender (in)visibility in New Zealand’s craft beer industry. <i>Journal of Consumer Culture</i> 21(3): 519–538.	Article (Empirical)	Product	Craft beer	New Zealand	“Our findings suggest that while branding can potentially enhance the visibility of women as legitimate producers of beer, New Zealand brewsters maintain craft beer as a Pākehā (White European) middle-class masculine cultural form.” (p. 519)	“One exceptional case, however, is Mata Brewing, NZ’s only brewery owned by Māori women [...] Yet Mata does not explicitly sell Māori values, ‘Māori beer’ for ‘Māori drinkers’ or even beer brewed by Māori women; what it does sell, however, is authenticity through Māori signifiers. So while Mata’s brand strategy does not necessarily deviate from the wider sample, it is the only brand that contests ‘authenticity’ as a rural, Pākehā masculine construct.” (p. 527)	“Authentic forms that match buyers’ tastes will be preserved in the service of profit, while artisans will produce inauthentic forms 'in response to buyer demand.” (p. 7)	
51	Wherry FF (2006) The Social Sources of Authenticity in Global Handicraft Markets: Evidence from Northern Thailand. <i>Journal of Consumer Culture</i> 6(1): 5–32.	Article (Empirical)		Handicraft	Thailand	“The objective qualities of the object and the meanings contained therein are not sufficient conditions for the object or the artisan to gain the designation of authenticity. The judgment of authenticity is a social act – an act of generosity by those with the legitimate power to confer the designation. In the global tourism market, such generosity is not so easily granted [...]” (p. 9)	“Authenticity based in a reactive identity, therefore, reveals itself to be highly vulnerable to global market forces. To maintain reactive authenticity against gentrification, the artisans depend on the strength of their own political mobilization, the sustained interest of outsiders in their well-being, and the lucky turn of events in their favor.” (p. 18)		
52	Hedegard D (2013) Blackness and experience in omnivorous cultural consumption: Evidence from the tourism of capoeira in Salvador, Brazil. <i>Poetics</i> 41(1): 1–26.	Article (Empirical)	Experience	Tourism	Brazil	“Brazilian practitioners and tourists co-constructed meanings by connecting capoeira objects to symbols of blackness recognizable to tourists in the market for cultural difference—specifically Africa, slavery, and Afro-Brazilian cultural objects. The context-specific meanings—of authenticity and non-commercialism—that emerged around these objects resonated with a Western disposition toward omnivorous consumption.” (p. 2)	“Participant observation data reveal how interactions between foreign tourists and Brazilian producers associated capoeira objects with symbols of blackness recognizable to Westerners as authentic—specifically Africa, slavery, and the black male body. Meanings preferred by cultural omnivores—namely non-commercial, authentic, and experiential consumption—crystallized around these symbols of blackness. Interactions ascribed this network of symbols and meanings to dark skin-toned Brazilian bodies, excluding lighter skin-toned Brazilians.” (p. 1)		“Dark skin and well-developed athletic bodies were central attractions of capoeira for the young female tourists, both of which signify black masculinity in the Western imagination.” (p. 13)
53	Grazian, David (2003) <i>Blue Chicago: the search for authenticity in urban blues clubs</i> . Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.	Book (Empirical)	Genre or category	Music	US	“Cultural authorities develop certain definitions of authenticity in particular times and places for specific political and ideological purposes. For instance, arguments about authenticity often emerged during historical moments when the meaningfulness of traditional ways of life seems challenged by the force of modernity and its by-products, including the globalization of popular culture.” (p. 40)	“But ironically, instead of challenging the many overarching claims made in the name of authenticity, the liquidity of the blues only seems to help reinforce the commonly held assumption that any song performed by a black singer should rightfully be considered a blues song and, consequently, that the blues can only be delivered in an authentic manner by a black artist– a position that few Chicago blues musicians, white or black, would defend.” (p. 16)		“I explored how Chicago's local government and civic boosters appropriate its local blues heritage as a means of marketing the city to out-of-towners as an idealized world of authenticity. In doing so, I found that the city had commodified its musical and ethnic populism as officially sponsored cultural attractions in order to increase local tourism revenues, all while masking their efforts behind the rhetoric of multiculturalism and progressive politics.” (p. 28)
54	Terrio, Susan J. (2000) <i>Crafting the culture and history of French chocolate</i> . Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.	Book (Empirical)	Product	Food	France	“Claims of authenticity emerge in the struggles of groups with competing interests and unequal access to power." (p. 17)	“Narratives that tell a specifically French history of the discovery of chocolate in the New World reveal the persistent exoticism evident in French and Western thought since the age of European exploration.” (p. 240)		“Nineteenth-century French chocolate manufacturers sold their products using images of blacks often depicted as naive and childlike inferiors.” (p. 249)

Appendix M: Representative quotes illustrating the socially constructed nature of authenticity

Stage	Externalization	Objectification	Internalization
Definition	Authenticity meanings are created through interactions.	Authenticity meanings are reified in institutional markers.	Authenticity meanings are learned and taken for granted.
Representative quotes	<p>“The changing meaning of authenticity is not random, but renegotiated in a continual political struggle in which the goal of each contending interest is to naturalize a particular construction of authenticity.” (Peterson, 1997, p. 220)</p> <p>“[...] manufacturing authenticity is a process that involves the active co-construction of meaning, often of an illusionary nature, by both organizers and their audiences.” (Demetry, 2019, p. 19)</p>	<p>“We found that the tiki bar’s authenticity status changed over time. While it was never nominally authentic (which is about provenance), the tiki bar did become type authentic, meaning that it developed its own institutionalized social category with a set of socially expected criteria.” (Carroll & Wheaton, 2019, p. 179)</p> <p>“For TTI [true-to-ideal] authenticity to be assessed, a consensus about the ideal’s attributes must first. In other words, the prescribed ideal is socially developed and, thus, is a social construct as described by social constructivism theory.” (Moulard et al., 2021, p. 99)</p>	<p>“Although definitions are under debate, authenticity is generally agreed upon as a socially constructed concept, a co-created phenomenon that resides in the consumer’s mind, and not an inherent quality.” (Gundlach & Neville, 2012, p. 485)</p> <p>“In general, the criteria for category membership is assumed to remain relatively stable over time and the role of audiences is to determine whether or not entities fit within the boundaries of existing categories.” (Lehman et al., 2019, p. 15)</p>

Appendix N: Representative quotes illustrating the orchestrated nature of authenticity

Stage	Invocation	Manufacturing	Maintenance
Definition	Oppressive authenticity meanings are engineered by dominant groups.	Oppressive authenticity meanings are accepted by subordinate groups.	Oppressive authenticity meanings are maintained by dominant groups to uphold their hegemony.
Representative quotes	<p>“When the Westerners appreciate ancient Indian music, they define that authenticity to mean a ‘frozen past’ thus denying India and Indians agency and a possibility to change.” (Korpela, 2010, p. 1311)</p> <p>“[...] omnivore orientalism highlights the romanticism of ‘authentic’ people and their alluring products. It stokes fascination for geographically distinct out-of-the-way, historically frozen-in-time food and drink. Communicated in news articles, television programs, and social media, omnivore orientalism reinforces the exoticism of unusual places, creative people, and abstract goods.” (Gaytán, 2019, p. 7)</p>	<p>“Amana people do not mind putting on colorful Bavarian costumes in restaurants (costumes that have nothing to do with the heavy black outfits that shrouded their ancestors). But they find no charm in re-enacting the actual past that they consciously rejected.” (Barthel-Bouchier, 2001, p. 236)</p> <p>“Brazilian practitioners and tourists co-constructed meanings by connecting capoeira objects to symbols of blackness recognizable to tourists in the market for cultural difference—specifically Africa, slavery, and Afro-Brazilian cultural objects.” (Hedegard, 2013, p. 2)</p>	<p>“Together oppressive othering and maintenance of white standards of beauty create a commodified realness, or in other words, ‘what is accepted as legitimately “black” within a market context and how forces at this level perpetuate particular, accepted representations of black authenticity’.” (Nguyen and Anthony 2014, 771)” (Laybourn, 2018, pp. 2086–2087)</p> <p>“Narratives that tell a specifically French history of the discovery of chocolate in the New World reveal the persistent exoticism evident in French and Western thought since the age of European exploration.” (Terrio, 2000, p. 240)</p>

Appendix O: Representative quotes illustrating the recursive relationship between authenticity and institutions

Stage	Institutional control	Institutional work
Definition	Institutions provide templates for assessing authenticity claims.	Claims of authenticity aim to transform or create new institutions.
Representative quotes	<p>“Because they use their consumption choices as expressive, status-conveying acts, these drinkers’ identity-related motivations led them to interrogate and monitor producer motives and to penalize authenticity code violators. This ensured the niche’s purity and reinforced its differentiation from industrial brewer.” (Pozner et al., 2022, p. 323)</p> <p>“In the museum sector, notions of authenticity have traditionally focused on whether the objects, or artefacts, were made within the traditions and customs of the culture from which the object originated or by the artist claimed.” (Thyne & Hede, 2016, p. 1481)</p>	<p>“First, GFTs [gourmet food trucks] represent a new type of organization that differs from earlier street vending by serving distinctive and upscale products that require skill and expertise to produce and secondarily by using Twitter to connect with customers across a region. Rather than conform to the gritty expectations for street vendors, they develop value through claims to craft authenticity.” (Schifeling & Demetry, 2021, p. 2)</p> <p>“Hence, the blending of market and aesthetic logics has facilitated a mixing of musical genres; in turn, this blending dilutes the highbrow culture category, thus challenging the very definition of what is considered authentic classical music.” (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005, p. 1038)</p>

**Appendix P: Representative quotes illustrating the recursive relationship between
authenticity and ideology**

Stage	Ideological control	Ideological work
Definition	Dominant ideologies imbued in taken for granted institutions control the content of authenticity claims.	Authenticity claims can create, maintain, or disrupt ideologies imbued in institutions.
Representative quotes	<p>“Blues bars and blues music are never evaluated in absolute terms but measured comparatively along a sliding scale of authenticity: thus, according to the most simplistic of stereotypes, black blues musicians from Chicago's South Side are considered more authentic than upper-class whites from the North Shore suburbs, and both rate higher than handful of Japanese America players who perform in the city.” (Grazian, 2003, p. 13)</p> <p>“The discourse of authenticity ultimately says more about its producers in the same way that Said (1978) observes how orientalism ‘has less to do with the Orient than it does with ‘our’ world.” (Howard, 2016, p. 363)</p>	<p>“Today, donning African attire is an authenticating practice to both highlight past injustices and nourish the desire to overcome them.” (DeBerry-Spence & Izberk-Bilgin, 2021, p. 155)</p> <p>“Handicraft artisans and entrepreneurs sometimes create multiple meanings of authenticity to accommodate, modify, and at times resist, the effects of globalization on local culture and local economic life.” (Wherry, 2006, p. 5)</p>

Appendix Q: Representative quotes illustrating the beneficial instrumentality of authenticity

Types of benefits	Representative quotes
Organization benefits (e.g., positioning, competitive advantage, consumer ratings)	<p>“Perhaps the most commonly used mode of authenticity, and one already evident in many of the examples offered above, was to contrast the way others were <i>inauthentic</i> in order to enhance one’s own position of authenticity.” (Thurnell-Read, 2019, p. 1458)</p> <p>“Localness can be interpreted as a form of idiosyncratic authenticity that allows specific peripheral organizations to differentiate themselves from market-center organizations that, as a function of their market position, operate on a national or even an international scale.” (Verhaal et al., 2017, p. 2537)</p> <p>“Taken together, these studies demonstrate that authenticity generates higher consumer value ratings of organizations.” (Kovács et al., 2014, p. 458)</p>
Consumer benefits (e.g., quest for an escape, self-authentication)	<p>“According to many consumer researchers, one of authenticity’s benefits is that it provides an escape from the phoniness that underlies most of today’s marketing practices.” (Grayson & Martinec, 2004, p. 302)</p> <p>“Consumers may be more willing to accept such inconsistencies from organizations, because coproducing an illusion supports their self-authentication.” (Demetry, 2019, p. 20)</p>
Industry benefits (e.g., industry creation or renewal)	<p>“The rise of the craft beer industry was supported by the development of a distinct oppositional identity, which stipulated that true craft breweries should adhere to the highest standards of tradition, quality, and authenticity.” (Verhaal et al., 2017, p. 2539)</p>
Society benefits (e.g., maintenance of cultural heritage, reinforcing national identity)	<p>“The articulation of authentication as a potent resource for institutional maintenance work enriches research at the interface of institutional work and authenticity. This work has implications also for society at large. The maintenance of architectural heritage – and other cultural institutions – represents our national and cultural identities, a topic that is increasingly significant in the context of globalization.” (Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2019, p. 435)</p> <p>“Tourism intensification is seen as the most significant spin-off, and tourism campaigns linked to LOTR demonstrate how national identity as established in the LOTR project lends authenticity to tourism rhetoric, and is itself reinforced by tourism rhetoric.” (Jones & Smith, 2005, p. 927)</p> <p>“States attach claims of authenticity to cultural objects and elements that connote nationhood, serving as symbols of shared identity and history.” (DeSoucey et al., 2019, p. 2)</p>

Appendix R: Representative quotes illustrating the oppressive instrumentality of authenticity

Types of oppression	Representative quotes
Commodification of the Other	<p>“These figures serve as authentic enticements when recast from criminals who threaten the community into heroes struggling against a wider social system that threatened the ‘true community’ or ‘authenticating powers of the self’. Adopting postmodern styling, the Reebok advertisement forges an associative link between the brand, mean streets and a tale of a tough black man lifted by his musical talents from those streets to fame.” (Botterill, 2007, p. 120)</p> <p>“[...] the consumption of racial otherness—or the products associated with the racial or ethnic groups beyond one’s own group—has grown steadily among whites in the US. Elvis Presley popularized Rock and Roll—previously listened to and performed mainly by blacks—among whites. Hip-hop music, long connected to black Americans, is now popular among whites.” (Hughes, 2000, p. 2)</p>
Exclusion of the Other	<p>“Consumers can also assume on their own that objects have authenticity, based on consumers’ mental perspectives of how things ‘ought to look’. For example, tourists often desire the trappings of authenticity for their travels while they do not wish to endure the lifestyle hardships often faced by local inhabitants. The theme park experience is more popular than spending time in the real conditions that the park represents. They buy examples of local handicrafts, such as the conical hats worn to protect the women who mend Vietnamese roads from the blistering tropical sun, without experiencing the unpleasant conditions that gave rise to their specialised design.” (Beverland, 2005b, p. 460)</p> <p>“These ads reinforce the fact that white people are the privileged consumers of exotic products like chocolate that are cultivated and harvested by people of color in the third world but processes and sold in the first world.” (Terrio, 2000, p. 255)</p>

Appendix S: Representative quotes

Second-order and first-order codes	Representative quotes
Crafting recompense	
A. Real commitment with producers	<p>A1. Yes, precisely when we started selling directly [to elite restaurants], for us it was a... let's say, a great achievement because direct selling means that the buyer pays us a fair price: that is something that what we have long been aiming for. Although it is true that [elite chefs] do not buy all the production – because the production is quite a lot – at least [they buy] a part of it. You feel that you are paid what is fair for your work, for your cultivation during the 6 months of the year which is how long this crop lasts to be able to produce <i>loche</i> [<i>Cucurbita moschata</i> Duchesne]. (P4)</p> <p>A2. Let's see, there are two chefs who have really committed themselves to both the producer and the product: [elite chef 1] and [elite chef 2], ok? They not only use products that were previously foreign to the cuisine of Lima – the only way for them to stop being foreign is for them to start appearing in haute cuisine so that they appear in the markets, they end up appearing in the markets because there is a demand – but also make a quality impact on the [lives of] producers; that is, they do something to improve their living conditions. (J8)</p>
B. Empowering producers	<p>B1. I remember that we took one of our iconic or star producers to [elite restaurant] so that he could see where his coffee was ending up. So, that was very nice because the entire [elite restaurant]'s team met the producer whom we talked about so much [...]. So that was super interesting, that he could also get to know [where his coffee was ending up] and this, in some way or another, generates motivation for each one of them [producers]. For us it would be great to be able to take all these [farming] families and be able to sit them down and have a clearer notion of where their products end up but, nothing, we started with a producer, and this one... he felt very happy afterward, super motivated. (P3)</p> <p>B2. Look, the mere fact that native products are in such prestigious restaurant chains encourages us and excites us a little more to be able to continue developing [our work], right? It motivates us to improve our production, right? Produce without pesticides, without chemical inputs... make it natural, organic, and that our chefs carry on with [the use] our native products, right? (P6)</p>
Crafting coloniality	
C. Contrived commitment with producers	<p>C1. I think it is praiseworthy that many of them [elite chefs] are involved in causes and initiatives to improve the working conditions of farmers and fishermen, to support the visibility of women in the industry or other industries [...] Obviously, there are also people who want the good part of it, or rather, they only want the marketing or advertising part of the matter and I think that most of the people who act like this also end up being unmasked. (J4)</p> <p>C2. Look, that [the chef's commitment to the producer] is real, it's real, but that there are people who take advantage and only use the producers for the photo, it's also real. And that has more to do with a lack of honesty, with an excess of showing off. (J6)</p>
D. Reinforcing marketplace exclusion	<p>D1. I think that one of the complaints that I have always heard is basically the issue of rising costs, that is, to enter the restaurants of the best chefs, right? I think that this has been the biggest observation, and not only in Peru, but also in Peruvian restaurants that are opening internationally. I think that there has to be a moderation in prices to be able to make it accessible to larger... larger consuming public [...] And also some criticism is that, well, I heard a discussion that I found this interesting: a price calculation was made – for example, of a product that ends up on the plate of a first-class restaurant – of how much the farmer was paid for that product. The difference was very</p>

abysmal. So, there comes the criticism, perhaps in part that we need to be much more equitable in the distribution of the benefits generated by this activity throughout the value chain. In other words, we cannot repeat history in which, let's say, the primary producer, the one who assumes the risks, the one who has had the responsibility, is the one who gets the smallest piece of the cake. (P1)

- D2. [...] not everyone [*loche* producers] wants to and not everyone can come here to Lima to see and visit [elite restaurants where their *loche* is used] because they would come with their own money and it's a bit difficult, right? Over there, the farmer, eh... spending 100 *soles* is a lot [of money] for them, a lot, because they work a lot to be able to earn 100 *soles*, for example, right? (P4)

**Crafting
democracy**

E. Revaluating
products

- E1. [elite chef] prepared the book and the recipes that have finally catapulted the consumption of Andean grains. [...] What [elite chef] has done is popularize Andean grains. In other words, give a... mmm, let's say, a collection of recipes for anyone to prepare. And since the book is online, whoever wants can download it. (R2)

- E2. Before, [elite chef] would begin a crusade to make *paiche* [Arapaima gigas] a common name in the conservative and disconnected Lima market. In 2018 that mission persists. "We didn't earn a penny, of course", he recalls about that first approach to the diners of the capital. The story was repeated with the majority of buyers who approached him: either they were unaware of the existence of Amazonian fish – of almost Jurassic dimensions – or they did not know about its flavor or the texture of its meat or how to cook it. That was the starting point. Today on [elite chef's restaurant]'s menu one can find from *paiche* ham with cassava breadsticks to smoked *paiche* with red berry sauce and *papa pituca* [Colocasia Esculenta] mousseline. (Newspaper article, September 3, 2018)

F. Generating a
resonant frame

- F1. Peruvian cuisine advances hooked on the color of the flag. It has been and still is one of the determining arguments, if not the main one, in the vindication of national pride and the definition of the signs of identity that accompany Peruvian society on the road to the future. I don't know of another place where something like this has happened. (Newspaper article, July 28, 2016).

- F2. [...] the work that [elite chef] did was impressive because I think that we didn't realize the value that our gastronomy and our products had before. I think we had not learned to value it, and today we have not only learned to value it, but we have a greater pride within us than there was probably before and it has also put us in a showcase and [in] a different visibility in the world. (C2)

**Crafting
distinction**

G. Aestheticization

- G1. In the case of [elite chef], [...] what he is using are Peruvian ingredients, popularizing ingredients, which are very rare to get, with modern techniques, and that type of diffusion is very successful. (R1)

- G2. So, mmm... I feel that, that we can't make up Peruvian cuisine, Limeño cuisine, in some way to reach more people, right? On the contrary, I think that, in every aspect, authenticity will always be the main thing. (C3)

H. Protecting
exclusivity

- H1. Even today in Lima, the vast majority of clients of award-winning haute cuisine restaurants are foreigners because it is a very expensive experience [...] Lima is not a city for haute cuisine formats to abound because Peruvians, Limeños, are not used to that: it is not what they consume. In other words, if you look at those who go to [elite restaurant 1] and [elite restaurant 2], who are spearheading what comes to be a tasting menu, 80 or 90% [of their dinners] are foreigners [...] (J2)

- H2. The prices of the restaurants that set the pace for Limeño cuisine are expensive. Very expensive. Extraordinarily expensive, if they are related to the standard of living of the country and the income of its employees. (Newspaper article, July 19, 2019)
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Appendix T: Representative quotes

Second-order and first-order codes	Representative quotes
Rediscovery	
A. Leveraging historical and geographic connections	<p>A1. The concept that [elite chef] directs together with [fellow elite chef] and the [leader of elite chef's research center] is more of a center for research, interpretation, and development, which explores with multidisciplinary curiosity the origins and histories of Andean biodiversity inputs. (Newspaper article, April 3, 2018)</p> <p>A2. More than anything, believe it or not, cocoa from Cuzco is very rich, very rich in history, very rich in its varieties, in flavor, in aroma... So, what you have is mostly research at the end. Believe it or not, it is necessary to talk to many producers so that each producer, apart from what they can tell you about their day-to-day life, can give you information about the... about the varieties or the ecotypes, cocoa ecotypes they plant. (E3)</p>
B. Forming chef-producer alliances	<p>B1. I think that part of the responsibility of the chef is that. It is to know what products s/he has [...] The fantasy that one has, as a chef, is that there comes a time when the products that you bring not only to your table but also to your restaurant have a face behind [them], have a story behind [them] [...] because what is gastronomy? Gastronomy is telling stories, right? It tells you not only the story of the dish you are eating but also the history of the product and why a pumpkin from Tacna is different from a pumpkin from Tumbes. Why? Not only because there is a land behind it or a climate but because there is a family, because there is a face, because there are some producers who are the ones who give the particularity to that product. So, if they [elite chefs] don't know that, what story can they tell you? (J6)</p> <p>B2. The work that [elite chef] was doing for communities in the jungle... Many of the products that are used here from the jungle are because [elite chef] has managed to create a chef-producer alliance so that they can be used. The <i>paiche</i> [Arapaima gigas] fishermen of [national reserve in the Amazon] sell their fish in Lima thanks to him [...] thanks to that they have been able to maintain, they have been able to increase the number of <i>paiches</i> that there are right now in the area so these are things that are worth mentioning, right? (J7)</p>
Reinterpretation	
C. Relying on mastery to enhance traditions	<p>C1. That is the technique, right? It is little... we have improved it. Why? Because, for example, if in my house my mother made <i>seco con frijoles</i> [beef stew with beans], that Limeño dish <i>par excellence</i>, perhaps, [with] the meat, you suffered a little [to cut it] with the knife and you had to marinate it a lot, maybe the meat was a cut that was not very suitable and was a little tough, but the flavor was delicious. So, what have we done? We have changed the type of meat, we have given it a little more cooking, and now it is very tender. So those little things. It is not that we have incorporated modern techniques, but that we have... not even perfected [the dishes]. I always say that the cuisine at [his restaurant] and what we do has no pretense, it is simply an authentic cuisine. I think that is the most important thing and what people have liked a lot. So, the only thing we have done is given it an upgrade, right? A plus to the way of my mother's cooking or my grandmother's so that the food has the same flavor, but like I tell you, right? [Regarding the] meat, we choose another type of meat, a little softer. (C3)</p> <p>C2. Now here is a relatively new proposition which is truly finger-licking good, and that is much to say in a culinary capital like Lima! First, a few words about <i>picantería</i>, a term used to describe a traditional, casual, family-owned restaurant. In a <i>picantería</i> you will feel you're entering someone's humble home and share communal tables with diners from the local community. There are no menu cards and the catch of the day is written out on the walls [...] A few beef and duck dishes typical from</p>

D. Relying on artistry to reinvent traditions	<p>Peru's northern coast are also finger-licking good, like the <i>arroz norteño</i> o <i>ceviche de pato</i> (actually a warm meal!). I hear the <i>rocoto en chupe</i> (a stuffed chili pepper in shrimp broth) is fantastic. No more said, than to say this is a must visit for all interested in authentic Peruvian. (TripAdvisor review, Restaurant 9, December 4, 2015)</p> <p>D1. I am finding a bit hard to decide on my rating. We had the tasting menu of 17 courses. The experience is one of a kind, very interesting presentation, amazing and unique ingredients, and you can tell how much effort and research was put into it. Having said that I think it is more of a one-off experience rather than tastebud-satisfying. [...] I love some of the 3-star Michelin restaurants but this one was a bit too "novel" for my taste. Am I glad I tried it once? 100%. Would I return? Doubt it. I have to give them a hell lot of credit for the amazing effort in designing this fantastic menu with extraordinary and authentic Peruvian ingredients, and some of the courses were delicious. I guess it's worth to try once in your lifetime. (TripAdvisor review, Restaurant 2, June 13, 2017)</p> <p>D2. If you like exotic, strong-flavored, and finely prepared specialties, then you are going to love this place. Not only the dishes themselves but the preparation methods, presentation, explanations, and the incredibly delicious sauces are an absolute culinary adventure. (TripAdvisor review, Restaurant 4, November 19, 2017)</p>
Revaluation	
E. Creating awareness	<p>E1. I mean, [elite chef] actually does a lot of marketing in [elite chef's restaurants] with native potatoes, with <i>oca</i> [<i>Oxalis tuberosa</i>] and <i>mashua</i> [<i>Tropaeolum tuberosum</i>], and yes, I saw that there were a lot of people [interested in my products], who asked me "[interviewee's name], where can I get this type of potatoes in Lima? In which market? How would you send [them to] me?" I did see a lot of interest. (P2)</p> <p>E2. The revaluation of regional cuisines is also a factor that may sound very old-fashioned but is quite modern. That today, in [elite chef's restaurant], you can order ceviche and it comes to you with <i>torrejas de choclo</i> [corn pancakes] which is something distinctly northern, of <i>picantería</i> [traditional restaurant specializing in spicy dishes], like very, very, very traditional, it tells you something. (J2)</p>
F. Forming joint ventures	<p>F1. Another delegation – that of the [elite chef's NGO], a project led by [elite chef] to promote research in the area – organizes an event to spread the advances related to the wild <i>paiche</i>, threatened by irrational exploitation in its natural habitat. The alliance between [elite chef's NGO] and the [local agro-industrial cooperative], in [region in the Amazon], is key. (Newspaper article, September 3, 2018)</p> <p>F2. [...] it is supposed to be a little bit of the idea of what you are looking for in gastronomy: working with communities or working with people outside [the capital], regional [people] who, let's say, give you a product, give you knowledge, but at the same time you give them tools to do other things and improve their quality of life. In [elite chef's research center], they [...] have released wool, fabrics, and everything from improving, from working with the communities [...] (J5)</p>
Extraction	
G. Cherry-picking ingredients	<p>G1. [elite chef's restaurants] want a standard, a size, a quality that are often similar to the requirements in form or appearance of conventional products and, many times, the buyer or the consumer is still not identifying the value of an organic product, so they can say "oh, yeah, this is organic but I want it not to have a blemish, not a scratch, not to have anything". [However,] to achieve those products with 100% no damage, one would have to apply poisons, right? [...] it is better for us to be in the popular neighborhoods than to be in the luxurious neighborhoods. Luxurious neighborhoods kind of don't want to change their standards, they want... they are used to seeing that the product is impeccable, while the popular neighborhoods accept them. (P1)</p>

H. Misappropriating culture	<p>G2. It was enough for them [elite chefs] to show a tiny part of the whole – some varieties of corn and potatoes, surprising Andean tubers such as <i>olluco</i> [<i>Ullucus tuberosus</i>], <i>oca</i> [<i>Oxalis tuberosa</i>], <i>mashua</i> [<i>Tropaeolum tuberosum</i>] or <i>arracacha</i> [<i>Arracacia xanthorrhiza</i>], and a few peppers – to substantiate this trend. (Newspaper article, February 13, 2018)</p> <p>H1. [...] [the use of] what is ethnic is a trend all over the planet, so there is also this recovery of pre-Hispanic things and so on but, let's say, in cultural terms, in political terms, they [elite chefs] are the ones who appear as the creators, that's why it's an appropriation. (H2)</p> <p>H2. [Regarding the creative process at an elite chef's restaurant]: First, there is always a little spark that I don't know... at some point it occurred to us to make, I don't know, [to make] a <i>rocoto relleno</i> [stuffed rocoto pepper] [...] and from there it started. "Ok, <i>rocoto relleno</i>... so, where is the <i>rocoto relleno</i> from?", "From Arequipa". Ok. We go to Arequipa, we talk a lot with the cooks from Arequipa, with the <i>picanteras</i> [female cooks working at <i>picanterías</i>], who give us a little bit of the secrets that they have and there one learns about a thousand things that they do that one really does not know. (E2)</p>
Elevation	
I. Excluding producers from the process	<p>I1. They [elite chefs] have very important information about global gastronomy and we have the ancestral knowledge of our cuisine. This can be merged, a fusion that has not yet reached our... our [national] market [such as] our quinoa porridge, our <i>kispiño</i> [Andean dessert made with quinoa flour]. So, maybe, through a fusion, we can also let the population know that this is an ancestral food and we can savor it and it can also be part of our [national] diet. That would help us a lot. (P6)</p> <p>I2. [...] when they [chefs] invited me and told me: "We have made noodles from your <i>loche</i> [<i>Cucurbita moschata</i> Duchesne]", [that's] something that I did not expect. "We have made oil from your <i>loche</i>", that is, like a kind of... a kind of seasoning but liquid, right? That is, in oil. For example, once a chef showed me an oil based on <i>loche</i> and he told me, and I told [him], "But what for?". Well, my query was "Why have you made this infusion, let's say, of <i>loche</i>?" And he tells me: "What happens is that when I use my oil to cook my rice, to cook my duck, my kid [young goat], I would no longer use the <i>loche</i> because all the <i>loche</i> is concentrated in the oil. So, it's like... although it is true that I buy <i>loche</i> but [I buy it] to make my oil. When I cook, I no longer add the fresh <i>loche</i> but I add the oil that will have the flavor of <i>loche</i>". So those are things that, as I repeat, as farmers, we did not even imagine. (P4)</p>
J. Misrepresentation of indigenous cultures	<p>J1. [...] the problem that we have [...] is that of modernizing cuisines because what is there is despised and it is about modifying. Something that, for example, does not happen in Italy or France or England, that no one cares about modifying [their national cuisines]. No one has the concept, the shame that what you eat has to be changed: You are not ashamed to show what you eat because it's just food, nothing more. [...] so, in the 90s, because of this idea of prejudice that food had to be improved, these versions appeared that are not, well, that are not authentic, that are not what one recognizes. (R1)</p> <p>J2. So, food is made decent. So, <i>criolla</i> cuisine... I mean, definitely, if you look at it in elite restaurants, let's say, middle class, like [elite chef's restaurant], completely made decent. It has been made decent, and by making it decent it becomes attractive to the social groups that want to be part of the nation but don't want to be confused with peasants, right? With "alley" people. Even the volume, the volume, which perhaps they [other interviewees] have told you, right? That contemporary <i>criolla</i> cuisine, from an elite restaurant, is reduced in volume, little is eaten, while the traditional dish was a hill of food. (H1)</p>
Exploitation	
K. Claiming rescuer argument	<p>K1. Technique, the techniques that we can... that we can rescue from any Peruvian custom, from any regional food. We're talking that you're eh...</p>

you have a great mecca of Peruvian cuisine, which are the *picanterías*, they are in the south and north [of Peru]. The best [*picanterías*] are those in the south with those in the north: the ones in Arequipa, Chiclayo, Piura. These *picanterías* have ancestral techniques regarding the use of the *batán* [Andean kitchen utensil composed of a large flat stone and a stone for grinding and milling], sun-drying of chili peppers, the *morronear* of chili peppers [to char a chili pepper so the skin is easy to peel off]. All these techniques that suddenly appear in a kitchen here in Lima but as if forgotten, right? The use of *chicha de jora* [fermented beverage made from yellow corn beer], the use of *chicha de guiñapo* [fermented beverage made from purple corn beer], the technique of using *chichas* [drink made from fermented maize], the technique of making them. So there are endless things, right? (C1)

K2. For example, [elite chef], who was with, I think, with a television program, eh... they called me, they interviewed me, we talked, we had a conversation, but they told me: "Now, [producer's name], I want to go to the scene of the events". So, they did go, they left with a camera, there are even some videos of them that they have with my father on the farm. So... but not all of them [elite chefs] are like that because most of them call, like you right now, we talk about everything but it just stayed there, nothing else... they don't go visit the field anymore. (P4)

L. Commodifying
producers' image

L1. Yes, I believe that there are people who have a genuine interest in seeing that the peasant does well. It is also true that most of the time he is used for promotional photos but it has nothing to do with fair payment to the peasants, nor with improving their living conditions, right? (J1)

L2. Look, it is real, but that there are people who take advantage and only use the producers for the photo, it's also real. And that has more to do with a lack of honesty, with an excess of pretentiousness. I think it has to do with the difficulty of connectivity that I explained to you before, right? That is, going to the mountains to get the potatoes from a producer at 3000 meters is not something that you can do every day. (J6)
