

Institutionalization of ethnicities: market catalysts and inhibitors between entrepreneurship and colonization

Abstract

Previous literature has shown that in omnivorous and cosmopolite markets, ethnic cuisines are institutionalized through discourses that create legitimacy through the relationship with ethnicity and its Otherness. However, in a developing country context, whose foodscape is deeply rooted in the logics of colonization and where infrastructure challenges abound, the role of institutional entrepreneurs, which are local actors engaged in change is prominent. We present the institutionalization process of the typical Amazon-rainforest cuisine in the more diverse and cosmopolite urban centers in Brazil. Our data comes from ethnographic observations, secondary data research and in depth interviews with chefs, activists and farmers. Our results inform that the process of institutionalization is affected by a lack of coherent discourse among the different institutional entrepreneurs, who engage in disputes that involve cultural appropriation and sustainable development, refraining legitimacy and institutionalization.

Keywords: *Legitimacy, institutional entrepreneurship, Otherness*

INTRODUCTION

“The intimate Other is always disdained, while the distant Other can be safely eulogized” (Ray, 2016)

The history of consumption is permeated by examples of elements or objects that are alien to certain culture, mostly traditional western culture, which enter this certain culture's consumption practices. From exhibitions of exotic objects in world fairs to collections (Belk, 1995), the exotic (Said, 1978) has been a symbol of cultural capital and distinction (Bourdieu, 1984).

Recently, however, cosmopolitanism (Holt, 1998) and omnivorousness (Peterson & Kern, 1996) have become traits of high cultural capital, at least in North American and Canadian societies (Holt, 1998; Johnston & Baumann, 2010). These new defining elements of cultural capital have led to the incorporation of the ethnic element in daily consumption practices of affluent consumers.

Omnivorousness, therefore, encompasses the eating of ethnicities (hooks, 2006). The idea of ethnic, however, is far from simple and depends on status games that currently (re)signify objects and practices. Concisely, ethnic is the word used for “a proximate but subordinate other, too close to be foreign, too different to be the self” (Ray, 2016, p. 1). However, defining who is the Other and what is the Self is a task that involves diving deeply into the cultural and cognitive institutions (Scott, 2008) of a certain social group.

However, in a developing country context, whose foodscape (Naccarato & Lebesco, 2013) is deeply rooted in the logics of colonization (Dória, 2014; Fajans, 2012) and where infrastructure challenges abound, the role of institutional entrepreneurs, which are local actors engaged in change (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013) is prominent.

Following such line of reasoning, we address in this work some emerging questions: what is the role of institutional entrepreneurs in commoditizing ethnicities? How do they cope with the countervailing questions regarding cultural appropriation, sustainable development and taste regimes? What are the main challenges for this process of institutionalization?

We believe these questions can help to shed light on a subject that has been only overlooked. Whereas several works have explored the role of consumers in institutionalizing or re-signifying new markets (Giesler, 2008, 2012; Martin & Schouten, 2014; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013) or the roles of different actors in the creation of new industries, in a mega-marketing process (Humphreys, 2010), and in changing market fields (Dolbec & Fischer, 2015), the role of Otherness in such process have been majorly overlooked. The work of Sandikci and Ger (2010) is an exception in dealing with conflictive views of a westernized fashion and a defiant fashion that, before its institutionalization, was perceived as the Other. Nevertheless, their work describes a process of integration, of the Other becoming the Self.

Therefore, we present in this work the institutionalization process of the typical Amazon-rainforest cuisine in the more diverse and cosmopolite urban centers in Brazil.

We choose the culinary field to explore our argument due to particular characteristics of its subcultural capital, translated in the foodie subculture (Johnston & Baumann, 2010). However, practical examples of how what is considered exotic is inserted in consumption fields, such as fashion or home décor, abound. Our research context is in the Brazilian gastronomic field. This field has recently undergone changes, somewhat in line with typical emerging trends in the international culinary field. These changes include the relation between the techniques and/or ingredients as the main elements constitutive of culinary capital (Dória, 2014; Naccarato & Lebesco, 2013; Ray, 2016). In Brazil, the “rediscovery of Brazilian ingredients” (Atala, 2013) resulted mainly from the influence of famous chefs - and prestigious NGOs - that promote the ingredients for the Amazon forest, mostly focusing on the tradition of Pará state, which is the focus of our research. Furthermore, the Amazon region has itself historically evoked a plethora of stories, meanings and narratives in the imagination of the Brazilian political and economic elite, which has had profound effects on the (sometimes paternalistic) public policies designed for the region (Barbosa, 2015).

Literature review

In this session, we present the main concepts that are useful to comprehend our work.

The first of these concepts is the idea of institutional entrepreneurship and their relationship with the creation of taste regimes. The second concept to be explored in the idea of Otherness, which we will deeply explore.

Institutional theory, institutional entrepreneurs and legitimacy

Institutional theories have been widely used in management and marketing studies. The idea that the so called new institutionalism brings to organizational management is that organizational actions, forms and rules are entrenched between action and structure (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991).

“Institutions (are conceived) as both supraorganizational patterns of activity through which humans conduct their material life in time and space, and symbolic systems through which they categorize that activity and infuse it with meaning” (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 232). Institutions exist and constitute fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), which are the main analytical level of analysis in institutional theory (Scott, 2008). In that sense, a field is composed

by companies, consumers and other actors that will act to constitute an arena where transactions will happen.

Furthermore, Friedland and Alford (1991) also presented the concept of logics. Institutions are sustained by central logics, which are practices of materiality and symbolic constructions that will provide the organizing principles under which individuals will act and under which organizations will conform or deviate from established field patterns.

In this work, we agree with Scaraboto and Fischer (2013), who state that markets are fields that embed a set of institutions. Following that, in the marketing and consumer research area, we find some examples of how companies and markets are related or deal with different institutional logics.

Press et al. (2014), for example, have showed how different strategic orientations in commodity agriculture co-exist and are legitimate by different logics, settled in different organizational ideologies. Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli (2015) show how institutional logics provide the space for the structure and agency of market actors, providing to them the organizing principles under which they can act, the vocabularies they can speak and also sense of identity.

In that sense, different logics can co-exist in a field or even change it. Dolbec and Fischer (2015), for example, have shown how the logics and languages of fashion bloggers have changed the whole field of fashion itself, bringing new visual languages and institutional actors to this particular field. Also, the works of Scaraboto and Fischer (2013, 2015) show how different perspectives in a field can help stabilizing or changing it.

The institutionalization process of any action, therefore, depend on the actors' agency in terms of institutional logics in conformity to a field. When these converge, such actions will be legitimate (Coskuner-Balli & Thompson, 2013; Humphreys & Latour, 2013; Kates, 2004). Legitimacy in institutional theory regards that a practice or action is accepted by the community surrounding the institution in terms of its cultural cognitive nature, referring to shared codes and meanings, its normative nature, referring to norms that individuals follow and that regulate their behavior, or its regulative nature, referring to formalized rules (Scott, 2008). In order to create such scenario in a market changing context, however, institutional entrepreneurs act in creating discourses that can alter the rules of institutionalization.

Lawrence and Phillips (2004) point the importance of discourses in the process of institutionalization. According to these authors, this derives from discourses and power networks (Foucault, 1996). They assume that discourses are shared and constitute social meanings, giving meaning to the actions engaged in different process of institutionalization, which is influenced by the construction of texts. In that sense, the role of institutional entrepreneurs is paramount, since they are the generators of influential discourses that will influence the process of institutionalizations.

A few examples can be used to clarify the theories above. For example, in the fashion field, institutional entrepreneurs, such as bloggers have both changed the way in which trends are built (Dolbec & Fischer, 2015) and engaged in looking for more inclusion in the market (Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013). These bloggers, being activists who are also institutional entrepreneurs, acted in changing the discourses that frame the logics of a field. By doing so, they are acting as catalysts (Schouten, Martin, Blakaj, & Botez, 2016) for an institutional change. Such institutional change leads to the legitimacy of fresh marketing practices or materials.

Considering the above, we will explore if and how institutional entrepreneurs who have been working on the attempts of making the typical Paraense food a high cultural capital

How Otherness was institutionalized in the gastronomic field

In this session, we resume the idea of the "Other" and how it relates with culinary capital. In his classical essay on how cooking relates to culture, whereas the use of raw ingredients relates to nature, Lévi-Strauss (1969) discusses how cooking crosses the boundaries between nature and culture. Cooking is a language that relates men with nature and cooking implies in socialization practices.

In the history of culinary capital, the civilized, represented by the cooked (Lévi-Strauss, 1969) and the extremely elaborated cooking techniques that have been the distinctive gastronomy in the most part of 20th century (Ray, 2016) have given space to the raw, representing the uncivilized. For a long time, the predominant element that defined what was a high cultural capital practice in the field was the technique, specially the French technique.

Changes in the field started to happen mostly with the emergence of countercultural movements. Chez Panisse's Alice Waters was an important actor in the changes that have been going on in the gastronomic field. Waters and other chefs have been responsible for redeeming the importance of the local and of the ingredient. The raw requires its place on the canon of distinction.

Immigration and globalization have also played a part into bringing the local and the exotic, both in terms of ingredients and practices, into the realm of high culinary capital (Ray, 2016). Technique and ingredients have interacted to define what high cultural capital in gastronomy was. Recently, after the innovative techniques developed by the Spanish restaurant El Bulli, the ingredient has taken the stage in the beginning of the 2000's decade. The ingredient, defined by Dória (2014) as simply something that is used to prepare a dish, becomes the icon that will set higher the status of a dish or a restaurant, following the trend of Scandinavian restaurant Noma.

It is in this scenario that the elements of foodie culture proposed by Johnston and Bauman (2010) emerge, as emerges the question of the role of the Other.

Edward Said (1978) and bell hooks (2006) have opened an important line of argument introducing the idea of construction of an Other. The Other, however, is a construction that only exists in opposition of "us".

hooks (1998) uses the expression "eating the Other" to showcase how members of a privileged group (mainly white male college students) who engage with the Other (black people), failing to acknowledge racism, in order to feel comfortable with their own coping with typical western society rules. The process of eating the other is called cultural appropriation.

Therefore, cultural appropriation involves the idea of eating ethnicities. Certainly this move from the concept of ethnicities, evolving from being exclusively an issue of race, which is thoroughly discussed by Stuart Hall (1996), is furthermore picked up by Krishnendu Ray (2016) as the carrier of manageable differences. For Ray (2016), different ethnicities are eaten differently as they are perceived to be more integrated or more exotic in a determined culture. Furthermore, the techniques and the presentation of ethnic food vary as time passes and the dynamics of integration and exclusion act in the communities of immigrants.

Otherness linked to exoticism and ethnicity has also been explored in several studies regarding consumption: Varman (2016), for example, traces the story of the curry, a marketplace icon entangled in a network of British appropriation, commercialization and colonization. Curry is the domestication of Indian culinary diversity for the British palate. Gaytan (2014), on the other hand, has shown how Tequila became the symbol of a country (Mexico) abroad (in United States) through a construction of nationalist and colonization discourses.

Considering all the arguments above, in this paper, we propose that there is a construction of the Other regarding the Amazon ingredients that are being studied. It is no longer a question of Brazil as a nation but of the ethnical nature of the Amazon region. The question is to discover in what sense foodstuffs can apprehend national and regional identities and can be deemed as legitimate by markets, exploring the nature of such legitimization.

The context: Pará, a state in the Amazon, historically and gastronomically

As in examples described in past literature (Thompson & Tian, 2008; Üstüner & Holt, 2007), there are regional tensions within Brazil. These are particularly prominent in the Amazon region, which is still considered the "savage" Brazil, since huge parts of the territory are covered by native forests and populated by native Brazilians.

Brazil's colonial history starts with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1500. The occupation of the territory has been largely limited to the coastal region. It was not until between the end of the 19th and the middle of the 20th century that the northern region began to be exploited economically, mainly because of the rubber industry.

The military government in the 70s started projects for integrating the Amazon region into the rest of the country, but their effects were limited and the environmental consequences pervasive (Barbosa, 2015).

The history of Brazilian culinary formation is related to the colonization and miscegenation processes. European, native Brazilian, slaves' and immigrants' techniques have merged with typical native ingredients to form a culinary culture that is far from homogenous, apart perhaps from the widespread custom of eating rice and beans (Dória, 2014). In Belém, the same process has taken place: the elites were certainly influenced by the typical Portuguese cuisine, but have used typically native techniques and ingredients (Santos, 2005).

Even so, the Brazilian elites tend to have habits more typical of their western counterparts and tend to see foods which are typically fruits of slave and native-Brazilian culture as "ethnical" as well (Fajans, 2012).

Method

We have used different sources of data, collected and analyzed through a basic ethnographic approach. First, we have analyzed books, newspapers, magazine articles and social media data.

The list of books and academic works used is the following:

Atala, A. D.O.M. (2013) Redescobrimos ingredientes brasileiros. São Paulo: Melhoramentos. (Rediscovering Brazilian ingredients)

Castanho, T. (2013) Cozinha de Origem: Pratos brasileiros tradicionais revisitados. São Paulo: Publifolha. (Traditional cuisine: revisited traditional Brazilian dishes)

Dória, C. A. Formação da culinária brasileira. São Paulo: Publifolha. (Formation of Brazilian cuisine)

Masano, I. R. (2011) A gastronomia paulistana: o local e o global no mesmo prato. Masters thesis. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo. (The gastronomy from São Paulo: local and global in the same plate)

Then, social media data from Twitter, Pinterest, Exame magazine and Folha de São Paulo newspaper was collected through key words such as "culinary + Amazon" and "gastronomy + Amazon". A synthesis of social media data is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1: social media data

	Words	Pictures
Twitter	74,159	181
Exame	5,253	19
Folha	18,278	16
Pinterest	3,344	82
Total	10,1034	298

Second, we conducted interviews and observations in São Paulo (one at the central market) and Belem (three divided among two of the authors who did not live in there, accompanied by one of the authors who lives there) with chefs, experts, typical food producers and with the director of Instituto Paulo Martins that promotes paraense food across the country and abroad. Furthermore, we conducted several observations in the main market Ver-o-Peso and in the several restaurants we visited. Field notes were written and also served as material for the analysis.

In these observations, we took pictures and make informal interviews with different informants.

Table 2 displays the data of the interviewees, which ranged between 25 and 108 minutes.

Table 2 - Interviewees

Name	Profession	Local
Bela Masano	Amadeus - chef	São Paulo
Carlos Dória	Writer and gastronomical blogger	São Paulo
Mara Salles	Tordesilhas - chef	São Paulo
Felipe e Prazeres	Saldosa Maloca - Manager and owner	Belém
Leodoro	Meu Garoto - owner	Belém
Ofir Oliveira	Sabor Selvagem - chef and activist	Belém
Heitor	Kaiporas - owner	Belém
Joanna Martins (1)	Lá em Casa and Manioca - owner	Belém
Tainá Marajoara	IaciTatá - owner and activist	Belém
Paulo	Amazônia - owner	São Paulo
Joanna Martins (2)	Lá em Casa and Manioca - owner	São Paulo
Dona Nena	Chocolate Filha do Combu - owner	Belém
Tieta	Ver o Peso - traditional cooker and street	Belém
Selma	Acai cooker	Belém
Noel	Activist	Belém
Nazareno	Point do Açaí - owner	Belém

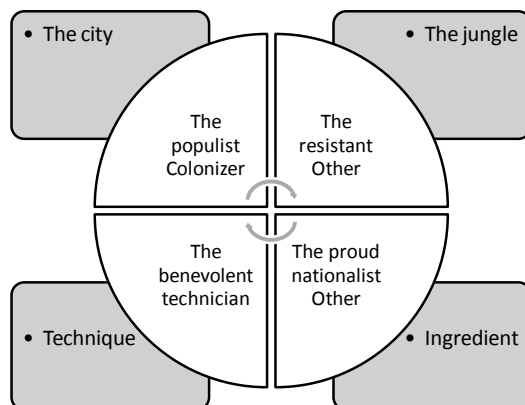
Data analysis was emergent, taking a grounded perspective (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Results

We discerned different discourses that are enacted by the institutional entrepreneurs involved in the promotion of the ingredients and the culinary of Para in the more cosmopolite markets in Brazil.

The four discourses that came to light are illustrated in Figure 1. We used the logic first proposed by Levi-Strauss (1969), in which the raw opposes the cooked and the ingredient opposes the technique. However, food encompasses and transitions among these categories. Food is the object that connects the discourses that constitute the Other. It is through food that the attempts to normalize the Other into a more "civilized" pattern take place and that the ingredients of the region become conveyors of culinary capital, both exotic and locally produced (Johnston & Baumann, 2010).

Figure 1 - The four discourses that mediate cultural capital formation in the São Paulo-Pará gastronomic fields



We will now describe each of the discourses, as well as classify their roles in market formation. To constitute a didactic metaphor, each discourse is represented by a role that describes its main ideas.

The populist colonizer

The populist colonizer adopts the idea of the rediscovery of Brazilian cuisine. This role is depicted by the figure of an explorer who is seeking authenticity, the true Brazilian identity. Typical foods that had their origins among slaves or native-Brazilians have been consumed by the elite only on certain, specific occasions (Fajans, 2012) and, in general, have remained outside the foodscape until the recent emergence of the foodie, being considered illegitimate.

This new search for authenticity has developed together with the search for the exotic, which can be mostly attributed to the figure and work of Alex Atala.

As secondary data, we found that the ingredients from the Amazon rainforest are connected with an environment of adventure and the exotic. Particularly is this the case in Alex Atala's - the internationally acclaimed chef's - book (Atala, 2013), usually cited by other chefs and researchers who were interviewed as being one of the players responsible for the promotion of this northern cuisine in the rest of the country. In his book, Atala describes several recipes that he serves in his restaurant, as well as portraying himself as a kind of explorer. Pictures of Atala can be seen in the possession of the forest dwellers and pictures of traditional communities that go along with stories of how he, seemingly positioning himself as an explorer, discovered the ingredient that will be used in the dishes he describe. One may also recall the explorers described by Said (1978), who sought to underline the sensuality of the Orient, but with a veneer of sustainability, which also follows the recent foodie tradition.

The populist colonizer therefore represents the discourse of the genuine search for authenticity, the rediscovery of Brazilian ingredients, as the title of Atala's book says. However, there is a preoccupation with development and with the sustainable use of the ingredients that are collected in the forest.

The populist colonizer is the one who offers the traditional culture in a package of sustainability to be eaten (hooks 2006) by consumers who see this traditional culture as the Other. This sustainability wrapping is associated with development discourse. However, development here is mainly promotional and unsustainable supply chain for the products. The raw remains the raw. The jungle remains the jungle. The Other is eaten without any actual deep involvement in the culture it represents.

Thus, cultural appropriation is mostly seen in this discourse, since what the colonizer collects is not necessarily rewarded. Tieta, a traditional cook, for example, says that she has cooked and created recipes for the Ver-o-Peso festival for years. She has been awarded and appeared in several media stories. However, she remains an informal street vendor without access to a government retirement plan, for example, and she is in an unstable financial situation at the age of 54. She states:

Then I do not have the right for a state retirement, I can't even have my own stand. You know, I work a lot. I think that someone should look after us. This (Ver o Peso Market) is a national heritage (...) Then you see lots of people promoting themselves over the ones who actually work in the market.

The populist colonizer, therefore, searches the treasures hidden in the forest in order to commodify them as luxury products. In order to do so, they imbue these ingredients with stories

of discovery and salvation of the populations they encounter, However, as the words of Tieta say, a real engagement with such populations does not necessarily happen, therefore the colonialist relation. The legitimacy of the paraense cuisine is to be gained with exoticism (Johnston & Baumann, 2010; Said, 1978).

The resistant Other

The resistant Other represents the discourse of giving value to the techniques of the Amazon region. The discourse of the resistant Other regards the populist Colonizer with suspicion, recognizing his role as an exploiter, as a mediator that prepares the meal made of the Other that consumers will eat.

What we found mainly in the discourses of the resistant Other is an activism that relates closely to what Kozinets and Handelman (2004) propose when analyzing consumption activists: an evangelical, almost puritanical, character. The activists who present the resistant Other discourse tend to reject the mediation of the famous chefs and the mixture of techniques, as if these elements were contaminating the centuries-old tradition of the Amazon culinary culture.

One particular activist, Tainá Marajoara, embodies the idea of a resistant Other who does not want any kinds of change in the traditions of the cooks and their cooking techniques in Belém. She claims that she serves a thousand-year old cuisine of indigenous tradition, in her restaurant. She is involved in several projects and communities and she resents the chefs and other actors who she thinks are taking the place of traditional communities.

We do not have cooks anymore, we have chefs. This has a very strong social impact, because until five years ago, this was a land of cooks, women. (...) with Alex Atala and with a family of women who do not cook (referring to Joanna Martins) pushing this gourmet idea onto us, they have simply destroyed the idea of the female figure in Paraense cuisine. (...) It is a capitalist Master Chef and it is a huge cultural loss, because it imposes a less important role on the Amazon region. Our knowledge has to be recognized by a chef, because if he does say not say that I know how to cook, then I don't know how to cook. It is useless to have 15,000 years of history, because there is the television saying I need a chef.

Another important character that represents this discourse is chef Ofir Oliveira, who takes usually two days to cook a traditional meal (see picture 2).



Picture 2: Fish cooked for two days in banana-leaf

Tainá and Ofir are proud of the techniques and ingredients used in the traditional paraense cuisine, particularly in the indigenous communities. They have a deep relation with activists and indigenous groups and believe that normalization of techniques and commercialization that does not take such artefactual traditions into account are harmful for the sustainable development of the region. The legitimacy of the paraense cuisine happens only when it is produced *in loco* and any attempts of institutionalization outside such environment is understood as cultural appropriation (Hooks, 2006; Howes, 1996).

The proud nationalist Other

This discourse represents the idea of exporting Otherness, but proudly so. It is still on the side of the raw, but it is moving towards the cooked, because these are not "savage" ingredients. In that sense, the nationalist is also on the way to becoming an explorer: the nationalist uses his own Otherness, that is less "other" than the Otherness of the ribeirinhos (traditional populations that live alongside the river and are extractors) to showcase an exotic product as well.

An institution mentioned by virtually all interviewees is the Paulo Martins Institute. This institute has had enormous importance in the institutionalization of the Paraense cuisine. The figure of Paulo Martins, father of Joanna, one of our interviewees, now deceased, is almost folkloric in his efforts to promote the Paraense identity both in the state itself and in the rest of Brazil. Most institutions that play a part in this effort for the creation of meaning for this emerging market were linked to and coordinated by the institute. Recently, an attempt to create a gastronomic center in Belém, involving the Paulo Martins and the Atá (of Alex Atala) institutes, as well as the Pará government, has created great controversy among other institutes, restaurants and activists. However, this kind of enterprise represents this discourse quite well.

One interesting point made by the producers and chefs interviewed in Pará, which connects with the practices which the Institute Paulo Martins promotes, is that they value their Amazonian identity enormously. Being "from Pará" is very important to them and they seem very eager to promote the Pará brand outside the state. However, the interviewees were small producers and had in fact made but few contracts with a handful of restaurants or retailers in São Paulo, mainly due to the logistic challenges involved.

Another interesting point, however, is that, if this discourse relies on Otherness to sell itself as exotic, it also relies on resemblance with the appeal to the palate and practices of consumers, according to the dynamics proposed by Ray (2016). This discourse reflects the pride of Amazonian origin, but contrary to the discourse of the resistant Other, its practices reflect the idea of the domestication of an ingredient. In terms of cultural appropriation, this discourse is the native changing its own culture to suit the palate of the populist colonizer.

The excerpt from Joanna Martins shows how she tries to use a common palate as the unifying element between the cosmopolite consumers and the (considered) exotic ingredients she sells:

My father, when he started all this, he had the goal of showing to Brazilian chefs... and then he even had the opportunity to take it abroad... but to show that everything here existed: flavors that were at once universal... because several of our flavors, we see that people from all around the world, despite not being used to these ingredients, they feel the flavor is easy, right? Because some flavors are more complex for the common palate. But, most people, a Japanese person, an American, an European, when they try the tucupi, they do not feel it is different...

Therefore, the legitimacy of the paraense cuisine is to be built through discourses that seek to integrate the Other in the realm of the cosmopolite, normalizing some aspects of exoticism,

while still keeping the heritage that keeps Otherness. This discourse integrates the Other in the logics of cosmopolitanism.

The benevolent technician

The last discourse relates mostly to government enterprises or even to those of companies who seek to improve producers' techniques, normatizing the production of such ingredients.

In Belém, there is great informality. Brazilian rules regarding working relationships tend to be very strict, as also do the sanitary regulations governing the production of edible goods.

However, our observations and interviews with Tieta, a traditional cook (boiera) at the Ver-o-Peso market, with Selma, an açaí producer, and with Dona Nena, a chocolate producer, reveal that there are institutional attempts to "improve" their techniques, but that they are not necessarily adopted.

Some of the institutions involved in this are Sebrae, an independent agency sustained by the Federal Government that promotes entrepreneurship and institutes, such as the Instituto Paulo Martins itself, that promotes the standardization of practices in the traditional communities, modifying their method of production. The excerpt below, from Selma, showcases the actions of Sebrae in standardizing norms and procedures for the production of tradition foods.

When in 2007 we went to Sebrae it was because there was not a normatization for the production of açaí. It had contamination (...) So clients stopped buying it and were afraid. We went to Sebrae to understand how we could fix that and they developed a policy called "Security Food Program", which I and my husband have taken twice. We are evaluated by a 105 item checklist.

Despite such efforts, most entrepreneurs do not seem to adapt to the formal rules that should be the basis for business. For example, Selma does not hire her employees formally in accordance with Brazilian law. Rather, she hires people and only pays them for the days on which they work, a common though illegal practice in Brazil.

Still, she is proud of following the norms and procedures provided by Sebrae. She believes that by separating her production process from the traditional techniques of paraense "ribeirinha" population, she is more prepared to be inserted in the market, not only in the paraense market, but also to sell her product to more cosmopolite markets as well, where açaí is not a daily product.

Discussing legitimacy

The four discourses presented understand legitimacy differently, and, therefore, build institutional logics (R Friedland, 2013; Roger Friedland & Alford, 1991) that will compete in terms of promoting the legitimation of such cuisine.

The struggle between these different logics that are built through the discourses of the institutional entrepreneurs (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004) influence the cultural-cognitive (Scott, 2008) pillar of the legitimacy of the Paraense cuisine.

The first discourse tries to institutionalize the paraense cuisine as an exotic luxury. In that sense, the discourses of legitimization try to create a new taste regime (Arsel, Bean, & Thompson, 2013), in which the exotic ingredient will be deemed as a high cultural capital foodie material (Johnston & Baumann, 2010). The foodie subculture involves the search for different cuisines as an experience for consumers who feel like eating the Other is an adventurous experience that puts them in a high cultural capital status (Coskuner-Balli & Thompson, 2013; Johnston & Baumann, 2010).

The second type of discourse invests in preservation of traditions. In these discourses, institutional entrepreneurs advocate for keeping the traditions and selling the products embedded in tradition techniques as luxury goods that also consider the traditions and modes of preparation of local populations. It still positions the products as a high cultural capital luxury to cosmopolite populations, but embed them in a logic of activism (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004), fighting the market while trying to be inserted in it, as long as the rules of the market itself change. Legitimacy, then, requires a different logic in the functioning of cosmopolite markets (Holt, 1997), seen as explorers.

The third type of discourse tries to legitimate the paraense cuisine by integrating it in the tastes and practices of cosmopolite markets. It still relies on Otherness in order to construct an institutionalization, but at the same time it relies on turning the Other more palatable to consumers who are not engaged in the foodie subculture (Johnston & Baumann, 2010). By doing so, these institutional entrepreneurs deal with countervailing forces (Thompson & Haytko, 1997), that posit their origin as exotic and magical (Costa, 1998; Said, 1978), while trying to integrate it to a commercial logic, balancing the commercial technique and the novelty of an exotic taste, a process similar to the integration of yoga in the United States (Ertimur & Coskuner-Balli, 2015).

Finally, the third discourse presented here tries to commoditize the Other, using technical requirements that will “civilize” the ingredient through standard techniques. This fourth discourse urbanizes the jungle and relies on more utilitarian means of developing the product. The consequences for the traditional communities is the loss of their techniques and the gain of managerial skills, based on neoliberal ideologies (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014).

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The discourses that have been presented here do not act independently of each other. The raw and the cooked (Lévi-Strauss, 1969), the Other and the self, the oppositions of activism (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004), and the different models that unite consumption and development and that dispute hegemonic positions, are all constituents of the Paraense gastronomic field as high cultural capital elements.

Pará is considered a magical place (Costa, 1998). It is there that the exotic ingredients are collected, that the indigenous techniques to extract the poisons out of ingredients are applied, that traditional cooks and traditional folk practice their “raw” gastronomy with their magical ingredients.

This magical place is disputed by the different institutional entrepreneurs: conservationists and activists resist in order it is left untouched and proud nationalists want to be integrated into the cosmopolitan universe of culinary relations. Behind these disputes, different market catalysts

and inhibitors reside. These catalyst and inhibiting process are framing (Humphreys & Latour, 2013) the culinary field in Para and in the rest of the country in relation to Paraense cuisine through institutional entrepreneurship and the creation of different frames of cultural cognitive (Scott, 2008) legitimacy, which, on its turn, tends to have the power to become regulative or normative pillars of institutions that will constitute markets.

Cultural appropriation happens mainly during this process of framing. The culture of Pará is “eaten” (hooks 2006) by the chefs and actors and there is not necessarily any true compensation for those who provide the ingredients required by the traditional techniques. The magical place is framed, collected, sold or used as a motive for activism and the creation and preservation of authenticity, which can be seen in the Resistant Other discourse. However, the models of development proposed between NGOs, chefs and institutes, all institutional entrepreneurs, still maintain a relation of dependence on consumption: communities are to be preserved or developed because there is a foodie consumer, either in São Paulo, or in Pará, who is willing to eat the exoticism (Said 1978; Johnston and Baumann 2010; hooks 2006) and locavorism (Gaytán, 2004; Johnston & Baumann, 2010) of the Other.

The politics of the region lacks a clear and coordinating action of a central government that would provide the infrastructure for integrating de facto Para with other markets. Perhaps the different views on legitimacy still have not formed a predominant logic in which governments, which have the power of regulative institutionalization, can act. Furthermore, these different discourses create a tension among the preservation of Otherness and commoditization of the ingredients produced in Para. By changing the techniques and becoming standardized entrepreneurs, the distant Others, to be explored in a colonizing sense of Orientalism (Said, 1978) risk to become intimate Others, having also their products devalued and commodified, without even a warranty of infrastructure for mass-production schemes.

This work has several limitations, which opens opportunities to new research. First, we have interviewed different kinds of actors, but our consumers’ data came mostly from social media. Therefore, we have not looked the experiences of consumers, whether foodies or not. Perhaps trying to understand how these discourses affect consumers directly could open new avenues for understating a legitimation process. Second, we have only looked at Belém do Pará and São Paulo, taking the former as the exotic and the second as cosmopolite. Perhaps a more spread geographical approach could improve the vision of the institutionalization process.

Nevertheless, we have contributed with the emerging research that unites markets and institutional theory. Institutional logics is a major field in management studies (Lounsbury & Boxenbaum, 2013), but only recently entered the stream of market and consumer research. We have shown that trying to promote the legitimacy of a new product or technique in a new market require a coherent, or at least a predominant institutional logic and that without a collective action united around a more unified discourse, different cognitive cultural views (Humphreys & Latour, 2013; Scott, 2008) struggle to be institutionalized. Furthermore, we contributed by exploring the relation between discourse and action, a thematic that also has only recently been regarded in the consumer research literature that is interested in agency and change (Fernandez, 2015; Ourahmoune, 2017).

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