

CONSUMING THE NATION

FOOD AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN CATALONIA

VENETIA JOHANNES¹

Abstract. In this article, I give an ethnographic account of the lived realities of everyday nationalism by presenting some of the ways in which Catalans in northeast Spain use food to express their national identity. Due to its quotidian, essential nature, food is an ideal tool for studying the experience of nationalism in everyday life. Catalonia, in northeast Spain, provides a useful context in which to study a contemporary nationalist movement, as the recent 2017 political crisis and the independence movement that has burgeoned since 2010 have made questions of national identity a highly relevant topic of everyday discussion in the region. I will first introduce the growing literature on nationalism and food, or ‘gastronationalism’, which is the basis of my research. I also briefly discuss my methodological approach as an ethnographer. Next, I provide a brief introduction to some of the essential sauces and dishes of Catalan cuisine and the national sentiments that these foods represent. Following on from this, I discuss the gastronomic calendar, that is, the practice of associating particular foods with certain days or seasons, a notion that is shared across Catalonia and that creates recognized culinary unity. Finally, I discuss how food has been linked to the current independence movement in the region.

Keywords: gastronationalism, Catalonia, Catalan nationalism, Spain, national identity.

¹ Dr. Venetia Johannes, Research Affiliate, School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography (SAME), University of Oxford.
Email: vcongdon@gmail.com

Introduction: why use food to study nationalism?

In this article, I present some of my findings on how Catalans express their national identity through food against a backdrop of increased support for nationalist politics (Mazower 2016; *The Economist* 2017). My research responds to the late anthropologist Josep Llobera's (2004) call for a better understanding of nationalisms through the anthropological study of their 'subjective feelings or sentiments' (Llobera 2004: 188). As he states, 'We cannot make a scientific inventory of the social facts of nationalism, for the simple reason that we lack the basic building blocks: good monographic studies of nations' (ibid.: 184). His challenge fits well the increased interest in studies of everyday nationalism within the social sciences over the last two decades, and he is not alone in recognizing its importance in understanding the enduring appeal of nationalist movements (Billig 1995; Edensor 2002; MacClancy 2007; Skey 2011).

The Catalan political theorist Montserrat Guibernau provides the most useful definition of nationalism for the Catalan case: 'a human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future, and claiming the right to rule itself' (Guibernau 2002: 3). Note the final point about self-determination, which does not require a state, and until recent years Catalan secessionism was historically weak (Keating 1996). Catalan nationalism is inextricably bound up with Catalan culture, making it a cultural nationalism (Llobera 2004). Thus Catalan nationalism cannot exist without national identity, that is, expressions of its culture and individual affiliation with a Catalan nation as a collective whole.

One sub-discipline in the area of everyday nationalism that has seen a burgeoning interest in the last decade has been the study of national foods, or what has been called 'gastronationalism', which the sociologist Michaela DeSoucey defines as:

The use of food production, distribution, and consumption to demarcate and sustain the emotive power of national attachment.... It presumes that attacks (symbolic or otherwise) against a nation's food practices are assaults on heritage and culture. (DeSoucey 2010: 433)

There are few cultural objects that are as everyday as food: it is an essential, quotidian element of life. When considering everyday nationalism, food is an ideal medium for appreciating this phenomenon. Food is central to our sense of identity, for expressing in-group affiliation and delineating boundaries, demarcating insiders from outsiders (Fischler 1988; Bell and Valentine 1997; Ohnuki-Tierney 1993). Food helps reveal the 'rich and messy textures of our attempts at self-understanding' (Narayan 1995: 64), as well as having the

ability to carry ‘powerful meanings and structures under the cloak of the mundane and the quotidian’ (Sutton 2001: 3).

Catherine Palmer (1998), inspired by Billig (1995), considers food to be one of three ‘flags’ or cultural objects with which national sentiments are associated in everyday practice (the others are the related concepts of the body and landscape). Jeremy MacClancy, based on his experiences in the Basque country, suggests that ‘turning foodstuffs and dishes into bearers of national identity is a down-to-earth way to make an otherwise abstract ideology more familiar, domestic, even palatable’ (MacClancy 2007: 68). More recently, Atsuko Ichijo and Ronald Ranta have concluded:

Practising and asserting national identity through food means making choices and decisions that provide direct links to, among others, the nation’s perceived or imagined history, social traditions, culture and geography. Through these decisions and choices people get to ‘perform the nation’. (Ichijo and Ranta 2016: 8)

This performative aspect is useful for understanding modern nationalisms, which should be seen as continually evolving, changing processes, rather than as static objects (Raviv 2015). On a practical level, food is also useful for entering informant discourses in national arenas as a more ‘palatable’ subject than controversial issues such as language or politics, which may alienate potential informants, a factor also recognized by Avieli (2018).

The Catalan-Spanish relationship

For the purposes of this article, Catalonia means the Catalan Autonomous Community, a self-governing ‘nationality’ within the Spanish state, as defined in the Catalan Statute of Autonomy,² one of several such recognized historic nationalisms (including Galicia and the Basque Country) within the Spanish state’s constitutional arrangements. Catalonia today is home to seven million of Spain’s 47 million people and is one of the country’s wealthiest and most industrialized regions. The region has historically emphasised its separate identity from the rest of Spain, although contemporary Catalanism (Catalan nationalism) has its origins in nineteenth-century romantic nationalism, in common with other European nationalisms. Today this difference is primarily manifested in the Catalan language, which is used alongside Castilian Spanish in the region, and in local support for Catalan culture and

² This is defined in the 1979 and 2006 Statutes of Autonomy as follows: ‘Catalonia, as a nationality, exercises its self-government constituted as an autonomous community in accordance with the Constitution and with this Estatut [sic], which is its basic institutional law’ (Generalitat de Catalunya 2006).

institutions. Calls for independence from Spain became an aspect of Catalan nationalism after 1898, following the independence of Cuba, an event which dented Spanish prestige and Catalan prosperity. Since that time, support for independence has ebbed and flowed, for most of the contemporary democratic era since the end of the anti-Catalan Franco dictatorship (1939–1975) it has been considered a minority position. Even today, supporting independence is not a prerequisite for being ‘Catalan’, nor for considering oneself a member of the Catalan nation.

The region’s political status has been the source of recent controversies, as the regional government (the Generalitat, or Catalan Parliament) has tried to wrest further control of Catalan affairs from the central Spanish government. The current crisis began in 2010 as a result of the Spanish Constitutional Court’s decision to suspend many of the articles in the Generalitat’s 2006 Statute of Autonomy, a document that would have given the regional government greater powers. This decision provoked anger among Catalans, and the escalating tensions that have resulted between the Catalan and Spanish governments has turned support for Catalan independence into a popular sentiment (support for independence has wavered at just under half the population since 2011; Centre d’Estudis d’Opinió, 2018).

The situation reached a critical moment in September 2017. Earlier in the year, the Catalan President at the time, Carles Puigdemont, confirmed that a referendum on Catalan independence would be held on 1 October 2017. When it became clear that the vote would go ahead, the Spanish Civil Guard initiated a series of raids on Catalan government institutions, arresting Catalan politicians and stationing five thousand Civil Guard personnel in Catalan ports. On the day of the vote, attempts to close polling stations forcibly led to civil unrest. 92% voted in favour of independence, though the turnout was only 43%.. As a result of the referendum, the Catalan Parliament declared Catalonia’s independence on 27 October 2017. On the same day, the Spanish Senate invoked Article 155 of the Spanish Constitution, which imposed direct rule over the region (unheard of in recent Spanish history). Several Catalan politicians were arrested, while others (including Puigdemont) fled Spain, being detained later in 2018. After almost a year of political wrangling, new regional elections and the ousting of Spain’s former prime minister, Mariano Rajoy, in part as a result of the crisis, calm has been restored. However, at the time of writing animosity remains, despite attempts at dialogue between the prime minister of Spain (Pedro Sánchez) and the President of Catalonia (Quim Torra).

Structure of the article

The article will continue with a brief consideration of the methodological aspects of studying everyday nationalism from an anthropological perspective. This is useful for understanding the insights gained from the data, discussion of which takes up the rest of the article. I next present some of the essential components of Catalan cuisine and the discourse surrounding them in the field. My aim is to demonstrate how the nation is experienced in everyday life through interactions with food, and how different aspects of national identity are expressed and formulated in everyday discussions about elements of Catalan cuisine and popular national dishes.

In the following section, I will consider an important aspect of Catalan cuisine, the gastronomic calendar, or the association of specific foods with specific days. While the concept itself is not unique to Catalonia and can be found in other regions the world over, in the context of Catalan nationhood it has taken on extra significance as a way of creating a culinary ‘imagined community’, to use Benedict Anderson’s well-known term (1983): Catalans know that on these particular days other Catalans are eating the same foods. Finally, I will describe the role of food in the contemporary independence movement and the impact of the recent political crisis as expressed through everyday interactions with food.

Methods

The findings presented in this paper are based on field research carried out over fifteen months from 2012 to 2013, as well as further short visits since 2013. The most recent visit was in January 2018, the source of more recent findings following the political crisis in autumn 2017. In terms of scope, there are a number of areas that this article cannot cover that are nonetheless relevant to the topic of Catalan gastrationalism. The ethnographic focus of this article is beneficial for the micro-level, that of understanding the gastrational experience at the lived, every-day, individual level, but less suitable for insights into the effects of globalization on Catalan gastrationalism and the related issues of agri-business and the food industry (though the latter is considered briefly in the penultimate section). The topic of gastro-tourism and its relationship with Catalan nationalism is likewise a huge one that cannot be covered here, nor can the role of Catalan tourists as part of national identity (but see Johannes (2018)). Despite the importance of class politics in Catalan social history (Guibernau 2004; McDonogh 1986), I found that class was not a salient element in Catalan gastrationalism at the present day, so it will not be considered here.

As an anthropologist, my primary research methods have been ethnographic. My main research method was the ethnographic interview. Ideally, I carried out several interviews with each informant, as well as interacting with them in everyday settings. The first interview was often semi-structured: I had a list of questions that provided the basis for discussion (gradually altered during fieldwork as my experience grew), but which were not intended to limit the discussion to pre-defined topics. Later interviews were often less formal and more spontaneous, originating out of the context of the meeting – discussions after a meal, or a pause during a cooking session.

I also used image elicitation in the latter half of fieldwork, normally in group interview settings and using images I had collected throughout fieldwork. This choice was inspired by practices I found in the field, as my informants would regularly share images they found interesting and had photographed on their mobile phones, either face to face in social gatherings or via social media. My aim was to probe the meanings and associations with some of the more popular images (i.e. images that were shared regularly). Image elicitation is also beneficial for studying a strongly visual topic like food, or where explanations by the interviewer may fall short or unintentionally lead the interviewee. For instance, certain dishes had regional variations and names, which could be understood in one region but might mean something else in another.

Participant observation was another useful research method. This included eating and cooking with Catalans. For the purposes of studying everyday life and everyday nationalism, this is sometimes a more effective method than the at times artificial context of an interview. Participant observation also included experiencing events with a national or cultural focus, including Catalonia's three national days (St George's Day on 23 April, St John's Eve on 23 June and the Catalan National Day on 11 September), with a special focus on food at these events, pro-independence gatherings, food festivals and the many different kinds of markets to be found in the region. Finally, written materials and other media on Catalan cuisine were another essential source of data. This included cookbooks, newspaper and magazine articles, occasionally blog posts and radio and television shows. This selection of gastronomic literature has created a rich discourse on the subject, which many Catalans use to construct their own ideas about food.

In terms of the data itself (i.e. the discourse on Catalan cuisine and identity), there were two main factors that needed to be present to justify the existence of Catalan cuisine as a manifestation of Catalan identity. First, Catalan informants needed to have a developed and extensive discourse around the notion of 'their' foods, foods to which they have attached

their own identities (or ‘signature foods’, in the words of Mintz 1996). Secondly, there had to be unities in this discourse among informants in order to provide a set of shared symbols and world views (Guibernau 2002). This is not to say that opinions should be identical between informants, and one of the characteristics of cultural nationalisms is certainly their multivocality (MacClancy 2007; Bray 2011). Despite individual nuances, one looks for an overall set of themes and agreed parameters that define what makes Catalan food or Catalan cuisine. This must be clear to the outside observer (i.e. the field researcher) as well as being recognized by Catalans themselves, that is, it must be regarded as both an emic and an etic category.

I also aimed to acquire as wide a variety of informants as possible (following MacClancy 2007). The only criterion was that they considered themselves ‘Catalans’, though this ranged from informants who saw themselves as members of a unjustly repressed ‘nation’ that deserved independence to others who self-identified as Spaniards living in the Catalan ‘region’. However, even in the case of the latter, they still view the term ‘nation’ in a merely symbolic sense in the same way that Catalonia is recognized in the Spanish constitution. Nonetheless in practice most of the views expressed in this article are those of the former kind of informant, that is, those who consider themselves either as more Catalan than Spanish, or as only Catalan.

Categorizing and coding the data collected here presents a complex problem for an anthropologist. Indeed, anthropologists have been wary in recent years of reducing social experiences to artificial categories that have little meaning for informants. By contrast, the sociologists Jon E. Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss (2008) have divided practices of nationhood into four basic areas: ‘talking about the nation’ (nation as discursive construct), ‘choosing the nation’ (the ways nationhood is implicated in everyday decisions), ‘performing the nation’ (ritual enactments) and ‘consuming the nation’ (expressing the nation through everyday practices of consumption). While there might be disagreements within anthropology about the usefulness of such categories, they resonate with many of the findings here, in particular the first area, that of bringing the nation into being not only by talking *about* it, but also by using it as a tool in discourse. I therefore refer to Fox and Miller-Idriss’s categories in this article, while also discussing some of the limitations of its use in the conclusion.

The beginner's guide to Catalan cuisine

Whenever I began any discussion about Catalan cuisine during fieldwork, there were four things that almost always appeared first: the *sofregit*, the *picada*, the *allioli* and the *romesco*. These are sauces that are the foundations of Catalan cuisine, firstly because of their claims to distinctiveness, and secondly because of their essential role in 'flavouring' a dish so as to make it Catalan, both literally and figuratively. I discuss the first two in detail here. The *sofregit* is the starting point of any dish, made up in its most basic form of onion, garlic, parsley and tomato. The *picada* is a grainy paste of herbs, spices and ground nuts with some liquid, added at the end of a meal. One of my informants, the editor of a Catalan food magazine, described Catalan cuisine as 'something that starts with a *sofregit* and ends with a *picada*, and in between, things happen!'.

The *sofregit* and *picada* are often considered representative of Catalan cuisine's long history. Early forms of the *sofregit* (without tomato) and *picada* can be found in medieval cookbooks, such as the *Llibre de Sent Sovi* of 1324 and the *Llibre de Coch* of 1520. These books are important national objects and sources of pride, demonstrating the existence of a recognized Catalan cuisine during the Middle Ages, lionized as Catalonia's golden age, when the region was the centre of the Catalan-Aragonese Empire (1137–1469). The existence of foods with historical roots allows Catalans 'to partake each day of a national past' (Barthes 1961: 37).

Using foodstuffs originating in the Americas, like chocolate, is not perceived as contradicting this sense of continuity. For instance, during a cooking session with Jaume, a food writer, he explained how the *picada* would give the dish of *conill amb xocolata* (rabbit in chocolate sauce) a medieval character from its grainy texture. The presence of the chocolate was instead cited as an example of recent developments and of the adaptability and openness of Catalan cuisine.

Everyday discussions around historic sauces like the *sofregit* and *picada* demonstrate a historicism that frequently pervades discussions of Catalan cuisine. For many informants, their interpretation of contemporary cuisine is implicitly linked to the Catalan past. A 'looking back with relish' (Llobera 2004: 21) to past glories has been central to the development of Catalan nationalism since the nineteenth century, as historical claims to difference and a separate history have provided the basis for contemporary Catalan thought in the modern era.

In November 2013, the food magazine *Cuina* created a campaign to decide which was the ‘best Catalan dish’ as part of the celebrations of its 150th issue. Calling on all readers, the magazine saw contributors post their answers on Twitter and Facebook. Three years later, in October 2016, the magazine launched a larger competition, this time called ‘The Catalans’ Favourite Dish’, linked to Catalonia being European Region of Gastronomy that year. In both competitions, the top four dishes were identical: *escudella i carn d’olla* (a meat and vegetable stew), *pa amb tomàquet* (bread rubbed with tomato), *canelons* (cannelloni) and *fricandó* (a veal and mushroom dish). The two events engendered much debate in the popular media, reflecting popular subjects of discussion about the particular characteristics of Catalan cuisine, what makes it distinctive and the meaning of specific dishes in Catalan culinary culture. These debates revealed popular attitudes about Catalan identity in general.

Here I discuss two of these dishes in detail, the *escudella* and the *pa amb tomàquet*. *Escudella i carn d’olla* is a hot pot of various ingredients, a selection of meats, a bone, sausage, meatballs (*pilota*), vegetables, rice, *fideus* (tiny pasta sticks) and/or large pasta pieces (*galletes*). Cookbook writers often refer to the Catalan’s love of *escudella*, sometimes treating it as the national dish. It is worth pointing out, however, that *escudella* is not unique to Catalonia, as similar stews can be found in many European food cultures that have their origins in subsistence cuisine. It can be made with whatever ingredients are available and is a dish that creates historical connectedness to the past (like the *sofregit* and the *picada*). However, the *escudella* also provides an interesting example of the mental gymnastics Catalans engage in to justify it as unique and as different from similar dishes in neighbouring culinary cultures.

First, when it comes to claiming historical continuity, contemporary Catalans characterize the *escudella* not just as a rural dish, but also as one that was associated with the region’s industrialization in the nineteenth century. It was a dish that could be left to cook by itself for hours, enabling women to work in industry during the day. The dish is therefore connected with Catalonia’s social history, in this case the industrial past that contributed much to the development of early Catalanism, as well as its contemporary identity and national pride. Like many Catalan dishes, it is also spread throughout all social classes, the only difference being that the ingredients differ depending on income.

Secondly, its ingredients also contribute to its perceived distinctiveness, for example, the use of certain pasta shapes (*galletes*) and of vegetable varieties grown in Catalonia, such as the Bufet potato. This variety is believed to have its origins in the French Institut de Beauvais variety, but it is grown in several counties in Catalonia, thus establishing it as a ‘Catalan’

food by virtue of its place of cultivation. This is not to imply that food must be grown in Catalonia to produce Catalan cuisine. While there is a preference for food grown in Catalonia, most Catalans know that to demand this consistently for Catalan cuisine would be physically impossible. Indeed, certain essential elements of Catalan cuisine, such as salted cod, have never come from the region itself. Catalans also recognize that the quality of certain foods might be better when grown outside Catalonia (this is especially the case in the restaurant industry). This makes the act of cooking food important, since this process turns ingredients from anywhere into national dishes and products.

Thirdly, *escudella*'s place in culinary culture is also perceived as distinctive to Catalonia. It is strongly associated with Christmas, what is eaten on this day, according to the gastronomic calendar, being consumed as two separate courses: the soup first, followed by the meat and vegetables as a main meal. Thus its manner of consumption is different from similar dishes in neighbouring cuisines. Catalans have managed to develop a strong familiarity with *escudella*, making it a typical 'signature food' (Mintz 1996) that has been converted from a subsistence food into a special dish associated with festive reunions (this is not unusual in other contexts; see Wilk 1999; Goody 1982; Fajans 2012; Ayora-Diaz 2012). The dish also has strong associations with the family because it is over the *escudella i carn d'olla* that yearly Christmas meetings will take place. One of the important roles of such reunions is as events where national identity is discussed and debated.

Finally here, the *escudella* is a culinary manifestation of an ideal aspect of the Catalan character, namely *seny*. A word that is difficult to translate, it suggests a sensible, rational, down-to-earth attitude, a business-like and hard-working approach to life (Hargreaves 2000). *Seny* is also encapsulated in the ideal of thriftiness, an attitude expressed in the popular saying, 'We make use of everything'. *Seny*, like its opposite *rauxa*, are fundamental aspects of the Catalan character in everyday discourse. *Seny* is an emic concept, used by Catalans as an ideal standard of behaviour deployed at appropriate moments. Foods that have their origins in subsistence cuisine provide the most frequent opportunities for Catalans to encounter *seny* and thriftiness in everyday life.

The food that typifies *seny* most is *pa amb tomàquet*. This is made by rubbing a ripe tomato into a slice of bread, ideally using hard bread that is a few days old, allowing the juices to soften the bread. Salt, oil and occasionally garlic can also be added. It is commonly the base for sandwiches and is combined with cold meats and sausages. Most informants claimed to eat it every day, or at least every other day, either as a snack or a light meal. Of all the signature dishes identified by Catalans, *pa amb tomàquet* is probably the most regularly

eaten. It is a common side dish or starter at festive events. To fully underline its symbolic importance, it is served in Catalan homes when there is a Barça football match (alongside Catalan-made Estrella Damm beer and *llonganissa*), thus ensuring the gustatory association between this food and another essential symbol of Catalanism, the Barcelona football team (ibid.).

Pa amb tomàquet sums up many of the features and ideas surrounding Catalan culinary identity. It is a prime example of thriftiness in food. According to my informants the dish first appeared in the nineteenth century, probably to soften hard, inedible bread to make it more palatable and to use up overripe tomatoes. I saw an example of how *pa amb tomàquet* allows Catalans to interact with the national ideal of thrift in everyday settings during a meal with a group of young women in their twenties. One of them started to eat the squashed tomato she had used to make *pa amb tomàquet*. These tomatoes are normally thrown away, and the other diners protested in revulsion. She brushed off the criticism, saying: ‘We’re Catalans, we make use of everything’. This casual usage of both national and culinary identity to defend quotidian behaviour shows how ingrained these attitudes are, and moreover how closely national ideals and cuisine are interconnected in everyday life. Once again, this event also displays a collation of some of Fox and Miller-Idriss’s (2008) ideas of everyday nationalism, in this case simultaneously ‘talking about the nation’ and ‘consuming’ it.

Pa amb tomàquet is also claimed to be unique to Catalonia, though its spreading to other regions of Spain has altered this conception somewhat, and now the emphasis is more on the process of making it, that of rubbing the tomato into the bread, rather than pouring on squashed or sliced tomato, which is done in other regions. As with the *escudella*, it is the process (cooking) and its position in culinary culture that are considered bastions against the risk of homogeneity. However, *pa amb tomàquet* is recognized as distinctly Catalan by non-Catalans elsewhere in Spain. It is therefore a point of self-identification that is reinforced by interactions with outsiders.

Its component ingredients contribute to this situation. The tomato, as both a central component of Catalan cuisine and a product from the Americas, symbolizes the ideal of an integrationist cuisine open to new influences, of Catalan nationalism as ideally open, willing to accept all those who wish to learn Catalan, adopt Catalan culture and self-identify as Catalan (Llobera 2004). Bread is a basic staple in Catalonia and has received some attention with the recognition of *pa de pagès* (peasant’s or farmer’s bread) as a food with Protected Geographical Indication within the EU. Its description even states explicitly that it is ideal for *pa amb tomàquet*, officially enshrined as part of a ‘traditional’ foodway. Oil too is a matter of

pride as one of Catalonia's main exports, and the fact that it varies hugely from region to region makes it an example of the ideal of regional diversity and variety.

Pa amb tomàquet can also be found in all parts of Catalonia. This role as a cultural unifier is particularly important in Catalan food culture due to the inherent diversity in regional cuisines, which might otherwise contradict the claim of Catalan culinary unity. While visiting the Ebro Delta, in the extreme south of Catalonia, which is an area sometimes seen as influenced more by Spain due to its location and history of immigration from other parts of Spain, my host Gustavo claimed that the fact they ate *pa amb tomàquet* regularly there proved that the Delta was part of Catalonia.

The Delta is especially known for its rice dishes. It is Catalonia's foremost rice-producing region, with 22,000 hectares devoted to the crop, and the European Union recognized Ebro Delta Rice as a Protected Denomination of Origin in 1992 (Catalunya.com, 2019). A popular activity in Catalonia is to travel to experience different foods in different regions, and one popular excursion is a trip to the Delta to try *arròs a banda*, a dish of rice, potatoes, fish and vegetables. For inhabitants of the Delta, they perceive this activity as a recognition of the region as Catalan by other Catalans. However, it is also acknowledged, both by Delta inhabitants and Catalans in other regions, that the climate is unsuitable for producing another popular and emblematic Catalan product, cured sausages. The implication was that this inability to produce such a 'national' food, something that can be found in all other Catalan regions, diluted the Ebro Delta's Catalan nature.

This section has described some of the ways in which Catalans experience everyday nationalism through the meanings and associations attached to national foods, consumed either on an everyday basis or at specific, recognized and regular moments throughout the year (there are others, which fall beyond the scope of this article). Ideals and symbols of the Catalan nation, such as national character and history, are made manifest through food. Themes emerging include the ways in which Catalans can experience a connection to a historic past through food, the source of contemporary national identity. Claims to uniqueness, albeit tenuous, also appear here, allowing Catalans to continually underline national differences. These claims are not related to unique ingredients, but to how they are combined and integrated into cuisine through cooking. Other aspects that have received brief mentions are the importance of regional variation and culinary openness, parallels to national ideals. The latter is relevant in light of recent and historical immigration into Catalonia, a topic that cannot be considered in depth in this article, but is highly relevant for contemporary Catalanism (Vaczi 2016; Erickson 2011).

Returning to Fox and Miller-Idriss's (2008) suggested categories for expressions of everyday nationalism, the above discussion of *escudella* and *pa amb tomàquet* demonstrates facets of each category. In talking about the *escudella* and *pa amb tomàquet* as national cuisine, Catalans use the nation as a discursive construct, simultaneously willing the nation into existence and perpetuating it through these discussions. They also 'choose the nation', implicating it in decisions about what to eat, how to prepare food etc., by following the norms of national cuisine, which also prescribe and limit decision-making. This is also a case of 'performing the nation', as Catalans consume food imbued with symbolic meanings, especially at extraordinary events (something discussed further in the next section). Finally, by consuming their national food (a product of the nation), Catalans are consuming their nation.

The gastronomic calendar

The gastronomic calendar is a central tenet of Catalan food culture, specifying that certain foods are eaten on certain days or in certain seasons. These associations are normally related to seasonally available produce or secularized religious feast days. In the case of the former, the celebration of religious feast days is characterized by food, rarely by any religious feeling. For contemporary Catalans, such days provide another connection with a historical and idealized past. For instance, a key part of the celebration of Lent in contemporary Catalonia continues to be the consumption of cod dishes, so much so that February to March is called the *temporada de bacalla* (cod season) in restaurants, markets, media outlets and everyday interactions. The origins of this association lay in historical religious prohibitions on eating meat when the only fish available in rural areas was dried cod. Another popular Lenten food, *Bunyols de Quaresme* (sugared doughnuts), keep up energy levels during a time of fasting.

The situation of organized religion is an interesting one in Catalonia and is worth considering further in this discussion of the gastronomic calendar. During the Franco period religion was a key method of state control, and the claim of the existence of a unified, Spanish, Catholic Church was essential to the Franco dictatorship (1939-1977) in its aim of suppressing separatist regional identities (Guibernau 2004). In Catalonia, however, the church hierarchy was largely opposed to the anti-Catalan measures taken by the dictatorship, and it has been suggested (Llobera, 2004) that the presence of a strong, Catalan 'national' Church was crucial to ensuring the survival of Catalan identity and language during the

period. In particular, the monastery of Montserrat was involved in covert pro-Catalan activities, such as ensuring the continued publication of works in Catalan during that time. Today, the monastery and the distinctive, serrated mountain where it is located continue to be an important site in the Catalanist landscape, and its relic, the Madonna figurine Santa Maria del Montserrat, is one of Catalonia's symbols. Her feast day, 27 April, continues to be celebrated every year.

However, in a sign of the reduced importance of organized religion in everyday Catalan life, in practice the day has been stripped of its religious significance.³ It is recognized almost solely by the consumption of cakes associated with the day, sponge cakes with decorations that imitate the mountain of Montserrat. Likewise, the celebration of the feast day of Catalonia's other patron saint, St George, on 23 April is entirely secularized. It is celebrated as a romantic day, when lovers and friends exchange books and roses, attend literary events and book fairs, and eat a newly developed food associated with the festival, the *pa de Sant Jordi* (Saint George's bread). Another of the major religious feast days across Catalonia, St John's Eve on 23 June, is also devoid of religious significance in popular celebration. The evening is celebrated by outdoor parties, fireworks and eating the *coca de Sant Joan* (St John's *coca*, a sweet flatbread topped with candied fruits). The foods associated with these days are typical manifestations of what Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008) would see as 'performing the nation', as well as simultaneously consuming it through its national products.

Other foods also have associations with particular days or times of the year because of their seasonal availability, such as the *calçots* (spring onions) in February, herbs and fruits in May and June, mushrooms in October, chestnuts in November etc. The popular summer festival bread, *coca* decorated with sugared fruits, was originally topped with seasonal fruits and nuts such as cherries, strawberries and almonds. Heavier foods can be found in the winter months, which is considered to be a seasonal variation because of climate rather than the availability of produce. This can be seen at Christmas, when the universally recognized dish is the *escudella i carn d'olla*, suited to large gatherings and the colder weather; the Christmas leftovers are reused on Saint Steven's Day (26 December) as the fillings for *canelons* or stuffed pasta rolls, another food that typifies a national ideal of thriftiness.

³ This situation may result from a strand of anti-clericalism in some forms of Catalan nationalism (Hargreaves 2000), which has gained ground in the post-Franco era, thanks to the association of Catholicism with Francoism. Historical outbreaks of anti-clerical violence in Catalan history, such as the Tragic Week of 1909 and Catalan support of Republicanism in the Spanish Civil War, have also led the region to acquire a reputation as a bastion of anti-Catholic sentiment. In practice, the general view of most Catalans to organized religion is indifference.

The ways in which food and festivity are associated are often considered unique or defining characteristics of Catalan culinary culture. This is not to say that the practice of associating the two is unique to Catalonia (it can be found worldwide), but the foods that are associated with different annual events are essential to claims of gastro-cultural uniqueness. Most Catalans realize that they eat, with a few exceptions, the same foods as their non-Catalan neighbours. This is so even for popularly recognized Catalan dishes, such as *escudella i carn d'olla* and *canelons*. However, what has marked them out as different was their application in Catalan cuisine thanks to the gastronomic calendar.

Today, neither seasonality nor religious prohibitions have the influence on contemporary food availability they exerted in former times. However, the association of the resulting gastronomic calendar with the past has lent it a new significance in light of the renewed awareness of Catalan culture in everyday settings that has been brought about by the pro-independence movement. As a symbol of national identity, awareness and following the gastronomic calendar has gained new connotations as a means of expressing Catalanism. My informants noted this not just in their own behaviour in recent years (and that of others), but also in popular media in the form of magazines, books and television programmes.

Linked with this is also the ideal of following seasonality through the gastronomic calendar and consuming the 'products of the land'. The latter was a phrase often used by my informants, representing ideals such as connection with locality, landscape, history, naturalness etc. Such concepts are similar to ideas related to recent food movements such as Slow Food or what Pratt (2007) calls 'alternative' food movements. Yet Catalan gastronomic nationalism should not be classed as a sub-set of these movements, as in the Catalan context the ideals mentioned above are emotive national symbols. Moreover, the products of the land also have significance in the eyes of Catalans as markers of a unique culinary identity by virtue of their exclusivity to Catalonia and cultivation on Catalan land. By contrast, the Catalan promoters of Slow Food I interviewed distanced themselves from gastronomic discourses.

The gastronomic calendar is also relevant in another way for experiencing the nation. When consuming dishes on particular days associated with the gastronomic calendar, there is awareness on an individual level that throughout the rest of Catalonia other Catalans are eating the same dishes. This is exemplified by a Good Friday meal I ate with an older couple, Pep and Rosa-Maria. The main dish on the menu was a cod and egg dish, *Bacallà de Divendres Sant* (Good Friday cod). Although Pep and Rosa-Maria were not religious, they still insisted on making reference to the continued sway of Lent until it ended that Sunday, so

as to respect the gastronomic calendar. The dish itself respects seasonality in its other ingredients, such as spinach and beans, and the large quantity of springtime eggs. Pep also pointed out that the dish included a *sofregit*, proof of its identification as Catalan.

In describing what this dish meant to him, Pep summed up the real importance, the central tenet of the gastronomic calendar in Catalan gastronationalism: ‘There is a connection at the level of all Catalonia. You feel linked to a culture; we’re all doing the same this Good Friday’. By eating the same things that others throughout Catalonia are eating, an individual Catalan can feel a connection with other Catalans. Much like language or the collective celebration of national days, following the gastronomic calendar creates a connection between the individual and the greater Catalan nation through the shared consumption of the same foods. In this sense, an imagined community of the nation is created not by reading the same texts (or, in Anderson’s case, newspapers), but by eating the same foods at the same moment. Jane Fajans (2012) came to a similar conclusion in respect of traditional Brazilian cuisine, for instance, the *feijoada* (bean stew with pork or beef), which is commonly consumed at Saturday lunch and in restaurants on Wednesdays.

Undoubtedly Fajans’ conclusions also apply to Catalonia, yet I take this concept further. Pep’s words expressed a sentiment that is present throughout Catalonia, one I saw articulated through the consumption of the yearly cycle of foods in the gastronomic calendar. The Catalan imagined community-through-food represents an intriguing development in the gastronomic calendar. It is not just knowing that foods are shared in a general sense that is significant, it is also knowing that other Catalans are consuming these shared foods *at the same moment in time throughout the year*.

Food in the Catalan independence movement

During the fieldwork I conducted in 2012 to 2013, most of my informants were cautious about explicitly connecting food to the independence movement. They saw the secessionist movement as a political wing of Catalan nationalism, not a cultural one that is associated with cultural manifestations like food. While Catalan cultural identity has changed over time, it has appeared more durable than political trends within Catalanism in the last century. With a few exceptions, this view was notably present among the restaurateurs I interviewed, since opinions have become so polarized among the general Catalan population that suggesting support for one side or the other would alienate potential customers with different views. The policy of most chefs and food-industry operatives on this subject follows a popular Catalan saying: ‘At the table, never talk about politics’.

At the same time, food could be deployed as a cultural symbol at appropriate moments, as it provided a useful medium to facilitate discussion at pro-independence events. For instance, Spain's National Day on 12 October has become a Catalan anti-festival. Pro-independence Catalans deliberately deny its festive significance as a Spanish national holiday by working and by 'celebrating' *botifarrades*, sausage-eating events. Such events often (though not always) have pro-independence or political connotations, with presentations or talks taking place before the meal. The consumption and association of sausages with this day is heavy with significance. Aside from their privileged position as a food particularly associated with Catalonia, to *fer la botifarra* also has vulgar and insulting connotations. This gesture is present throughout the Mediterranean and involves clenching the hand into a fist, then raising it at the elbow to stand vertically.⁴

This gesture's common name is the *botifarra de pagès* ('peasant sausage', due to the resemblance between the vertical arm and the sausage), but this name can also be applied to certain varieties of sausage. Yet by its name, the *botifarra de pagès* does not just connote confrontation, it is also profoundly associated with the countryside, the *casa de pagès* (farm house) and the food produced there, powerful images in the Catalan national identity discourse (the idealization of the rural is not unique to Catalonia, but is common in other nationalist movements; see Smith 1986; DiGiacomo 1987). This rural ethos also permeated the *botifarrades* I attended, with their convivial atmospheres, barbeques and long tables reminiscent of popular outdoor village festivals. They were spaces where the rural ideal, both national and (occasionally) political, was unified through gastronomy.

During the Catalan National Day (Diada) on 11 September 2012, food-based protests were strongly in evidence. On one of the most prominent thoroughfares of the march was a huge sausage-shaped sign with the words '*A Catalunya fem botifarra*' ('In Catalonia, we make sausage'). Through the medium of a popular saying about food, this phrase not only expresses a cultural fact that can be mobilized as a source of pride and difference for insiders, it can also be a blatant insult for Catalonia's opponents.

The traumatic events of autumn 2017 which I described in the introduction had a deep effect on the mood within Catalonia. When I visited the region in January 2018, many friends and acquaintances described walking around in a sense of shock from late October to December. This too has manifested itself in relationships with food. According to some of

⁴ It should be pointed out that, aside from its rudeness, the sexual and other vulgar connotations of this phallic gesture are not a central element of their expression in Catalan national discourses. One reason may be to avoid emphasising 'male' elements in a movement that appeals to both sexes.

my informants, in September and the early days of October, there were noticeably more food products sporting Catalan flags (the *senyera*) and Catalan companies emphasised their Catalan connections and identity as a selling point to promote their products. After November there was a conspicuous decline in this kind of promotion, as shops and producers seemed to hide the *senyeres* in fear of a potential backlash from consumers who had been jaded, shocked or angered by recent events. For instance, in the popular bakeries of pastry chef Carles Escribà in Barcelona, a seasonal ‘*senyera* croissant’ (a croissant decorated with four red stripes, imitating the Catalan national flag) is offered during the two weeks either side of the Diada. In 2017 they were kept in shops for longer, until mid-October, a response to the demand engendered by pro-independence awareness. By November, following the institution of direct rule at the end of October, demand dropped so low that they were discontinued.

One of the most visible results of the events of October 2017 has been the presence of yellow ribbons in public places. This has become a new symbol of support for independence, as a symbol of the ‘Free Political Prisoners’ campaign led by Omnim Cultural.⁵ This campaign has spawned several awareness- and fund-raising initiatives, some of which have focused on food. At Christmas, one was the *Nadal Groc* (Yellow Christmas), where supporters were encouraged to place a yellow scarf or ribbon over an empty chair during the Christmas meal to represent one of the Catalan politicians or public figures imprisoned for rebellion. The intention was to bring home the emotional significance of these individuals’ empty chairs, as they remained imprisoned over Christmas.

The symbolic potential of this act should not be underestimated. An aspect of the Catalan independence movement was explicitly linked with an important festive moment in the Catalan gastronomic calendar, where food is central to its celebration – and not just any food, but recognized national dishes such as *escudella*, *canelons* and other popular seasonal dishes. The performance of the *Nadal Groc* is related to the table, a popular symbol of Catalan sociality and the site where national cuisine is consumed on an everyday basis. In creating a symbolic chair for significant members of the nation, seen by many as unjustly persecuted martyrs for the Catalan cause, one can sense the creation of a fictive kinship with these individuals through the Catalan nation by providing them with a place at the Christmas table, a place for the strengthening and celebration of commensality and family ties. This might

⁵ Omnim Cultural is a Catalan civil-society group. While non-partisan and primarily focused on the cultural aspects, it has increasingly become involved in the pro-independence movement. The ‘political prisoners’ are Catalan politicians and public figures (including the president of Omnim) who have been imprisoned on charges of rebellion since October 2017.

also be an interesting development of the ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983), as specific members of the nation are imagined to be present through food.

Yet the reactions were not always positive. Restaurant reservations saw a noticeable decline in group bookings from November and over the normally busy Christmas season in December, compared with previous years. In most establishments 21 December, normally one of the most popular in a restaurant’s calendar, was disappointingly under-booked (Castà 2017), perhaps because it was the day of the elections. When I discussed the issue with local informants inside and outside the food industry, the consensus was that Catalans have preferred to stay home and go out less due to the uncertain and depressed mood in the region. Uncertainty about the economic ramifications of the political crisis have also ensured that Catalans are being more careful with their disposable incomes. One of my informants also remarked that fewer people wanted to meet for Christmas gatherings, a common practice during the season, as the conversation would likely revolve around the depressing topics of the elections and referendum, leading to arguments among friends with different views.

One way in which the Catalan food industry has been affected is through boycotts of Catalan products in Spanish markets. Catalan producers are not unfamiliar with boycotts of their products in the wider Spanish market, and the previous round in 2004 to 2006 (once again a response to a political spat) had a positive result in the long term, as it encouraged these businesses to develop external markets. During an interview with Marta Amorós, the head of the Catalonia Gourmet Cluster, a collective of small to medium enterprises (SMEs) that are high-end food producers, she divided companies within the Cluster into three groups, depending on how they have been affected by market conditions.

First, the companies that have suffered the most are those that were obviously Catalan, had major customer markets in Spain and were easily replaceable. Secondly, there were those who have their sole or main markets in Catalonia. By contrast, they have been affected little and even experienced positive effects, according to Marta: ‘Now, more than ever, Catalans want to buy and protect local products’. Finally, companies within the Cluster that sell principally outside Catalonia and Spain have been hardly affected by the crisis at all. For the purposes of this discussion, the second group is the most interesting one, as it backs up comments I heard in 2012 and 2013 that the recent political crisis has engendered increased interest in and demand for Catalan products by Catalan consumers, both to help local food producers and to have a physical connection with products that represent the Catalan nation.

Food is used not only in the service of the pro-independence movement, but also at pro-union events and protests at which the unity of Spain is emphasised. During pro-union

protests the weekend after the 1 October 2017 referendum, a banner in a mixture of Catalan and Castilian – ‘*me niego a comer “pa amb tomàquet” sin jamón*’ (‘I refuse to eat “*pa amb tomàquet*” without [Iberian] ham’) – became another popular image on social media and news sites (Rodés 2017; Redacció 2017). For pro-union Catalans, the notion of Catalan *pa amb tomàquet* and Spanish *jamón* served together represented a culinary symbol of their own identity on a plate. This combination is a source of debate within Catalan circles, some claiming that it is not ‘properly’ Catalan (in everyday consumption, Iberian ham is one of many possible additions to *pa amb tomàquet*). On 14 November 2017, a public dinner called *Quedamos a dinar. Quedem per comer* (‘We meet to eat’ in both Castilian and Catalan) was organized in Madrid to show support for union by a group of anti-independence Catalans in collaboration with local Madrid-based associations. Far from expressing difference, the meal showcased Catalan and Madrileño foods together (*El Periódico/Efe* 2017), emphasising instead Catalonia’s position as a part of the Spanish state.

These latter points show food’s flexibility as a national symbol that performs the nation (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008). It also brings out the complex identity textures to be found within Catalan identity in all its forms, be it as a nation or region within Spain, or as a nation without a state, or as a nation state in waiting. The discussion thus far may have implied the existence of a rigid split between those for and against independence. It is true that the recent political crisis has encouraged greater polarization between these two viewpoints. However, as the discussion in the latter part of this section demonstrates, there is not always a clear-cut distinction between those who are ‘Catalan/pro-independence’ and ‘Spanish/pro-union’. Food allows the researcher to unpack some of these complexities in the context of everyday nationalism, as it provides fertile ground for continued contestation and discussion of what makes up the nation.

Conclusion

This brief exposition provides just a glimpse of the rich and complex nexus of associations that is bound up with the everyday experience of the Catalan nation through food. One of the most obvious features of gastronational identity in the Catalan case is that national ideals, symbols and forms of behaviour have been attached to foods. This makes food a mirror of the nation, being the most obvious way in which Catalans can interact with these ideas on an everyday basis. The ethnographic approach is a highly useful approach for the student of everyday nationalism as it provides insights into how even seemingly small, seemingly trivial elements are utilized in the construction of national identities.

Perhaps the most important conclusion from studying food and everyday nationalism in Catalonia is the performative aspect of nationalism. The continual preparation, consumption and discussion of food is something performed by Catalans every day. In this way, the nation is continually reimagined, reformulated and revived. National food thus simultaneously constructs and reflects the national. Food consumption can be both an individual and a collective experience. This experience allows the individual to become part of the nation, through either the communal consumption of food in the presence of other Catalans or the knowledge that he or she is consuming foods that other Catalans across the region, most of whom they will never meet (Anderson, 1983), are doing the same. It also ensures the ‘catalanization’ of foods grown outside Catalonia into Catalan culture. Finally, this shared consumption of certain foods is a source of unity, not just culturally, but also one that overcomes the individual nuances and disagreements about the future of the Catalan nation.

Returning to the question of discussing everyday nationalism within the discipline of anthropology, borrowing from sociologists Fox and Miller-Idriss’s (2008) ideas on how to categorize everyday nationalist phenomena has been instructive. However, in practice an ethnographic methodology has also exposed the limitations in this approach. It is not easy to separate out the messy textures of social reality into neatly defined categories. Frequently such expressions often encapsulate several of these ways of reproducing nationhood in everyday life. This is especially so for food, which can simultaneously perform many roles in a single context. For instance, in a single meal, cuisine is used simultaneously to talk about the nation (through discussions about the nation and national food during food preparation and over the table), to choose the nation (preparing and eating Catalan food), to perform the nation (through the ritual and symbolic enactment of food practices) and to consume the products of the nation.

In particular, by talking about the nation through food, gastronomy acts as a reflection of national ideas while also being essential for continually reconstructing, replicating and perpetuating notions of Catalan cuisine, and by extension, Catalan identity itself. In the analytical and disciplinary sense, therefore, one must approach gastrnationalism not by categorizing its elements into different aspects of everyday nationhood, but by considering the whole cultural system in which it is present.

References

Anderson, Benedict 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso.

Johannes, Consuming the nation

- Avieli, Nir 2018. *Food and Power: A Culinary Ethnography of Israel*. Oakland CA: University of California Press.
- Ayora-Diaz, Steffan Igor 2012. *Foodscapes, Foodfields and Identities in Yucatán*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn.
- Barthes, Roland 1961/2013. Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption. In Counihan, C. and Van Esterick, P. *Food and Culture: A Reader*. 3rd edn. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. 23-30.
- Bell, David N., and Valentine, Gill 1997. *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*. London: Routledge.
- Billig, Michael 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bray, Zoe 2011. *Living Boundaries: Frontiers and Identity in the Basque Country*. 2nd edn. Reno, Nevada: Center for Basque Studies.
- Castà, Patricia 2017. Las cenas de grupo reaniman sin euforia la caída de la restauración en Barcelona. *El Periódico*, 10 December [online]. Available from: <https://www.elperiodico.com/es/barcelona/20171210/las-cenas-de-grupo-reaniman-la-caida-de-la-restauracion-en-barcelona-pero-sin-euforia-6480782> [date accessed: 07/04/2018].
- Catalunya.com 2019. Ebro Delta Rice: Local Product. Available from: <http://www.catalunya.com/ebro-delta-rice-23-1-539363?language=en> [online] [date accessed: 24/05/2019].
- Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió 2018. Press Report: Political Context Survey 2018. Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, Generalitat de Catalunya. [online]. Available from: <http://upceo.ceo.gencat.cat/wsceop/6508/Abstract%20in%20English%20-874.pdf> [date accessed: 30/3/18].
- Clifford, James 1996. Anthropology and/as Travel. *Etnofoor* 9 (2): 5-15.
- DeSoucey, Michaela 2010. Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union. *American Sociological Review*, 75 (3): 432-55.
- DiGiacomo, Susan M. 1987. 'La Caseta i l'hortet': Rural Imagery in Catalan Urban Politics. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 60 (4): 160-6.
- Durkheim, Émile 2001 [1912]. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Edensor, Tim 2002. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg.
- El Periódico/Efe* 2017. Una comida catalano-madrileña une por el 'diálogo' a Carmena, Serrat y Sardà. *El Periódico*, 15 November [online]. Available from:

Johannes, Consuming the nation

<https://www.elperiodico.com/es/politica/20171115/comida-catalano-madrilena-dialogo-6425187> [date accessed: 07/04/2018].

Erickson, Brad 2011. Utopian Virtues: Muslim Neighbors, Ritual Sociality, and the Politics of *convivència*. *American Ethnologist* 38 (1): 114–31.

Fajans, Jane 2012. *Brazilian Food: Race, Class and Identity in Regional Cuisines*. London, New York: Bloomsbury.

Fischler, Claude 1988. Food, Self and Identity. *Social Science Information* 27: 275–92.

Fox, Jon E., and Miller-Idriss, Cynthia 2008. Everyday Nationhood. *Ethnicities* 8(4): 536–76.

Generalitat de Catalunya 2006. Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia (2006): Preliminary Titles (articles 1-14). Generalitat de Catalunya. Available from: https://web.archive.org/web/20090113100832/http://www.gencat.net/generalitat/eng/estatut/titol_preliminar.htm#a1 [date accessed: 20/03/2019].

Goody, Jack 1982. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guibernau, Montserrat 2002. *Between Autonomy and Secession: The Accommodation of Catalonia Within the New Democratic Spain*, Brighton: Sussex European Institute.

— 2004. *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, Transition, and Democracy*, London: Routledge.

Hargreaves, John 2000. *Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity, and the Barcelona Olympic Games*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ichijo, Atsuko, and Ranta, Ronald 2016. *Food, National Identity and Nationalism: From Everyday to Global Politics*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Johannes, Venetia 2018. Performing National Identity in Heritage Tourism. In Palmer, Catherine, and Tivers, Jaqueline (eds.), *Creating Heritage for Tourism*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Llobera, Josep R. 2004. *Foundations of National Identity: From Catalonia to Europe*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Keating, Michael 1996. *Nations Against the State: The new politics of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia, and Scotland*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

MacClancy, Jeremy 2007. *Expressing Identities in the Basque Arena*, Oxford: School for Advanced Research Press.

Mazower, Mark 2016. ‘Trump, Le Pen and the enduring appeal of nationalism’. *Financial Times* 29 April [online]. Available from: <https://www.ft.com/content/24e7a462-0d52-11e6-b41f-0beb7e589515#axzz47oax5cAm> [date accessed 28/05/2019].

Johannes, Consuming the nation

- McDonogh, Gary W. 1986. *Good Families of Barcelona: A Social History of Power in the Industrial Era*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mintz, Sidney W. 1996. *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom*. New York: Basic Books.
- Narayan, Uma 1995. Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity and Indian Food. *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 1(1): 63–86.
- Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko 1993. *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Palmer, Catherine 1998. From Theory to Practice: Experiencing the Nation in Everyday Life. *Journal of Material Culture* 3: 175–99.
- Pratt, Jeff 2007. Food Values: The Local and the Authentic. *Critique of Anthropology* (27)3: 285-300.
- Raviv, Yael. 2015. *Falafel Nation: Cuisine and the Making of National Identity in Israel*. Lincoln, Nebraska, and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Redacció 2017. «Em nego a menjar pa amb tomàquet sense pernil»: la consigna d'una jove unionista a les manifestacions de Barcelona'. 10 October. Catalunya Diari. [online] Available from: <https://catalunyadiari.com/societat/em-nego-menjar-pa-tomaquet-pernil-consigna-d-jove-unionista-manifestacions-barcelona> [date accessed: 07/03/2018].
- Rodés Andrea. 2017. Mass Demonstration in Barcelona in Favor of Catalunya Staying in Spain'. 8 October. Al Día. [online]. Available from: <http://aldianews.com/articles/politics/mass-demonstration-barcelona-favor-catalunya-staying-spain/50182> [date accessed: 07/04/2018]
- Skey, Michael 2011. *National Belonging and Everyday Life: The Significance of Nationhood in an Uncertain World*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origin of Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sutton, David 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*. Oxford: Berg.
- The Economist* 2017. Vladimir's Choice: Whither Nationalism? *The Economist* 19 December [online]. Available from: <https://www.economist.com/christmas-specials/2017/12/19/whither-nationalism> [date accessed: 28/05/2019].
- Vaczi, Mariann 2016. Catalonia's Human Towers: Nationalism, Associational culture, and the Politics of Performance. *American Ethnologist* 43(2): 353–68.
- Wilk, Richard. 1999. 'Real Belizean Food': Building Local Identity in the Transnational Caribbean. *American Anthropologist* 101: 244–55.