

Colonial Culinary Appropriation: Objectives, Factors, and Implications

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“And your place remains empty, yet its emptiness is the most beautiful presence.”

Mahmoud Darwish

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Abstract

The present thesis evaluated the relationship between culinary appropriation and colonialism. The research aimed to examine the historical context of colonial culinary appropriation by reviewing pertinent literature. The purpose of this study was to investigate the phenomenon's objectives in relation to culinary nationalism, define its factors, and demonstrate its implications. A single case study of Palestinian cuisine was conducted by employing semi-structured interviews with 17 participants. The research opted for an interpretive approach followed by thematic analysis. The findings revealed a strong relationship between culinary appropriation and colonialism, as colonial culinary appropriation is a subset of cultural appropriation with a unique set of characteristics and facets. According to the findings of this study, the primary goal of colonial culinary appropriation is to increase the colonizer's sense of culinary nationalism while diminishing that of the colonized. In addition, the results revealed that -narration, commodification, and marketing- serve as the concept's factors, with normalization as its primary implication. It was concluded that food can serve as both a mechanism for the colonizer and a medium for the colonized.

Keywords: Cultural appropriation, Culinary, Colonialism, Nationalism, Narration, Commodification.

Abstrato

A presente tese avaliou a relação entre apropriação culinária e colonialismo. A pesquisa teve como objetivo examinar o contexto histórico da apropriação culinária colonial por meio da revisão da literatura pertinente. O objetivo deste estudo foi investigar os objetivos do fenômeno em relação ao nacionalismo culinário, definir seus fatores e demonstrar suas implicações. Um estudo de caso único da culinária palestina foi realizado por meio de entrevistas semiestruturadas com 17 participantes. A pesquisa optou por uma abordagem interpretativa seguida de análise temática. Os resultados revelaram uma forte relação entre apropriação culinária e colonialismo, pois a apropriação culinária colonial é um subconjunto de apropriação cultural com um conjunto único de características e facetas. De acordo com os resultados deste estudo, o objetivo principal da apropriação culinária colonial é aumentar o sentimento de nacionalismo culinário do colonizador e diminuir o do colonizado. Além disso, os resultados revelaram que -narração, mercantilização e marketing- servem como fatores do conceito, tendo como principal implicação a normalização. Concluiu-se que o alimento pode servir tanto como mecanismo para o colonizador quanto como meio para o colonizado.

Palavras-chave: Apropriação cultural, Culinária, Colonialismo, Nacionalismo, Narração, Mercantilização.

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1. Introduction

There has been substantial engagement with the term cultural appropriation in recent years, with 2018 and 2020 representing the term's high point of popularity (Google Trends, 2022). Although the contemporary usage of the term "cultural appropriation" is widespread, the concept extends back nearly fifty years. This controversial phenomenon frequently elicits intense disputes between two parties, who are strong advocates and opponents of cultural appropriation. On the one hand, some belief in the significance of cultural interaction and integration based on the notion of cultural borrowing. On the other hand, others are firm about the necessity of safeguarding the cultures and identities of people, especially those who are disadvantaged and vulnerable (Nguyen & Strohl, 2019; Siems, 2019).

It is important to note that the study of cultural appropriation is still in its infancy in the academic world. The concept of appropriation is commonly associated with fields like cultural studies, rhetoric, and critical media. At the same time, cultural appropriation has become increasingly associated with fields like anthropology and indigenous studies in the social sciences and humanities (Freire et al., 2022; Matthes, 2016). Some essential disciplines, such as intercultural communication and destination branding, have yet to see any substantial literary exploration of cultural appropriation (Freire et al., 2022; Rogers, 2006). In addition, literature is scarce concerning indigenous food systems in the context of settler colonialism (Grey & Newman, 2018).

This research aims to explore the phenomenon of culinary cultural appropriation in the context of colonialism by investigating its objectives, factors, and implications. To address the abovementioned knowledge gaps, this research examines cultural appropriation with respect to narration (a form of communication) and tourism (a form of branding). To do so, an interpretive single case study was applied within the context of Palestine's culinary sector, and this was achieved by conducting semi-structured interviews with a saturation of 17 participants who consisted of Palestinian culinarians from different fields. Findings illustrate how culinary appropriation could work as a mechanism of culinary colonialism to shape national food identity through three main factors: narration, commodification, and marketing. In addition, the findings point to a reciprocal paradigm for the implications of colonial culinary appropriation.

Our study begins with a literature review evaluation, from which key research questions are formulated based on the significant findings. Next, the methodology, participant selection, and

data collection techniques are described. The research outcomes are then presented. The research concludes with a discussion of the theoretical and managerial implications of the data, as well as a discussion of possible routes for further research.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Culinary Cultural Appropriation

Cultural appropriation is a broad topic connected to political and intercultural studies, yet it lacks systematic definitions. The term is drawn from the legal concepts of ownership and theft; as to Rogers (2006), is: "*the use of a culture's symbols, artifacts, genres, rituals, or technologies by members of another culture, is inescapable when cultures come into contact, including virtual or representational contact*" (p.474). The political context of cultural appropriation revolves around the power gap between the dominant and the submissive. Jackson (2021) approaches the issue from the same angle; in his belief, despite the various causes, power imbalances play an integral role in cultural appropriation, which frequently has negative consequences. Appropriation is a sort of cultural change based on the unfavorable hegemonic taking of a weaker culture, and it operates in the opposite direction of cultural assimilation, in which the dominating party imposes its culture on the other. Cultural appropriation is founded on looting, whereas assimilation is based on imposing.

Most scholarly discourses concentrated on questions of material cultural appropriation, which are based on property rights, particularly in the arts and cultural artifacts. Nevertheless, the influence of cultural appropriation may be seen even in areas of intangible cultural heritage, a phenomenon described by Nguyen and Strohl (2019) as "*style appropriation*," which includes adopting other people's languages, cooking techniques, musical styles, and fashions. This form of cultural appropriation inextricably intertwines with intellectual property, and it can be challenging to legally protect it despite the practice's moral turpitude. For instance, copyright cannot be used to protect broad categories like cuisines or large groups such as whole populations (Siems, 2019).

Various cultural appropriations can occur in various contexts and groups, with differing degrees of impact. Rogers (2006) acknowledges that the determinants vary based on the political, societal, and economic conditions in which the act occurred. However, cultural appropriation is a double-impact process that shapes culture and identity in return. The desire to take the other's cultural identity can be a driving incentive behind cultural appropriation if the other's culture and its components are valued. One way to achieve this is to question the

validity of a cultural phenomenon in its original setting or even wholly deny its origins (Siems, 2019). This results in systematic cultural appropriation, which Zayad (2018) defines as "*when one nation systematically absorbs parts, or the entire, of another group's cultural legacy as their own and strives towards the complete eradication of that group's cultural identity*" (P.82). Systematic cultural appropriation is characterized by the state's direct and active engagement to achieve a particular purpose. In contrast to traditional cultural appropriation, individuals, cultural organizations, and other bodies play the most prominent part in the appropriation process.

2.2. Culinary Appropriation and Colonialism

Cultural appropriation is a colonial tool that links to power imbalances. Two aspects of improper cultural appropriation are induced by power imbalances and colonialism: exploitation (Rogers, 2006) and oppression (Matthes, 2018). Colonialism and cultural appropriation are interconnected and share the power imbalance demonstrated by the powerful colonial, and weaker colonized sides. As per Siems (2019), the consequence of colonial cultural appropriation is expressed in the subjugation of indigenous natives and the looting of their cultural assets.

Cultural exploitation is one of the features of cultural appropriation that is built on a dual-power structure. According to Rogers (2006), this is the result of appropriative activities that give the impression of the colonizer's approval of the colonized culture but really serve to solidify the colonizer's hold on power. Cultural exploitation ultimately benefits the dominant party at the expense of the victim's property and sovereignty. This introduces the typical analysis of cultural exploitation and colonialism, where colonization begins with acquiring indigenous people's lands and subsequently spreads to include the takeover of their culture.

The other aspect of cultural appropriation that stems from a power imbalance is cultural oppression, which is complimentary to colonial oppression. This study is consistent with Matthes' (2018) research on the oppression account, which evolved as a critical response to the intimacy account (Nguyen & Strohl, 2019). According to Matthes (2018), the normative basis for indigenous cultural appropriation is cultural oppression, interpreting it as actions that produce or aggravate social exclusion whether through suppression, domination, or misrepresentation. As per Matthes (2018), intimacy is merely an introduced feature of cultural appropriation practices rather than its normative base. According to the oppression theory, one

must first seek "permission" from the original cultural group members before attempting any form of cultural appropriation. Due to their disempowerment within the colonial framework, the oppressed communities lack this type of authority. The intimacy account depicts large groups of people as intimates bound together by intimate practices (e.g., style, food, accent, music, and other cultural elements). These intimate practices unite members of a cultural group, forming their shared identity and sense of belonging. In this circumstance, the autonomy of these groups must be respected by preventing cultural appropriation of their cultural elements. Conversely, if the cultural group is oppressed and deficient in authority, the act of oppression is determined as a normative basis for cultural appropriation processes.

The idea of "eating the other" illustrates how cultural appropriation in the context of colonialism affects even the realm of food (Hirsch, 2011). The colonial consumption and ownership of indigenous food exemplify this. Culinary colonialism is a political notion that is a continuation of settler colonialism. To further understand the impact of culinary colonialism on Indigenous communities, this study adopts Grey and Newman's (2018) understanding of culinary colonialism as the expansion of colonial authority over and profiting off of Indigenous cuisine. Eating the foods of mostly non-Western cultures, especially those from the Third World, for the sake of an "exotic" experience is another way the term "culinary colonialism" has been defined (Heldke, 2001). The so-called multiculturalism, an ideology that welcomes minorities and helps them feel less isolated, provides a justification for culinary colonization. The indigenous people do not want the colonizers to adopt their food but instead, want to set themselves apart from them. For this reason and because they are colonized, not marginalized, indigenous people do not cooperate with the principle of cultural multiculturalism; instead, they find common ground with the principle of food sovereignty, which seeks to put an end to colonialism by protecting indigenous people's autonomy in all aspects of food production, consumption, and management. Culinary colonization occurs in phases, beginning with conquest and conflict for the goal of ownership, and progressing to enforced assimilation of the indigenous diet by settlers, leading to endorsement and adoption of this food. Culinary colonization takes place between the acts of annihilation and assimilation.

Ranta and Mendel (2014) investigated this socio-political paradox of admiration and antagonism in their research on Palestinian-Israeli food culture. They characterized culinary colonialism as a cycle of romanticism and emulation that ultimately results in cultural theft, hostility, and erasing of the past culture. Furthermore, they described the sequence of cultural appropriation of food in the context of colonialism in Palestine, which began with conquest

and migration into indigenous peoples' land. The next phase was adoption, which occurred in the same way it did in other colonial countries, where the settlers took up the eating habits of the natives.

Colonization obtains certain benefits for the colonial state, whether political, economic or otherwise. The unavoidable purpose of the settlers' movement to Palestine was to form a new identity, resulting in a dual process in which they culturally imitated Palestinians while politically distancing themselves. To further their cultural exploitation and oppression agenda, they ignored the indigenous origins of the people they were appropriating. More explicitly, Ranta and Mendel (2014) argue that the criteria for this duality shifted over time, becoming less admiring and more hostile as the number of immigrants and the balance of power favored the colonizer. Because this food colonization aimed to create a new identity, or more specifically, a new food identity, the settlers could not admit to stealing these resources while failing to recognize their indigenous origins to make them a natural (i.e., not stolen) part of their identity. This is how cultural appropriation occurs in the context of colonialism through adoption, ownership, denial of roots, and fabricating the narrative.

2.3. National Food Identity

Food is inextricably tied to politics and culture since it functions to establish and regulate national identity under what is known as food identity. When discussing constructing national identity through food, it is preferable to use the word food culture rather than cuisine because it encompasses the processes of production, preparation, consumption, and commodification. Food culture includes aspects not addressed by cuisine, such as “*everyday practices*” within food (Ranta & Mendel, 2014). The same could be stated about the role of food identity in generating Baron and Barnathan's (2021) idea of “*everyday nationalism*,” which refers to a nation's day-to-day habits and practices. Even though food can be a form of expression (Hirsch, 2011), it can also have a powerful influence on national culinary narratives. It is important to remember that culturally appropriated foods can come to stand in for an entire country, even if they are not initially from that nation. In situations of cultural appropriation, culinary colonialism of indigenous peoples aims to build a national food identity. The real political power of food culture lies in its ability to spread ideas, stir emotions, and form people's identities and worldviews. The conclusion here is that the power of food culture in the context of colonialism is the ability to appropriate and subsequently dominate narratives.

The gradual development of a national food identity necessitates a relationship to the local land and its components, which is reinforced via symbolism—food functions as a potent symbol for fostering national pride (Ranta & Mendel, 2014). The cultural weight of food symbols cannot be underestimated, and different symbols represent various aspects of culture, lifestyle, and society. Culinary symbolism will contribute to building a national food identity by designating particular meals as "national dishes" that represent the nation and maybe even celebrating them on national holidays, in addition to the embodiment of the symbols to the previously described "*everyday practices*" such as food shopping, dining at local restaurants, specific eating styles, traditional recipes, the use of common language, and other acts associated with food culture. Symbols hold a significant impact, mainly when they are used to represent culturally appropriated food in the context of colonialism and power imbalances, which would also work to support the fabricated narrative.

2.4. Fabricated Culinary Narratives

When the narrative is produced and controlled by the dominant nation that generates “genuine” information, it can be a factor of cultural appropriation. Narrative can be depicted or transformed into text, video, and audio; for example, in the case of a culinary narrative, the audience can read cookbooks, watch cook shows, or listen to food-related stories. This research will look at cookbooks as the primary culinary discourse to which others are exposed. Cookbooks connect foods, lifestyles, and heritage, particularly those that represent national cuisine. The primary objective of cookbooks is to raise knowledge and stimulate national sentiment.

Baron and Barnathan (2021) investigate the political narratives generated in Israeli cookbooks—particularly those written in English for an international audience—and connect cultural appropriation to "*food washing*." Using food as a metaphor to erase the stain of political wrongdoing is the idea behind "food washing," which is generated by a fabricated narrative. In this case, food serves as a metaphor for the processes of cultural appropriation and oppression that occur in the framework of colonialism. Narrative can take different forms; it can be explicitly political or not (e.g., intended for tourists), depending on the context of the book, its content, and the representational aim behind it. If the implied purpose is food washing, it is feasible to avoid addressing politics and instead focus on food, creating the impression of a serene setting. If the purpose is to elicit emotions, it is possible to craft a personal narrative that elicits sentiments of optimism or sympathy. Some may present the facts as they are, while

others may ambiguously present them using the wrong terminology or simply omitting specific details.

Cookbooks' normative strength depends on the interpretations through which recipes are offered; if the narrative is fabricated and politicized (i.e., when the cookbook contains recipes that originate from an indigenous culture but is referenced to another), it will become a tool of appropriation. Nevertheless, if authors actively aim to disregard the political context, they will co-produce a narrative in which appropriation is acceptable, so food washing prevails. The practice of food washing is manifested when historical political injustices are neglected under the guise that food culture has no place in politics. The concern is that fabricated narratives told in cookbooks serve to food wash historical injustices and the ongoing oppression that continues to this day. Another way in which Ranta and Mendel (2014) show that scholarly and public writings like cookbooks keep food and politics apart is by leaving indigenous people out of the narrative. To rephrase, the indigenous food culture is marginalized and omitted because of the failure to acknowledge the role of indigenous foods in shaping the colonizer's food identity.

2.5. Culinary Commodification

Commodification, in its broadest sense, is the process of converting something into a commodity for profit. Rogers (2006) provides a further capitalist take on the concept of commodification in the context of colonialism and power imbalances. To achieve commodification, intrinsic value is added by subtly attaching and integrating extra meanings to the commodity –a process connected to fabricating narrative-. These values assigned to cultural elements with the intention of commodification work to remove these elements from their native contexts by altering their meanings and functions - a process related to cultural appropriation-. The cultural commodity is defined by its accessibility, consumption, and high levels of emotion.

Food can become a commodity on a local, national, or international scale through the proliferation of restaurants, cafés, specialty stores, and, most importantly, cookbooks written in both the native tongue and other languages. Cookbooks, particularly those representing national cuisine, encourage cultural appropriation in the context of colonialism and the adoption of indigenous food. Cookbooks that promote national cuisine and culture to foreign visitors are particularly susceptible to political manipulation (Baron & Barnathan, 2021). This

analysis concludes that cookbooks serve as a commodity both in the literal sense, as commercial, cultural products, and in the rhetorical sense, as vehicles for commodifying cultural appropriation.

Tourism is inevitably linked to commodification; it can take the form of a tourist narrative depicting national cuisine cookbooks, as suggested by Baron and Barnathan (2021). A cookbook can be written by anyone, from a professional chef to a local author to a foreign food tourist who wants to spread the word about regional food. If culturally appropriated cookbooks motivate culinary tourists to visit the country of origin, it can generate either positive or negative implications. The most significant drawback is that food washing can induce a state of numbness or, conversely, generate responsiveness. Culinary tours, in addition to the de-indigenization of food promoted in hotels, restaurants, and other tourist facilities, are other ways in which culinary cultural appropriation can be commodified through tourism (Ranta & Mendel, 2014).

Various examinations of how tourism impacts cultural appropriation take different views into account. Gertner (2019) argues that tourism might be seen as an attempt to appropriate indigenous people's culture for financial or commercial gains. According to Hahn (2017), the "ethical concerns" of culinary tourism include exploitative practices that are motivated by the desire to market indigenous cuisine as "exotic," which ultimately leads to cultural appropriation when the cuisine is removed from its original cultural setting. Many studies examine tourism as the primary and immediate cause of cultural appropriation because they share the viewpoint of "selling local culture" to enrich tourism (Greenwood, 1989) and that whether the culture in question is indigenous or not, its commodification will inevitably lead to the loss of distinctive features (George, 2010). Meanwhile, because of the unique setting, this study takes a fresh perspective on tourism's relationship with cultural appropriation. While tourism does not serve as the primary impetus for colonial culinary appropriation, it does serve as a direct reinforcer of the process. The consequences of exploitation and commercialization highlighted above are, in this case, the product of culinary colonialism and are bolstered by elements such as tourism.

2.6. Research Questions

Based on the literature review on cultural appropriation, culinary colonialism, and nationalism. This research examines the theoretical relationships between culinary appropriation, national

food identity, fabricated narratives, and commodification. The key relationships are expressed in the following research questions:

RQ1. How is culinary appropriation an extension of culinary colonialism?

RQ2. Why does culinary appropriation arise in a colonial context?

RQ3. How is fabricated narrative positively related to culinary appropriation?

RQ4. How is commodification positively related to culinary appropriation?

RQ5. How does colonial culinary appropriation affect indigenous culture?

3. Methodology

Methodologically, this research is grounded on Interpretivism, which prioritizes developing a personal, introspective understanding of the study problem (Punch 2013). As a societal tendency tied to inequality and injustice, cultural appropriation is a type of systemic harm with deep roots in society (Matthes, 2016). Since it is a social phenomenon, the interpretive method is well-suited for this kind of study because Interpretivism locates meaning in the context of social interactions. The interpretive approach, according to Putnam and Banghart (2017), encompasses: "social theories and views that accept a view of reality as socially created or made meaningful by the actors' understanding of events" (p.1). As opposed to attempting to explain phenomena from the vantage point of an objective observer, the qualitative interpretive approach emphasizes the importance of understanding the participant's reference. As a result, the research phenomenon is clarified by addressing it's how and why (Elliot & Timulak, 2005; Ponelis, 2015). This feature is a critical rationale for working in the interpretive research paradigm.

An interpretive qualitative case study is the foundation for the research strategy, which is set in the context of culinarians' encounters with culinary appropriation in Palestine. Up to two months of qualitative interviews were conducted in Bethlehem, Ramallah, Nablus, and other regions, where the participants were contacted virtually to collect data. This method sheds light on emerging, narrower fields of study, particularly for phenomena where it is crucial to consider the broader setting. Understanding a phenomenon in its native setting is the primary goal of the case study (Dobson, 1999). Simply put, case studies are investigations of phenomena in their actual settings. In addition, the data collected and analyzed in a case study allows the researcher to arrive at results in various formats (e.g., conceptual models, proposals, or theory building) by arriving at novel interpretations of the phenomenon under investigation (Ponelis, 2015).

The goal is not to test hypotheses but to gain a thorough grasp of culinary appropriation via observation. The first step is to collect relevant data and then use that information to construct a model of the phenomena of interest. The grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) proposes that the theory must arise from the collected information. Based on the interpretive paradigm, grounded theory encourages researchers to render and interpret research situations as accurately as possible from the participant's perspective without the potentially confounding

influence of theory. Thus according to Yin (2009), a case study approach involves developing theories.

3.1. Participants

The sampling strategy used in qualitative research might and should change depending on the nature of the study (Elliot and Timulak, 2005). This study did not have a set number of participants, and the interviews ended when the saturation point was achieved with 17 people participating (see Appendix A). The intended respondents were Palestinian citizens who lived in or outside Palestine and engaged in Palestinian cuisine. Purposeful sampling, a method designed to meet the saturation requirement and advocated for by Creswell (1998), served as the basis for this selection procedure. For instance, if the purpose of the study is to provide an accurate depiction of the phenomenon under study, then the sampling strategy should be designed to ensure that all relevant participants are included.

As noted previously, the research did not have a set number of participants but had specified criteria, as all interviewees had to be part of the culinary scene in Palestine, and Palestinian culinarians from various fields were interviewed. All facets of this research have been fully covered through interviews with these individuals. Four key pillars were used to group the interviewees: cuisine, colonialism, narrative, and commodification. Notably, any participant in the context of the Palestinian culinary scene is capable of providing insightful responses. However, the following participants were chosen to obtain responses customized to those mentioned above four primary pillars. Six people were categorized as "cuisine experts," including Palestinian chefs, restaurant owners, and a culinary school manager. The term "culinary colonialism" has also been applied to another group of two food activists and a culinary artist. Four Palestinian cookbook authors, writers, and food bloggers were named the "narrative" group. Finally, the 'commodification' group consisted of three persons: a culinary guesthouse owner and culinary tour guides.

3.2. Data Collection

The interviews were performed using a qualitative semi-structured technique; according to Ponelis (2015), this approach enables additional discussion of other matters that arise throughout the interview session. There were two formats for the interviews: in-person meetings in various locations across Palestine and virtual meetings using zoom sessions for those in inaccessible areas for the researcher. All interviews followed the same general format,

beginning with a brief introduction to the research topic and its facets, followed by the exploratory pre-prepared questions -starting with how or why- (See Appendix 2), and finally by any other follow-up questions throughout the conversation. The interviews were conducted in either English or Arabic, depending on the participant's preference. All interviews held in Arabic were afterward translated. Each interview was approximately one-hour long. The first ten minutes of the interview consisted of the interviewer providing background on themselves, the study's impetus, and their aims. The topics of confidentiality, anonymity, and nature of participation were discussed. With the understanding that a transcript would be created for accuracy checks, permission was asked to take notes and record the interview for later transcription.

Qualitative interviews offer interviewees the confidence to highlight critical aspects of the phenomena as they experience it (Elliot and Timulak, 2005). To that end, the interviews solicited not only respondents' first-hand accounts of encountering the phenomenon but also their subjective assessments of it. During this stage, the technique was to work concurrently with the other sections of the study, and the interviews were focused on observation and reasoning. The problem of culinary cultural appropriation in Palestine has been examined, along with the impact of colonialism in this particular instance. The origins, reinforcements, consequences, and deterrents for this phenomenon were all examined. The interview grew around these core themes of discourse, with interviewees effectively guiding the interview session throughout their responses, allowing for the exploration of developing issues.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Data Analysis

Following each interview, the audio was transcribed using the "denaturalized transcription technique" (p. 1277) advocated by Oliver, Seovich, and Mason (2005), in which the focus is on accurately documenting the substance of the interview rather than the technicalities of the dialogue. This technique corrects language and eliminates interview noise. The data were analyzed using the thematic analysis method, which involves a systematic search for commonalities in qualitative data. All interview information was de-identified to protect the privacy of those participating in the study. Respondents to the interviews are assigned numbers (e.g., Interviewee1, Interviewee2). Because of the sheer volume of data, NVivo 10 was used to carry out the analysis.

The framework developed by Braun and Clarke (2006), possibly the most prominent method in the social sciences, was used to evaluate the qualitative interview data. There are six stages to the framework. The first step is to "become familiar with the data," which involves reviewing the transcripts to get a feel for the information and forming preliminary opinions. The second step is to "generate initial codes," wherein the information is arranged in a meaningful and orderly fashion. Combining deductive and inductive coding helped develop more robust codes for deeper investigation. The deductive method was employed with open coding for the essential topics anticipated to be revealed by the data. In contrast, the inductive method included line-by-line coding to incorporate any additional pertinent data. Third, "search for themes" occurs when codes are analyzed, sorted, and fitted into overarching themes. Themes are elucidative motifs that emerge from the data and are directly related to the study issue. The fourth stage is examining the themes and making any necessary adjustments to make them more understandable, reasonable, and applicable to the dataset. Defining the themes is the fifth stage. The sixth and last stage is "writing up" the results using the codebook exported from Nvivo10 (See Appendix 3). The focus now shifts to the overarching themes developed while analyzing the data.

4.2. Colonial Culinary Appropriation

Interviewees in this study cited that culinary appropriation is a mechanism of the broader phenomena of culinary colonialism. (Interviewee 13) believed that "In culinary appropriation, food becomes a parcel of the overall colonizing efforts." Because food is a soft sense that is very simple to take, it is often used by colonizers as a justification for their presence in the lands they have conquered and occupied. This is where the concept of culinary appropriation comes into play. "in terms of the mechanism of colonial appropriation; food is the easiest way to take away from people, their strength, and their resilience" (Interviewee 7).

Facets

All interviewees agreed that exploitation and oppression are essential aspects of the colonial mechanisms used in cultural appropriation. Oppression can be either a part of soft or hard politics, which can cause physical harm or psychological impacts. These harms can be done through Matthes's (2018) aforementioned acts of oppression, including silencing, domination, and misrepresentation. Interviewees shared a familiar feeling of persecution when discussing culinary cultural practices in Palestine; for instance, (Interviewee 7) expressed that "[occupation] can diplomatically or militarily control the culture in Palestine."

Regarding culinary appropriation, it is apparent that cuisine is being exploited; however, while discussing colonial culinary appropriation, other culinary-related aspects are being exploited. This study uncovered multiple facets of exploitation, including but not limited to worker exploitation, land acquisition, and resource dominance. This pertains to Roger's (2006) idea of exploitation, where the dominant culture gains power and wealth at the expense of the subjugated culture. Land acquisition is a direct impact of colonialism which is an exploitation of the repertoire. Tangible and intangible sources of exploitation can be part of settler colonialism acts such as water and electricity shortages and deforestation. (Interviewee 1) demonstrates how resources are exploited in production "Israeli food production companies started to produce industrial foods in factories, our food." He further addressed labor exploitation, in which Palestinian workers are exploited to work for low wages in food factories or settlement farms, "I do not think there is a worse way to be exploited than to be turned into a paid worker to do the same thing you used to do on your own land but cannot do anymore."

Features

Colonial culinary appropriation being systematic was the most prominent feature during data analysis, "The main difference between a normal appropriation and a colonial culinary appropriation in Palestine is systematic permanent settler colonialism which changed the whole mechanism" (Interviewee 13). In the early stages of colonialism, systematic culinary appropriation was mistaken for admiration. In agreement with Zayad (2018), systematic appropriation is characterized by the state's overt and deliberate participation in the appropriation. The evolved data suggests that systematic appropriation is validated through the diplomatic and political relations as well as activities of the state, which also receives social and economic support. Willful denial of any appropriative actions is another way to define this characteristic.

Rejection of the indigenous culture is another feature of colonial culinary appropriation, and this can happen through what interviewees indicated as exclusion or eradication of their existence. "Food is an expression of history, culture, and tradition. Presenting dishes of Palestinian provenance as "Israeli" not only denies the Palestinian contribution to Israeli cuisine but it erases their very history and existence" (Interviewee 8). There was unanimity amongst the participant's interpretations of the situation, as they were all keen to highlight the significance of acknowledgment when discussing the appropriation of cuisine. One respondent explained the significance of recognition and the drawbacks of rejection as he explains that:

“I may accept the occupier’s admiration for my food, and I may accept the occupier’s eating of my food, but when they attribute this food to them, it is rejected. In other words, the ground that can bring me together with the occupier must be based on the recognition of my identity, my culture, and my heritage with its various components. Otherwise, if I accept them treating my culture as their own, I would normalize cultural appropriation.” (Interviewee 16)

The final trait examined is power differences, an inevitable component of culinary colonialism. As per Jackson (2021), power imbalances are deeply embedded in cultural appropriation and often lead to undesirable outcomes, such as "people [believing] in the most powerful side of the media" (Interviewee 2), consequently leading to “[increasing] their credibility in front of others” (Interviewee 15). When there is a power imbalance, the colonizer is granted privileges in the military, political, social, and financial spheres. This study revealed shortcomings in the appropriation of colonial cuisine, such as the lack of generational knowledge, connection with the land, and disability to entirely appropriate culinary-related customs and traditions. Interviewee 4 illustrates: “no matter how deeply they delve into our cuisine, they remain ignorant of many aspects and techniques. Apart from the food, they lack the hospitable spirit that accompanies the traditional and popular dishes prepared by the indigenous people”.

In the instance of colonial culinary appropriation, all elements are interconnected. Exploitation and oppression are outgrowths of colonialism from which this appropriation originates. (Figure 1) effectively illustrates the main points and thus helps to answer the first research question on how culinary appropriation is an extension of culinary colonialism.

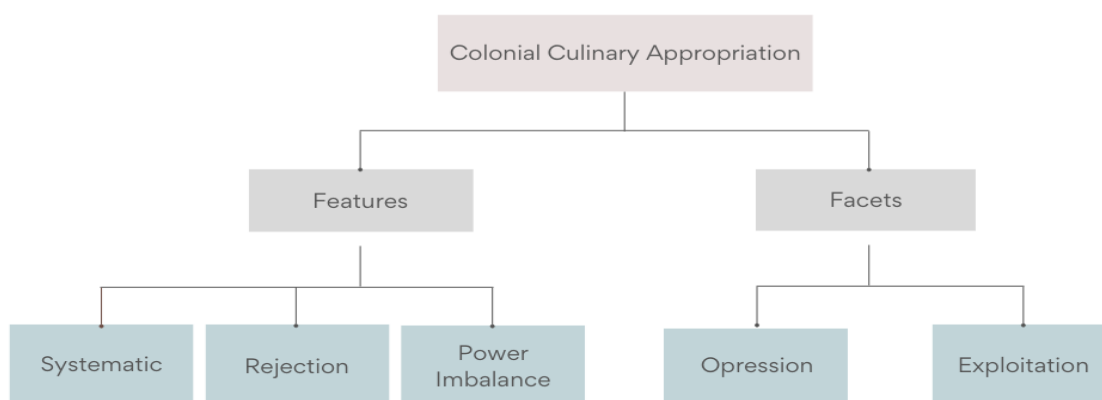


Figure 4.1 Characteristics of Colonial Culinary Appropriation

4.3. Culinary Nationalism

For the Colonizer

As a relatively new multicultural nation, a unifying national food identity is needed, and that is where appropriation is employed. "shaping Israeli cuisine required appropriating the indigenous food and then taking it out of its own reality by giving it a new identity" (Interviewee 9). Putting the responses into context, it was observed that the Indigenous people's appropriated food culture shaped and enhanced the colonizer's newly established cuisine, ultimately reinforcing their sense of nationalism.

The colonizer's sense of culinary nationalism is bolstered by the practice of culinary appropriation, which aims to provide proof of their legitimacy and ownership over the colonized people's land. Food can serve as a means of internal unification and external differentiation between "us" (the colonizers) and "others" (the colonized) when used to articulate national identity. Symbolism was raised as one of the critical factors in strengthening culinary nationalism by categorizing some indigenous food items as "national foods" for the colonizer. This links to Ranta and Mendel's (2014) viewpoint on how food symbolism fosters national pride.

For the Colonized

Colonial culinary appropriation has the opposite effect on colonized peoples' sense of culinary nationalism because it reduces their sense of pride and awareness of their own culinary culture. This is a result of the tangible and intangible effects of colonialism. The responses were mainly focused on the physical implications of colonialism that primarily led to a lack of awareness regarding the culinary culture in Palestine. (Interviewee 1) explained that such implications broke the Palestinian national food identity as they are losing touch with their rich culinary heritage, as he explains:

"A Palestinian from the west bank would not know or have tried Gaza's cuisine and vice versa because of the occupation. This is where the physical impact of colonialism made us maybe lose awareness of the national identity of our cuisine because we got segmented and divided [because of] the segregation war, with the bypass roads and all other acts of settler colonialism."

On the psychological level, responses prevailed that colonial culinary appropriation has led to losing pride and confidence in the local indigenous food mainly due to the colonizer’s industrial production, “we replace our local food with industrialized Israeli products, a lot of our food is redone by their industry” (Interviewee 11). Confidence loss in culinary culture can also be due to external factors, as illustrated by (Interviewee 6):

“I feel very annoyed when I travel and eat; for example, I find a restaurant with an Israeli menu, which is my mother's and father's food. These situations are frustrating, as I travel to learn about other peoples' cultures and at the same time introduce them to my own culture and food, but in their minds, my heritage is linked to another country.”

The main points are well highlighted in (Figure 2), which contributes to the answer to the second research question of why culinary appropriation occurs in a colonial context.



Figure 4.2 Objectives of Colonial Culinary Appropriation

4.4. Colonial Culinary Appropriation Factors

Narration

As a means of justifying culinary appropriation, storytelling is essential. Colonization requires more than just seizing the land; it also necessitates capturing the narrative. Respondents emphasized the vital role of narration when it comes to storytelling. Appropriation occurs when indigenous people's food narrative is fabricated or omitted (i.e., not mentioned at all). The new and false narrative can erase history and change facts with time and frequent exposure. Moreover, People who are exposed to the appropriative narratives with no background on the context are subjected to bias and believe the false narration.

Cookbooks were frequently mentioned as a medium for narrative, but other formats are also viable options for narration. Because they present inarguable facts, cookbooks significantly impact popularizing culinary appropriation. (Interviewee 3) believes that *"whenever the occupier produces cookbooks containing stolen food and recipes but do not mention their source, it provides them with continuity and legitimacy."* Some respondents highlighted the importance of other narration mediums, especially with the rise of social media platforms. "culinary appropriation does not depend only on books, but extends to any form of narration and blogging, whether podcasts, magazines, newspapers, videos or even indirectly through a movie scene" (Interviewee 14).

Commodification

Culinary commodification, which encompasses tourism and numerous food commodities, plays a crucial role in culinary appropriation. Gastronomic tourism, food tastings, and culinary tours all highlight the inextricable relationship between food and tourism. In addition to meals sold in restaurants, hotels, airlines, and other tourist establishments. Since the stories presented to tourists shape their impressions of a country's cuisine, tourism can be considered a commodity and a narrative.

Colonialism controls tourism flow in Palestine; as (Interviewee 5) explains, *"tourists enter Palestine with an Israeli tour guide. So The tourists are exposed to our heritage, culture, and food through the eyes of the colonizer"*. Respondents often called tourism to Palestine systematic since its mainly coordinated by Israeli tour companies. They also focused on the role of narration as appropriation through tourism narrative can happen by either providing fabricated information or omitting the indigenous food resource by not mentioning the word Palestine. Ultimately, the power of tourism as a medium of information exchange is substantial. *"I see tourists calling the food I grew up eating Israeli food just because the tour guide told them so"* (Interviewee 12).

(Interviewee 4) highlighted the significant limitations of tourism in Palestine concerning culinary appropriation: *"when tourists are exposed to the Israeli culinary narrative, it has a long-term effect when they return home and share their experiences with others. The issue also has an economic impact and a great financial return for the occupier."* Moreover, other food-related commodities are essential in reinforcing culinary appropriation; such commodities also include cookbooks. *"Using food to advance the occupier's narrative is not only historically and politically beneficial, but extends to guaranteeing economic benefits"* (Interviewee 2).

Marketing

Narration and commodification overlap and interconnect with marketing, which serves as an umbrella term for the culinary appropriation components. Respondents expressed the effectiveness of good marketing, primarily when supported by the state, "*I think where appropriation becomes worse is when it is successfully marketed to the world*" (Interviewee 1). Some marketing acts which emerged from the responses were selling the appropriative cuisine to food writers, critics, and food TV hosts. In addition to marketing efforts at the borders and airports – which they control due to colonial power imbalances- where the tourists will "*involuntarily be exposed to propaganda*" (Interviewee 13). Furthermore, (Interviewee 7) notes that commodification and narration are "whitewashing tools" that aim to "*cover all the political injustices*" through various marketing practices where politics is removed from the context. This links with Baron and Barnathan's (2021) understanding of "food washing," which is to use food as a technique to wash away violence metaphorically.

As shown in Figure 3, this theme effectively addresses the third and fourth research questions by identifying narration, commodification, and marketing as positive factors for culinary appropriation.

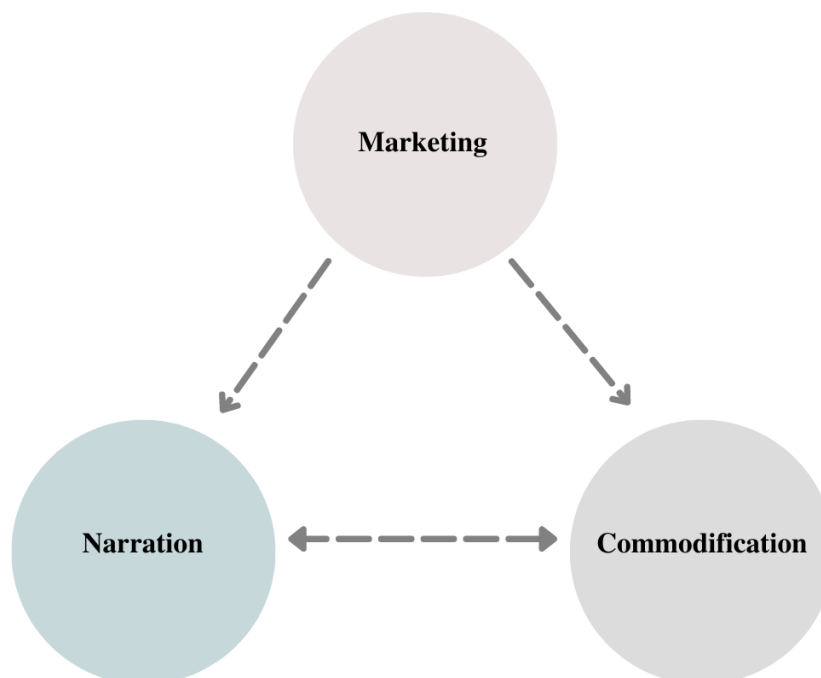


Figure 4.3 Colonial Culinary Appropriation Factors

4.5. Colonial Culinary Appropriation Implications

Responses indicated that "normalization" was the inevitable result of food washing. Normalization of appropriation happens when the appropriated nation merely reacts to it instead of countering it. The high risk of normalization arises from the appropriator's story gaining credibility as the culinary appropriation cycle goes unchecked (Figure 4). It is important to note that fighting appropriation can also change the narrative. The responses focused on the significance of the actions in which the influence of colonialism was most apparent, such as the absence of documentation, the fragility of the tourism industry, and a fragmented sense of localization.

Lack of documentation can be either a physical or psychological effect of colonialism; as (Interviewee 2) explains, "*[colonialism] got us busy with the more impactful things with things that are essential to people's survival.*" At the same time, other respondents commented that the colonial takeover of libraries and indigenous homes led to a lack of documented content. "*What we have left now is oral documentation. However, writing acts as the strongest evidence*" (Interviewee 8). Lack of documentation is dangerous as (Interviewee 15) states, "*[it] reinforces the colonizer's narrative in the absence of our appearance.*" The need for justification can be reduced if indigenous culture is widely disseminated and documentation is improved.

Regarding tourism enforcement, many responses centered on the significance of including the local community more deeply in efforts to promote local cuisine. (Interviewee 5) believes that "*Culinary heritage can be described through culinary tours by walking through the local neighborhoods, old towns and markets, trying street food, visiting ancient spice shops and food factories the tourists would see the story in their own eyes.*" In this case, the quantity-oriented approach to tourism should be abandoned in favor of one that prioritizes experience over quantity.

The essence of acting against culinary appropriation is for the indigenous people to change how they look at their food culture as they need to appreciate localization. (Interviewee 10) highlights the importance of cultivating, producing, and consuming local food commodities "Palestinians must boycott food products manufactured in the occupier's factories." The most basic form of resistance to the appropriation of local cuisine is found in everyday food practices (Interviewee 6); a Palestinian refugee living in the United States implies: "*cooking our food for*

me became an act of preservation, and documentation a way to sustain our cultural identity across time and distance." This integrates with "everyday nationalism," the term coined by Baron and Barnathan (2021). Such countermeasures will bolster culinary nationalism, denounce colonialism, and ultimately reshape the national food identity of the colonized.



Figure 1.4. Colonial Culinary Appropriation Cycle

4.6. Discussion

The issue with colonial culinary appropriation is not copying another cuisine but rather the direct and indirect attempts to eradicate the indigenous people to strengthen the legitimacy of their ownership of the culture. Multiple psychological and physical aspects of oppression and exploitation contribute to this phenomenon. Colonial cultural appropriation is characterized by power imbalances, the rejection of indigenous people, and state-supported systematization. The primary objective of colonial culinary appropriation is to increase the colonizer's culinary nationalism by creating a unified food identity that enhances the sense of truthfulness on the one hand; to eradicate indigenous people's culinary nationalism by significantly reducing their confidence and awareness of their national food identity on the other.

Narration is one of the factors associated with cultural appropriation, regardless of whether the information is fabricated or omitted. The commodification of food, which transforms it into a good or service, is another factor. Both factors operate concurrently, as the narrative can function as a commodity and vice versa. Aside from the previously mentioned factors, the presence of marketing, whether from the state or its citizens, is also significant. Tourism and

cookbooks, for instance, serve as both a commodity and a narrative that, if effectively marketed, could profoundly influence appropriation. Colonial culinary appropriation efforts are systematized and implemented by the state and its population to propagate the national food identity throughout the globe. These actions help to disassociate food from politics by shielding the eyes of the public from the oppression and marginalization of indigenous peoples. If cultural appropriation persists in this manner, it will eventually lead to normalization.

The primary outcome of this research is that food is a mechanism for colonialism to shape/enhance national food identity. Consequently, food is the possible medium to reshape the colonized stolen national food identity and denounce colonialism. As seen in (Figure 5), food is essential to both groups, providing a satisfying conclusion to the final research question of how colonial culinary appropriation affects indigenous culture.

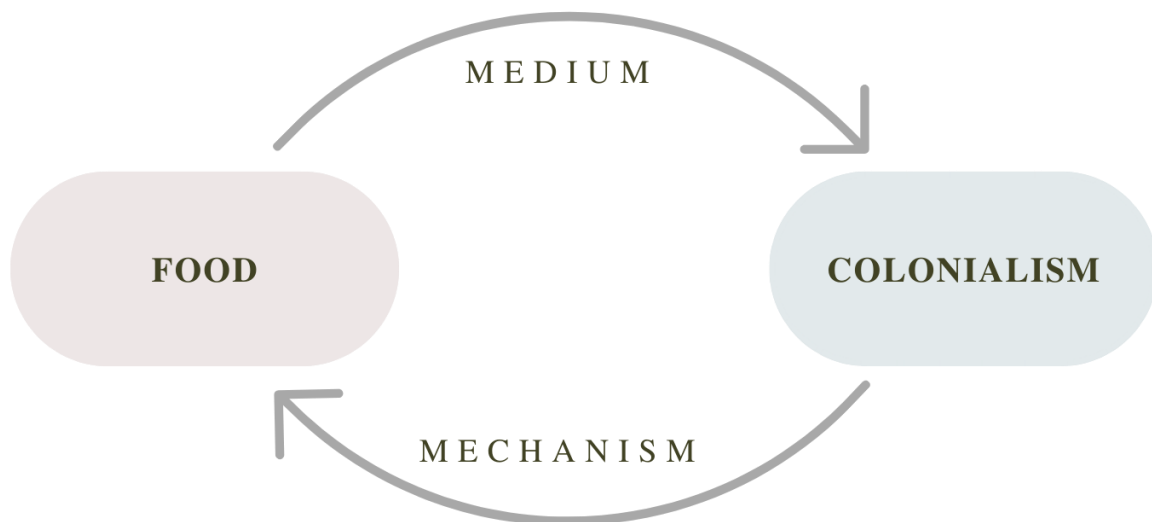


Figure 4.5 Food as a medium and a mechanism

5. Conclusion

5.1. Theoretical Implications

This study makes a notable contribution to the literature in several ways. First, this study examines culinary appropriation from a colonial mechanism perspective, which broadens the overall field of study on cultural appropriation. The research was based upon; and found to be consistent with exploitation theory (Rogers, 2006) and oppression theory (Matthes, 2018) as facets of culinary colonialism. This study uncovered multiple different aspects of colonial culinary exploitation, including but not limited to labor exploitation, land acquisition, and resource dominance. That is in line with Roger's (2006) interpretation of exploitation, wherein

one culture benefits economically and politically at the expense of another. According to Zayad's (2018) definition of systematic appropriation, which is characterized by the state's overt and deliberate participation in the appropriation, this study was able to differentiate between a natural culinary appropriation and a colonial one by three main features, including the rejection of the indigenous culture, colonial power imbalances, and appropriation being structured. By suggesting that culinary nationalism could serve as an objective of colonial culinary appropriation, this study also contributes to the literature on culinary nationalism in relation to appropriation (Ranta & Mendel, 2014; Baron & Barnathan, 2021; Hirsch, 2011). Moreover, this study contributes to understanding the culinary appropriation phenomenon by locating the factors of narrative and commodification (Ranta & Mendel, 2014; Rogers, 2006) under the marketing umbrella. The final contribution of this research was to identify the implications of colonial culinary appropriation. The main possible emerging consequence is normalization, an embodiment of Baron and Barnathan's (2021) understanding of "food-washing." Whereas prior studies focused on the external normalization of culinary appropriation, our finding suggests that normalization can also be internal within the colonized community. Other suggested implications of colonial culinary appropriation are lack of documentation, tourism fragility, and a fragmented sense of localization.

5.2. Practical implications

Our findings propose considerable implications for culinarians from different disciplines (e.g., chefs, culinary writers including authors and bloggers, culinary researchers, culinary tour guides, and culinary activists), who are influenced or can influence colonial culinary appropriation. Most importantly, this research provides novel recommendations for addressing the outcomes of colonial culinary appropriation, including lack of documentation, tourism fragility, and fragmented sense of localization.

The state, culinary professionals, and writers must coordinate their efforts to increase the cooking literature volume to remedy the current documentation gap. Writing books, whether in print or digital form, can improve documentation efforts. When spreading the message further, it is possible to step up the pace on social media by sharing recipes and nutritional data on sites specifically designed for that purpose and through the general public. In particular, traditional cuisines that are in danger of disappearing must be documented by bringing back old recipes and eating habits.

The promotion of tourism should make storytelling its top priority, which suggests that e-marketing can be used to aid in promoting virtual and real-life tourism. This is also accomplished by aiming at quality individual tourism rather than quantity mass tourism which appeals to visitors' specific interests. This includes designing tailor-made culinary tours to incorporate seasonal activities like agricultural work with local farmers, hands-on cooking classes taught by locals, and guided tastings prepared by local chefs.

All prior suggestions should also be made internally, which would help address the other consequence of colonial culinary appropriation: a disjointed sense of localization. It is possible to work to restore the confidence of the indigenous people in their food identity and enhance their sense of culinary nationalism by supporting local food production, calling for a boycott of the colonizer commodities, and encouraging local food practices.

5.3. Limitations

Our research is not without flaws, the most significant of which is that it is a single-case study that did not analyze a broader geographical, political, or cultural situation. This is the most relevant limitation. Examining this occurrence in the context of the many regions and cultures that have been subjected to colonial appropriation of their culinary traditions can pave the way for additional research to be carried out. Due to the paucity of literature on the subject, this study can perhaps serve as a framework for future investigations on other cultural components that are prone to cultural appropriation in a colonial and even post-colonial setting.

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Annexes

Annex A. Interviewees Table

Number	Title	Gender	Location	Interview Type
Interviewee 1	Chef	M	Bethlehem	In-person
Interviewee 2	Author	F	Ramallah	In-person
Interviewee 3	Chef	M	Ramallah	In-person
Interviewee 4	Guesthouse owner	F	Bethlehem	In-person
Interviewee 5	Tour guide	M	Jerusalem	Online
Interviewee 6	Blogger	F	USA	Online
Interviewee 7	Activist	M	Nablus	In-person
Interviewee 8	Author	F	Ramallah	In-person
Interviewee 9	Culinary artist	F	Ramallah	In-person
Interviewee 10	Culinary-school manager	F	Nablus	In-person
Interviewee 11	Chef	M	Nazareth	Online
Interviewee 12	Tour guide	M	Bethlehem	In-person
Interviewee 13	Culinary researcher	M	Ramallah	In-person
Interviewee 14	Blogger	F	Ramallah	In-person
Interviewee 15	Writer	F	London	Online
Interviewee 16	Chef	M	Jerusalem	Online
Interviewee 17	Restaurant owner	M	Bethlehem	In-person

Annex B. Predetermined Interview Questions

The interview questions and structure shifted as the conversation progressed. During the discussion, other inquiries could have naturally arisen.

1. Why do you believe that culinary appropriation is relevant to colonialism? How do you believe that oppression and exploitation are connected to the process of culinary appropriation?
2. Do you believe that culinary appropriation in the context of colonialism enhances/shapes the colonizer's national food identity? How does culinary appropriation affect your sense of culinary nationalism?
3. How do you believe that fabricated narrative is linked to culinary appropriation in the context of colonialism?
4. Do you believe cookbooks positively relate to the fabricated culinary narrative? Why do you think that it is related to culinary appropriation?
5. How do you believe that culinary commodification is linked to culinary appropriation in the context of colonialism?
6. Do you believe that tourism is positively related to Culinary Commodification? Why do you think that it is related to culinary appropriation?
7. Conversely, do you think food can work as a tool of resistance for the colonized? Moreover, work to enhance the national identity of the oppressed side?
8. How do you think the process of colonial culinary appropriation impacts the indigenous food culture?

Annex C. NVivo Codebook

Thematic Analysis Codes

Name	Description	References
Colonial culinary appropriation		36
Culinary Colonialism		6
deficiencies	insufficient areas of colonial culinary appropriation	4
facets		6
exploitation		9
Labor		8
Land		7
Production		8
oppression		4
features	what differentiates colonial culinary appropriation from appropriation out of the colonialism context?	20
power imbalance		4
Recognition		7
systematic		5
Factors	Reinforcements of colonial culinary appropriation	43
Commodification	Including production and tourism	13
Production		3
tourism		9

Name	Description	References
Narration	Including narration and its formats	21
formats		3
cookbooks		3
Other formats		4
narration		17
Marketing	what combines both commodification and narration	6
Implications	Consequences of colonial culinary appropriation	29
Acting		26
documentation		11
Localization		4
tourism reinforcements		6
Normalization. not acting		3
Nationalism	Objectives of colonial culinary appropriation for the colonizer and the colonized	20
Colonized		9
Colonizer		8