

Introduction - Consuming Authenticities: Time, Place, and the Past in the Construction of “Authentic” Foods and Drinks

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Authenticity as a “cultural construct of the modern Western world” is not a single thing, nor, in an objective sense, is it real.¹ Authenticity is defined in different ways and for different reasons according to perspective; it is more subjectively felt or experienced than objectively observed, and it operates on a spectrum rather than in absolutes. In the case of a culinary object or recipe for a particular dish, it is probably impossible to find a single definition that will satisfy everyone’s view of what that object or dish should be - accounting for individual tastes, family traditions, regional specialities, local ingredients, historical techniques, and so on. But in legal, commercial, and cultural terms, claims to authenticity for this or that food or drink are regularly made, often in absolute ways. Authenticity can be an official legal status; it can be used as a cynical marketing ploy; it can reflect a sense of cultural belonging or affirmation; it can constitute a defence of particular production practices.² Culinary products can therefore depend on ideas about authenticity for commercial success, drawing emotional responses from consumers and evoking a sense of local, ethnic, or even national identity through their consumption.³ But to describe such foods or drinks as authentic can be a politically, economically, and culturally charged process, particularly when it means labelling a different, rival version or product inauthentic. In this sense, authenticity can be a central ingredient in the celebration and commemoration of different identities, social practices, and histories. However, it can also marginalise, exclude, exploit, or damage others, and so it is important to understand how such ideas come about.

In this special edition, we consider how such ideas of authenticity are constructed around food and drink through particular historical narratives and temporal categories that

¹ Richard HANDLER, “Authenticity”, *Anthropology Today*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1986), p. 2.

² Alison K. SMITH, “National Cuisines”, in Jeffrey PILCHER (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* (Oxford, 2012), n. p. <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com> (accessed 1 July 2017); Alison J. MCINTOSH and Richard C. PRENTICE, “Affirming Authenticity: Consuming Cultural Heritage”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 26, no. 3 (1999), pp. 589-612; Natasha PRAVAZ, “Performing *Mulata*-ness: The Politics of Cultural Authenticity and Sexuality among Carioca Samba Dancers”, *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 39, no. 2 (2012), pp. 121-123; Marie Sarita GAYTÁN, “From Sombreros to *Sincronizadas*: Authenticity, Ethnicity, and the Mexican Restaurant Industry”, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2008), pp. 314-341.

³ Karl SPRACKLEN, “Dreaming of Drams: Authenticity in Scottish Whisky Tourism as an Expression of Unresolved Habermasian Rationalities”, *Leisure Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2011), pp. 99-116; Karl SPRACKLEN, Jon LAURENCIC, and Alex KENYON, “‘Mine’s a Pint of Bitter’: Performativity, Gender, Class and Representations of Authenticity in Real-Ale Tourism”, *Tourist Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2013), pp. 304-321.

create relationships between past, present, and future. We reflect on the power relationships—across socio-economic, racial, gender, and generational lines, for instance—that are involved in prioritizing, selecting, and excluding different temporal narratives from these ideas of authenticity. The articles examine Welsh craft cider, flaoues (celebration Easter pies from Cyprus), pulque and tequila (alcoholic drinks from Mexico), and Bahian food (from northeast Brazil) to explore the interaction between experience, performance, identity, and representation in the contested processes through which ideas about authenticity are constructed in different times and spaces, including nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mexico, twentieth-century Brazil, contemporary Cyprus, and contemporary Wales.

The special edition is the result of a larger research project, *Consuming Authenticities: Time, Place, and the Past in the Construction of “Authentic” Foods and Drinks*, which was funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (2014-15) as part of its major research theme, *Care for the Future: Thinking Forward through the Past*.⁴ The *Care for the Future* research theme is concerned with how the “relationship between the past, present, and future shapes our understanding of the world around us.”⁵ As such, our main aim was to critically reflect on the temporal - as well as spatial - relationships that give authenticity meaning and power as a cultural construct in relation to food and drinks. The project considered how interpretations of history can invest culinary products with, or strip them of, cultural value; the timelessness or time-depth of images of tradition and the traditional; the relationship between an “originary” point or place in the past and the present experience of authenticity from a range of different perspectives; and the embodied experience of time itself in the production and consumption of food and drink.

Authenticity involves a complex manipulation of time and temporal categories, but this has often been overlooked or underexplored by scholars investigating discourses of authenticity surrounding food and drinks.⁶ Much of the scholarship prioritizes place and locality as the central discursive features of authenticity, examining claims of connection made to the people or places identified as the originators of “authentic” foodstuffs.⁷ Many works explore the

⁴ Deborah TONER, Elaine FORDE, Anna CHARALAMBIDOU, Ana MARTINS, Emma-Jayne ABBOTS, *Consuming Authenticities Project Blog*, University of Leicester. <http://staffblogs.le.ac.uk/consumingauthenticities/>

⁵ AHRC, *Care for the Future: Thinking Forward through the Past*, Arts and Humanities Research Council and the University of Exeter, <http://careforthefuture.exeter.ac.uk/> (accessed 13 July 2017).

⁶ Temporality has been a greater focus in studies of authenticity and tourism. See, for instance, John TAYLOR, “Authenticity and Sincerity in Tourism”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2001), pp. 7-26; Alison J. MCINTOSH and Richard C. PRENTICE, “Affirming Authenticity...”, pp. 589-612.

⁷ Kaelyn STILES, Özlem ALTIOK, and Michael M. BELL, “The Ghosts of Taste: Food and the Cultural Politics of Authenticity”, *Agriculture and Human Values*, vol. 28 (2011), pp. 225-236; Rebecca SIMS, “Food,

concept of terroir and the formal legal frameworks that recognise and protect the special provenance of certain products, such as *Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée*, Geographical Indication, and Protected Designation of Origin.⁸ While this scholarship shows that place is a central aspect of the construction of authenticity, categories of time and temporality are drawing increasing attention from food scholars, although still in fairly limited ways. Johnstone and Baumann outlined five components parts of authenticity within American gastronomic discourse: within their schema, “history and tradition” were discussed alongside several other, more fully explored, categories, including “geographic specificity, ‘simplicity,’ personal connection... and ethnic connection.”⁹ West and Domingos have explained how the Slow Food movement mobilizes romanticized visions of a timeless past to suspend products like Portuguese Serpa cheese out of time, glossing over complex experiences of social and economic change.¹⁰ In other contexts, to brand a product or culinary experience as authentic can involve mixing ideas of timelessness and stasis with notions of movement, innovation, or change.¹¹ Studies examining less affluent groups of consumers and diverse producer groups have acknowledged that temporal ideas such as timelessness, origins, traditions, and nostalgia play some role in the construction and performance of authenticity, but have not sufficiently explored how and why temporal narratives become embedded with particular foodstuffs and not others.¹² Monica Perales has recently called for food scholars to bring more historically and temporally informed frameworks to bear on the concept of authenticity.¹³

Importantly, a uniting theme in this scholarship is the recognition that elitist, exclusionary, and culturally imperialist dynamics often shape the construction of authentic

Place and Authenticity: Local Food and the Sustainable Tourism Experience”, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2009), pp. 321-36; Karl SPRACKLEN, “Dreaming of Drams...”, pp. 106-109; Karl SPRACKLEN et al., “‘Mine’s a Pint of Bitter’...”, pp. 310-313.

⁸ For a good survey of the origin, development, and application of these concepts around the world, see Sarah BOWEN, *Divided Spirits: Tequila, Mezcal and the Politics of Production* (Berkeley, CA, 2015), pp. 3-24. See also Sarah BOWEN and Ana VALENZUELA ZAPATA, “Geographic Indications, ‘Terroir’, and Socioeconomic and Ecological Sustainability: The Case of Tequila”, *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2009), pp. 108-119; Nathalie SPIELMANN and Stephen CHARTERS, “The Dimensions of Authenticity in Terroir Products”, *International Journal of Wine Business Research*, vol. 25, no. 4 (2013), pp. 310-324.

⁹ Josée JOHNSTONE and Shyon BAUMANN, *Foodies: Democracy and Distinction in the Gourmet Foodscape* (London, 2010), p. 73.

¹⁰ Harry G. WEST and Nuno DOMINGOS, “Gourmandizing Poverty Food: The Serpa Cheese Slow Food Presidium”, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2012), pp. 120-143.

¹¹ Anita MANNUR, “Culinary Nostalgia: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Diaspora”, *MELUS*, vol. 32, no. 4 (2007), pp. 11-31.

¹² Minna AUTIO, Rebecca COLLINS, Stefan WHALEN, and Marika ANTTILA, “Consuming Nostalgia? The Appreciation of Authenticity in Local Food Production”, *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, vol. 37 (2013), pp. 564-568; Rebecca SIMS, “Food, Place and Authenticity...”, pp. 329-330.

¹³ Monica PERALES, “The Food Historian's Dilemma: Reconsidering the Role of Authenticity in Food Scholarship”, *Journal of American History*, vol. 103, no. 3 (2016), pp. 690-693.

foods and drinks.¹⁴ This special edition aims to develop this emerging body of research by examining the temporal categories and relationships that make such power dynamics possible, and which can problematize the idea of authenticity itself. With a critical focus on the concepts that join together pasts, presents, and futures, we offer a more multilayered examination of the role played by historical knowledge, narratives about the past and future, and temporal concepts such as change, timelessness, nostalgia, origins, and traditions, in the construction and challenging of authenticity. By evaluating the different logics through which ideas about historical stasis and change are combined or opposed in the process of constructing and debating authenticity, our articles examine the complex balancing act between past, present, and future involved in manipulating the stability and survival of authenticity as a discursive construct.

We also examine synergies between temporality and spatiality in constructing authenticity. The temporal categories embedded in the process of creating authenticity - timelessness, origins, the traditional- are often bound up with particular places in ways that depend on historical and/or politicized narratives of their cultural significance. Spaces of authenticity have often been predicated on stereotypical, idealized, and exoticized imaginings of time-bound or timeless spaces, such as a rustic, rural workshop, or a culturally “pure” homeland. By analysing the changing meanings of different foods and drinks across time and space, the special edition highlights the need to decentre the overall focus of existing scholarship on the tensions between global and local referents in the construction of culinary authenticities. In examining the relationship between commerce, consumption, and the authentic, most commonly in contemporary contexts, numerous scholars have analysed the conflict and contestation between the global consumerist logic of standardization and homogeneity, and the local consumerist logic of difference and particularity.¹⁵ Each article in this special edition focuses on a food or drink that has been associated with multilayered local or regional, national, and international or diasporic associations across time and space. This enables us to examine the tensions between the movement, decentralization, and outward-looking orientation, and the process of looking inward towards an originary core, involved in exploring authenticity in relation to each culinary product. As we shall see, the logic of local particularity as a source of value as opposed to globalized homogeneity remains a powerful

¹⁴ Lisa HELDKKE, *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer* (New York, 2003), pp. 23-59; Marie Sarita GAYTÁN, “From Sombreros to *Sincronizadas*...”, pp. 317-318; Meredith E. ABARCA, “Authentic or Not, It's Original”, *Food and Foodways*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2004), pp. 1-25.

¹⁵ Kaelyn STILES et al., “The Ghosts of Taste...”, pp. 225-236; Minna AUTIO et al., “Consuming Nostalgia?...”, pp. 564-568; Karl SPRACKLEN, “Dreaming of Drams...”, pp. 99-116.

factor in the depiction of Welsh cider and pulque as authentic products, but this operates alongside, and sometimes subsumed within, larger narratives about historical change and cultural fusion.

Emma-Jayne Abbots, in “Good People Make Good Cider,” presents an ethnographic study of craft cider producers in Wales and the Welsh borders, analysing how they negotiate, contest, and construct notions of authenticity, craft, and heritage in relation to their work and their produce. The cider producers demonstrated little interest in the category of authenticity, in part due to its association with the denomination of Protected Geographical Indication for traditional Welsh cider (conferred in 2014), about which they were ambivalent. Instead, their discursive construction of craft depended on an interaction between place-based heritage, naturalness, manual labour, and, above all, the integrity of the producer. Given the methodological focus on producers’ own practices and views, it is perhaps unsurprising that the producers’ ethical and personal values are attributed such importance in defining craft, but this demonstrates very powerfully the subjectivity and multivalence of how it can be produced and articulated. As Abbots highlights, the majority of scholarship on craft and culinary authenticity focuses on top-down, “institutionalized and commodified celebrations of culinary heritage,” such as those protected by formal legal recognition; her work instead focuses on how small-scale producers sceptical of such frameworks dismiss the category of authenticity and negotiate the language, idea, and identity of craft.

Overall, craft cider producers positioned themselves in opposition to industrial producers, oriented to mass, global consumer markets, echoing a common theme in culinary studies of authenticity. The adherence, or aspiration to adhere, to fully natural ingredients and processes in making cider was particularly central, with value placed upon the heterogeneity of the produce and the connection to older traditions that this naturalness encapsulated. The use of historical equipment, such as Victorian cider presses, was sometimes also attributed value as being rooted in tradition, but more often because this required considerable personal investment of physical, manual labour and time. The personal involvement of the producers’ knowledge, experience, physical effort, and ethics – defined in various ways – was construed as the most fundamental element of a craft cider. The extent to which different producers’ definitions of craft balanced continuity and change, with respect to their own practice and to the history of cider-making in the region, varied considerably depending on their economic circumstances and practical constraints. Yet, it was the very manner in which makers balanced and negotiated these different considerations against one another, within an overall ethos of integrity, that constituted craft.

The participants in Abbots' study placed much greater value on the notion of craft than they did on authenticity. Anna Charalambidou's linguistic analysis of Cypriot women's conversations about flaounes likewise reveals a reluctance to use the language of authenticity, which is striking given that her participants' production of flaounes was generally non-commercial, unlike Abbots' cider producers. Their resistance to authenticity stemmed from its assumed or implied exclusional and representativeness – that there is only one right or real version of flaounes for everyone – and they preferred instead to employ a more malleable concept of tradition. Their conversations constructed tradition as a largely personal category, based on their own living memory, their own or their family's past practices of making flaounes, and the passing down and altering of recipes for improvements in taste and appearance. While some participants observed that older ways of making flaounes were more authentic, typically evoking idealized images of a pre-modern, rural life, these views were in the minority. In fact, the oldest participants (mid-seventies and older) often bemoaned a lack of access to ingredients and resources in the past as inhibiting their ability to make good flaounes. As a living, practiced tradition, changes in the manner of making flaounes were more often celebrated than resisted and were central to how women presented themselves as good cooks, good women, and good Cypriots, as well as how they rejected images of old age as a time of decline. Handwritten recipes and conversational tellings of recipes acted as key sites for the performance of expertise in making flaounes, which took on heightened significance because of the typically communal manner of preparing and consuming flaounes. Within this discourse, changes in the use of particular ingredients, baking techniques, and technologies over time were not constructed as the loss of, but as improvement to, tradition. Tradition, then, more than authenticity, was constructed as the meaningful temporal category in relation to flaounes, and definitions of tradition were multivalent, "more often associated with living memory and family-specific ways of doing things" than with established historical narratives.

Both articles on cider and flaounes, based on data from contemporary communities of practice, are therefore concerned with how tradition and time-induced change intersect with – sometimes constituting but often challenging – notions of authenticity from a bottom-up perspective. The historically-orientated (in terms of methodology) articles on Mexican drinks and Bahian food concentrate on more institutionalized ideas of authenticity embedded within historical narratives about the formation of national cuisines and national identity in Mexico and Brazil. Both analyse the racial politics involved in these historical narratives, particularly in terms of how the meeting of different cultures through colonialism is temporally defined, often in tension with pre-colonial pasts imagined outside of, or immune to, historical time.

Deborah Toner's article examines the changing representation of pulque and tequila as Mexico's national drinks in cookbooks and food writing from the mid-nineteenth century to the late twentieth century to show how different temporal concepts and historical narratives can organize time to construct authenticity. While the language of authenticity itself only came into use in the second half of the twentieth century, largely as a means of countering unflattering images of Mexican food in the global marketplace, the way this more recent expression of authenticity was constituted has much in common with longer-term constructions of Mexicanness. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, stories about the origins of pulque connected the pre-colonial Indigenous past to contemporary popular culture through a framework of genealogical time, which in different media celebrated or denigrated pulque as distinctively and uniquely Mexican. From the 1940s to the 1970s, as part of a broader trend of culinary nationalism, recipe books and food writing mobilized the same origin stories in a different temporal framework: a through-time continuum. In this period, the language of authenticity began to appear, describing pulque as one of a handful of elements of the national cuisine that had remained unchanged throughout historical time, and even being suspended beyond time through myth. By the late twentieth century, pulque increasingly became subject to a nostalgic historical narrative of decline, at the same time as tequila was increasingly depicted as the authentically national drink through a combination of temporalities that conferred both ancient status and futurity. Genealogical time established a lineage between pulque and tequila through origin stories to invest tequila with deep historicity and antiquity. At the same time, tequila was depicted as historically and temporally dynamic, as an exemplar of the triadic historical narrative of *mestizaje*, the nationalist ideology that idealizes modern Mexican culture as the culmination of the fusion of Hispanic and Indigenous cultures that began in the moment of European colonization.

Mexico's *mestizo* ideology, in general and as expressed through historical narratives about the national cuisine, has largely ignored the contribution of Africans and Afro-Mexicans to this process of cultural fusion and change.¹⁶ In Brazil, by contrast, historical narratives about national identity and national cuisine have been dominated by debate about the relative importance of African, European, and Indigenous contributions to the national. Ana Martins' article presents a close literary reading of two foundational texts in this historical debate: Gilberto Freyre's *The Masters and the Slaves* (1933) and Manuel Querino's *Culinary Art in*

¹⁶ Jeffrey PILCHER, *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque, 1998), pp. 138-141.

Bahia (1928). Acarajé, an archetypal street food of Salvador, the capital of Bahia in northeast Brazil, forms the point of departure for this discussion.¹⁷ Sold mainly by black and mixed race women known as the *baianas do acarajé*, acarajé is one of the most popular delicacies in Afro-Bahian cuisine. It is deeply symbolic of Brazil's imperial history, slavery, and transatlantic connections between Brazil, Portugal, and West Africa, as well as the racial politics within historical narratives of Brazilian national identity. As Martins highlights, acarajé has recently been designated part of Brazil's intangible heritage, a very complicated category in temporal terms, conveying both its constant re-creation in the present and its connection to a past beyond memory. This idea is embedded in her reading of Querino's work on Bahian food, the constitution of Brazilianness, the relative importance of different racial groups to Brazilianness, and the tension between temporally stable and temporally unstable notions of identity. Gilberto Freyre depicted Brazil as a racial democracy, brought about because of the distinctive nature of the Portuguese, as whites and as colonizers, and his depiction of authentic Brazilian food depends on a conservative notion of tradition, rooted in an immutable past beyond memory. By contrast, Querino attributes greatest agency to Africans and blackness in the constitution of Brazil and an authentically Brazilian cuisine. Crucially, Querino's emphasis is on the temporality and historicity of Brazilian cuisine, being actively created by black cooks in Brazil over time, and not depicting African influences on Brazilian food as remnants or preserved elements of an original or fixed African cuisine in the distant past. This is done through a trope of "transformative seasoning", with black cooks enhancing, improving, and altering food. Moreover, in Querino's vision, this seasoning was vital to preserving the bodies of Portuguese colonizers in a tropical environment and through time, transforming them, as well as Indigenous and African people, into Brazilians.

In the context of nationalist ideologies that grapple with colonial pasts and racial difference in both Brazil and Mexico, then, authenticity is not presented as incompatible with historical change in the culinary sphere. Pulque's representation as authentically Mexican consistently depended on stories about its origin in the pre-colonial Indigenous past but these have been located in historical narratives of change as well stasis at different points in time. With respect to tequila, a combination of ahistorical, historical, and future-oriented temporalities in its representation as authentically Mexican helped to spread its acceptance as the national drink so rapidly and pervasively in the later twentieth century. Bahian food,

¹⁷ Acarajé is a small snack food, made of black-eyed peas, onion, and salt, fried in dendê (palm) oil, and served with pepper sauce and other fillings.

meanwhile, was authentically Brazilian in Querino's seminal work because of the historical change that it evidences. This is in contrast to the first two articles in this special edition, which explore authenticity from a more bottom-up perspective amongst contemporary communities of practice involved in the production of cider and flaounes, as they revealed greater ambivalence or even hostility to the category of authenticity, because of its propensity to fix, reify, and valorize a particular practice over others. In these cases, craft and tradition – variously defined in personal, family, technological, regional, national, or historical terms – were seen as more malleable and meaningful temporal categories capable of encompassing change and variation in practice, connections to place or community, and the living, embodied experience of making cider and flaounes.

These cases, focused on analysing the views of people who make cider and flaounes, also highlight the subjectivity and multivalence of perspectives in defining authenticity. Their insistence on the qualities of the producer as central to the making of a good and true product is not surprising; however, the range of ways in which they did is noteworthy, particularly as the views of small-scale and non-commercial producers are relatively understudied in culinary scholarship on authenticity. These ways included the producers' skill, knowledge, length of experience, instinct, pride, passion, family relationships, links to locality, gender, age, adaptability, and ethical outlook. In our previous exploration of oral narratives about pulque and acarajé, we likewise found a similar enumeration of producers' qualities in defining the authenticity of the products, with additional emphases on the appearance, dress, and racial or ethnic identity of producers, which are less visible in the published historical writing analysed in Toner's and Martins' articles here.¹⁸ This shows that bringing different disciplinary approaches into dialogue, with the varied methods and source material each discipline tends to bring, can enrich our understanding of complex concepts like authenticity.

The experience of time itself in defining authenticity was also more multifaceted than expected, given the stress of much existing scholarship on slowness as a counter to mass, industrialized production. Indeed, the slow labour of love in the making of craft cider with manual techniques and the slow growth of the agave plants in the production of pulque are highlighted as sources of cultural meaning, value, and authenticity in contrast to more automated, industrial, and depersonalized methods. However, the very short time in which

¹⁸ Deborah TONER and Rocio CARVAJAL, "Pulque in Mexico Then and Now", and Ana MARTINS, "Acarajé: Between Bahia and West Africa", in Emma-Jayne ABBOTS, Rocio CARVAJAL, Anna CHARALAMBIDOU, Elaine FORDE, Ana MARTINS, Hazel THOMAS, and Deborah TONER, *Authentic Recipes from Around the World* (Ceredigion, 2015), pp. 12-34, 74-92.

pulque is viable and pleasant to drink is also seen as part of its enigmatic attraction and distinctively Mexican character, since this makes it virtually unobtainable outside central Mexico. Dexterity and swiftness in certain stages of making flaounes and acarajé are considered essential for making them look and taste good, and some producers of flaounes and cider valued the role of improved modern technology in achieving the same effect. Seasonality, the rhythms of the agricultural and religious calendars, powerfully shape craft cider and flaounes-making respectively too.

We hope readers will draw many other conclusions from what follows, and think about how our findings relate to constructions of authenticity around other foods and drinks, especially the temporal dimensions of this process. We also recognize that at least some of the foods and drinks discussed here will be relatively unfamiliar to readers and hope our arguments can be enhanced (seasoned perhaps?) by referring to the tasting notes, recipes, and stories about cider, flaounes, pulque, and acarajé in our cookbook *Authentic Recipes from Around the World*.¹⁹ In conducting the research underpinning this special edition, we worked closely with a number of museum professionals, food and drink producers, chefs, food writers, and consumer groups to produce this book, which was co-written with our project partners Hazel Thomas, Elaine Forde, and Rocio Carvajal. Further contributions to the book were made by cider producers, museum professionals, chefs, food writers, home cooks, street vendors, and consumer organisations, which were solicited through organized events, interviews, and fieldwork. Many of these contributors were named in the publication, while others preferred to remain anonymous. For those who feel that studying food and drink can be improved immeasurably by trying them materially, we hope that these recipes and stories will inspire you to get stuck in.

¹⁹ Emma-Jayne ABBOTS, Rocio CARVAJAL, Anna CHARALAMBIDOU, Elaine FORDE, Ana MARTINS, Hazel THOMAS, and Deborah TONER, *Authentic Recipes from Around the World* (Ceredigion, 2015).

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