

GASTRONOMY, MEMORY AND RESISTANCE: CULTURAL APPROACHES TO THE GENTRIFICATION OF TRADITIONAL PERUVIAN CUISINE

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Abstract: In recent decades, urban transformation processes driven by tourism development, market expansion, and cultural commodification have reshaped traditional food systems, particularly in countries where gastronomy constitutes a central component of national identity, such as Peru. While Peruvian cuisine has achieved notable international recognition, this visibility has simultaneously intensified dynamics of gastronomic gentrification that affect traditional culinary practices, local actors, and the symbolic meanings attached to food. Within this context, traditional gastronomy operates not only as a cultural expression, but also as a space of memory, identity construction, and resistance. The objective of this study is to examine the cultural impact of these transformations by analysing how traditional Peruvian cuisine functions as a field of collective memory and symbolic negotiation in scenarios marked by ethnographic capitalism and cultural displacement. To achieve this objective, the methodology adopted follows a qualitative approach grounded in cultural studies, using a phenomenological design that prioritises the lived experiences and interpretations of culinary actors directly involved in the preservation of ancestral food practices. Data were collected through semi structured interviews with fourteen chefs and gastronomy professionals selected through purposive sampling, and the information was analysed using thematic coding, triangulation, and qualitative analysis software to ensure interpretive rigor. The results indicate that traditional Peruvian cuisine exhibits considerable resilience despite market driven transformations and processes of gastronomic gentrification, as ancestral knowledge continues to be transmitted across generations, although frequently reinterpreted or symbolically negotiated in response to commercialisation, aestheticisation, and changing consumption patterns. At the same time, participants identified risks associated with cultural appropriation and symbolic displacement, particularly when traditional dishes are reformulated for external markets. In conclusion, the findings suggest that the gentrification of traditional cuisine in Peru should not be understood solely as a process of cultural erosion, but rather as a dynamic arena of negotiation and symbolic struggle in which culinary heritage is actively defended, re signified, and sustained, underscoring the importance of developing inclusive cultural, tourism, and heritage policies that recognise both preservation and transformation.

Keywords: Gentrification, ethnographic capitalism, displacement, traditional cuisine, Peru

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INTRODUCTION

In several cities, an urban transformation is evident that, far from benefiting residents, is causing their displacement. Upper- and middle-class sectors with purchasing power are occupying areas traditionally inhabited by the working class, making life in these neighborhoods more expensive and displacing native culinary traditions (Cordova-Buiza et al., 2025; Pérez-Gálvez et al., 2017). This phenomenon affects traditional cuisine, which, when replaced, loses its place and transforms eating habits (Rincón, 2018; Yeom & Mikelbank, 2019). The growth of tourism and state policies has had an impact on the displacement of residents, both internal and external, due to the demand for space and services in certain areas (Alkon et al., 2020; Lees, 2019; Nickayin et al., 2020). In the case of Latin America, gentrification has gained greater prominence in recent times. The arrival of migrants to Latin America is not alien to its history, beginning with the Spanish conquest, and continuing through various migratory movements in specific areas of the territory that influenced the history and current descent of Latin Americans (Joassart & Bosco, 2024).

Peru's migratory history began with the Spanish conquest, which marked the onset of a new sociocultural era. In 1849, the state enacted the "Chinese Law," which began the arrival and hiring of Chinese migrants as "coolies," or contract workers, to work in guano and cotton fields, among others, due to labour shortages (Reyes, 2014; Yuan, 2018).

During this period, the demand for cooks among the upper classes increased. It was in this context that Chinese migrants began to find new employment opportunities, adapting their traditional dishes to local ingredients. At the same time, the Peruvian population incorporated elements of Chinese cuisine based on the food prepared by these cooks.

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At the end of their labour contracts, a large portion of the now-free coolies sought to begin their economic independence by opening small restaurants, and the term "chifa" later emerged, of Cantonese origin, as a considerable number of the migrants belonged to this area (Lu, 2020; Palma, 2022; Vilchez, 2016). Then, Japanese migrants arrived, and with the Nikkei generations growing up in the country, the food of this social group began to gain more traction, combining ingredients as Peruvian as chili peppers with ingredients used in Japanese cuisine, such as raw fish and shellfish (Bonialian, 2015; Takenaka, 2019). Thus, migration did not hinder Peruvian culture but rather adapted to it without losing its natural essence and consequently forming new subcultures that were embraced and adopted by Peruvians (Blouin et al., 2021). Furthermore, the new residents did not attempt to dispossess or displace native residents but instead sought to inject themselves into their midst. Therefore, the question arises: how does cultural resistance to gentrification manifest itself in traditional Peruvian gastronomy and how do capitalism, ethnographic displacement, and traditional cuisine interrelate in the process. Building upon this context, the present study aims to analyze the scope of gentrification in traditional Peruvian gastronomy from a cultural perspective. Specifically, it explores this phenomenon through the analytical categories of ethnographic capitalism, symbolic displacement, and the transformation of traditional cuisine as a expression of cultural identity in 2025.

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to a previous study by Vázquez & Hernández (2020), they demonstrated that neighborhood transformation can be studied through eating habits and their changes, as well as the transformation in the image of traditional businesses. On the other hand, Stock & Schmiz (2019) concluded that entrepreneurs, migrants, and ethnic food merchants play an important role during gentrification by offering "new experiences" to middle- and upper-class residents through their food and culture.

Likewise, Bonotti & Barnhill (2022), Bourlessas et al. (2022) and Lütke & Jäger (2021) highlight that "gastrofication" was not the main factor driving gentrification, although they recognize the relevance of gastronomy once the gentrification process is already underway. Gastronomy plays an important role by contributing to the transformation and revaluation of urban areas, with the aim of attracting new residents and accelerating the displacement of traditional dynamics such as commerce, culinary practices, among others. Also, Claux (2025) pointed out that there is a separation between the characteristics of two areas, one where there is a touristification that protects the national culture, and the other where gastronomic gentrification appears. Likewise, Okumura et al. (2021) deduced that, although the ventures or "carretillas" as well as their gastronomic practices are part of the identity and pride of the Peruvian thanks to the "boom" of Peruvian cuisine, it is through the process of gentrification that these factors are "appropriated" by a superior and "dominant" class.

Finally, the study by Branca & Haller (2021) stated that there is a relationship between the location of the city in the Andes, with the idea of culture, nature and city customs being the drivers of touristification, a term used in this case for different reasons than gentrification. Various theories have been written in scientific literature about gentrification; a term associated with sociologist Ruth Glass since 1964. Gentrification is the displacement of the working class due to the arrival of an upper class. It is also the migration of wealthy homeowners to neighborhoods with lower purchasing power or lower property values, in both rural and urban areas (Cocola, 2023). In the economic sphere, tourism has established itself as the industry that has shown sustained growth rates globally (Cordova-Buiza et al., 2024). In response, various nations have transformed and reconfigured their territories with the goal of positioning themselves as recognized tourist destinations (Zegarra-Alva et al., 2024). Tourism is an activity in which the intervention of entities related to the subject, generally belonging to the state or regional governorates, can be observed. These entities seek ways to exploit the potential of their regions to guarantee income for the benefit of the community (Karagöz, 2023; Sequera & Nofri, 2018).

Migration, whether internal or external, is an important factor in gentrification, and, adding its relationship to tourism, the term "touristification" is born. This phenomenon is defined as the constant conversion of urban areas that may have potential for hosting tourism events or that could attract tourists (Parralejo & Díaz, 2021; Smigiel, 2024). Touristification is also referred to as tourist gentrification, as it constitutes the transformation of an area with lower- to middle-class residents into a private or exclusive sector, basing its "remodeling" on the construction of venues and corporations as tourist attractions (Gotham, 2005). Another factor linked to gentrification in recent years is gastronomy. While significant geographical change due to tourism has already been linked, gentrification also encompasses a cultural and lifestyle transformation of the place where it occurs. For this reason, gastronomy, being an important part of the cultural heritage of countries and specific areas within them, has been included as "Gastronomic Heritage" in United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization list of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Romagnoli, 2019).

Based on this observation, there is an existing relationship between gastronomy and gentrification, hence the emergence of the term "gastrofication" or gastronomic gentrification (Anguelovski, 2016). Gastrofication is the conversion of traditional or affordable foods for the resident community of an area into haughty foods for these residents, who are mostly of middle or low socioeconomic levels, due to the "coolturization" of these foods (Sullivan, 2014).

Ethnographic capitalism

To discuss the reasons why gentrification may occur, it is important to consider capitalism as a factor that drives it in some way. First, capitalism can be defined as the ideology or force that drives humankind's desire to transform interrelationships into "transactions" in pursuit of diminishing basic human limitations. Capitalists are driven by how much they can maximize their capital, as the hierarchy among them is shaped by the money they control (Fiore & Plate, 2021).

Cedric Robinson's (2000) theory of Ethnographic Capitalism is the movement in which the existence of levels is observed in terms of existing ethnic groups and the economic gains or benefits that they can acquire, with the "white" groups being more valued and with a greater possibility of creating a greater purchasing power compared to minority groups, who have historically contributed to the aforementioned groups being able to climb socially and economically (Go,

2021; Robinson, 2000). Ethnographic capitalism is also linked to gentrification, as it is a cause of the latter. That is, it is not only the transformation of areas typically from lower to middle class, but also how groups considered superior benefit economically from neighborhoods or areas where ethnic minorities reside, increasing the cost of living there (Rucks, 2022).

Ethnographic displacement

Another theorization of gentrification is Kirkland's, which, like Robinson, mentions the ethnographic factor as an important part of the phenomenon in question. This highlights the lack of research regarding the importance of ethnicities or ancestries when it comes to displacement, including important issues such as the intensity with which different ethnographic groups are affected by the phenomenon or whether they can resist it in different ways. It is also mentioned how the displacement of the first residents in gentrified areas can be an extreme consequence, since there are groups that resist having to leave their homes because they cannot afford to remain there (Csurgó et al., 2025; Kirkland, 2008).

Traditional cuisine

A country's culinary heritage can also serve as a means of promoting the nation and its history to the world, thanks to the recent importance of regional gastronomy. For a country's residents, it represents an economic contribution, boosting local or rural businesses and increasing their production (Barro-Chale et al., 2023; Kruzmetra et al., 2018). Since gastronomy is an important part of the cultures of gentrified communities that needs to be protected, laws and regulations are being developed to ensure the preservation of these food elements. Residents of each country consider gastronomy an important symbol of their identity and nationality, and it also tells the story they have had throughout the years, contributing to the collection of historical relics. The World Trade Organization established Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRPRs), which, and related to the safeguarding of a country's gastronomic heritage, decreed the right belonging to different parties to officially brand a food product, beverage, or wine related to the geographic areas in which they are offered (Guerra-Fernández et al., 2023). This does not apply to traditional recipes, but rather to products that may have a history in each area but are unique to the merchants (Aouinaït et al., 2020; Gallagher & McKevitt, 2019).

Peru introduced Bill No. 3969, entitled "Law for the Promotion and Development of Peruvian Cuisine." This bill sought to elevate Peruvian gastronomy as a historical component of the national and cultural identity of Peruvians, including techniques, places of origin, and key actors involved in the preparation of ancestral dishes of cultural value. It also highlighted the role of primary stakeholders such as farmers and traditional markets (Guía, 2019).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study adopted a qualitative approach grounded in cultural studies, aiming to interpret how traditional gastronomy functions as a symbolic field of memory and resistance within contexts of gentrification. Given the limited prior research on this phenomenon in Peru, an exploratory and interpretive strategy was employed to capture the lived experiences and culturally embedded meanings of culinary actors engaged in preserving ancestral food practices, which is used to address unknown problems or those with little prior knowledge, with the distinction that it does not involve a definitive search for the resolution of a hypothesis (Muurlink & Thomsen, 2024). A phenomenological design was implemented to explore how individuals engaged in traditional Peruvian cuisine experience, interpret, and resist the transformations brought about by gastronomic gentrification. This design allowed the researchers to prioritise participants' subjective narratives and uncover the symbolic structures underpinning their culinary practices (Braun & Clarke, 2019).

The participants were selected through purposive, non-probabilistic sampling, prioritising individuals with experiential knowledge of traditional Peruvian cuisine and located in areas undergoing gastronomic transformation. Selection criteria included cultural relevance, professional expertise, and active involvement in preserving ancestral food practices within gentrified urban contexts (Golzar et al., 2022; Mortari, 2015). Interviews were conducted with 14 chefs (Table 1) who met the inclusion criteria, which included being of legal age and having knowledge of techniques and history in the gastronomic field. It should be noted that participants freely agreed to answer the questions in the context of their work activities. Interviews were used to obtain responses and information, as they offer an open and free conversation that allows experts in the field to share personal experiences more naturally (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). To ensure methodological credibility, the interview guide was reviewed by specialists in gastronomy and cultural studies. Rigor was addressed through strategies such as reflexive journaling, thematic triangulation, and member-checking to validate the cultural meanings expressed by participants. These procedures enhanced the trustworthiness and interpretive depth of the study (Hofseth, 2018).

Table 1. Study participants

Pseudonym	Modality	Pseudonym	Modality
E1 (man)	In-person	E8 (man)	Phone call
E2 (man)	In-person	E9 (man)	Phone call
E3 (woman)	In-person	E10 (woman)	In-person
E4 (woman)	In-person	E11 (man)	In-person
E5 (woman)	In-person	E12 (man)	In-person
E6 (woman)	Phone call	E13 (woman)	In-person
E7 (woman)	Phone call	E14 (woman)	In-person

For the selection of specialists to be interviewed, the first consideration was their residency in Peru, in addition to specific selection criteria, which will be detailed below. The first was the type of categorization they should have, relative to the main research topic. Therefore, chefs with extensive experience and knowledge of these topics, as well as professors

from gastronomy and culinary arts institutes and/or universities, were considered. Once the specialists who met the criteria were selected, the interview guide was developed, requesting each group of people to provide their impartial and experienced opinion on the selected topic, and then identifying the most important aspects required for the work. Finally, data coding and triangulation were employed, with strategic use of elements that could contrast the information collected during the research process (Chatzichristos, 2025). The research was conducted using data provided by the interviewees, which corroborated that most of the testimonies support the theory. Following the interviews, the information was transcribed using both the researcher's manual coding and the qualitative analysis software ATLAS.ti 23. Systematic text coding and categorization processes were carried out with internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity. Saturation criteria such as representativeness, density, and frequency were also used (Ahmed, 2024). After applying the criteria, codes were identified and analyzed for their meaning to ensure an accurate interpretation of the findings (Figure 1).

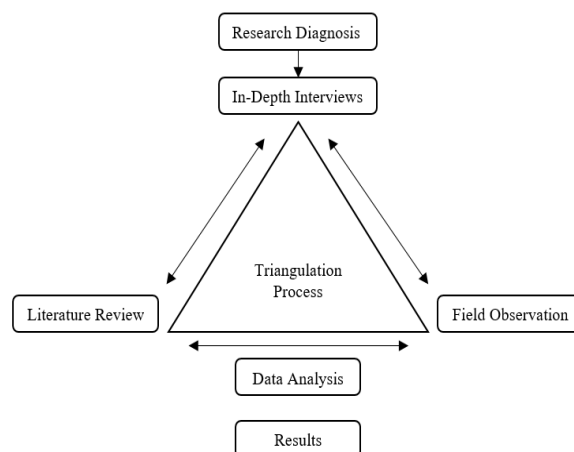


Figure 1. Qualitative analysis process

RESULTS

Ethnographic Capitalism

The interviewees agreed on the existence of social differences in the current Peruvian context, highlighting how these differences in social and economic aspects are most noticeable, both visually in the appearance of the different areas of the capital and interprovincially in comparison with Lima, as well as different characteristics of these. These differences become more palpable when they are shaped by the education given to different socioeconomic groups, as well as the job opportunities that may arise for them, and the image or appearance with which we present ourselves individually to society. These factors contribute to the perpetuation of the cycle of differentiation between social sectors over the years.

Historically, ethnic groups from low-income backgrounds have contributed gastronomically to the national culture through their recipes, which are based on ingredients that, in most cases, were leftovers from wealthier groups or foods that were affordable based on their incomes. Therefore, the working classes, without access to more expensive products, developed creative ways of cooking these ingredients, imbuing them with flavor and meaning. Thus, what began as a dietary necessity transformed into an expression of cultural identity (Table 2).

Table 2. Analysis – triangulation

Analysis - triangulation	Participant	Exemplary Quotes
Over the years, the differentiation between social sectors not only persists, but intensifies.	(E4)	"I feel that there is a noticeable socioeconomic gap across the country, both in terms of the Lima and provincial areas. There is a drastic difference between the economy in those sectors, and we can see that in Lima as well..."
The differences have been crucial in the transformation of this aspect in the country.	(E7)	"...some of the Peruvian dishes today are noted to have a root of resistance, of taking little and transforming it into something that is delicious and edible...and...Peruvian cuisine is very much about that, taking what there is and cooking it in a way that tastes delicious..."
The contributions of diverse ethnic groups were not isolated cultural expressions but rather formative influences in shaping Peru's plural gastronomic identity. The interweaving of Afro-Peruvian, Chinese, Japanese, and Andean culinary legacies has resulted in a cuisine characterized by syncretism, diversity, and historical depth.	(E2)	"...it prevails to this day as the method they learned to cook in their culture, so much so that we have chifas today, which are a mix of Asian food, right? With Peruvian food, and there comes the ethnic part, because it's a mix of cultures."
These recipes and preparation methods became part of Peru's culinary history, continuing through the transmission of this knowledge from generation to generation.	(E10)	".....well, Afro-Peruvian, Chinese, and Japanese influences have also enriched this cuisine, creating unique fusions."

Displacement ethnographic

Through these contributions, both dishes and ingredients native to the country gained national and international recognition. These elements may have been used more frequently in the past, but over the years and with the notable

disappearance of these social groups, their use has diminished. In recent years, various products have reappeared in the country's culinary landscape, becoming common even in cities where they are not native. Therefore, Peru's ethnographic and/or native groups influenced the formation of the country's cuisine and, consequently, its national culture. These groups contributed not only culinary practices and dishes but also transmitted cultural knowledge and belief systems that remain relevant today, bridging historical periods through ongoing practices and collective memory.

Although migration introduced new culinary techniques and ingredients, it did not erase indigenous gastronomic knowledge. Instead, the resilience of native traditions—shaped by historical marginalization and socioeconomic inequality—allowed these practices to coexist and adapt without losing their cultural essence. This nuanced interplay challenges simplistic views of cultural replacement and invites a more dialectical understanding of gastronomic hybridization (Table 3).

Table 3. Analysis – triangulation

Analysis - triangulation	Participant	Exemplary Quotes
This fostered the development of the culinary sector we know today, adding greater variety to the already extensive range of existing foods.	(E8)	"...they helped with the gastronomic transformation of already known dishes and brought to light some lesser-known ones and thus made them known, such as the use of cushuro..."
Native ethnic groups have managed to survive in today's cuisine, although not in their entirety, but by leaving a foundation upon which to work and implement new and diverse knowledge from areas outside the geographic context in which they are located.	(E9)	"...migration is important, of course, but for both the old and new generations, we must be clear that all the techniques, all the practices that are being carried out are the product of our foundations, our bases..."
These groups will maintain their place of origin, as well as their customs and recipes, thanks to the appreciation Peruvians place on everything native and unique to the country.	(E5)	"As human beings, we will always be very attached to our roots, to our culture, to the things we learned in our childhood, so regardless of where we go, we will always try to preserve our culture..."
Processes such as meat drying, underground cooking, utensils, and ingredients will continue to be used, as they can be passed down to new generations to maintain the essence of Peru's unique cuisine.	(E5)	"...to pass on the knowledge of our gastronomy and our culture to the next generations..."

The display of these products also highlights traditional farming methods and sustainable land care. These practices, often ancestral, reflect a respectful relationship between communities and their environment, promoting the conservation of knowledge and natural resources. Given this situation and the growing interest in Peruvian products, sustainable production options have been promoted, ensuring the preservation of the land and minimizing the use of tools or chemicals that could interfere with the long-term sustainable use of the country's soils and natural areas.

Traditional cuisine

Cooking and the mealtime that follows are considered key situations for conversation and bonding between people. At the same time, and considering a closer environment, it promotes better relationships between families by bringing them closer together, creating bonds of unity and linking these situations with pleasant emotions. Therefore, the traditions and emotional value of cuisine are considered an essential part of the perception of Peruvians and their nation.

Part of this sentimental value and the recent boom in Peruvian gastronomy have led every resident of the country to achieve a level of collective pride and satisfaction in the type of cuisine that sustains the culture.

By incorporating ingredients, ecological factors, and history, gastronomy not only embodies pride in the dishes itself, but also in what this country and the people who comprise it have to offer. These modifications to indigenous cuisine have generated negative consequences, such as the loss of traditional knowledge and the substitution of local ingredients, which affects the cultural identity of communities. New contexts and innovative procedures from other regions have caused ancestral tools to be displaced from everyday cooking, used in smaller quantities or only in the areas where they originated, thus losing the opportunity to promote the roots of our nation's gastronomy that make our culture unique (Table 4).

Table 4. Analysis – triangulation

Analysis - triangulation	Participant	Exemplary Quotes
Cooking can also be seen as a method of artistic and personal expression for each cook or chef. Ancient populations and ethnic groups expressed their social and geographical context in many of their dishes, using ingredients or procedures that varied across the different regions of Peru. Today, the country's chefs use cooking as a way to continue this legacy left by indigenous groups, utilizing new trends to update the presentation of various dishes.	(E1)	"...food is often associated with society because it helps us socialize. Food is involved at every social event, and I think that makes you quickly identify with what you see every day, and it also helps you interact with other people."
	(E4)	"...gastronomy...err...is the most important moment for a family. We start with the sentimental side. Gastronomy is where the whole family sits down to share moments, talk about their day...and...to share moments and memories with each other..."
New ingredients were added to the country's native ingredients tray, techniques from other regions, and methods or behaviors performed when eating food were established, causing new customs to join those already culturally and socially established.	(E10)	"...For example, the arrival of the Chinese and Japanese brought new techniques, right? Like the use of soy or ajinomoto, for example. Afro-Peruvians contributed dishes like carapulcra and anticucho. These changes have created a unique fusion that characterizes Peruvian cuisine."
The new approach to the culinary sector has influenced the transformation of traditional dish preparation. With an innovative vision focused on the way these dishes are	(E11).	"...more than anything with the new trends that are emerging, with molecular gastronomy, with...err...organic, so it seems that some recipes are changing..."

presented, the search for new ingredients that some stakeholders may consider higher quality is added. These dishes are presented in smaller quantities and in different ways than those already customary, intersecting with "taypá" food, a common way Peruvians serve their food in larger quantities, seeking to give greater emphasis to the flavor of the food rather than its aesthetics.		
Along with the above, the rise of national cuisine has managed to attract various people interested in Peruvian culture. At the same time, agents with different intentions seek to tarnish the country's prominence in this sector, demonstrating progress toward acquiring and appropriating the characteristics that constitute its gastronomic culture.	(E12).	"...we fight against the appropriation of other cultures because Peru, above all, has always been a victim of...now in these times when it is highly valued worldwide, there are countries that are implying that certain dishes or recipes are theirs and not Peruvian" (E9).

DISCUSSION

Based on the general objective, the results of the presented work show that participants are aware of the phenomenon established in the research. On the one hand, they affirm the existence of social differences in Peru today, which are evident in the differential lifestyles of its residents. These are affected at social and economic levels, and this persists over time. Furthermore, these factors determine the importance of different social groups in the country and the quality of the services they receive. According to Vázquez & Hernández (2020), who propose how the transformation of food forms is an example of the changes that can occur in specific geographic areas, food being an important factor with which the contextual progress of these sectors can be studied. The results obtained demonstrate that as a different migratory movement took position in Peru, the determining geographic areas in this process were transforming both culturally and spatially.

One of the elements that were affected was the cuisine, which was molded based on the incoming gastronomies of those who sought to remain with their residents. Consequently, Stock & Schmiz (2019) present research in which reference is made to how the national residents of the studied area try to adapt, in the same way, to these new customs and traditions inserted by migrant groups who contribute new ways of preparing food, which is reaffirmed by the results obtained.

It is important to highlight that the results coincide with what is stated in Robinson's (2000) theory of ethnographic capitalism, which mentions the gap between ancestral ethnic groups and recent populations, marked by cultural contrasts and socioeconomic inequalities, is a key factor in gentrification processes. These tensions are often reflected in the appropriation of traditional spaces, the displacement of indigenous communities, and the transformation of local practices.

Regarding the ethnographic capitalism subcategory of the scope of gentrification in traditional Peruvian gastronomy, the great socioeconomic differences that exist between ethnic groups and centralized social groups are demonstrated. These differences have been the cause of the country's culinary transformation throughout its history.

These ethnic groups, therefore, have suffered a great deficit in the quality of life and lifestyle, in contrast to the cultural importance they carry in their existence. While Stock & Schmiz (2019) describe the arrival of wealthier social groups as agents of gastronomic transformation, our study challenges the assumption that such transformations are passively accepted by local actors. Instead, the narratives reveal active processes of negotiation, preservation, and reinterpretation of culinary identity. This introduces a cultural resistance perspective absent in their analysis, suggesting that the effects of gentrification are not linear nor uniformly imposed, but are re-signified within local food systems.

With this, the results coincide with the research established by Lütke & Jäger (2021), who in turn mention gastronomy as an important part of gentrification between two distinct socioeconomic sectors.

It is worth mentioning that Robinson's (2000) theory of ethnographic capitalism coincides with the results of this specific objective. The theory presents the participation of capitalism in the gentrification process, which is the socioeconomic difference between upper-class sectors and ethnic groups or enslaved groups of lesser "importance," Who, in turn, were relocated to different geographical regions to be used as labour, often in conditions of exploitation and cultural uprooting.

The results reveal that national ethnic groups have played a fundamental role in shaping Peru's culinary identity. However, participants differed in how they interpreted the influence of migration and gentrification. While many viewed migratory contributions as enriching and complementary to local traditions, others—particularly chefs from regions more directly affected by urban redevelopment—expressed concern about the symbolic displacement of native dishes through commercial reinterpretations. Moreover, some younger chefs embraced fusion as a creative opportunity, whereas older culinary professionals emphasised the loss of ancestral knowledge and the erosion of cultural authenticity. These divergent perspectives highlight that experiences and responses to gastronomic gentrification are not uniform, but shaped by generational identity, regional context, and professional positioning. Such variations enrich the analysis by revealing internal contradictions and the coexistence of both adaptive and resistant discourses within the field of traditional cuisine.

This is why there is a coincidence with the study by Bonotti & Barnhill (2022), which proposes a change in the sociocultural environment of a region, based on the arrival of external groups who seek to implement their lifestyle through this transformation, even if this means interfering with that already established by the natives, who are harmed and sometimes eradicated. This is why the results also mention the insertion of migrant customs and cultures into the already established national one, with which there is a collaboration between these two, forming what is known as variety in national cuisine. On the other hand, Hernández & Vázquez (2023) demonstrated in their work how there can be differences in the gentrification process, which can constitute two different results depending on the approach given to it, one being positive in which the native gastronomic culture is exalted; and the second a negative result, in which the cuisine is completely transformed and loses its national focus. Here, a commonality emerges based on the results obtained, as

migration has had a positive impact on current national cuisine. These movements have succeeded in favoring native cuisine thanks to cooperation between these two groups, both of which have managed to adapt to one another without seeking to interfere based on any presumption of superiority that may exist between them.

According to Kirkland's (2008) gentrification theory shows important coincidences with what is presented in the results. According to Kirkland, the displacement of indigenous ethnic groups from the region can be an extreme consequence of not having mutual adaptation to the lifestyles and daily lives that exist among different social groups, in this specific case being ethnic groups and migratory movements. Likewise, the existence of resistance that can exist in native groups, despite the social, economic and cultural changes that may harm them and determine their stay in the territory.

Finally, in the traditional cuisine subcategory, the results established that the region's native and traditional cuisine plays a significant role in the daily lives of the country's inhabitants, even being an essential part of their recognition as residents of the nation. This characteristic, which gives cuisine a leading role, is due to various causes, one of which is the satisfaction provided by gastronomy as it emerges and stands out among the constant culinary competition around the world. In addition, national factors such as ingredients, products, agents, and geographic locations complement the importance given to the culinary aspect. Despite this correlation between belonging, identity, and cuisine, the agents involved in the culinary process of different dishes are left unprotected and undervalued by government and legislative sectors.

Therefore, the coincidence between the results and those granted in the work of Bourlessas et al. (2022), who concluded that the constant updating and modernization of regional and world cuisine can cause important changes in the customary cuisines in specific areas, since these transformations receive, in a certain way, the support of state sectors in search of "improving" the image that is given to these areas. The results show that ethnic groups, being legislatively unprotected, are at risk of being lost in time, since legislative sectors favor, with this absence, agents outside the area in which the former reside. Along with them, the cultural and culinary contributions inserted in the base of traditional cuisine would be lost.

Likewise, Consiglieri (2019) proposed in his research the existence of appropriation of traditions and elements native or social ethnicities, which are carried out because of the current boom and recognition that it brings to national cuisine. Therefore, the results confirm what was established in the previous research. With the constant growth in attention paid to traditional national cuisine, and the neglect that exists in an important cultural representation of the nation, it is prone to the usurpation of its customs and, consequently, of important parts of the national culture.

CONCLUSIONS

From a theoretical perspective, this research proposes expanding the traditional conceptual framework of gentrification by incorporating categories from cultural studies such as memory, identity, and resistance, from the perspective of ethnographic capitalism and symbolic displacement. This allows us to rethink urban gastronomy, especially traditional cuisine, not only as a cultural practice but also as a space where relations of power and inequality are manifested and negotiated. Thus, the theory is enriched by considering the symbolic and cultural dimension of displacement, providing new tools for analyzing how indigenous communities resist and reaffirm their culinary identity in the face of processes of urban transformation. In practice, the results highlight the risks posed by the folklorization and appropriation of traditional cuisine within gentrification processes, where commercialization can lead to cultural displacement and the loss of the culinary heritage of indigenous communities. This dynamic generates tensions between urban development and the preservation of culinary identities, affecting the intergenerational transmission of traditional knowledge and practices. The findings are especially relevant for tourism managers, urban planners, educators, and gastronomy professionals, who must consider these complexities when interacting with diverse urban contexts, where food culture becomes a field of dispute and symbolic negotiation.

The impact of gentrification on traditional Peruvian cuisine appears to be moderate, as evidenced by the continued presence and agency of ethnic and native groups within the national culinary landscape. Migration, far from erasing local traditions, has been interpreted by participants as a factor that enriches and elevates native cuisine, offering new perspectives that have contributed to the formation of a distinctive and culturally hybrid gastronomy.

Ethnographic capitalism has significantly influenced the historical trajectories of Peruvian cuisine. While indigenous groups established the foundational practices, it was through socioeconomic asymmetries—and their exploitation—that traditional dishes were simultaneously marginalized and revalorized. This paradox underscores how systems of inequality can commodify cultural expressions while rendering their original agents invisible. The displacement and arrival of migratory groups have generated changes and transformations in the traditional character of gastronomy, although these changes should not necessarily be understood as negative. The changes brought about by migration have led to new customs, ingredients, and traditions, which were adapted by Peruvian residents. Furthermore, the constant evolution of the national, regional, and global context has accelerated migration processes and the transformation of traditional cuisine. This is where the importance of traditional cuisine is evident, as it is considered an essential factor in determining the connection between Peru and each of its residents, shaping the emotions and feelings that can be created within each of its inhabitants.

Ethnographic capitalism has influenced the evolution of traditional Peruvian cuisine, intertwining it with socioeconomic differences and migratory flows. These changes should not be viewed negatively, but rather as part of an ongoing cultural transformation. Recognizing these dynamic processes is essential for responsible tourism and cultural heritage policies. Rather than promoting a static or romanticized version of gastronomy, stakeholders should support practices that preserve culinary authenticity without commodifying it, ensuring that traditional actors remain central in narratives of national identity. This will allow for more inclusive and sustainable tourism, aligned with local realities.

One of the main limitations of this study is the sample size. While it allowed for a detailed account of individual experiences, it limits the possibility of generalizing the findings to other contexts. It also limits the time and space for

conducting the interviews. Also, the results are based solely on Peru and may not be applicable to other contexts. For future research, we suggest expanding the sample to include different territories, including community members or participants with public positions. We also suggest incorporating mixed approaches to compare with statistical data and thus broaden the economic, symbolic, and cultural assessment.

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