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<https://doi.org/10.15760/etd.2249>

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THE TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS OF CULTURAL COMMODITIES:
PERUVIAN FOOD IN SAN FRANCISCO

by

KELSEY ANN BRAIN

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE
in
GEOGRAPHY

Thesis Committee:
Martha Works, Chair
Thomas Harvey
Hunter Shobe

Portland State University
2010

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratefulness to my advisor Prof. Martha Works for her constant encouragement and honest critiques. Her knowledge of the topic and editorial skills were foundational for the achievement of this thesis. I would also like to thank my committee members, Prof. Hunter Shobe and Prof. Thomas Harvey, for their support and advice.

I thank Joe and Shannon Tobin for their invaluable assistance in my field work. They hosted and chauffeured me during my time in San Francisco and connected me to multiple interviewees. I am very grateful. I am thankful to the Rockie family scholarship fund, the Dale and Coral Courtney scholarship fund, and the Margaret Trussell fund of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers for supporting me with scholarships. I would also like to express my gratefulness to the Miller Foundation, the Marie Brown award fund, and the Portland State University Academically-Controlled Auxiliary Activities program for funding my trip to present my research at the 2010 Association of American Geographers conference.

I particularly appreciate my husband Tyler Brain for encouraging me to believe in my research. His support means the world to me, and he is the reason I studied geography in the first place. He inspires me to study what interests me. I am also grateful to my father-in-law Joel Brain for his continual interest in my research. Finally, I would like to express my thankfulness to my parents, Jim and Lisa Emard, who instilled in me a desire to learn and a recognition of the value of self-discipline.

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List of Acronyms

APL: The official name of a shipping company owned by Neptune Orient Lines

APX: Atlantic Pacific Express

CSAV: Compañía Sud Americana de Vapores

MOL: Mitsui O.S.K. Lines

MSC: Mediterranean Shipping Company

NOL: Neptune Orient Lines

NYK: Nippon Yusen Kaisha

NYX: New York Express

PAX: Panama Andean Express

PIERS: Port Import Export Reporting Service

SAC: Sociedad Anonima Cerrada

TNWA: The New World Alliance

ABSTRACT

An abstract of the thesis of Kelsey Ann Brain for the Master of Science in Geography presented May 18, 2010.

Title: The Transnational Networks of Cultural Commodities: Peruvian Food in San Francisco.

In a setting of increased movement, communication, and flows across space, commodity chain networks bring valued cultural commodities to transnational communities. This research examines the networks bringing foreign cuisine ingredients to Peruvian transnational communities in San Francisco, California. It seeks to answer three inter-related questions: 1) What are the origins and transportation networks bringing Peruvian food items to San Francisco; 2) Who controls and benefits from the movement of this food and resulting capital; and 3) How do networks vary for different classes of end consumers?

Chefs of ten Peruvian restaurants and ten Peruvian migrants in the San Francisco area are interviewed to determine primary imported Peruvian food items and their cultural value. Interviews with representatives of major importing companies as well as searches of import/export databases are used to trace network flows. Flow maps follow the food items from the point of origin to the point of consumption and visually demonstrate the flow of resulting capital. Additionally, network maps are

divided into three categories determined by end consumer: expensive restaurant, moderate restaurant, and home cooking. Maps are analyzed for differences between these categories. Finally, a narrative analysis discusses the role of migrants' cultural eating habits in San Francisco and its connection to transnational commodity networks.

The research offers commentary on the role of food as a cultural marker for Peruvian transnationals and on the relations of power within the commodity network. This research unites economy and culture at the local and global scales while showing how “things” are imbued with cultural meaning during the processes of production to consumption on a transnational network.

Chapter 1: Background

Over the past three decades greatly improved communication and transportation technologies have resulted in an increasingly rapid exchange of material things, ideas, people, and capital across space. This globalizing phenomenon, termed “time-space compression” by David Harvey (1992), has created new dimensions to geographical research as geographers examine the effects, causes, and ways in which this movement occurs. One of the results of time-space compression is an expansion of transnational space, space in which actors are simultaneously connected to multiple nation states. Transnational communities generally refer to ethnic migrant groups who maintain links with both home and host countries through remittances, frequent travel, communication, and commodity exchange.

Globalization has affected not just movement and links across space, but also the ways that people identify and portray themselves in a more interconnected global space. Communities often use artifacts such as language, religion, and territory to identify themselves as a unique group associated with a particular nation state. In terms of globalization, these cultural markers are important for transnational communities living abroad to show connection to their home country. The artifacts are a representation of the community's attachment to their home country. Food is one of the most important cultural markers identifying transnational communities with their home through a sense of place. It is intricately connected to memories, landscapes, and social relations (Chester III and Mink 2009; Dusselier 2009), and as such it acts

as a reminder for the transnational community of home and a symbol to outsiders of where the transnational groups' loyalty lies.

Because traditional food dishes usually employ local ingredients and represent a long history of tradition, cuisine is an indicator of cultural belonging. In addition to serving an important cultural role, food is also a lucrative commodity, particularly in the present era as demand for the exotic makes ethnic ingredients and cuisine sought-after items (Martiniello 2003). In this setting, food is acting as both a cultural marker and a commodity. Recently social scientists have called for geographical research that connects the economic to the cultural, recognizing the intricate interconnections of the two (McRobbie 1997; Jackson 2002; Gunster 2004; Mansvelt 2005). Within the context of this research, cuisine offers a unique way to examine the interconnectivity of economy and culture because it is simultaneously a cultural and economic item.

Building on Appadurai's idea that following the movements and social lives of things is a meaningful way to study society (1986), this research examines the transnational networks that bring foreign cuisine ingredients to the Peruvian community in San Francisco, California. By foreign cuisine ingredients I am referring to ingredients readily available in Peru that are commonly used in traditional Peruvian cuisine dishes and that must be imported to California. The research maps the network flows that bring these ingredients from their origin to San Francisco to be used by Peruvian transnationals and examines the social and cultural dimensions of these networks. This research contributes to knowledge of the evolving geography of transnational space including:

- How culture and economy are connected, particularly in light of modern time-space transformation
- How local cultural representations are linked to global commodity networks
- How global capital movement follows only a limited number of paths
- How movement is controlled and experienced differently by various groups

Additionally, this research contributes to the current debate on food as a global commodity versus food produced locally. Numerous articles and books have been written in the last few years on the importance of eating locally to avoid petroleum costs, unfair labor standards, and unsustainable agriculture practices (for example Norberg-Hodge 1998; Schlosser 2001; Halweil 2002; Nestle 2002; Pollan 2006; Delind 2006). However, research also suggests that “food culture,” or traditional eating habits, is an important element of healthy eating (Miller and Pumariega 2001; Pollan 2004; Rozin 2005; Pollan 2006). According to Michael Pollan the belief in food culture recognizes that the “best place to preserve biological and cultural diversity is not in museums or zoos but, as it were, on our plates: by finding new markets for precious-but-obscure foodstuffs” (2003, 75).

These conflicting ideals result in a paradox for migrants who cannot maintain their food culture without importing certain ingredients from a long distance. It is also possible that the recent “eat local” movement may discriminate against migrant groups if local food production becomes the dominant system for obtaining food in the U.S. (Hinrichs 2003). While my research does not try to address these issues, it does provide an understanding of how migrant groups maintain their eating culture and the

resulting effects on global food movement. This in turn contributes to an understanding from which to evaluate the local versus global dichotomy presented to migrants.

Research Objectives

What does the flow of Peruvian cuisine ingredients to the Peruvian transnational community of San Francisco, California reveal about the social and cultural dimensions of transnational networks? Answering this question involves three stages of analysis. The first stage maps the origin and transportation networks bringing the ingredients to San Francisco. This includes identifying primary food items that qualify as foreign cuisine ingredients commonly used in Peruvian food dishes and tracing them from the point of consumption to the point of origin. Flow maps visually demonstrate where the food originates, where it is consumed, and the stops it makes between origin and consumption. These maps also show what method of transportation is used, what companies are responsible for the food movement, and the quantity of food being imported by each company.

The second stage identifies the key actors controlling the movement, flows, and revenue along the network. This reveals a power geometry (Massey 1994), showing how specific individuals or entities control movement and benefit from the movement. Graduated symbol maps showing company headquarters and amount of revenue for each company allows visual representation of global capital flow in this specific food system.

The third stage divides locations of end consumption into three categories – expensive restaurants, moderate restaurants, and home cooks – and looks for differences in the networks bringing the specified food items to each of these categories. The goal of this stage is to describe variances between the networks serving different economic “classes” and explore whether class and social difference affect commodity movement across space. The network maps from the previous two stages of analysis are divided into three flow maps, one for each category of end consumer.

Finally, this research provides a narrative analysis of the role of traditional cuisine in the lives of transnational Peruvian communities in the San Francisco area. It draws a connection between the demand created by migrants for traditional cuisine and tourists for exotic cuisine and an increase of transnational commodity flows which results in capital movements to locations of concentrated wealth rather than to countries where that cuisine originated.

Study Area

The study area for this research is the San Francisco Bay Area of California, particularly the Peruvian restaurants and communities within the area. In order to understand the relevance of studying Peruvian transnational communities in San Francisco, I will first discuss Peruvian migration and distribution throughout the U.S. in general.

Individuals of Latin American origin, including Mexican, comprise six and half

percent of the U.S. population and up to 96% of the population in particular counties (U.S. Census Bureau 2007, American Community Survey). Latin American migrants have congregated around particular areas (Figure 1). This distribution pattern results in areas of dense Latin American populations that affect the cultural and social landscapes of these areas. Of greater importance here, these communities maintain a number of linkages to home countries in Latin America through remittances, travel, mailed commodities, correspondence, dual citizenship rights, and demand for commodities produced in the home country. Therefore intricate transnational networks are created between the U.S., various countries of Latin America, and potentially other involved nation-states.

Figure 1. Percentage of U.S. county population born in Latin American (including Mexican)
Source: US Census Bureau 2007 American Community Survey Maps

Of the Latin American born population living in the United States, Mexicans clearly form the majority at 57% (U.S. Census Bureau 2007 American Community Survey). As such they are an important population segment to study. However, the Mexican population in the U.S. is not examined in this study because they support too many commodity networks between the U.S. and Mexico to be studied within the scope of the research and because Mexican cuisine has been largely hybridized and integrated into U.S. food culture.

Excluding Mexico, migrants from Central America and South America each comprise approximately two and a half million individuals in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau). Between 50,000 and 1,000,000 migrants come from each country; the average number from each country is 302, 410. More than 382,000 Peruvians live in the U.S., a number very close to the average from Central and South American countries (Table 1a and Table 1b). Therefore, the number of Peruvians in the U.S. is representative of the number of migrants from other individual countries. Peruvians in the U.S. represent an identifiable group of people with similar migration numbers and distribution patterns within the U.S. to other Latin Americans, making them an ideal population segment to study.

Peruvians began emigrating out of Peru in significant numbers in the 1980s for economic and political reasons. During this time hyperinflation, debt restructuring, currency devaluation, and declines in export revenue greatly damaged the Peruvian economy, leading to a significant number of educated, middle-class Peruvians migrating to Argentina, Chile, Spain, Germany, Italy, and the U.S. seeking better

employment. Also in the 1980s the rise of a leftist insurgency, The Shining Path, caused emigration particularly out of rural Andean areas into large cities and later abroad (Price 2007).

Table 1a. Central American foreign born living in the U.S.

Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Central American Origin	
<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Number Living in U.S.</i>
Costa Rica	81,342
El Salvador	1,047,124
Guatemala	720,901
Honduras	405,258
Nicaragua	235,734
Panama	95,684
Other	62,594

Table 1b. South American foreign born living in the U.S.

Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau

South American Origin	
<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Number Living in U.S.</i>
Argentina	165,850
Bolivia	73,394
Brazil	342,555
Chile	89,060
Colombia	592,436
Ecuador	384,677
Guyana	250,178
Peru	382,153
Uruguay	49,517
Venezuela	162,524

Peru currently has one of the highest emigration rates in Latin America (Takenaka, Paerregaard, and Berg 2009). This is expected to continue as seventy-five percent of youths in Peru state that they aspire to emigrate in the near future (Takenaka, Paerregaard, and Berg 2009). Currently, over 10% of Peruvians live abroad sending home remittances and establishing transnational migrant networks (Morales 2007); they typically maintain strong ties with home countries (Price 2007).

Within the United States, Peruvians have congregated in a few areas just as Latin Americans more generally have. The main hubs for Peruvian migrants are northern New Jersey and the New York City area, the Miami-Dade county of Florida, Los Angeles, California, and San Francisco, California (Figure 2). This clustering

allows for productive research of these population segments within these areas.

Figure 2. Percentage of U.S. county population born in Peru
Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2006 American Community Survey

Approximately 53,000 Peruvian migrants live in the Miami-Dade county and surrounding area, 64,000 live in the New York City and northern New Jersey area, and 33,000 live in Los Angeles. Only a little over 25,000 Peruvian migrants live in the areas directly surrounding San Francisco (U.S. Census Bureau 2006 American Community Survey). San Francisco does not have the highest concentration of Peruvians in the US; however, six and a half percent of the U.S. Peruvian population densely congregated around San Francisco (Figure 3) provides a useful example for how Peruvian transnational communities in other parts of the country operate.

Downtown San Francisco has a high density of Peruvian restaurants making it an appropriate starting place to track transnational culinary networks. In addition, known research subjects in the area facilitated research.

Figure 3: Peruvian distribution around San Francisco

Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2006 American Community Survey

For Peruvian food consumption in restaurants, the defined study area is a five square mile section of downtown San Francisco with the highest density of Peruvian restaurants within the urbanized area. The borders of this study area stretch from California Street in the north to 30th Street in the south, and from Castro Street in the

west to Hwy 80/Hwy 101 in the east (Figure 4). I interviewed the owners or chefs of ten restaurants serving Peruvian food in this study area (Table 2).

Figure 4: Study area for Peruvian restaurants in San Francisco

Table 2. Peruvian restaurants in study area

Restaurant	Address	Website
Fina Estampa	1100 Van Ness Avenue	www.finaestempasf.com
Mochica	937 Harrison Street	www.mochicasf.com
Destino	1815 Market Street	www.destinosf.com
Pisco Latin Lounge	1817 Market Street	www.destinosf.com
Limon	524 Valencia Street	www.limon-sf.com
Limon Rotisserie	1001 South Van Ness Avenue	www.limonrotisserie.com
Fresca	3945 24 th Street	www.frescasf.com
Inkas Restaurant	3299 Mission Street	www.inkasrestaurant.com
Mi Lindo Peru	3226 Mission Street	None
Piqueo's	830 Cortland Avenue	http://piqueos.com

While Peruvian restaurants are concentrated in downtown San Francisco, Peruvian migrants' homes are in the surrounding areas, particularly in the San Mateo, Santa Clara, Alameda, and Contra Costa counties surrounding the San Francisco Bay. For this reason, interviews with Peruvians who regularly cook traditional Peruvian food at home took place in these four counties.

The defined study area concentrates the research so that it can be conducted at a level of detail useful to readers. The research done within the study area serves as a representation of how a phenomenon occurs in other locations, particularly concerning Peruvian migrants in other hubs across the U.S.

Methodology

The research involves the following three stages of analysis: 1) map the complex networks bringing foreign cuisine ingredients to Peruvians in San Francisco, 2) identify key actors controlling the movement, and 3) contrast the networks bringing ingredients to three end user categories – expensive restaurants, moderate restaurants, and home cooks.

Research began with interviewing the chefs of ten Peruvian restaurants in the defined study area of downtown San Francisco and ten Peruvian migrants in the surrounding area who regularly cook Peruvian cuisine at home. The chefs were selected because of their location within the study area. An introductory letter (Appendix A) was mailed to them two weeks prior to the planned interview, followed by a phone call one week prior to the planned interview. The home cooks were

selected using a snowball sampling method. Beginning with known research subjects, each interview asked for additional contacts who could participate in the study. From these references ten interviewees were selected.

Interviews with chefs took place at their restaurant during closed hours or slow business time periods. Interviews with home cooks were conducted either at the individual's home or at a local shopping center. Each interview lasted fifteen to twenty minutes.

The interviews (Appendix B) answer two questions. First, what ingredients or food items are important elements of traditional Peruvian food dishes that are regularly made by Peruvians in the study area? A compilation of these answers show which food items are the most common and therefore the most important to trace (Table 3). Second, where do Peruvians in San Francisco obtain these items? Answers to this question provide the first step in the network from the end consumer to the point of origin. Additional questions on the importance of traditional food to Peruvians in the San Francisco area allow me to draw a connection between their demand for traditional cuisine and the transnational commodity networks linking Peru to San Francisco.

I use three primary data sources to trace the selected food items from the point of consumption through the transnational network – telephone interviews with representatives from importing companies, company website examinations, and online database querying. Telephone interviews (Appendix F) were conducted by phone at the time of the interviewee's choosing. Interviews lasted ten to fifteen minutes.

Table 3: Summary of food items named by interviewees

Food Item	Botanical Name	# of Times Named
Aji Amarillo	<i>Capsicum baccatum</i>	15
Aji Panca	<i>Capsicum baccatum</i>	10
Maiz Morado	<i>Zea mays L. poaceae</i>	10
Yuca	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	9
Maiz Cuzco Gigante	<i>Zea mays L. var. macrosperma</i>	7
Papa Amarilla	<i>Solanum stenotomum</i> Juz. and Bukasov subsp. <i>goniocalyx</i>	6
Pisco (distilled spirit)	N/A	5
Inca Kola (Peruvian soda)	N/A	5
Aji (unspecified type)	<i>Capsicum baccatum</i>	4
Aji Rocoto	<i>Capsicum pubescens</i>	4
Peruvian Beans	<i>Phaseolus</i>	3
Lucuma	<i>Pouteria lucuma</i>	3
Olluco	<i>Ullucus tuberosus</i>	3
Cusquena (Peruvian beer)	N/A	2
Algarrobina	<i>Prosopis nigra</i>	2
Huacatay	<i>Tagetes minuta</i>	2
Kola Inglesia (Soda)	N/A	1
Botija (Olives)	<i>Olea europaea</i>	1
Quinoa	<i>Chenopodium quinoa</i>	1

For more detailed tracking of the food items' movement, PIERS Global Intelligence Solutions, an online database of import and export information, offers reports on every container shipment imported into a U.S. port. This database provides importer, exporter, logistics broker if applicable, shipping company, vessel name, item imported, and quantity of import, as well as contact information for importer, exporter, and broker. Due to time and cost restraints, I accessed three months of data from the

PIERS database: July, August, and September 2009. Using the database, I identified all shipments imported by the previously identified companies during those three months. Once the shipping company and container number for a particular import of Peruvian food is identified through PIERS, tracking the shipment on the shipping company's website shows the origin, stops, and destination of that shipment. These sources provide a detailed compilation of data for the past three months of shipments, which serve as the base for network mapping.

Using GIS software, data was compiled into flow maps showing the selected food items' movement to San Francisco. The maps highlight importing companies, transportation routes, and product quantities. Additional maps show likely capital flows as a result of this movement. These maps are based on estimations of how much of the revenue is spent where (i.e. what percentage is spent on the shipping company, what shipping company received the payment, and where the shipping company is headquartered). This data is drawn from financial reports found on companies' websites and through personal communication with a company representative. For purposes of comparison, end consumption is categorized into expensive restaurants with entrees costing fifteen dollars or greater, moderate restaurants with meals costing less than fifteen dollars, and home cooks. Flow maps of these three segments allow for analysis of variances between routes on the three maps.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Globalization and its effects have been broadly debated and researched topics since the 1980s. Geographers have given special attention to explaining this phenomenon and its multi-faceted consequences on various societies and economies. This research draws on this broad base of globalization literature, particularly the research that has been done on transnational space and commodity culture. A conceptual foundation is presented in this chapter which forms the backbone for the research of commodity chains as a method for determining social and cultural phenomena.

Transnational Communities

Transnationalism is a commonly researched topic among geographers, and social scientists more generally, and has been studied for diverse reasons and with a variety of methods. In the broadest sense, transnationalism refers to “multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” (Vertovec 1999). These connections have a long history, but it is only recently that they have become a major focus of research. This is because the past three decades have seen a dramatic increase in transnational living, primarily because of technological advances in communication and transportation that allow connections across the globe (Harvey 1992; Portes 2003; Li and Teixeira 2007; Airriess and Miyares 2007). Some of the major differences between past and contemporary

transnational links are the circular quality of the flows – which replace direct, one-way flows – and the increasing diversity of migrant groups (Li and Teixeira 2007).

Transnationalism in the modern era involves connections between host and home countries and other places through remittances, gifts, gossip, political support, remittances, bribes, and medicines (Bailey et al. 2002).

Historically the concept of transnationalism has been focused on “ethnic migrant groups” and the social, political, economic, and cultural links that they maintain between multiple nation states simultaneously (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Crang, Dwyer, and Jackson 2003; Tsakiri 2005; Airriess and Miyares 2007; Li 2007). A very limited list of the numerous examples of this research include a study on Salvadoran transnational communities in New Jersey (Bailey et al. 2002), Senegalese migrants in Italy as viewed from the transnational perspective (Riccio 2001), identity negotiation of transnationals in the Andalusia/Spain region (Dietz 2004), and the role of remittances in the Mexican transnational community in the United States (Sana 2005). Little research has been done pertaining directly to Peruvian transnational communities in foreign countries. Four relevant studies are explained here.

Berg (2008) examines the transnational connections between the rural Peruvian community of Urcumarca and migrants from Urcumarca living in Maryland and Washington D.C. After a violent mob killing in Urcumarca in March 1999, the people of the community were involved in an expensive legal process trying to defend their underrepresented rural Andean community to the Peruvian government. The

Urcumarca migrants in the U.S. paid the majority of the legal fees. Berg explores the motivation behind this funding by asking whether the support was simply a continuation of earlier practices of helping families or if it could be a movement against economic and juridical marginalization of rural Peru, a type of 'diasporic citizenship'. Through ethnographic research in Urcumarca and Washington D.C./Maryland, Berg concludes that this situation is an example of migrants from rural Peru (where citizens are marginalized and underrepresented) maintaining loyalty to their home community and fighting for its political rights after leaving. Berg points out that these migrants loyalty was to Urcumarca, not Peru, even before leaving; and though they identify themselves as Peruvians in the U.S. to separate themselves from other Latin Americans, it is not a form of self-identification. Berg concludes "migrants do consider themselves as active participants in the development and transformation of the social landscape of the home community" (2008, 1105).

Paerregaard (2008) conducted ethnographic research at sites in Spain, Italy, Argentina, Chile, the United States, and Japan to provide insight on the role of the *Lord of Miracles* artifact and its role in transnational identity for Peruvians. He found that this artifact stands for both a belonging to home and a representation of self in a new place. It also serves to identify migrants with larger groups, such as Catholics. Paerregaard likened the icon to a "vector pointing from Lima and Peru into the world, which migrants use to... identify at once with a specific place in the world and feel at home anywhere else" (2008, 1088). Thereby, he expresses transnationalism as a web with a centering point upon the home country. In the same way, I argue that food

serves as an identifying vector for Peruvians abroad.

Molero (2005) believes that one of the primary culture creators and maintainers within transnational communities is religion. Peruvian religious followers of Senor de Qoyllur Ritti, a Catholic representation of Jesus with Andean Quechua influences, have increased dramatically worldwide despite their departure from home territory. As religious rituals associated with Senor de Qoyllur Ritti are enacted in locations of Peruvian migrants around the world (New York and Lima were studied by Molero), they contribute to the redefinition of cultural identity and citizenship for the migrants. Molero states “religious rituals contribute to the production of order and localism within the apparent disorder of globalization by re-creating old identities for new actors” (2005, 189). I suggest that traditional meals can be also ritualized to represent identification with old localities.

Baia argues that transnational studies must consider the “multicultural context of host societies... and the constant multilevel and multipolar bargaining of identities as globalization stretches contemporary notions of citizenship and community” (1999, 93). Through a study of two Catholic brotherhoods in the Peruvian immigrant community of Paterson, New Jersey, Baia suggests that transnational identities are developed and altered in response to an intricate web of horizontal and vertical transnational connections. In this study, the research subjects developed a pan-Latino identity in response to the multicultural society of the hosting country along with more traditional vertical influences from home and host countries. This suggests that research on transnational networks should appraise the complex networks of

influences from a variety of sources rather than looking solely to home and host country influences.

Recently geographers have emphasized that transnational space is more than just the connections maintained by ethnic migrants with home countries; instead it is multiply-inhabited and multidimensional (Crang, Dwyer, and Jackson 2003). Migrant groups are just one part of intricate webs of power, significance, and meaning that span the boundaries of multiple nations and include traveling employees, tourists, international companies, and transnational agreements and organizations (Bailey et al. 2002; Crang, Dwyer, and Jackson 2003; Crewe 2003; Smith and Bailey 2004). This transnational space occurs in socio-cultural realms (i.e. Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Olwig 2003; Nowicka 2006; Mato 2008), political realms (i.e. Agnew 1999; Laguerre 1999; Itzigsohn 2000; Featherstone 2007; Matsuzato 2009; Lampert 2009), and economic realms (i.e. Guarnizo 2003; Jones 2008; Rice 2009; Yeung 2009). Most often transnationality exists within and affects all of these realms simultaneously. The primary argument is that transnational space does not refer simply to migrant communities, but rather to a complex network of economic movements, cultural representations, political fights, and societal redefinition. Accordingly, transnational space should be studied in a manner that considers its complexity.

Commodity Culture

The intricate networks created by transnational space are a unique way to examine that space. The case studies provided earlier of Peruvian transnationals

analyze the actions of transnationals in new places but fail to examine the complex, global, physical networks that are created by their presence in a new place. My research focuses specifically on this phenomena.

Crang, Dwyer, and Jackson (2003) suggest that commodity culture is a particularly effective lens through which to examine transnational space. Other geographers have also found commodity culture to be an important element of studying transnationalism. For example, Bailey et al. (2002), while conducting research on Salvadoran transnational geographies, found that circuits of capital play an important role in the process of foreign-born in the US maintaining and creating transnational interconnections. Similarly, Robert Sack, in *The Consumer's World: Place as Context* (1988), argues that transnational connections through space are revealed by the study of production, transportation, capital movement, and networks of consumption. Crewe (2003) felt it is important to conduct “fine-grained analyses of how, why and where consumers act and interact in structured webs of significance, within material parameters, with commodities and in specific temporal and spatial settings” (259). David Howes (1996) suggests that cross-cultural consumption, in which “goods cross borders... and the culture they 'substantiate' is no longer the culture in which they circulate,” is a phenomenon needing careful examination (2).

Within commodity networks, multinational corporations contribute to the maintenance of difference and creation of identity in transnational groups. Along this line of inquiry Chua (2004) examined how international media companies in Asia are contributing to the creation of a pan-Asian identity, and Dwyer and Jackson (2003)

researched fashion industries in Britain and India and how companies contribute to the active construction of difference through the process of commodification. Commodity networks also connect geographies of consumption and production and show where meaning is added along the path (Dwyer and Jackson 2003). For example, Mansfield (2003) examined how the site of production is an important field for attributing meaning to a commodity, in her case imitation crab, just as is the site of consumption. Producers have carefully created a perception of imitation crab as a cheap substitute for an expensive food by disassociating it with its geographic and food material origins. In this way they have carefully crafted meaning at the site of production. Study of commodity networks shows that perceptions of product origins affect the product's value. Cook and Crang (1996) studied the role of these geographical knowledges in creating value for ethnic cuisine. Commodity networks reveal "power geometry" and who controls movements and revenue from the movements (Massey 1994). Lastly, commodity networks show how outside links and flows contribute to the creation of place (Massey 1994; Gieli 2009). For all these reasons, geographers believe commodity networks are important topics for research.

Social scientists are eager to show the connections of economy and culture, and examining cultural commodities (commodities used as cultural representation) is an excellent way to do this. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1986), Arjun Appadurai suggests that commodities reveal meanings, which in turn reveal cultures and social contexts. He states "we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their

trajectories” and “it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context” (Appadurai 1986, 5). This idea suggests that commodities tightly connect the cultural and the economic. Culture is the creation of collectively accepted meanings, and commodities become the tangible objects of that meaning. Simultaneously, commodities create employment and profit opportunities. For this reason, cultural artefacts are often commodified. For example, Cook and Crang (1996) look at London's attempt to brand itself by its numerous ethnic cuisines and perceptions of where those foods originated. Dwyer and Jackson (2003) and Jackson, Thomas, and Dwyer (2007) study fashion companies and their commodification of Indian apparel for its ethnic appeal. Gokariksel and Secor (2009) examine the development of a fashion industry around the Islamic cultural marker of veil wearing. Hawkins (2007) looks at the popularity of foreign cultural festivals in the U.S. Mansvelt (2007) discusses the interplay of culture and commodities through tourist consumption, gift giving, sustainable consumption, and the use of consumption to position a person culturally. Martiniello (2003) points to the popular demand of ethnic cuisine as an effort to reach the exotic. Jackson (2002) goes as far as to suggest that it is unproductive to think of culture and economy dualistically; instead culture and economy are fundamentally inseparable.

This thesis research examines transnationalism as a multi-dimensional space made of a complex network of numerous actors. It approaches transnational space through the lenses of cultural commodities, thus connecting economy and culture.

Food as Cultural Commodity

Groups identify themselves with a particular community or nation-state. They do this through cultural markers such as territory, religion, language, or food. Historically food has been place-based, dependent on local ingredients and maintained through passed-on traditional dishes. Because of this, food is a meaningful representation of home. More recently food has served an important role for transnational migrant communities in maintaining connection to home. It serves as something familiar, emulates a sense of home, and functions as an act of tradition. Several geographers have studied the role of food in transnationalism. Avieli (2005) examined how Chinese transnational communities in Vietnam use food as a subsurface political representation for China. Collins (2008) looked at how South Korean exchange students in New Zealand used food as a connection to what was familiar. Cook and Crang (1996) showed that food is a cultural artifact imbued with meaning and that the geographic origin of the food impacts its value. Law (2008) studied how Filipino women in Hong Kong use food to emulate a sense of home. Martiniello (2003) researched the appeal of ethnic cuisine in societies seeking the “exotic”.

Geographers have not conducted research, however, on how food serving as a cultural marker in transnational communities creates economic transnational commodity networks and on the roles of power in controlling that movement. My research brings together the economic and cultural by examining transnational space through commodity networks using food, a culturally meaningful and economically profitable commodity.

Chapter 3: Commodity Networks

The most common food items cited by interviewed chefs and home cooks are *aji* peppers, corn of various types (*maiz*), yellow potatoes (*papa amarilla*), cassava root (*yuca*), Inca Kola (a Peruvian soda pop), and pisco (a distilled grape brandy) (Table 3). This chapter analyzes the transnational networks created by the demand for these items in San Francisco. The chapter is divided into three sections: 1) packaged food items, which includes *aji*, *maiz*, and *papa* packaged and transported in frozen, canned, and dried forms; 2) Inca Kola; and 3) Pisco. Within these three sections, further subdivisions delineate each company that imports these ingredients.

Cassava root, commonly called *yuca* in Peru, is a starchy tuber originating in South America, but is currently grown in numerous locations between 30°N and 30°S latitude lines. It feeds about 800 million people, most of whom are located within this belt (Phillips 1982). Over 100 million metric tons of cassava was produced in the world in 1990, and only a fraction of that amount was produced and consumed in Peru (Phillips 1982). While fried *yuca* was mentioned by nine of the interviewees as a popular snack or side dish, it was not considered an important cultural foodstuff or a necessary ingredient to primary dishes. Its role in Peruvian cuisine appears to be an enjoyed, but not a critical, accompaniment. Additionally, *yuca* consumed by Peruvian households in the U.S. is most often imported from Costa Rica, not from Peru. For these reasons, and because it is associated with a variety of other cultures, *yuca* will not be traced in this research.

Packaged Food Items

Aji are Peruvian chile peppers. These are the staples of Peruvian food, providing flavoring, decoration, and substance to almost all dishes. Famous Peruvian chef Gaston Acurio states that “the DNA of Peruvian food is the chiles” (Finz 2008). There are several varieties of the Peruvian chile pepper: *aji amarillo*, a yellow chile pepper with a mild, smoky flavor; *aji panca*, a dark red chile with a fruity flavor; *aji limo*, a very spicy chile; and *aji rocoto*, which resembles a mini bell pepper. Of the twenty chefs and home cooks interviewed, fifteen listed *aji amarillo*, ten listed *aji panca*, four listed *aji rocoto*, and four simply listed *aji*. *Aji* was one of the few ingredients that interviewees stated could not be substituted with ingredients grown locally. Rather they argued that *aji* has a unique flavor that cannot be replicated by other chiles or spices and, because it forms the basis for the Peruvian palate, it cannot be left out. *Aji* peppers are purchased whole by the interviewees in a frozen, dried, or canned form or in a canned paste form. None of the chefs or home cooks purchases *aji* in a fresh form.

Maiz morado, a purple corn used for the popular non-fermented drink chicha morado, was listed by ten of the interviewees, and *Maiz cuzco gigante*, the large-kernel corn popular in many Peruvian dishes including ceviche and anticuchos, was listed by seven of the interviewees. *Papa amarilla*, a yellow potato, was listed by six interviewees. The corn and potatoes are purchased in frozen and dried form by the research subjects.

Interviews and market visits identified four companies as providers of these

primary Peruvian food ingredients in pre-packaged form to San Francisco: Amazonas Imports Inc., Peruvian Import Company Inc. operating with the brand Inca's Food, Mi Peru Products Imports, and Belmont International Trading Corporation (Figure 6).

Figure 5: Importing companies of Peruvian food available in San Francisco

Interviewed chefs obtain the pre-packaged *aji*, *maiz*, and *papa* products from three of these companies. Two restaurants use Belmont International Trading Corp headquartered in Miami, Florida. Five use Amazonas Imports headquartered in Sun Valley, California. One uses Inca's Food, a subsidiary of Peruvian Import Company headquartered in Passaic, New Jersey. Three use both Amazonas and Inca's Food. Interviewed home cooks purchase these products from a number of Latin American markets on Mission Street in San Francisco, Red Star International Groceries in

Sacramento, El Mercadito Latino in Elk Grove, and Mercado Latino in Hayward, San Francisco, and San Jose. These markets contain approximately equal quantities of items from Amazonas Imports and Inca's Food. They also carry the brand Mi Peru Products, a company headquartered in Redwood City, California. None of the visited markets carried food items from Belmont International.

Amazonas Imports Inc. Amazonas Imports Inc. is headquartered in Sun Valley, California. In operation since 1985, they provide unusual Aztec, Mayan, and Inca food from Central and South America to the U.S. and Canada. During the phone interview the company representative stated that they worked directly with the farmers in Peru via an agricultural consultant and that they ship the food to the Los Angeles port from which they truck it themselves to various locations around the U.S. The representative stated that they used a variety of shipping companies, but most commonly NYK lines (Guillermo Veliz, Amazonas Imports, 9 October 2009, Telephone Interview).

Using Piers online database, the only shipment Amazonas received over the three month time period analyzed arrived in the Los Angeles port in August, shipped by NYK lines. The originating company was identified as Agroindustria Servicios y Negocios based in Lima, Peru. Amazonas did not use a separate logistics company, which would have handled all import/export fees, shipping negotiations, and related activity. NYK Lines is headquartered in Tokyo and has a network of shipments spanning the globe and a portfolio of businesses including real estate investments, cruise ships, logistics services, and terminals in addition to bulk and carrier shipments.

It is a publicly traded company whose largest shareholders are banks and insurance companies in Tokyo. The majority of NYK's routes are in Asia, the South Pacific, and Europe, with only one transportation route available to move food from Peru to San Francisco. On this route food boards a container ship at Callao, Peru and travels directly to Manzanillo, Mexico. In Manzanillo the containers are unloaded and reloaded to a new ship because the original one heads across the Pacific at this time. The new ship travels from Manzanillo to Los Angeles, NYK's only stop on the west coast of the United States (Figure 7 on page 32). Once unloaded in Los Angeles, Amazonas takes responsibility for transporting the food using their own trucks to and from their warehouse in Sun Valley and distributors around the United States (Guillermo Veliz, Amazonas Imports, 9 October 2009, Telephone Interview). They truck it to restaurants and markets in San Francisco. The route is simple but connects at many points to an expansive global network. Along the route three companies are involved: Agroindustria Servicios y Negocios, NYK, and Amazonas.

Peruvian Import Company. Peruvian Import Company is headquartered in Passaic, New Jersey. They own three divisions: Doña Isabel, Inca's Food, and Inca's Herbs. Peruvian Import Company receives their products already packaged from their partner company Importadora y Exportadora Doña Isabel, a fully-owned subsidiary of Peruvian Import Company located in Peru. During an interview, the company representative reported using APL, Mediterranean Shipping Company (MSC), and Compania Sudamericana de Vapores (CSAV) to ship their products internationally. In general they receive the shipments in New Jersey and then ship their products by

pallet to distributors across the U.S. Occasionally container shipments may be sent directly to a distributor (Tania Quevado, Peruvian Import Company, 14 October 2009, Telephone Interview).

According to the PIER database, Peruvian Import Company received twenty three shipments in the three months this research took place. Seven imports were received in the last of those months; all seven were shipped by APL and arrived at the Port of New York. The food is produced and packaged by Importadora y Exportadora Dona Isabel in Lima and loaded onto the ships at Callao. Peruvian Import Company uses a logistics services company, Global International, which is headquartered in Jamaica New York to manage its shipping needs.

APL, originally known as American President Lines, had its first voyage in 1849. It continued through the next century as America's leading shipping company. In 1997 APL was acquired by Singapore based Neptune Orient Lines (NOL) and is now a wholly owned subsidiary. NOL is a global transportation company with primary activities in container transportation, terminal operation, and supply chain management. Their network covers North and South America, Europe, the Middle East, Australia, and the Indian subcontinent, with a primary focus in Asia. APL has one route, PAX, that stops at Callao, Peru. After Callao it stops at Paita in northern Peru and then Balboa, Panama. In Balboa the containers are transferred to either the APX or NYX line which travels to New York making three to four stops on the way. Once unloaded at the New York port, Peruvian Import Company again takes control and transports the products to restaurants and markets across the country (Figure 8).

Figure 6: Transportation network for Amazonas Imports, Inc.

Data Source: Piers Online Database

Figure 7: Transportation network for Peruvian Import Co.

Data Source: Piers Online Database

Figure 8: Transportation network for Mi Peru Products Import

Data Source: Piers Online Database

Figure 9: Transportation network for Belmont International Trading Corp.

Data Source: Piers Online Database

Mi Peru Products Import. Mi Peru Products Import is a small scale import company started around 2006 in San Francisco and now operating out of nearby Redwood City, California. Mi Peru does not supply foodstuffs to the restaurants interviewed in this study, but they do have approximately equal representation to Amazonas and Inca's Food in Latin American markets in San Francisco. During an interview, the owner of the company stated that their products were purchased from a manufacturer in Peru (he did not know the name), shipped to the Port of Oakland using various shipping companies (again no names), and then transported to Mi Peru's warehouse by Viper Transportation (Will, Mi Peru Products Import, 26 October 2009, Telephone Interview).

According to PIERS online database, Mi Peru received one shipment during the three-month research period. The food was purchased from The Green Farmer SAC in Callao, Peru, shipped by MOL to Oakland, California, and coordinated by logistics company Agra Services Brokerage. The Green Farmer SAC is based in Callao, Peru. They sell packaged Peruvian food items including aji, papa, yuca, olluco, and maiz to five companies in the United States and one in Spain. AGRA-Services Brokerage Co. based in Jamaica, New York is a full import-export transportation company.

Mitsui O.S.K. Lines, headquartered in Tokyo, was founded in 1884. Since that time it has spread its geographical network to include all seven continents and its business scope to include not only bulk, container, and car shipping, but also port operations, warehousing, road transportation, shipbuilding, marine/civil engineering,

property management, insurance, and telecommunications. MOL's revenues in 2008 approached two million dollars. Their major shareholders are Japanese banks and insurance companies. MOL provides services to more ports in South America and Africa than any other shipping company. In an effort to expand coverage they helped create The New World Alliance (TNWA) with APL and Hyundai Merchant Marine of South Korea.

MOL has one route that will carry containers from Callao to Oakland. The ship follows the ACW route directly from Callao to Balboa, Panama. In Balboa the container boards a new ship on the CNY route, which takes it to Los Angeles and then Oakland before heading across the Pacific to Asia (Figure 9 on page 32).

Mi Peru hires Viper Transportation to transport their products from the Port of Oakland to their warehouse. Viper Transportation is headquartered in Clayton just outside San Francisco. A relatively small transportation company, they serve clients who receive products at the Oakland and Long Beach ports. Their services include pick up at the port, secure storage, and trucking.

Belmont International Trading Corporation. Belmont International Trading Corporation is a Peruvian-American partnership with headquarters in Miami, Florida and Lima, Peru. Started in 2002 in Miami, Belmont International imports and distributes natural and organic Peruvian food in America. They support organic and sustainable farming in Peru, working directly with the farmers who grow their food. During a telephone interview, a company representative stated that Belmont International buys their food directly from farmers in Peru in a fresh form, they

process and package it themselves at their own factory in Lima, and then ship it to Miami using a variety of shipping companies, most commonly MOL. From their warehouse in Miami they contract with trucking companies to take the products to distribution centers in eight different states. The representative did not know the names of the trucking companies (Javier Payet, Belmont International Trading Corp, 14 October 2009, Telephone Interview).

PIERS online database had records of three shipments received for Belmont International during the three month research period. All three were shipped from Callao to Miami using MOL shipping lines. Belmont did not use a logistics services. The shipments were shipped from Belmont International to Belmont International verifying the presence of Belmont in Peru. Belmont uses Mitsui O.S.K. Lines, the same company that Mi Peru used. The route is similar. The container is shipped following the ACW route from Callao to Balboa, Panama, where it is transferred to a new ship on the CNY route, which transports it to Manzanillo and then Miami. From Miami, Belmont International contracts an unidentified trucking company to carry the products to San Francisco (Figure 10 on page 32).

Inca Kola

Inca Kola, a sweet, golden, carbonated beverage, represents tradition, folklore, local pride, identification, and heritage for Peruvians. This is particularly true for Peruvians living outside of their home country. One Peruvian stated, "I developed a true emotional connection to this brand when I had to live abroad. Having a chilled

[Inca Kola] in my fridge back in the U.S. was like having a piece of my country” (Carbo 2008). It is common for Peruvians who meet abroad to share an Inca Kola as they swap stories and information about home (Alcalde 2009). This behavior is a representation of their Peruvian nationality and provides immediate connection with each other.

Inca Kola first hit the market in 1935, produced by the Jose R. Lindley Corporation. In 1960 the slogan “Inca Kola, la bebida de sabor nacional” (“Inca Kola, the drink of national flavor”) was developed. Now the popular slogan defines how Peruvians think of Inca Kola. It is the only national cola to outsell Coca-Cola in its own territory and is widely accepted as emblematic of Peru, being served at Peruvian restaurants for “authenticity”, sought out by Peruvian travelers and migrants, and accepted as the natural choice for Peruvian foods (Alcalde 2009). The affiliation of Inca Kola with national identity is partially a result of its name. The Inca Empire is a well documented central component of national identity for Peruvians from colonial times to the present (Alcade 2009). Even in its name, this soft drink has taken on an identifying character that makes it more meaningful to Peruvians than most other food and drink.

However, the soft drink is solely a representation, or symbol, of homeland for Peruvians in the U.S. It does not create any real connection between the two countries because it is owned, operated, and produced in the U.S. by the Coca-Cola Company and their bottlers. In 1999 Inca Kola entered into a partnership with Coca-Cola. Coca-Cola purchased half of the Inca Kola brand and approximately one-third of the

parent company Jose R. Lindley Corporation for 300 million dollars (Alcalde 2009).

As part of the agreement Inca Kola was granted exclusive bottling rights to Coca-Cola products in Peru, and Coca-Cola agreed to market and distribute Inca Kola in other countries. Prior to this time Inca Kola had distribution centers in New York, New Jersey, Florida, and California (Lyman 1998), but U.S. sales before the merge were minor. After the strategic alliance was negotiated, Coca-Cola took responsibility for marketing, producing, and distributing Inca Kola in the U.S.

Coca-Cola is one of the largest global companies in the world with revenues in 2008 above thirty billion dollars. They have a portfolio of over 3,000 beverages and operate in more than 200 countries (Coca-Cola website, www.thecoca-colacompany.com). Coca-Cola has a unique operational system. They develop beverages and create unique syrups for each beverage. They sell these syrups to bottlers who manufacture, bottle, and distribute the beverages. Coca-Cola owns and advertises their brands but choose not to be involved in the actual manufacture or sale of the beverage purchased by the consumer (Coca-Cola, www.thecoca-colacompany.com).

Coca-Cola granted exclusive bottling rights within the United States to Continental Food and Beverage Inc. Continental Food and Beverage is headquartered in Clifton, New Jersey, but they have bottling plants in northern California and southern California where they produce the Inca Kola sold in San Francisco (Figure 11). They sell to distributors, who in turn sell directly to restaurants, Latin American markets, and large stores including Restaurant Depot, a food service wholesaler

headquartered in New York with stores around the U.S. (Randy Berman, Continental Food and Beverage Inc, 1 February 2010, telephone conversation).

Figure 10: Transportation network for Inca Kola
Data Source: Coca-Cola website and Randy Berman interview

Revenue resulting from purchases of Inca Kola in the U.S. primarily benefits the Continental Food and Beverage Inc. in New Jersey and Coca-Cola Company in Atlanta, Georgia. On a smaller scale, Restaurant Depot, Latin American markets, and restaurants also benefit from the sales of this soft drink. Revenue does not travel to Peru; it stays entirely within the U.S. The production and sale of Inca Kola in the U.S. is kept separate from its production and sale in Peru. The products produced by the Coca-Cola Company and Continental Food and Beverage Inc. are not exported to Peru, nor are those produced by the Inca Kola/Coca-Cola partnership in Peru imported

to the U.S. Some interviewees claimed that different ingredients are used to make Inca Kola in the two countries.

Peruvians say that Inca Kola goes with everything, tastes better than other kolas, and represents Peruvian nationality (Alcalde 2009). For non-alcoholic beverages, Inca Kola is the drink of choice to accompany any Peruvian meal. Because of its success in maintaining higher market share in Peru than Coca-Cola, Inca Kola seems to represent the strength of their nation in the face of globalization for Peruvians. It proves Peruvians' loyalty to national products and Peru's ability to compete with powerful transnational corporations. For these reasons Peruvians in the U.S. purchase Inca Kola on a regular basis. Ironically, Inca Kola is owned by a U.S.-based multi-national conglomerate that represents the epitome of globalization and westernization. Therefore, Inca Kola only symbolically represents homeland for Peruvians abroad and is not a tangible connection.

Pisco

Pisco is a brandy distilled from Quebrenta or Muscat grapes in the wine producing regions of Peru and Chile. The two countries have disputed the place of pisco's origin, but Peruvians believe it originated in the region surrounding Ica 150 miles south of Lima, Peru. In terms of international trade, Peru was granted *denomination of origin* recognizing pisco as a product of Peru (Embassy of Peru). Pisco is seen as a symbol of pride, and pisco sours are considered the national drink. Mentioned by five interviewees, it is an important element of Peruvian cuisine.

Pisco was imported to San Francisco from Peru as early as 1839, and a considerable quantity was consumed during the California Gold Rush (Davis 1889; Toro-Lira 2007; Bronson 1973). In fact it was in San Francisco at the Bank Exchange barroom that pisco punch was invented and made famous at the end of the 1800s and early 1900s (Toro-Lira 2007). Historical accounts of the era that mention pisco punch include Rudyard Kipling's *From Sea to Sea* in 1889, Thomas W. Knox in 1872, and Harol Ross in 1937. The bar closed down in 1919, and the creator of the punch died in 1926. The recipe died with the creator, so pisco punch disappeared from San Franciscan life until it was rediscovered in the early 1970s (Bronson 1973; Toro-Lira 2007). The recipe called for specifically Peruvian pisco (Bronson 1973). Pisco sours, the national drink of Peru, were developed in Lima around 1920 by an American expatriate (Toro-Lira and Morris 2009).

Peru's exports of pisco have increased dramatically over the past decade. In 2002, pisco exports were \$83,642, and by 2009 exports were \$1,371,842 (Conapisco 2010). Peru's production of pisco has also risen, from 1.5 million liters in 2002 to 6.5 million liters in 2009. The majority of exported pisco from Peru goes to the United States at a total of 69,574 liters in 2009 valued at \$468,476. Peruvian pisco is also exported to Chile, Colombia, Spain, Argentina, Ecuador, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Belgium (Comisión Nacional del Pisco 2010). The largest pisco producing regions in Peru are around Pisco, a small city 125 miles south of Lima on the coast; Ica, 150 miles south of Lima on the coast; and the Cañete River Valley 93 miles south of Lima (Higuchi, Yutaka, and Fukuda 2009).

Only two of the ten restaurants examined reported pisco as an important product they purchase and serve; this is because the majority of restaurants (especially more moderately priced restaurants) do not possess licenses to serve hard liquor. The two restaurants obtain their pisco directly from importing companies. Both mentioned Inca Gold and Sol de Ica. Inca Gold is a product of Inca Spirits, Inc., an importing company founded in Atlanta, Georgia in 1999. Inca Spirits initially imported Picasso brand wine and pisco; then from 2005 to 2008 they imported Cerveza Cristal, a Peruvian beer. In 2008 when Cristal transferred ownership and the importing arrangements were discontinued, Inca Spirits arranged for production of Inca Gold pisco. Their recent decision to sell only pisco confirms the rapidly growing market for pisco in the United States.

Inca Gold pisco is produced in Ica and shipped to Charleston, South Carolina using a variety of shipping lines. From there, pallets of the pisco are shipped to distributors by Old Dominion Freight Lines, a trucking company headquartered in North Carolina (Figure 12). Inca Spirits provides Inca Gold pisco to distributors in seven states in the United States. In California, Inca Gold is distributed by Bock Wine and Spirits based out of San Francisco (Walt Bauer, Inca Spirits Inc, 8 February 2010, Personal Email). PIERS online database showed no record of imports to Inca Spirits, Inc. during the researched time period.

Sol de Ica is produced by the company Bodegas Vista Alegre SAC located in Ica, Peru. Founded in 1857, Bodegas Vista Alegre manufactures and exports several varieties of pisco and wine. They have offices in Lima, but their manufacturing occurs

in Ica. Sol de Ica did not respond to efforts to contact them during this research; however, they did import shipments of pisco into the Port of Los Angeles during 2009 (Comisión Nacional del Pisco 2010) (Figure 12).

Figure 11: Transportation network for pisco imports
Data Source: Piers Online Database and Personal Communication

According to PIERIS online database, the only two imports of Peruvian Pisco into the U.S. during the three month research period were both to HGC Imports in San Jose, California. Based on an interview with the owner, HGC has been in operation for seventeen years importing alcohol mostly from Portugal. This is their first attempt at selling Peruvian pisco. They hope to sell to wine merchants; Beverages and More is their main goal. HGC has fifty-seven products in Beverages and More currently, and they hope to add pisco to that list soon. Their attempt to branch into pisco sales confirms the growth of the pisco industry in the U.S. HGC has a warehouse in San Jose and uses their own trucks to transport products to buyers (Kevin Coelho, HGC Imports, 6 November 2009, Telephone Interview).

HGC Imports used Giorgio Gori as a complete logistics provider. Giorgio Gori is a logistics package specifically designed for the beverage industry with offices in fifteen different countries including one in Maryland and one in New Jersey. It is headquartered in Italy. Hamburg Sud, a German shipping company in operation since 1871 with a global container shipping network, transported the HGC Imports products from Callao, Peru to Manzanillo, Mexico where it transferred ships and continued on to Oakland (Figure 12). Hamburg Süd is part of the Oetker Group, a family-owned business in Germany. Founded over 100 years ago, the Oetker Group has nearly 25,000 employees, more than 400 companies worldwide, and a turnover of €9.2 billion a year, making it one of the largest European family-owned companies. The Oetker Group has a diverse range of products including food, beer, non-alcoholic beverages, wine and spirits, shipping, banking, chemical companies, book publishers,

and luxury hotels. Financial reports were unavailable for Hamburg Süd.

Three home cooks reported pisco as a primary Peruvian food item. Each of them purchased their pisco at Beverages and More. Beverages and More was founded in 1994 as an alcohol beverage lifestyle store. They opened six stores in the San Francisco Bay Area that year. Since that time they have grown dramatically to their current position of 100 stores in California and Arizona. Beverages and More carries two brands of pisco, Pisco Capel Reservado and Alto Del Carmen, both of which are owned by the Capel company of Chile. Capel is the pisco brand most consumed in the U.S. selling 15,000 cases per year (Wilson 2009). It is imported and sold to Beverages and More by Shaw-Ross International Importers, a U.S. importer of fine wines and spirits headquartered in Miramar, Florida. Beverages and More occasionally carries a variety of other pisco brands, but the supply is limited, infrequent, and unreliable. The home cook interviewees stated that because of this they are often unable to find pisco produced in Peru.

Chefs and home cooks interviewed in this research purchase their pisco from very different sources. Chefs purchase pisco directly from importing companies and are careful to obtain only Peruvian pisco. Home cooks purchase pisco from Beverages and More, which most often has only Chilean brands available. The difference between pisco sources for chefs and home cooks is a consequence of cost and distribution networks.

In November 2009 the average price of a liter of Peruvian pisco in the U.S. was \$10.32 contrasted with the average price of Chilean pisco at \$5.61 a liter (Andina

2010). These price differences are a result of different marketing and production strategies of the countries. While Chile has emphasized standardization, mass production, and large sales through distributors, Peru has focused on the traditional production processes and marketing. In the past Chile produced many times more pisco than Peru, but recently Peruvian exports have surpassed Chilean exports (Pellman 2009). While Peruvian and Chilean pisco each hold a 50% market share in the U.S., Peruvian pisco exports increased dramatically from 2004 to 2009 while Chilean exports fell slightly (Andina 2010). The growing demand for expensive, Peruvian-specific pisco follows a similar trajectory to that of tequila growth caused partially by sales of high-end, specialty tequila over the past ten years (Brown 2008). This suggests that exporters of Peruvian pisco and Peru's government are trying to tap into high-end prices generated by niche-market tequila.

Access to Peruvian pisco is limited for Peruvian home cooks in the study area because of high price and lack of availability in stores like Beverages and More. Very few restaurants in the area offer pisco because they lack liquor licenses. But the restaurants that do sell pisco emphasize their use of high-quality Peruvian pisco. The sources and networks providing pisco to these two consumer groups are highly different. Price, ability to eat out, and location play into the research subjects' ability to access Peruvian pisco.

Chapter 4: Implications

This research demonstrates the creation of economic networks in response to cultural demands, which I propose is occurring at a rapid rate around the world for many reasons including the growth of transnational communities. When people move to new places, they maintain connections to home largely through dependence on cultural artifacts. They demand these cultural artifacts, which often have to be purchased and shipped from the home country, as in the example of Peruvian food. As a result commodities are produced and shipped abroad. As commodities begin moving at quicker rates over longer distances, capital is generated in the form of revenue from the sale of these commodities. This capital begins flowing around the globe as well. It may return to the location the commodity was produced, or it may detour to a number of “middle-men” such as shipping companies, inspection companies, brokers, or marketers. The result of all this movement is a complex network of cultural, economic, and political connections across nations and, more generally, across space. With increasing numbers of people migrating, the growth of complex transnational networks naturally follows.

These networks do not occur at random, however. Rather, they follow specific paths dependent on centers of capital and power; physical geography of ports, natural resources, and barriers to transportation; and available transnational shipping routes. Additionally, the control of these networks is limited to a few, select companies, and the ability to obtain the material things moving through the networks is often limited.

This research reveals a power geometry (Massey 1994) of control and access to the network bringing Peruvian food to San Francisco.

This chapter discusses these implications in four sections. The first section examines the connection between the demand for traditional food by the Peruvian transnational community in San Francisco and the creation of economic networks to bring that food to them. The second section shows the limited networks that the food items follow and how the networks are dependent upon locations of concentrated wealth, physical geographic limitations, and available transportation routes. The third section analyzes the Peruvian transnational community's access to the food brought to Peru and how their access is often limited by cost or availability. The final section discusses the recent promotion of locally produced foods and how this conflicts with the promotion of multiculturalism for migrants who must import foods to maintain their cultural eating habits.

The Connection of Culture and Economy in Transnational Networks

Since the 1980s when the emigration of Peruvians out of their home country rose significantly, four areas in the United States have developed a large population of Peruvian migrants: Miami, New York/New Jersey, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Within each of these areas a company selling packaged Peruvian food has emerged. Amazonas Imports opened in Los Angeles in 1985; Peruvian Import Company in New Jersey started in 1978; Mi Peru Products in San Francisco began in 2006; and Belmont International Trading Corp opened in Miami in 2001. These four companies provide

all the packaged Peruvian food items consumed by the interviewees in the San Francisco Bay Area. These companies opened since the influx of Peruvian migrants to the U.S. and in locations where the Peruvian migrants concentrated. Therefore, it appears that they were in response to Peruvian immigrants in the United States.

In support of this postulation, Peruvian Import Company's website states that "the company was created... due to popular demand among Peruvian immigrants for their nostalgic cuisine." Peruvians hold their food in high esteem as a national emblem. And this becomes even more obvious as Peruvians living abroad use their national cuisine as a common denominator, as glue keeping the fragmented pieces from falling apart. Two Peruvians who meet abroad may have very little in common but will certainly discuss their cuisine enthusiastically and with ease (Alcalde 2009) and probably partake in some together. Interviews from home cooks and restaurants support this apparent connection, as described in detail below.

Home Cooks. When asked why they cook traditional Peruvian dishes, answers provided by home cooks interviewed during this research can be grouped into four primary categories: 1) nostalgia and memories, 2) taste, 3) for their children to experience, and 4) to keep Peruvians together and connected to home (Table 4).

The most commonly noted reason was nostalgia and memories, referenced eight times. One interviewee states that she cooks Peruvian food to "bring memories back. Having a familiar taste in your mouth makes you remember about family gatherings back home. It reminds us of our culture and traditions." Another says that she cooks "just for the memories; it's a comfort food."

Table 4: Interviewee reasons for cooking Peruvian food

Interviewee	Frequency of Peruvian Cooking	Reason
1	25%	1- Taste 2-Nostalgia
2	95%	1-Part of us 2-Attaches us to our roots
3	25%	1-Memories 2-Taste 3-For my kids and husband to experience
4	50%	1-Reminds of home 2-Taste
5	50%	1-Taste 2-Tradition
6	75%	1-Keep tradition and pass on to kids 2-Keeps us together 3-Reminds each other of our roots
7	80%	1-Culture 2-For kids
8	80%	1-Taste
9	75%	1-Taste
10	20%	1-Taste 2-Culture and traditions

The second most commonly noted reason was taste. Seven interviewees stated that preference for the taste of their traditional cuisine was a key reason for cooking it. One interviewee says he cooks “because it's delicious. There's an element of nostalgia for sure, but I can honestly say primarily because it tastes so good.” Taste is a learned sense that is highly correlated to the preferences of the people one grew up with, the food and other cultural items one was exposed to, and the cultural artifacts regarded highly by people whom one esteems. Therefore, the interviewees’ responses stating that they preferred the taste of their own food reflects a culturally taught preference.

Other recurrent themes in the responses were to share traditional food with their children and to connect them to each other and their roots. "Well it's just part of us. Ever since we moved to the U.S., I cook Peruvian food 95% of the time. It makes us still be attached to our roots." These desires have caused migrants to go out of their way to obtain Peruvian ingredients in order to continue cooking their traditional dishes. As a result companies such as Amazonas Imports, Peruvian Import Co, Mi Peru Products Import, and Belmont International Trading Corp. opened to meet the demand.

Restaurants. Between 1978 and 2009, more than fifteen Peruvian restaurants opened in San Francisco. The interviews with chefs of Peruvian restaurants in San Francisco supported a connection between Peruvian migrants' demand and the purchase of food from Peru. According to the interviews, restaurants that opened before the mid-1990s had primarily Peruvian customers when they first opened. However, now they report having a great diversity of customers that they believe reflects the demographics of San Francisco. One chef reported having quite a few Peruvian customers on holidays, including Christmas and Independence Day of Peru, but no noticeable amount the rest of the year.

Chefs of restaurants that opened more recently (since 1997) reported a different trend. They referred to their restaurants as one of the first to bring Peruvian food to San Francisco. Their goal was to introduce Peruvian food to San Francisco because, according to them, it was not well known. Peruvian food was available in San Francisco at markets and restaurants prior to this time, but these chefs were pointing

out that Peruvian food was not known to the masses. Only the Peruvian population living in the area had consumed much Peruvian food prior to this time. These newer restaurants were hoping to change that; they were not opened for the Peruvian immigrants, but rather for the long-time residents of America or tourists in search of an exotic cuisine experience. Coincidentally, with one exception these restaurants are classified as “expensive” by this research because they serve entrees priced above \$15. The older restaurants (the ones opened to serve the Peruvians originally) are classified as “moderate” because they serve entrees under \$15.

A recent, dramatic increase of Peruvian restaurants opening worldwide shows that the desire to bring Peruvian food to the masses is not unique to San Francisco. Gastón Acurio, chef of 32 Peruvian restaurants in 14 countries, states that Peruvian chefs' mission "is to promote our culture in the world. It is a movement of hundreds of cooks. And we think we can take Peruvian food to the world" (Parseghian 2009). The majority of these newly opened restaurants serve entrees costing more than \$15.

This pattern is similar to the divergence of high-end Mexican restaurants to meet a market demand for the “exotic”. Despite the non-ethnic customer base for these restaurants, they are primarily run by immigrant populations (Adler 2005). In this research even the newer restaurants are owned by Peruvians and their chefs are Peruvian. Therefore, these restaurants, the food they purchase from Peru, and the networks created to transport the food to San Francisco are still connected to the foreign-born Peruvian population in the U.S.

Beverages. The sale of pisco and Inca Kola in the U.S. also appears to be

correlated to the growing number of Peruvian transnationals in the U.S. Pisco imports to the U.S. have risen dramatically over the past eight years. This growth is at least partially due to the establishment of pisco in specialty, high-end liquor markets similar to tequila. This is emphasized by the growth of Peruvian pisco sales in comparison to Chilean pisco sales, as well as by general alcoholic distributors recent branching into the sale of pisco (i.e. HGC Imports and Inca Spirits, Inc.).

Inca Kola is a symbol of national pride for Peruvians abroad, and their demand for it caught the attention of Coca-Cola Company. Since its acquisition of the Inca Kola brand in 1999, Coca-Cola controls all manufacture of Inca Kola in the U.S. Despite Peruvians' attempt to exhibit loyalty to their homeland by purchasing Inca Kola instead of Coca-Cola or Sprite, they are simply supporting a multi-national conglomerate. The acquisition of small brands into global brands is an important outcome of globalization and increasing interconnections of people, products, and ideas in the world. Coca-Cola's purchase of Inca Kola, which resulted in Coca-Cola possessing sole rights to market and sell Inca Kola in the U.S., demonstrates the demand for this soda pop in the U.S.

These examples demonstrate the demand for Peruvian food items in the United States by the Peruvian immigrant population and the resulting economic networks created to meet this demand. This is a global occurrence. With the increased movement of people across borders, a whole circle of responses has been set in motion. These people have societal and cultural demands, in this case Peruvians' loyalty to their traditional cuisine, which in turn create economic networks. With the

opening of restaurants and importing companies, more Peruvian products are produced in Peru and shipped to various parts of the U.S. Logistics companies are hired to oversee the transportation. Trucking companies distribute the products once they reach the U.S. The increase in these economic networks creates new dimensions of social and cultural phenomena as the capital resulting from these networks is distributed around the globe. Who controls and benefits from this capital becomes an important topic of concern. In addition, we see that different networks serve the needs of the expensive, tourist-oriented restaurants than the moderate restaurants and the home cooks. This raises concern about the effects of wealth, class, and race differences on access not only to physical space but also to remote spaces, such as spaces of production of materials to be consumed. The relationship between societal phenomena, commodities, and economic networks is circular in character, densely interwoven, and entirely inseparable.

The Limited Networks of Global Capital

Time-space compression results in quicker and more frequent movements of things across national borders. The use of the word “things” reveals the complexity of movements occurring simultaneously across the globe, including people through migration, tourism, and corporate travel; commodities of all imaginable forms; ideas; and finally, capital. “The phenomenal increase in global financial flows is the most significant development in the [modern] world economy” (Singh 2000, 1).

This remarkable increase in capital movement raises questions about who is

benefiting from and controlling this capital. Critics wonder whether the finances reach the poor in remote communities or simply enhance the wealth of the already affluent.

This section examines global patterns of capital control and how transnational commodity flows are affecting the finances of the global economy. It analyzes the impact of capital flows resulting from the influx of Peruvian food traveling to San Francisco, and it traces the movement of the money, where it ends up, and who receives it. I begin with an overview of the nature of globalized capital flows.

Globalization over the past three decades has been marked by a rapid growth of international financial institutions, increase of trade among transnational corporations, a surge in foreign direct investment, the emergence of global markets, and globalized transportation and communication systems (Singh 1999, 3-4). Not only have international financial flows increased, but the character of these flows has changed. Capital flows controlled by private companies now dominate the total financial flows to developing countries at a rate of over 80% of total flows (Singh 1999, 13). The transfer of capital control to privately held companies instead of publically traded companies and government agencies is largely in the form of foreign direct investment, which is concentrated in eighteen developing countries in Asia and Latin America (Singh 1999, 14-16). This trend is reflected in this research, which shows that the movement of Peruvian food to San Francisco, as well as its production in Peru, is controlled entirely by privately owned companies primarily based in the U.S. These privately managed flows can contribute to domestic economic complexities and financial instability between nation-states (Singh 1999, 139-140). In

addition, they change the political field as transnational corporations and organizations have risen to a place of importance along with nation-states as policy makers and political actors (Singh 1999, 143).

In addition to being controlled by privately owned companies, globalization of finances is spatially uneven. It has developed primarily among wealthy countries, and more specifically between large, wealthy cities (Obstfeld and Taylor 2004, 230). Therefore, the benefits and risks of global capital movement are unevenly distributed amongst places as well. As Massey proposes, time-space compression has exaggerated a “power geometry” (1994, 149). Time-space compression has influenced not only who moves and who doesn't, but also who has power in relation to those movements. Some people have more control over movements than others; some initiate flows while others do not; some receive more of the flows than others; and Massey even suggests some are confined by it (1994, 149). Because the internationalization of capital flows has not occurred evenly across the globe, humans are differentially affected by it. They are drawn into a complex power geometry where they have unequal amounts of control. This research demonstrates through mapping that these networks follow specific, limited pathways dependent on existing centers of capital and power. They do not flow freely and equally across the globe, nor do they flow directly to Peru from San Francisco.

Packaged Food Networks. The four importing companies of pre-packaged foods – Amazonas Imports, Peruvian Import Company, Mi Peru Products, and Belmont International Trading Corp – are headquartered in or near large U.S. cities:

New York, Miami, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Their administrative and operating expenses (30% of revenue) are spent almost entirely within those city limits (Tania Quevado, Peruvian Import Company, 9 February 2010, Email Communication; Guillermo Veliz, Amazonas Imports, 11 February 2010, Email Communication). Each company is privately owned, so profit is kept by the owners and remains in the cities.

These companies spend approximately 20% of their revenue on shipping and logistics companies (Tania Quevado, Peruvian Import Company, 9 February 2010, Email Communication; Guillermo Veliz, Amazonas Imports, 11 February 2010, Email Communication). The shipping companies they use are MOL, APL, and NYK. MOL and NYK are publically traded shipping companies in Tokyo whose primary shareholders are Tokyo-based banks and insurance companies. APL is a subsidiary of Neptune Orient Lines, which is publically traded and headquartered in Singapore. Agra Service Brokerage and Global International served as logistics coordinators for two of the importing companies. Both logistics providers are based in New York. The other two packaged food importing companies did not use logistics services.

Approximately 30-40% of the sale of Peruvian food goes to the manufacture and packaging of the food in Peru (Tania Quevado, Peruvian Import Company, 9 February 2010, Email Communication; Guillermo Veliz, Amazonas Imports, 11 February 2010, Email Communication). However, this percentage is further split between the processing/packaging company and the farmers. In the case of two of the four packaged food companies, the U.S. importing company also owns the plant in Peru. So a significant amount of the revenue spent on packaging and producing in

Peru still flows to U.S. based companies, albeit the physical location in Peru.

Based on this division of revenue (Table 5), it is evident that although the companies involved in the network transporting Peruvian food to San Francisco are located across the globe, they are based in a very limited number of places (Figure 13). The majority of revenue produced by the network ends in large U.S. and Asian cities. Some of the revenue does reach Peru; however, this revenue is kept in Lima, the largest city in Peru with a population of nearly 8,000,000. Very little is distributed into the rural areas of Peru where the actual food production occurs.

Table 5: Approximate division of expenditures for importing companies based on interviews
Sources: Tania Quevado, Peruvian Import Co, 9 February 2010, Email; Guillermo Veliz, Amazonas Imports, 11 February 2010, Email

Shipping	Manufacturing	Administrative	Profit
20%	40%	30%	10%

Figure 12: Graduated symbol map displaying the geographically clustered spending of packaged goods importers by percentage of revenue (Table 5)

Beverages. The Inca Kola network effectively demonstrates the relatively limited movement of capital flow. The only bottling company holding an agreement with Coca-Cola to bottle Inca Kola in the United States is Continental Food and Beverage Inc. All their revenue remains within the United States. Their operating costs are spent at the bottling plant location, in this case in northern and southern California. They pay Coca-Cola for the beverage syrup; this money most likely ends up at Coca-Cola's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. Profit from Inca Kola sales go to the owners of Continental Food and Beverage Inc. in New Jersey (Figure 14).

Revenues from the sale of pisco have similar distributions to that of pre-packaged networks. The profit and administrative costs of HGC Imports and Inca Spirits are spent at the importing companies' headquarters in the United States cities of San Jose, California and Atlanta, Georgia. For HGC Imports, shipping expenses are paid to Hamburg Süd in Germany and logistics expenses are paid to Giorgio Gori, a logistics provider for the wine and spirits industry headquartered in Italy. Inca Spirits and HGC Imports pisco is manufactured in the area surrounding Ica, Peru, south of Lima. However, a large portion of the manufacturing and packaging costs are spent in Lima rather than in Ica (Figure 14).

The final company involved in sale of pisco to San Francisco is Pisco Capel, a Chilean pisco producer with a large volume of pisco imports to the United States. Headquartered in Valparaiso, Chile, they use Mediterranean Shipping Company based in Switzerland to transport their pisco and sell to Shaw Ross International Importers in Miramar, Florida.

Figure 13: Graduated symbol map displaying the geographic clustering of beverage importers' spending by percentage of revenue

These maps show that while commodity and monetary flows are occurring at a global scale, they are not occurring evenly across the entire globe. Instead, the flows are very limited, occurring between a few, large cities that monopolize the economic activity, innovation, and population of the world (Florida 2008). Clearly, these flows benefit the Peruvian economy, particularly Lima and Callao where the majority of processing, packaging, and shipping occurs, and also rural areas like Ica where demands for pisco increase production. But most of the control of revenue and benefit from revenue concentrates in already wealthy centers of global capital.

Difference in Access to Networks

A broad array of geographic research has been conducted on access to spaces and places. The studies examine how spaces can be manipulated to exclude people based on race and culture (Rose 1995; Hayden 1995; Sheldrake 2001; Foreman 2002), gender (Hayden 1995; Solnit 2000; Sheldrake 2001), religion (Sheldrake 2001; Bowen 2007), and wealth (Massey 1994; Foreman 2002; Massey 2005). Many spaces, both private and public, are regulated to allow only certain types of people (Ortiz, Garcia-Ramon, and Prats 2004). Other spaces are open to everyone, but have been developed in such a way that only certain people feel comfortable in them.

An example of how spaces are perceived as exclusive is a study of women's use of the Rambla del Raval in Barcelona (Ortiz, Garcia-Ramon, and Prats 2004). Women do not frequent the Rambla del Raval as often as men. When interviewed about their perceptions of this public space, the women reported feeling uncomfortable because of the crowd of men who occupy the space, the lack of playground facilities for children, the crowded benches with no room to sit down, and a feeling of uneasiness because of the high number of immigrant men (Ortiz, Garcia-Ramon, and Prats 2004). This is just one example of how spaces are not equally accessible to everyone, but rather can be developed in a way that excludes certain groups of people.

Geographers have emphasized the politics of space in terms of physical, tangible space that a person may exist within. In contrast, I examine transnational space, a space which the inhabitants do not always occupy in a tangible sense. Instead, occupants are attached to the space emotionally and are dependent upon items

moved through the space. To clarify, politics of space refer not just to tangible space one may walk through, but also to transnational space which moves material items to people. Whether or not people have access to items transported through specific networks and from specific places is a new politics of space that is important in the interconnectivity of the world today.

Smith suggests that humans have a fundamental need for a particular territory, whether that need is practical (a need for the natural resources) or social (a need for a place of belonging). He suggests that “access to a particular territory or to the product thereof is a necessary condition of life” (1990, 1). I propose that, in light of globalization, the requirement for access to a particular territory (or the product produced on it) refers not just to places where people live, but also to distant places and the networks between places. In other words, the stage on which Smith’s “necessity for territory” is played out has changed. People still require access to a territory as a place to produce resources and a place of belonging, but now that territory can be located far away.

In this section, I examine the Peruvian migrants’ connection to their distant homeland and the importance of the Peruvian territory to them as a place of production and an emblem of belonging. Depending on wealth and class differences, Peruvian migrants’ access to food and beverage items produced in Peru differs, as shown here. For this study, each point of consumption was divided into one of three classifications: expensive restaurant, moderate restaurant, and home cook. Examination of the differences in networks providing food to these three distinct

consumer categories demonstrates 1) that companies target different market segments, 2) that access to cultural items manufactured in a home country may be limited by cost or cultural habits, and 3) that certain networks are more geographically direct while others follow complex, interweaving paths.

Restaurants. Expensive restaurants are defined in this research as restaurants with the majority of entrees priced over \$15; moderate restaurants serve the majority of entrees priced under \$15 (Table 6). An analysis of the importing companies used by the restaurants shows that two of the expensive restaurants obtain their food from Amazonas Imports Inc. Two use both Amazonas Imports and Peruvian Import Company. None uses Mi Peru Products Imports. One uses Belmont International Trading Corp., and one imports pisco from Inca Spirits and Sol de Ica. None of the expensive restaurants reported purchasing or serving Inca Kola.

Table 6: Restaurant categories

Restaurant	Meal Price	Category	Import Source
Fresca	21.00	Expensive	Amazonas/Peruvian Import
Limon	20.00	Expensive	Belmont
Piqueo's	20.00	Expensive	Amazonas
Mochica	19.00	Expensive	Amazonas
Destino	16.00	Expensive	Amazonas/Peruvian Import
Mi Lindo Peru	14.00	Moderate	Amazonas/Peruvian Import
Inkas Restaurant	13.00	Moderate	Peruvian Import
Fina Estampa	12.00	Moderate	Amazonas
Pisco Latin Lounge	11.00	Moderate	Amazonas/Peruvian Import
Limon Rotisserie	9.00	Moderate	Belmont

The moderate restaurants use similar importing companies to the expensive restaurants. One uses Amazonas Imports; one uses Peruvian Import Company; and two list both Amazonas Imports and Peruvian Import Co. Again none of these

restaurants report using Mi Peru Products Import. One uses Belmont International Trading Corp because it branched off from the expensive restaurant that uses Belmont. There is a personal connection between the owner of these two restaurants and Belmont International. The moderate restaurants work directly with the importing companies, but they also purchase approximately a third of their ingredients from local markets instead of going directly through the importing company. One moderate restaurant serves pisco which is purchased from Inca Spirits and Sol de Ica. Moderate restaurants reported purchasing Inca Kola from Restaurant Depot.

The two categories of restaurants reveal similar networks providing them both with food from Peru. The only main differences depicted are the purchase of Inca Kola by moderate restaurants and the use of local Latin American markets by moderate restaurants to supplement the food provided by importing companies.

As discussed in the previous chapter, most moderate restaurants were opened before 1995 and served a primarily Peruvian customer base at the time of opening. In contrast, the restaurants categorized as expensive were opened more recently and are marketed for the tourist or local in search of an unusual ethnic experience. The fact that chefs of moderate restaurants listed Inca Kola, while chefs of expensive restaurants did not, reflects on the nationalistic quality of Inca Kola. This soda pop does not seem to appeal to the tourist in search of authentic and exotic Peruvian cuisine, but is required by the Peruvian as part of a traditional meal.

Home Cooks. Home cooks are classified as a different group of consumers than restaurants are because they purchase products in different places and consume

them in different ways. However, it is important to note that no inherent differences in wealth, gender, or race separate the home cooks from people eating at the restaurants. Rather, it is home cooks occasionally eating out who provide the restaurants with customers. Therefore, the home cook category does not necessarily possess wealth, gender, or race differences from the expensive and moderate restaurant categories.

Home cooks use approximately equal quantities of pre-packaged food items from Amazonas Imports, Peruvian Import Company, and Mi Peru Products Import. None of the home cooks reported using food imported by Belmont International Trading Corp, nor do the local markets carry Belmont International products. Home cooks obtain their pisco from Beverages and More, which uses primarily Chilean Capel pisco. They carry Peruvian pisco on a limited basis. The home cooks reported often finding only Chilean pisco at the store, which disappointed them. Beverages and More's website only shows Peruvian pisco in stock from time to time. Home cooks purchased Inca Kola from Latin American markets.

By mapping the networks identified for each category, a few differences can be noted (Figure 15). First, Mi Peru Products does not serve restaurants and Belmont International Trading Corp does not serve home cooks. This could be caused by different business strategies, location, or price. Second, the source and the networks for pisco vary significantly between restaurants and home cooks. While pisco available to home cooks is primarily from Chile and is imported directly to San Francisco, pisco for restaurants is produced in Peru and takes a less direct path through the Eastern United States before arriving in San Francisco. This data is not sufficient

to state that wealth or consumption practice differences are correlated to different access to transnational networks or distant spaces, but it does suggest that this may be the case. Further research would be required.

Figure 14: Comparison of networks for three categories of end consumers

Of the three, the network serving home cooks follows the most direct transportation route from Peru to San Francisco; the networks serving restaurants largely travel through the Panama Canal, land on the East coast of the U.S., and travel across country to San Francisco. This highlights that more expensive food and beverage products, such as pisco, follow a longer and less direct route, are connected with the U.S. east coast, and use the Panama Canal. Some of the less nationalistic beverages (Chilean pisco) and cheaper brands (Mi Peru) use a more direct route.

The research also suggests that a divergence has occurred between the customers of the expensive and moderate restaurants. While many of the moderate restaurants studied have been in operation for twenty years or more in response to demand from Peruvians living abroad, the expensive restaurants have all opened in the past eight years in an effort to introduce Peruvian cuisine to San Francisco. The interviewed chefs described a shift in customers in the last eight years as more Peruvian restaurants opened. In the past Peruvians formed the majority of the restaurants' customer base; however, now their customers reflect the demographics of the San Francisco population. Many of the chefs of the more expensive restaurants stated that they had few Peruvian customers; instead they had a high number of tourist customers. Rapid growth in the ethnic restaurant industry recently has been connected to the "exotic experience" they are assumed to provide (Zelinsky 1985).

The data collected about pisco is an example of how place can play into economic value and access. Peruvian pisco is sold as high-end, specialty liquor in contrast to Chilean pisco which is sold cheaply and mass produced. Migrants' access to Peruvian pisco is limited because of price and distribution networks of specific piscos.

None of the interviewees maintained the strong cultural distinctions of food in the U.S. that are maintained in Peru. In Peru, food is differentiated by whether it is Indian (Incan), mestizo (fusion of Incan and colonial influences), or criollo (Spanish influence). Additionally, cuisine is regionally based, with specific dishes for the coastal, highland, and jungle regions. For example, on the coast of Peru ceviche and

seafood is common; in the Andes alpaca, guinea pig, and trout are primary food ingredients and stews are popular dishes; and in the jungle river fish, turtle, and tropical fruits compose the main meals (Parseghian 2009).

However, the interviewees in San Francisco emphasized that Peruvian food is a “fusion food” and did not make a distinction between the separate types of Peruvian cuisine. This suggests that while living abroad, migrants may sacrifice the specific social or regional context of their cuisine in order to participate in a national cuisine that represents them as Peruvians. While localities contributed to identity through selection of specific foods in Peru, in the U.S. Peruvians simply want to maintain their “Peruvian-ness”. This likely occurs in migrant communities all around the world; while abroad nationalities become of greater importance than localities.

Multiculturalism versus Localism

Multiculturalism has been embraced in the United States as a positive way to incorporate migrant groups into a society by encouraging traditional cultural rituals, emblems, and daily behavior and appreciating cultural differences rather than encouraging assimilation. Migrant communities, therefore, have incorporated traditional music, religions, artifacts, dress, and cuisine into their daily lives in the U.S. Access to these traditional items and food ingredients usually requires global transportation, as well as the act of production and the act of consumption occurring in separate locations.

The recent movement promoting localism – local identity, local sourcing, local

food, and local production – contradicts a simultaneous push for multiculturalism. As shown by this research, in order for migrant groups to maintain some of their traditional cuisine, certain products must be imported from home countries or regions of similar climate to the home country. Migrants may not be able to conform to both the local food movement and multiculturalism.

In response to this need, some researchers have considered growing ethnic cuisine items in the United States in a location near the cluster of immigrants who demand those food items. A University of Massachusetts study examined this possibility for the Brazilian population in Massachusetts by looking at the viability of growing traditional Brazilian vegetables within the state (Mangan et al. 2008). The research first affirmed that the growth of Latino, Asian, and African immigrants within the United States has caused a significant increase in imported agricultural products to the U.S. The authors use the example of cassava; cassava imports had grown 370% over the prior six years. The study then examines the markets for Brazilian vegetables in Massachusetts, the current production and transportation routes bringing these vegetables to Massachusetts, and the advertising techniques used to sell them. The researchers conclude that most ethnic agricultural products can be grown in the northeastern U.S. and that there is a substantial market for these products, but farmers need to conduct careful research before beginning production of these vegetables. A good understanding of how to grow these vegetables in the northeastern U.S. climate as well as a strong relationship with Brazilian-owned markets and restaurants are essential to the success of growing Brazilian vegetables in Massachusetts (Mangan et

al 2008).

One of the Peruvian interviewees for this research stated that she tried to grow *aji* at her new home in San Francisco but was unsuccessful. Despite the recent growth of projects that encourage the production of ethnic food items in the United States (Thomason 2010), growing tropical food items like *aji*, *maiz*, and *papa*, which have traditionally been grown in the Andean highlands, in the United States may not be feasible. If it proves to be viable, it will require a strong infrastructure of production tools (greenhouses, etc.) as well as marketing and distribution networks.

Currently, the Peruvian migrants living in the San Francisco area are not feeling pressured by the contradictory ideologies professed by the two value systems of multiculturalism and localism. However, this research does reveal the inconsistency in these paradigms. As the local movement continues to grow and gain recognition, migrants who want to conform to the "eat local" ideology may feel pressure to reduce purchases of imported traditional food items. Therefore, efforts should be made to blend these two paradigms so that the "eat local" movement does not unconsciously discriminate against migrant groups (Hinrichs 2003).

The conflict between purchasing locally produced goods and purchasing imported goods for multicultural reasons raises the question of what makes something multicultural. If traditional Peruvian food were to be grown and sold in a local setting, would the items lose their symbolic value as a cultural artifact? The example of Inca Kola discussed in this research suggests that the item retains symbolic meaning as a Peruvian emblem even though it is produced within the United States. It still

represents a connection to home. However, the example of pisco in this research implies the opposite. For Peruvian home cooks, the most meaningful aspect of pisco is the location at which it is produced - whether it is from Peru or Chile.

Three possible explanations exist for the fact that Inca Kola's value is linked to symbolism and pisco's value is linked to production location. First, for Peruvians the meanings and associations of pisco are wrapped up in the historical conflict between Peru and Chile over the origination of pisco. Political motives over Peru's right to the demarcation of origination make the location of production important to migrants. Second, Chile is Peru's primary competitor in the pisco export business. Peru's pisco exports have risen substantially over the past couple of years, yet Chile has consistently outsold them in the U.S. Economic motives for improving their home country's position in the global economy play into migrants' decisions. Finally, many migrants were not aware that Inca Kola was owned and produced by Coca-Cola in the U.S. It is possible that their devotion to Inca Kola is simply because they are not aware that it is owned by a transnational conglomerate.

Whatever the reason for the contradiction, it is important to note that Peruvians in San Francisco attach meaning to pisco based on the location of its current physical production not its national symbolism, while simultaneously attaching meaning to Inca Kola based on its emblematic qualities of nationalism not the place of its production. An effort to maintain multiculturalism while producing locally would necessitate that value be created by the symbolic meaning of cultural artifacts, not by a tangible connection to the country of origin.

Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks

The networks transporting Peruvian food to San Francisco confirm a connection between immigrant populations' demand for traditional food and an increase in complex transnational networks. This connection is not just limited to the food network between Peru and San Francisco. Rather, this phenomenon is occurring all around the world as migrant populations increase and their demand for products from their home country creates intricate, multifaceted system of links and connections between various countries, companies, and commodities. The world is increasingly covered with interconnected transportation routes carrying a multitude of products and interacting with a large number of actors, including nation-state governments, international organizations, privately owned and publicly traded transnational companies, and individuals. These economic networks are often, though not exclusively, a result of cultural demands from people groups who have moved to new locations and are negotiating their identity in a new place.

The research demonstrates how local scale decisions have global ramifications, in this case through food consumption patterns and resulting capital flows. These capital flows occur at a global scale but only through very limited routes. The routes are constricted by physical geography and centers of wealth and political power. Because of the high cost of air transportation and the absence of a continuous overland transportation route, Peruvian food is transported to San Francisco by ship. In order to get to the east coast of the U.S., ships must either go around the tip of South America

or through the Panama Canal, a more direct and safer route. Therefore, most shipments stop at Balboa, Panama. Panama, because of its physical geography as a narrow segment of Central America, has become a central shipping harbor and port with significant control over global shipments and the ability to benefit from the shipments. The Panama Canal is not the only way that control and benefits of networks are limited; relatively few centers of wealth and power possess almost entire control over these networks. Owners of importing companies, shipping companies, and logistics companies are all located in large cities in wealthy countries – Japan, Germany, and the U.S. most noticeably. Because control of these transportation networks, and access to the business associated with the networks, is concentrated in wealthy, urban areas, hundreds of smaller cities and rural areas are completely left out of the growing economy. These places are valleys overlooked by spikes of innovation, wealth, and power (Massey 2005; Florida 2008). While capital moves on a global scale, its movement is spatially constricted.

The research also sheds light on the politics of space by examining how globalization intersects with access to space. Globalization has created new contested spaces and new issues of access. Now networks and far removed places are spaces worth fighting for. A person's wealth, position, race, or gender may affect their access to things produced in distant spaces. This research shows that many Peruvian home cooks in the San Francisco area have limited access to Peruvian pisco despite its popularity in the U.S. Because of a conflict between Peruvians and Chileans over which country pisco originated in, Peruvians do not like purchasing Chilean pisco. To

them, the place of production is as important as the product itself. It is the fact that the pisco was produced in Peru that makes it a meaningful cultural artifact. Yet because of cost and distribution networks, they often have no choice but to purchase Chilean pisco or no pisco. Relatively small differences such as these have an effect on global access, distribution, and equality. At the same time, relatively small cultural needs alter the global economy by creating economic commodity networks.

I propose that this research is an example of something that is occurring at rapid rates all over the world. The study is only a slice of what could be a much larger scale project. The study could be developed in the three ways discussed below.

First, an in-depth project in Peru studying the packaging/processing plants and the farmers would contribute greatly to the understanding of how global capital is distributed. This research showed approximately how much wealth resulting from these commodity flows ends in Peru, but this wealth primarily remains within Lima. The research was unable to make clear exactly how much of the money going to Peru is used to manufacture, process, and package the food items in Peru and how much is paid to the farmer. It would also be useful to understand the relations of the processing plants with the farmers, including contracts, work conditions, how expenses are split, and who manages and who works at the plant.

Second, the study could include identifying pockets of Peruvians globally and comparing the growth in Peruvian restaurants and import companies in areas of concentration to areas without Peruvian concentrations. If pockets of densely concentrated Peruvians correlated to high volumes of Peruvian importing companies

and restaurants, the study would provide a strong argument for the connection of immigrant cultural demands to the creation transnational networks. By using areas of low Peruvian density as a “control group” in the research, one would be able to demonstrate the lack of growth in areas not inhabited by Peruvians.

Third, the study could be expanded to analyze the incorporation of Peruvian food into the fusion cuisine of the United States. As mentioned early in this thesis, Mexican cuisine was not analyzed partially because of its integration into U.S. cuisine. In San Francisco Peruvian cuisine is very distinct from other cuisines, but in other places elements of Peruvian food have been tightly interwoven with the regular “street” cuisine. For example, in Washington D.C. a large number of chicken rotisserie restaurants serve Peruvian chicken rotisserie along with a variety of menu items not even remotely connected to Peruvian cuisine including sub sandwiches, vegetarian meals, and tacos.

In addition to expanding this study, the research brings up some ideas that require further investigation. While geographers have examined access to space, or “politics of space,” extensively, I suggest that globalization adds a new dimension to politics of space. That is, with increased movement and connections across space, I believe that access to physical space that one occupies is no longer the only space to which we feel strong attachment. Now, we clamor for at least symbolic access to distant spaces. And our access to items produced in those spaces is meaningful to us. However, as shown in the example of Peruvian home cooks’ access to pisco produced in Peru versus pisco produced in Chile, sometimes access to things produced in certain

spaces is not available to everyone. Only high-end restaurants had access to the distribution networks bringing Peruvian pisco to the United States. Home cooks cared about the location of pisco production, and because of the conflict between Peru and Chile over the origin of pisco, purchasing Peruvian pisco was an important statement of nationalism for Peruvian home cooks in San Francisco. However, their ability to access pisco produced in Peru was limited because of high cost and limited distribution networks. Globalization causes a politics of space that is not limited to tangible space, but rather includes distant places that are meaningful to migrants.

A final point that this research brings up is the inherent contradictions presented in the value systems of multiculturalism and local production. At times, the discourse encouraging local production has been expressed in an "only local" model, which suggests that everyone would benefit from producing, purchasing, and using all necessary items locally. However, this contradicts a second discourse, a discourse of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism encourages maintenance of traditional artifacts which often have to be imported from a distant place. While these two discourses are rarely discussed as opposed to each other, it is possible in the future that they could pressure migrants in contradictory ways. Valuable research projects in this field include: 1) interviews with migrant groups to discuss their response to these paradigms and determine whether or not and how it affects them, 2) projects to increase awareness of this contradiction among proponents of both belief systems, and 3) studies of alternative methods for obtaining cultural products and/or promotion of acceptance of a world shaped by both global and local influences. A better

understanding of how to promote multiculturalism and local sourcing and identity simultaneously would help us to better negotiate the arising conflicts associated with global connections.

As time-space compression continues to occur, it is important to examine its complex and varied repercussions. This study shows intricate interconnections across far-reaching spaces and increases our understanding of how culture and economy interact on a global scale, how flows are controlled globally, and how access to space is limited.

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Appendix A: Introductory Letter to Chefs

Dear Sir or Madam:

My name is Kelsey Brain, and I am a graduate student in the geography department at Portland State University. I am beginning a study on the transnational networks bringing cuisine commodities to the Peruvian community of San Francisco. I would like to invite you to participate.

You are being asked to take part because you are the chef or owner of one of fifteen restaurants serving Peruvian food in a selected five square mile area in downtown San Francisco. As part of the study, I am hoping to trace three ingredients or foodstuffs used in traditional Peruvian cuisine from their point of consumption in San Francisco to their point of origin. This will help us to better understand the complexity of transnational networks and the connection of local to global scale commodity flows. I am interested in the cultural role of Peruvian food in San Francisco and the resulting commodity chains. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to identify six ingredients or foodstuffs and where you obtain them, as well as a few related questions. This interview should take about twenty minutes.

The publicity for Peruvian cuisine created by this research may increase customer visits to your restaurant. In addition, the research results will be available to you and may provide insight on alternate locations for purchasing these ingredients.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be linked to you or identify you will be kept confidential. Your restaurant will be given a code name (i.e. Restaurant A) for reference in the written thesis. Your restaurant will be identifiable as one of fifteen within the study area but not identifiable within these fifteen. Documentation of your answers will be kept confidentially within my research notes for three years at Portland State University.

Participation is entirely voluntary. Your decision to participate or not will not affect your relationship with the researcher or with Portland State University in any way. If you decide to take part in the study, you may choose to withdraw at any time without penalty. Please keep a copy of this letter for your records.

If you have concerns or problems about your participation in this study or your rights as a research subject, please contact the Human Subjects Research Review Committee, Office of Research and Sponsored Projects, 600 Unitus Bldg., Portland State University, (503) 725-4288 / (877) 480-4400. If you have questions about the study itself, contact Kelsey Brain at (541) 810-1270.

Sincerely,

Kelsey Brain
Portland State University Geography Department

Appendix B: Interview Questions for Chefs

List six ingredients or foodstuffs that are important elements of traditional Peruvian food dishes you regularly make that must be imported into California:

Where do you obtain the ingredients or foodstuffs listed above?

	<i>Local Store</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Travel</i>	<i>Other</i>
<i>Ingredient 1:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 2:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 3:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 4:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 5:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 6:</i> _____				

Please list the specific names of stores, companies, farmer's markets, etc.

Typical menu items you serve using these ingredients: _____

Do you cook these entrees seasonally? Please explain specific meals and which seasons you cook them in. _____

Do you cook them seasonally because certain ingredients aren't available year around (which ingredients aren't available and when)? _____

Do you substitute these ingredients during the off season and if so what substitute ingredients do you use? _____

If these ingredients were no longer available would you

___ No longer cook the entree ___ Use a substitute ingredient

What is the value of Peruvian food in San Francisco?

Do you think Peruvian migrants feel the same? People of other nationalities?

Who are your customers?

Why did you decide to work for/open this restaurant? Was your decision related to the cultural value of Peruvian food or economic factors?

How long have you been in California and where did you come from previously?

Appendix C: Introductory Letter to Home Cooks

Dear Sir or Madam:

My name is Kelsey Brain, and I am a graduate student in the geography department at Portland State University. I am beginning a study on the transnational networks bringing cuisine commodities to the Peruvian community of San Francisco. I would like to invite you to participate.

You are being asked to take part because you were referred by Joe and Shannon Tobin as cooking traditional Peruvian cuisine regularly. As part of the study, I am hoping to identify three ingredients or foodstuffs traditionally used in Peruvian cuisine that must be imported to California and trace the network bringing these ingredients/foodstuffs from their point of origin. I am interested in the cultural role of Peruvian food and the commodity networks it creates. This will help us to better understand the complexity of transnational networks and the connection of local to global scale commodity flows. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to identify six ingredients or foodstuffs that would meet the above requirements and explain where you obtain these ingredients. This will take approximately twenty minutes to complete.

You may not receive any direct benefits from taking part in this study, but the study may increase knowledge about foreign ingredients' availability which could increase availability or lead to finding alternative sources.

To protect your confidentiality you will not be named or identified in the thesis. Documentation of your answers will be kept confidentially within my research notes for three years at Portland State University.

Participation is entirely voluntary. Your decision to participate or not will not affect your relationship with the researcher or with Portland State University in any way. If you decide to take part in the study, you may choose to withdraw at any time without penalty. Please keep a copy of this letter for your records.

If you have concerns about your participation in this study or your rights as a research subject, please contact the Human Subjects Research Review Committee, Office of Research and Sponsored Projects, 600 Unitus Bldg., Portland State University, (503) 725-4288 / (877) 480-4400. If you have questions about the study itself, contact Kelsey Brain at (541) 810-1270.

Sincerely,

Kelsey Brain
Portland State University Geography Department

Appendix D: Interview Questions for Home Cooks

List six ingredients or foodstuffs that are important elements of traditional Peruvian food dishes you regularly make that must be imported into California:

Where do you obtain the ingredients or foodstuffs listed above?

	<i>Local Store</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Travel</i>	<i>Other</i>
<i>Ingredient 1:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 2:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 3:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 4:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 5:</i> _____				
<i>Ingredient 6:</i> _____				

Please list the specific names of stores, companies, farmer's markets, etc.

Typical food dishes using these ingredients: _____

Do you cook these entrees seasonally? Please explain specific meals, which seasons you cook them in, and why you cook them seasonally. _____

If these ingredients were no longer available would you
 ___ No longer cook the entree ___ Use a substitute ingredient

What substitute ingredient(s) would you use? _____

Why do you continue to cook traditional Peruvian dishes? What is the role of this food in your life?

How long have you been in California and where did you come from previously?

Can you tell me five people who regularly cook traditional Peruvian cuisine at home who could contribute to this research?

Appendix E: Introductory Letter to Company Managers

Department of Geography
Portland State University
Portland OR, 97207-0751

November 10, 2009

Dear Sir or Madam:

My name is Kelsey Brain. I am a graduate student at Portland State University. I am researching Peruvian food in San Francisco, California and the networks that bring it there. My goal is to map the food's course from the point of origin to the point of consumption. This will help us to better understand the complexity of transnational commodity networks. The research is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for my Master's degree.

I am contacting you for an interview because *[restaurant name]* in San Francisco use you as their supplier. I am hoping to find out what parts of Peru you get your food from and where you package it.

I will not be asking for any financial or other private information. I am only trying to map the flow of these ingredients. Participation is entirely voluntary, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. I will be keeping documentation of the interview confidentially in my research notes at Portland State University for three years.

Please keep a copy of this letter for your records. If you have concerns about your participation in this study or your rights as a research subject, please contact the Human Subjects Research Review Committee, Office of Research and Sponsored Projects, 600 Unitus Bldg, Portland State University, (503) 725-4288/(877) 480-4400. If you have questions about the study itself, contact Kelsey Brain at (541) 810-1270.

Sincerely,

Kelsey Brain
Portland State University

Appendix F: Interview Questions for Company Managers

Website:

Phone Number:

Date Started:

Headquarters:

Locations of Facilities:

Peruvian Products:

Other Products:

Trail of Specific Products:

Aji Amarillo

What country do you get it from?

What organization/company do you get it from?

What form do you get it in (frozen, canned, fresh)?

How and where do you process it (paste, freeze) and put your packaging label on it?

Where do you transport it to?

What stops does it make on the way?

Do you transport it yourself and by what method (plane, ship)? If not, who transports it?

Do you bring it all to a single spot in the U.S. and then distribute it from there?

Do you sell directly to restaurants as well as supermarkets?

How does it specifically get to San Francisco?

Notable Differences for Maiz Morado, Maiz Choclo, Aji Panca?