

UCL Migration Research Unit

This paper may be downloaded for personal research purposes. However any additional reproduction for other purposes, in hard copy or electronically, requires the consent of the author(s). If cited or quoted, reference should be made to the full name of the author(s), the title, the working paper series, the year and the UCL Migration Research Unit as publisher.

This paper was originally submitted as a dissertation in completion of the requirements for the degree Masters in Global Migration. The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of UCL's Migration Research Unit.

© 2014 Amy Nuñez

UCL Migration Research Unit
UCL Department of Geography
University College London
26 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AP

www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/mru

UCL Migration Research Unit Working Papers

No. 2015/2

The Edible Nation:

Exploring Culinary Nation-Building in
Gibraltar

Amy Nuñez



The Edible Nation:
Exploring Culinary Nation-Building in Gibraltar

Amy Nuñez

2014

Supervised by Dr Tariq Jazeel

This research dissertation is submitted for the
MSc in Global Migration at University College London

Abstract

This project's overarching aim is to explore the relationship between popular culture and the process of Gibraltarian nation-building, using the specific example of food. As such, this research offers an insight into the manner in which the symbolic Gibraltarian nation is materially embedded within everyday life. Accordingly, the research objectives examine how the realm of food culture mediates Gibraltar's evolving migration connections and geopolitical relations. Ultimately, this project conceptualizes the nation as a socio-cultural construction, which emerges from the intersection of imagined culinary community and imaginative culinary geographies. In order to capture the dynamism of the culinary nation-building process, this project investigates Gibraltarian food culture from two interrelated angles: vernacular private practices and official public performances. For this reason, the research methodology encompasses two distinct case studies: the first, involving hybrid cook-a-long and culinary chat interviews with Gibraltarian elderly ladies in their own homes, and the second, investigating the organizational efforts, media coverage and community response to the annual Calentita food festival. In this manner, the qualitative data collection draws upon oral, textual and observational methods. To ensure the cohesion of the analysis given the variety of data sources, this project employs a flexible thematic analytical framework. The main findings of this research project are: 1) internally, Gibraltar's migration heritage has engendered a weak imagined culinary community that is more a negotiable nexus of displaced transnational connections, than a distinctly delimited and placed national culture, 2) externally, Gibraltarian geopolitical affairs are reflected within potent imaginative culinary geographies that draw on a sense of cultural territoriality that is heightened in the face of foreign influences, 3) consequently, I conclude that the Gibraltarian culinary nation-building project is much more effectively enacted through the perception of external difference than recognition of internal commonality. Overall, due to the on-going geopolitical situation, I strongly contend that food should not be underestimated as a defining factor in Gibraltar's future legitimacy as a nation and as a strategic medium through which to study this crucial nation-building process.

Word Count: 14, 885

Acknowledgements

For starters, I would like to thank all my interview participants for their kind generosity for inviting me into their kitchens and sharing their stories and recipes with me.

I am also indebted to my dear granny for all her networking endeavours and for her unending patience on long sunny days when I was wedged behind my computer.

Overall this dissertation owes a great deal to my adviser, Dr. Tariq Jazeel, for crucially guiding me towards a more grounded research project, both methodologically and theoretically.

Finally, it would be extraordinarily amiss, not to recognize the support of so many who vitally sustained me through this marathon of a summer with frequent tea and cake breaks and lots of little lectures!

Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Background.....	4
3. Literature Review.....	6
4. Methodology.....	15
5. Analysis I: Imagined Culinary Community.....	22
6. Analysis II: Imaginative Culinary Geographies.....	37
7. Conclusion.....	51
References.....	54
Appendix A: Glossary of Food Terms.....	64
Appendix B: Calentita Festival Media Sources.....	65
Appendix C: Data Analysis Outline.....	66
Appendix D: Calentita Stalls.....	67
Appendix E: Interview Schedule.....	68
Appendix F: Extract from Interview Transcript.....	70

1. Introduction

*‘So, foods do not simply come from places, organically growing out of them,
but also make places as symbolic constructs, being deployed in the
discursive construction of various imaginative geographies’*

(Cook and Crang 1996: 140)

Since 2006, Gibraltar has caught international media attention due to the increasingly bitter border conflict with Spain. This chronic territorial feud has showcased Gibraltar’s staunch nationalism as a self-determining British Overseas Territory, a status reaffirmed in the 1967 and 2002 referendums. While some consider Gibraltar merely a ‘pinprick in the Mediterranean’¹, there is much more to this small nation beyond this diplomatic impasse. Most outsiders are entirely unaware of the populace’s intricate immigrant history and contemporary multicultural diversity. Leaving aside the Moorish history, over the past three hundred years the Rock of Gibraltar has become a home to British regiments and their families, workers from the Mediterranean, and the establishment of Jewish, Indian and Moroccan communities, among others. For this reason, an overarching sense of Gibraltarian national identity is crucial to developing a united popular front as matters of external sovereignty linger unresolved. As such, Gibraltar represents an often-overlooked example of modern European nation-building². I am interested in how these overlapping layers of geopolitical relations and migratory connections are reflected within the realm of popular culture.

In studying popular culture, I endeavor to gain an insight into the manner in which the Gibraltarian nation is embedded within everyday life (Edensor 2002). Accordingly, I draw on the work of popular geopolitics (Dittmer 2010) and the notion of banal nationalism (Billig 1995) to critically investigate the role of material culture in mediating the public’s experience of nationhood. For this project, I have chosen to focus upon food culture as an accessible illustration. Entrenched within the modern lifestyle of fashion trends, media entertainment and recreational activity, food is a prominent part of popular culture (Lawson 2011). Omnipresent yet ordinary, food is also intrinsically tied to a populace’s notions of national identity (Bell and Valentine 1997). Ultimately,

¹ According to columnist Eric Lurio, Gibraltar is ‘a teensy-weensy British sore on the skin of Spain, a mountain on a peninsula surrounded by a small town and a bunker-like border. Except for a small glass factory and banks designed for tax avoidance, (and the navy) there’s nothing really here except tourism’, see ‘Thoughts on a Gibraltar Street Fair’, *Huffington Post*, 29 June 2010, accessed 5 June 2014.

² Within this project I draw upon Anthony Smith’s (1986) discussion of nation-building as the modernist premise that nations do not simply exist, rather they need to be actively built.

my intention is that this research contributes to the international body of scholarship on culinary nation-building (see Appadurai 1988, Billiard 2006, Caldwell 2002, Cusack 2000, Pilcher 1996, Wilk 1999) and furthers academic understanding of what it means to symbolically and literally ‘eat the nation’ into being (Walker 2013: 650). As my opening quotation from Cook and Crang (1996) highlights, this process is as much orchestrated, as it is organic. Within this project, I conceptualize Gibraltarian nationhood as that which emerges at the intersection of imagined culinary community (Anderson 1983) and imaginative culinary geographies (Said 1978).

This project’s overarching aim is to explore the relationship between popular culture and the process of Gibraltarian nation-building, using the specific example of food culture. My research is based upon two main objectives and their resulting research questions:

- 1) To examine how transnational migration has shaped Gibraltarian culinary culture.
 - How are notions of mobility and locality bound up in the idea of authentic Gibraltarian food traditions?
 - How does Gibraltar’s multicultural heritage fit within the national food identity?

- 2) To consider how this culinary culture is embedded within the evolving geopolitical context.
 - How is Gibraltar’s ‘postcolonial’³ British identity articulated within the national food culture?
 - How has the border conflict mobilized culinary relations with Morocco and food nationalism against Spain?

I recognize that national food culture is enacted both in the vernacular context of the private sphere as well as in the official public milieu (Wilk 2002). As such, I follow Wilk’s recommendation to investigate how ‘...the national emerges from the *interaction* between practice and performance...’ (ibid.: 70, emphasis added). Thus, this project’s methodology includes two case studies: one centered on domestic cooking and the other around a food festival. In adopting this multifaceted research approach, I seek to tease out the dynamic cultural processes implicated within Gibraltarian culinary nation-building.

In the next section of this dissertation, I briefly discuss how Gibraltar’s unique history and geography have situated it within the current context. Then, in my literature review, I move on to

³ As this project investigates Gibraltar’s *own* notion of its nationhood, I refer here to a postcolonial relationship with Britain. However, I recognize that this is a highly politically charged term that is open to debate in this particular context.

consider the key scholarship on: popular culture and the nation, geographies of food, culinary nation-building and imaginary food nationhood. Then, in my methodology, I elaborate upon my two case studies and the qualitative data collection and their thematic analysis. In the subsequent two chapters I delve into my findings; first, exploring how local and multicultural foods belong within the Gibraltar national cuisine, and secondly, investigating how food exemplifies Gibraltar's geopolitical positioning amidst Britain, Spain and Morocco. Finally, in my conclusion I review my analytical findings and reinforce the importance of this project before highlighting future avenues of potential research.

2. Background

*The Gibraltarians are almost entirely Spanish although they enjoy British citizenship.
The rest are Jews and foreigners and they live under one flag as much as under another'*

General Francisco Franco, 1965
(Tornay 1997 as cited in Archer 2005: 582)

The stretch of land comprising the Gibraltarian peninsula is familiar to many as the massive limestone 'Rock' marking the entrance to the Mediterranean (Figure 2.1). Captured by Anglo-Dutch forces during the War of Spanish Succession, Spain officially ceded the territory to Britain in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, though the matter was subsequently contested in numerous armed conflicts⁴. With the advent of British rule, the vast majority of the Spanish residents were displaced to the surrounding coastal towns⁵ and 'Gibraltar effectively became a clean slate, at least from a nationality perspective' (Burke and Sawchuk 2001: 532). In the following years, the Rock was quickly repopulated as a British garrison, a trading post for Genoese, Portuguese and Jewish merchants and a source of dockyard employment for Maltese and Spanish workers. This early immigrant society was characterized by a plethora of European culinary influences.

Figure 2.1 Schematic representation of Gibraltar in relation to Spain and Morocco



Source: adapted from NASA (2003) 'Strait of Gibraltar, Perspective with Landsat Image Overlay' (WWW), Washington DC: NASA (<http://photojournal.jpl.nasa.gov/catalog/PIA03397>; 2 August 2014)

During the Second World War, the evacuation of much of the population and the subsequent repatriation process not only established Gibraltar's place in the 'British family', but also

⁴ Gibraltar endured fourteen major sieges in the following two centuries, including the infamous 1779-1783 Great Siege.

⁵ According to Gold (2010: 367), of the 4000 Spanish residents only 70 remained on the Rock.

its own unique cultural identity (Archer 2005: 589). When General Francisco Franco aggressively renewed the Spanish claim, Gibraltar responded with the 1967 referendum rejecting Spanish sovereignty by an indisputable 99.67 per cent of the vote (Lambert 2005: 207). In the subsequent 1969 Constitution, the British Government formerly guaranteed Gibraltar's right to self-determination (Gold 2010). Outraged at this overt move towards self-government, Franco closed Gibraltar's only land border, halting its main source of food supply and severing all communications. The local Spanish commuters were driven out and replaced by arrivals from Morocco (Edmonds 1981: 220). From 1969-1985, the closed frontier engendered a 'siege complex', further fortifying local nationalism and proving Franco's aforementioned statement utterly amiss (ibid.: 218).

Since the border's eventual reopening, the dispute has remained gridlocked between Spanish calls for decolonization and 'territorial integrity' and British adherence to Gibraltarian self-determination (Gold 2009: 3). Brewing suspicions that Britain could hand Gibraltar over to Spain, has intensified the importance of outspoken loyalty to the British monarchy and overstated commitment to tea-drinking, roast-eating Britishness (Constantine 2006: 40). In 2002, a referendum opposing joint British-Spanish sovereignty by 98.97 per cent (Lambert 2005: 208) countered what was seen as a potential 'behind-the-scenes' British 'betrayal' (Norrie 2003: 73). The introduction of the new 2006 Constitution, however, has not resulted in Gibraltar's removal from the United Nations' list of non-self-governing territories, though Britain and Gibraltar both consider the relationship to be essentially post-colonial (Gold 2009: 13). Meanwhile, fragile geopolitical relations with Spain have recently been inflamed by excessive border checks, the construction of a Gibraltarian artificial reef and Spanish incursions into territorial waters.

In 2013, Gibraltar celebrated three hundred years of British rule. In addition to the established Mediterranean heritage, Gibraltar's accession to the European Union and economic expansion has drawn migrants from all over the world. Accordingly, the population now represents a highly multicultural society totalling approximately 30,000 residents. Today, the culinary culture in Gibraltar features everything from British roasts, Spanish *paella*, and Moroccan *pinchitos* to Indian curry and Chinese noodles⁶. For this reason, there is a strong justification to establish Gibraltar as a distinct nation in its own right (Muller 2004: 43).

⁶ See Appendix A for a glossary of all foods featured in italics

3. Literature Review

‘...the term ‘popular’ conveys...how the cultural ingredients of national identity are increasingly mediated, polysemic, contested and subject to change’

(Edensor 2002: 17)

This literature review begins by exploring the role of popular culture in building the nation and the geographical study of food, before moving on to consider the intersection of these two theoretical fields within the scholarship on culinary nation-building. Finally, the chapter concludes with a reflection on this research project’s analytical treatment of the imaginary food nation.

Popular Culture and the Nation

A critical component of nation-building involves the development of an overarching national culture. Hobsbawm’s (1983: 14) discussion of ‘invented traditions’ offers an important insight into the origins of what he terms the modern nation’s ‘impedimenta’. Hobsbawm argues that the national culture represents a calculated scaffold of official rituals, carved out by reworking, or simply rebranding, established cultural practices (ibid.: 6). In this manner, the nation posits itself as being naturally rooted in antiquity by forging a romanticized sense of ‘continuity with a *suitable* historic past’ (ibid.: 1, emphasis added). Babdzan (2000: 135) notes, however, that invented traditions are distinctly ‘rigid’ responses to particular social and political situations. As such, the adoption of invented traditions is a synthetic process of ‘social engineering’ specifically designed to engender a supreme sense of national identity and affiliation (Hobsbawm 1983: 13). For this project, I address the invented nature of Gibraltarian nationhood to explore how it transforms the disparate populace into the semblance of a cohesive national community. Much of the scholarship on Gibraltar has focused upon the role of the British monarchy in shaping this national identity (Constantine 2006; Dodds *et al.* 2007). For this reason, this project adopts a more unconventional approach to the study of national culture.

Edensor (2002: 11) argues that previous scholarship on the nation and nationalism is problematically limited in its scope, focusing too much on the ‘spectacular’ and ‘historic’ elements of high culture. Hobsbawm’s (1983: 5) study of invented traditions, for example, emphasizes the ‘ceremonial’ over the customary. Consequently, Edensor calls for more serious study of how the

national identity is inscribed in everyday life (see also Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008). As such, Edensor's work foregrounds the importance of popular culture such as film, cars, landscapes and sport. Within the limited work on Gibraltar, the only area of popular culture that has been legitimately investigated has been sport (Gold 2002; Archer 2003; Stockey 2012). In this project, I propose that food is another valuable aspect of popular culture that offers a compelling perspective into the Gibraltarian nation⁷.

The idea of the nation being embedded within the experiences of everyday life is aptly captured by the theory of banal⁸ nationalism. Billig (1995: 6) identifies how on the daily basis 'nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood, is the endemic condition'. Accordingly, Billig represents this idea through the metonym of the national flag: occasionally featured at the centre of attention, but on a daily basis more often an unnoticed, decorative fixture in the background. Paradoxically, this 'flagging' serves to remind the populace of their national identity in such a mundane and repetitive manner that the allusion to nationhood is not actively acknowledged, but instead unconsciously understood (ibid.: 8). However, Skey (2009: 336) notes that banal nationalism problematically implies that the national 'audience' automatically absorbs these symbols in the same affirmative manner. As such, it is important to recognize the potential ambivalence behind the culturally dominant meanings of such flagging. Palmer (1998) features the popular culture of food as one understudied facet of banal nationalism. While food is perhaps a less obvious 'badge of identity' than the predominant flag, it is nevertheless a prevalent and provocative national marker (ibid.: 190). As Palmer remarks: 'in our consumption of [food] we not only re-affirm our willingness to belong but we communicate and proclaim who we are, our national identity' (ibid.: 196). Invented traditions like the national cuisine and national dishes ensure that on a regular basis the populace engages with, by literally feeding off of, the idea of a culinary nationhood.

The political impact of popular culture has also been enthusiastically taken up within the field of popular geopolitics (see Dittmer and Dodds 2008; Dittmer and Gray 2010). As its name suggests, this scholarship underscores that geopolitical matters are not only 'conducted in very elite contexts', but also 'circulate in everyday contexts' through interaction with popular culture media (Dittmer 2010: xviii). In this contemporary era of mass consumption, Dittmer contends that people receive most, if not all, of their information through various media sources. While popular

⁷ Currently, the scholarship on food in Gibraltar is wholly dominated by the study of the Gibraltarian Barbary apes' diet. Consequently, the local human population is conspicuously neglected.

⁸ Here Catherine Palmer (1998: 181) notes that the term 'banal' is 'used to mean commonplace rather than the more usual application of it denoting something that is trite, benign or inconsequential'.

geopolitics has generally focused upon the role of entertainment media—such as comic books, magazines, video games, television and film—my research applies a popular geopolitics approach to the overlooked field of food culture. While my specific material focus is different, like Dittmer (2010: 16), I am still primarily interested in the ‘popular geopolitical discourse about who “we” are and what “our” position in the world is vis-à-vis those who are different than “us”’. Accordingly, I draw on popular geopolitics to complement the theory of banal nationalism in denaturalizing everyday Gibraltarian culinary practices and investigating how they are indirectly moulded around national and geopolitical understandings.

Geographies of Food

Food represents a natural medium through which to study the individual experience and collective conception of a nation. As Bell and Valentine (1997: 3) distinctively pronounce: ‘in a world in which self-identity and place-identity are woven through webs of consumption, what we eat (and where and why) signals, as the aphorism says, who we are’. The French and frog legs, the English and afternoon tea, the Americans and hot dogs—such links are often taken for granted, so embedded are they into popular geopolitical understandings that their socially constructed origins are overlooked and are unquestioned (Murcott 1996). Pierre Bourdieu’s (1984) ‘habitus’ discusses how power is embodied within ‘common-sense’ knowledge that guides people in their predisposition to think, feel and act in a certain way (as cited in Edensor 2002: 89)⁹. In terms of the nation, this involves a complicated dialectic between remembering and accepting the national heritage while forgetting exactly how it came to be (Billig 1995). Consequently, it is helpful to conceptualize the notion of culinary habitus as the socialized cultural norms that shape how the national populace shops, cooks and eats (Billiard 2006). This food identity is epitomized within a cuisine, defined by Ray (2008: 261) as ‘...what people of a geographically defined area—a foodshed—eat regularly, habitually, and recognize as such’.

While this project focuses on Gibraltarian nationhood, I acknowledge that food culture inherently involves a wider transnational sphere. Accordingly, Bell and Valentine (1997: 168) highlight how the ‘nation’s diet...tells stories of movement and mixing’. Drawing on Brah’s (1996: 208) inclusive and flexible understanding of ‘diaspora space’, Crang *et al.* (2003: 441) frame

⁹ It is important to note that habitus is not fundamentally static but is open, to a debatable degree, to individual influence and agency.

transnationality as ‘a multidimensional space that is multiply inhabited and characterized by complex networks, circuits and flows’. Consequently, the study of transnationalism considers both mobilities and immobilities, mainstream and minority communities (Jackson 2000). By examining the material geographies of British South Asian commodity culture, Crang *et al.* (2003: 451) sought to ‘bridge’ the academic chasm between transnationality as an ‘abstract cultural discourse’ and as a ‘lived social field’. In this manner, my project explores the idea of the discrete national cuisine as overlaying the converging transnational influences that underpin it. Thus, foods can be thought of as having varying depths of cultural meaning, with the national symbolism often merely the most superficial, visible layer.

In their work on material culture, Crang *et al.* (2003) draw on Arjun Appadurai (1986: 5) to underscore the importance of analysing ‘things-in-motion’ throughout their ‘social lives’. Cook and Crang (1996) also discuss in detail the ‘geographical knowledges’ surrounding food¹⁰. They identify three main elements of discussion: the historical ‘origins’ of foods, the ‘biographies’ of their movement through the commodity chain, and the ‘settings’ in which they are ultimately consumed (*ibid.*: 142). Cook and Crang emphasize, however, that the flow of information alongside food is not unidirectional, but should instead be conceived as ‘circuits of culinary culture’ (*ibid.*: 141). In this manner, they favour the notion of viewing foods ‘...not only as placed cultural artefacts, but also as *dis-placed*, inhabiting many times and spaces which, far from being bounded, bleed into and indeed mutually constitute each other’ (*ibid.*: 132, emphasis added). This spatial metaphor directly undermines the traditional understanding of the ‘cultural mosaic’, in which artificial distinctions between putatively ‘pure’ cuisines elude their historical entanglements (*ibid.*: 133). Thus, Jackson (1999: 101) calls for scholars to critically consider the process of ‘authentication’ through which cultural claims to exclusive food ownership are established. It is important to keep in mind that the rhetoric of authenticity or locality has a particular motive and is typically summoned in response to a perceived threat. Ironically, however, this threat usually takes the form of what is perceived to be unprecedented cultural interaction.

There are two main academic perspectives concerning the mixing and interaction between food cultures. The first underlines the nature of the cross-cultural consumption of ‘ethnic’ food. According to Buettner (2008: 899), the act of multicultural eating is an ‘appealing’ ‘myth’ that is not necessarily accompanied by actual interaction with or symbolic acceptance of the cultural

¹⁰ The marketed stories that reach consumers typically differ significantly from the reality of the food’s production and distribution, see Friedberg (2003) and Cook *et al.* (1998).

community behind the food (Duruz 2005). According to hooks (1992 as cited in Cook *et al.* 2008: 2), the commodification and consequent ‘decontextualization’ of ethnic foods is an automatic abuse of the mainstream’s consumer power. Drawing on Nash’s (2003) discussion of anti-racist cultural geographies, Cook *et al.* (2008: 4) highlights how whiteness is treated as an unmarked, non-ethnic identity; accepted as the basic norm and consequently privileged in its ability to appropriate the ‘foreign’ and domesticate it into the ‘familiar’. The second standpoint instead highlights how foods can be re-contextualized through hybridization (Metro-Roland 2013). Cook *et al.* (2000: 113) suggest that cultures are not distinctly bounded entities; instead, they form identifiable cores surrounded by blurred interrelating peripheries. Classically, the process of hybridization involves the combination of several different elements to produce a new result. Cook *et al.*, however, stress that the original cultural determinants are themselves inevitably the product of prior cultural mixing. In this sense, all foods can be interpreted as hybrid to some degree; there is no essential normative purity (Hutnyk 2005). I recognize that hybridity and cross-cultural consumption are not simply natural intercultural interactions, but are politically charged and motivated ways of framing this phenomenon.

Culinary Nation-Building

The study of culinary nation-building characteristically involves a dichotomy between ‘habitual, daily, lived practices’ and ‘explicit, self-conscious, symbolic, and performative displays’ (Wilk 2002: 69). However, according to Wilk, this theoretical distinction is artificially imposed, as the culinary nation naturally emerges from the manner in which the everyday and the exceptional intertwine and interact (Paulson 2006). Furthermore, Holtzman (2006: 373) contends that food’s ‘symbolic power’ is endowed through its ‘unique movement between the most intimate and the most public’ contexts. For this reason, my project purposely engages with both these spheres of interest, juxtaposing the banal and the blatant, the vernacular and the official, the domestic and the communal.

Throughout the world, culinary nation-building has been highlighted as a highly gendered process. Within the domestic sphere of vernacular nation-building practices, women still to this day shoulder the vast majority of the household culinary duties. Cusack’s (2003: 287) work in Africa exemplifies how women are framed as the ‘guardians of tradition’ and the home as a pure cultural matrix that must be protected from detrimental external influences. Here, the process of learning to cook is a rite of passage to achieve ‘female maturity’ and is administered through a matrilineal intergenerational transfer of knowledge and skills (Cusack 2000: 221; Cusack 2004). Though

generally confined to the private sphere, the women in this study were able to participate in the nation-building project through the domain of home cooking. On the other hand, official culinary nation-building performances are generally conducted in the public sphere, under male supervision and direction. According to Cusack (2000: 219), unlike the portrayal of women steeped in the past, male involvement in the nation is seen to be ‘forward-looking’ and ‘modernizing’. Though the women may create, collect and cook the recipes, ultimately it is the men who manage the national cuisine (ibid.: 220; Cusack 2014). Druckman (2010) explores the widespread gender gap in the restaurant scene, highlighting the common understanding of women as amateur cooks and men as professional chefs. As restaurant chefs hold instrumental influence in the directional development of cuisine (Ferguson 2003), men are positioned as privileged purveyors of the national culinary culture. However, with only a very few culinary celebrities in Gibraltar and an absence of a gourmet restaurant scene, there is potential for a more gender-balanced and homely nation-building endeavour.

Like many postcolonial countries following independence, Gibraltar faces the challenge of re-inventing itself and asserting its own place within a world of nations (Billiard 2006; Chen 2011). Cusack (2004: 136) notes that there is a ‘...globally held view that every nation must have its own cuisine’. In this sense, the national cuisine crucially contributes to the overall legitimacy of the successful nation. Food is also one of the most effective means of establishing an international reputation (Karaosmanoğlu 2007). Gibraltar, however, has struggled to shape its local culinary traditions into a clearly identifiable cuisine, in part due to the on-going British influence. Indeed, throughout the world postcolonial heritage has had a complicated impact on national food cultures. Jansen (2001) underscores the ambivalence surrounding the consumption of French bread in contemporary Algeria, an association based at once on resentful resistance as well as appreciative appropriation. Wilk’s (1999: 250) study of Belizean food culture also relates how the early anti-colonial political movement received significant backlash from the pro-British supporters after statesman George Price ‘...suggested that it was time to stop aping the food standards of the colonial masters’. It was not until the infamous ‘Royal Rat’ incident—in which the British media denigrated a local Belizean delicacy served to the visiting queen—that the nation began to take pride in its own cuisine (ibid.: 251). My project explores how Gibraltar selectively sustains the British culinary influence, which is specially showcased during monarchic celebrations yet limited in comparison to the dominance of the Mediterranean tradition.

Gibraltar must also negotiate between its historically multicultural ‘local’ community and its increasingly global ‘immigrant’ population¹¹. Appadurai (1988: 22) has stated that ‘...cosmopolitan and parochial expressions enrich and sharpen each other by dialectical interaction. Especially in culinary matters, the melting pot is a myth’. While some scholars have turned instead to the metaphor of the stir-fry—a blend of ingredients that nevertheless maintain their individual form—Narayan (1995: 82) favours the symbolism of the masala: ‘...those combinations of assorted spices, each with its own subtle contribution to seasoning the curry of national life’. In Gibraltar, the rhetoric of the melting pot has become a popular definition of the nation’s self-identified multicultural success. Morris (2013: 213) charts the struggle in New Zealand between the Māori and the Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) for culinary capital as the contemporary focus on aboriginal authenticity rivals the country’s Anglo-American culinary dominance. In Mexico, however, Pilcher (1996) argues that the confrontation between Spanish wheat and indigenous corn has long since resulted in a hybrid *mestizo* cuisine. Alternatively, Raviv (2003) documents how the *falafel* came to be adopted as the Israeli national food precisely due to its neutral Arabic origins and widespread consumption. In this manner, nations have employed culinary invented traditions differently to navigate the contemporary multicultural matter. Despite the undeniable harmony among Gibraltar’s cultural communities, the national cuisine inherently presents a more exclusive idealized vision of culinary citizenship.

As an iconic part of the national culture, food is often mobilized and politicized during nationalist confrontations like the Gibraltarian-Spain border dispute. Appadurai’s (1981) study of household Indian customs first raised the notion of domestic ‘gastro-politics’; while, Leitch (2003) extended the concept of food politics into the public sphere with her study of the Italian Slow Food movement. In France, encroaching European Union food regulations sparked what DeSoucey (2010: 433) termed a ‘gastronationalism’. The impetus behind this movement lies simply with the fact that: ‘today, preserving the foie gras is a small but significant way for the French to defend the idea of France’ (ibid.: 447). Similarly, Caldwell’s (2002: 297) research on Russian consumer behaviour highlights the nationalist motivations behind the recent trend of purchasing commodities that reflect ‘...a unique set of [Russian] tastes and values that is not satisfied by imports or other transnational products’. Thus, the national cuisine is an evocative issue around which the populace

¹¹ In this project, I frame the early settlement of British, Spanish and other Mediterranean Europeans as the local community and the more recent arrival of Moroccans, Indians and other Europeans as the nation’s identifiable immigrant communities.

can be rallied. As Gibraltar generally imports the vast majority of its food supply, in this context the expression of food nationalism is primarily concerned with the preparation and consumption of food as opposed to the production angle. Today, the Gibraltarian consumer's choice to shop or eat in Spain has become an active political statement in lieu of the lengthy and time-consuming border queues.

The Imaginary Food Nation

Ultimately, this project approaches the nation as a fundamentally imaginary societal construction. Drawing on the formative work of Anderson (1983) and Said (1979), I investigate how the Gibraltarian nation is built through both imagined culinary community and imaginative culinary geographies.

Anderson (1983) proposes that the advent of printing press technology was instrumental to the development of the national consciousness. According to Anderson, the 'revolutionary vernacularizing thrust' of print capitalism shifted cultural power away from elitist sources of higher learning and opened it up to the public masses (ibid.: 39). Print media not only defined and delimited national languages, but also established the everyday, shared practice of reading the newspaper (Guibernau 1996). This radical move kindled the emergence of a reflexive collective identity, the nation. As an 'imagined political community', the nation comprises a multitude of remote members united by a 'deep horizontal comradeship' (Anderson 1983: 6). Bell and Valentine (1997: 15) have defined the ambiguous concept of community as 'more a "structure of feeling" than a territory'. While Anderson highlights the crucial role of popular culture in building the nation, Nugent (2010: 95) stresses that the imagined community is applicable beyond textual media to other aspects of mass consumption like food. Accordingly, this term can be adapted to describe a sense of social culinary rapport within a collective food culture. In this project, I employ the concept of imagined culinary community to focus my findings upon the domestic politics of belonging within Gibraltarian food culture.

Said (1979: 7) identifies how the West's obsession with classifying the constitutive Oriental 'Other' was the product of a compulsion to re-locate and re-assert itself in an expanding and unfamiliar world. Such representational control was manifested within 'imaginative geography': an 'arbitrary' fantasy based on everything from cartography to travel writing to paintings (ibid.: 54-55). This concept encapsulates how the idea of an 'Us' is reified only in contraposition to the

identification of a ‘Them’ (Driver 2013). As Frank (2009: 70, original emphasis) comments, imaginative geography is ‘a strategy of identity construction which equates (spatial) *distance* with (cultural, ethnic, social) *difference*, associating the non-spatial characteristics of “self” and “other” with particular places’. Said’s concept has been applied productively to the field of popular geopolitics to examine how today’s popular media shape the individual’s ‘geopolitical imaginations’ of their national place within the world (Dittmer 2010: 19, Dodds and Sidaway 1994). The notion of imaginative geographies has also been influential within food studies as a means of exploring how everyday consumption narratives frame exoticized cultural difference (May 1996; Cook and Crang 1996). My research draws on both applications as I use imaginative culinary geographies to illustrate how Gibraltar manoeuvres the idea of foreignness to draw boundaries and establish its own sense of self.

Conclusion

Ultimately, my research project addresses a significant void in the scholarship on Gibraltar. Much of the existing work on this territory is anchored in the framework of its past colonial Garrison society (Padiak 2005; Burke and Sawchuk 2001; Nechtman 2011) or present sovereignty situation (Gold 2009; Morris and Haigh 2002); thus, the literature is either notably historical or purely geopolitical in focus. In this manner, the academic work is currently reinforcing the common outside perception of Gibraltar as merely a remnant of the British Empire. In contrast, my research on material food manifests Gibraltar as a dynamic cultural community with an evolving national identity that is popularly negotiated and navigated on a daily basis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

‘One can do cultural geography by being conscious of the range of geographical meanings and communications within ordinary activities, the manipulation of places and dispositions of people in spaces that only seem like second nature’

(Shurmer-Smith 2002: 5)

This project explores Gibraltarian food culture from two interrelated angles: vernacular private practices and official public performances. For this reason, my methodology encompasses two distinct case studies: the first, involving interviews with local ladies in their own homes, and the second, investigating the Calentita food festival. Conducted over June 2014, my research incorporates oral, textual and observational techniques—what Davies and Dwyer (2007: 257) term the ‘backbone’ of qualitative human geography. My decision to use qualitative methods is based upon its highly detailed, in-depth examination of ‘everyday social worlds and realities’ (Dwyer and Limb 2001: 6). As such, the principal strength of qualitative research is its capacity to capture people’s thoughts and behaviours and the ways they ascribe meaning into their lives, or for instance, their food. In this manner, unlike the strict, narrow focus of quantitative methods, a qualitative methodology can offer a more discerning and dynamic insight, particularly into the subtle nuances of a more complex research topic like culinary nation-building.

However, I acknowledge that qualitative research has been criticized for being ungeneralizable, unreplicable and lacking in transparency (Bryman 2001: 282-3). Consequently, I have built rigour into the research design and process at every stage to ensure that the resulting work is, to put it simply, ‘believable’ (Baxter and Eyles 1997: 506). This project follows Bryman’s (2001: 272-4) recommendations for rigour, which are structured around Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) original evaluation criteria. First, to further the reliability of my work, my methodology employs triangulation in both data collection methods and data sources. Secondly, to improve the auditability of my work, I have kept a field journal detailing my research progress, decisions and concerns. Thirdly, to enhance the applicability of my work, I utilise Geertz’s (1994) ‘thick description’ technique to add contextual clarity. Finally, to address the subjectivity of my work, I will subsequently discuss my own positionality.

One of the principal premises of qualitative research is that knowledge is ‘situated’ and ‘partial’ (Rose 1997: 305). Consequently, it is important to acknowledge how my own positionality has framed this project, as Delyser *et al.* (2010: 6) notes: ‘qualitative research places the researcher in

and amongst the findings'. Though I am half Gibraltarian, I have never lived on the Rock and the extent of my acquaintance with its culture has been limited to brief holiday visits. Thus, I do not clearly fit into the category of the socio-cultural insider or outsider. Furthermore, I must consider the inherent power relations involved as a researcher in producing interpretive knowledge and representing others (Rose 1997). Crang (2003: 497), however, critiques static and essentialist approaches to positionality, calling instead for recognition of the 'transformative nature of research' with its shifting and blurred subject positions. Thus, my positionality throughout the project can be conceived as being constantly in flux (Merriam *et al.* 2001: 411), requiring an on-going reflexive process beyond this brief acknowledgment. Ultimately, I do not aim to 'transcend' my subjectivity (Pillow 2003: 186), but instead to foreground it in situating my research outcomes.

Case Study 1: Interviews with Local Ladies

My first case study explores the everyday (re)interpretation of Gibraltarian food culture through interviews with elderly local ladies. Although, feminist critiques have seen the domestic space of the kitchen and the housewife's cooking duties as emblematic of female oppression, Avakian (1997 [ed.]: 6) argues that cooking 'is also an activity that can be a creative part of our daily lives. As such, the work of cooking is more complex than mere victimization. I am interested in examining gendered home-cooking practices as a source of agency, a grassroots avenue to participate in the culinary nation-building project through, what Abarca (2006: 4) terms, 'food as voice'. These grandmothers and great grandmothers grew up in an era of virtual culinary matriarchy and have spent the past fifty odd years catering for their large, Mediterranean families. In this manner, they have an abundance of experience; they are the repositories of local culinary knowledge.

In order to recruit my ten participants (Table 3.1), I relied upon a combination of criterion sampling (females aged sixty-five plus) and convenience sampling (using my granny's own social network of friends and neighbours). While my research sample included elderly ladies, I made sure that all potential participants were of sound mind, living independently and fully capable of granting informed consent¹². While I had prepared information sheets and consent forms, my pilot study indicated that this was an overly formal and intimidating procedure that encumbered the type of casual and comfortable interaction that I was seeking. As my study would involve little to no risk or

¹² Initial contact with potential interviewees was made several days in advance of the scheduled interview to provide the recruit time to reflect upon their decision to participate.

harm to the participants, I decided that in subsequent interviews verbal consent would be more appropriate. Verbal consent was also obtained for the audio-recordings and any relevant photo-documentation¹³. In order to ensure confidentiality, all of the interviewees were immediately anonymised during the transcription process.

Table 3.1: Details of Local Lady Participants

Date of Interview	Name*	Age	Cook-a-long Dish	Recipe Book**	Family origins***
08/6/14 (pilot study)	Mary	87	<i>Pan Dulce</i>	✓	Spanish and Portuguese
14/6/14	Conchi	65	<i>Pisto and Croquetas</i>	✗	Spanish and Portuguese
17/6/14	Leonora	86	<i>Potaje de Lentejas and Calentita</i>	✗	English
18/6/14	Pili	69	<i>Pan de Nueç</i>	✓	Spanish and Italian
21/6/14	Isabel	80	—	✗	Spanish and Genoese
23/6/14	Maribel	82	<i>Potaje de Acelga</i>	✓	Portuguese
25/6/14	Mari Luz	89	—	✓	Spanish and Portuguese
26/6/14	Lourdes	72	<i>Panissa and Tortillitas</i>	✓	Portuguese and Maltese
02/7/14	Yolanda	78	—	✓	Scottish and Portuguese
03/7/14	Violeta	79	—	✗	English, Spanish and Irish
* All names are pseudonyms applied during transcription					
** Refers to participants who shared personal recipe books					
*** Excluding Gibraltarian ancestry					
— Cooking component of interview excluded due to time constraints					

For this case study my methodology draws on both Longhurst *et al.*'s (2009) research on cooking in the home with migrant women in New Zealand and Abarca's (2007: 189) '*charlas culinarias*' (casual culinary conversations) with female Mexican food stand owners. Thus, data collection involved a combination of cook-a-long interviews and culinary chats. My original intention was to prepare a dish with each of the ladies as a means to warm-up the interview and introduce the research topic before moving on to a sit-down discussion. Of the ten, four of the

¹³ Ultimately, only one lady refused consent for audio recording; this was due to her dislike of technology.

interviews did not follow this format as the cooking component was excluded due to participant time constraints. However, six of the participants were able to share with me their own personal recipe books, which I photo-documented to supplement my analysis of the interview transcripts. Each interview was approximately 1½ to 2 hours long, loosely following an amalgamated interview guide/schedule of key themes and questions (Dunn 2010: 104) that touched upon cooking, food shopping and restaurant dining practices¹⁴. The main strength of the semi-structured interview method is that the flexibility allows participants to raise interesting insights and alternative perspectives that the researcher may not have anticipated (Silverman 1993). Consequently, it was important for me to approach the interviews as an opportunity to co-produce knowledge. The reciprocal exchange of information was a key manner in which I endeavoured to build an equal research relationship (Valentine 1997: 121).

In contrast to the ease in gaining access to and recruiting the interviewees, the case study was instead limited by the robustness of the interview data itself. While my prior familiarity with the participants certainly reinforced the rapport of the interview encounter (Valentine 1997: 113), I found that many were not as talkative and open as I had expected. I believe this can be attributed to a number of unforeseen factors. First, many of the ladies expressed some difficulty in their advanced age in recollecting the ordinary and unremarkable aspects of their culinary histories. Secondly, as the interviews were conducted solely in English, and, as irregular bilingual speakers, a few of the ladies struggled to express themselves fully. Thirdly, these elements may have been further exacerbated by an overall unfamiliarity with the interview setting. For these reasons, the casual cook-a-long and culinary chat structure was crucial in augmenting the data output.

Case Study 2: Calentita Food Festival

My second case study involves the eighth annual Calentita food festival, which took place on June 21st 2014. While much scholarship focuses on the food festival as culinary tourism (see McAndrews 1998; Rusher 2003), my approach aligns more with Bendix (1989) in foregrounding the festival's role as an invented tradition for the locals to celebrate their own culinary culture. Elevated above daily life, such events create their 'own temporary microcosm' (Bramadat 2001: 18), depicting 'not ethnic realities in the community but a collective ethnic fantasy' (Van Esterik 1982: 209). In this manner, these public spectacles draw the locals into a self-conscious performance of an idealized community

¹⁴ See Appendix E for a copy of the interview guide

identity. However, Lee *et al.*'s (2012: 338) South Korean study suggests that the impact of multicultural festivals goes beyond the superficial, having the real capacity to enhance inter-ethnic community relations and multicultural awareness and appreciation. As such, Calentita presents a unique opportunity to investigate how event organizers stage Gibraltarian food culture in a manner of official culinary nation-building. In order to capture Calentita in as much detail and depth as possible, my methodology for this case study applies Van Esterik's (1982) multi-sensory and multi-source approach to festival fieldwork.

While my attempts at contacting the Calentita organizers were unsuccessful, I was fortunately introduced by one of my interviewees to Pepe Palmero, a resident celebrity chef and judge of the festival's titular *calentita* competition. While I would have preferred for the interview to have taken place after the festival so that I could have discussed my own observations and raised any queries, the unexpected nature of the meeting necessitated otherwise. As my interview guide for the first case study was structurally flexible, I was able to effectively 'tailor' the themes to the alternative interview context at short notice (Valentine 1997: 110). The ensuing semi-structured interview, carried out over coffee in a street-side café, covered both his extensive knowledge of Gibraltar's culinary customs, as well as his opinions of the festival as a local stakeholder and founding member.

On the day of the festival, I employed 'overt' ethnographic-style participant observation to study the lived experience of the festival (Bryman 2001: 292). This involved documenting: who the audience was and how these visitors behaved; which cuisines were represented and how the stalls portrayed them; and, how the public space was transformed and what the general ambience was like. I also engaged in brief, informal conversations with five individuals to get an overall sense of the visitors' motivations and responses¹⁵. As I did not record these on-the-spot dialogues and will not refer to any individual comments, I deemed it unnecessary to obtain informed consent. In addition to these techniques, I also photo-documented the festival so that I would have visual reminders to help me reflect on the event (Rose 2012). In accordance with international photographic ethics, I did not obtain consent for this visual-documentation due to its public context and general focus (Papademas and IVSA 2009: 255). While I took jotted log notes throughout the evening, I made sure to write up my full field notes in my research diary immediately upon returning home.

The final component of my festival data collection surveyed media texts to explore how these 'cultural artefacts' 'provide traces of a socially constructed reality' (Brennen 2013: 193). Since

¹⁵ These participants were chosen based upon convenience sampling of individuals next to me in the stall lines or sitting with me at the communal tables.

2011, the festival organizers have published the event's annual magazine, The Calentita Press, online. The four editions available include informational and opinion articles discussing both the festival itself and the Gibraltarian food culture in general. As the Calentita website is currently under construction, I included the event's Facebook page in my data collection. The advantage of this social media platform is that it allowed me to study both Calentita postings and other visitors' comments. To further my understanding of the wider community response, I also examined a selection of media articles¹⁶. Due to limited results, I supplemented the editorial news articles with blog posts about the festival¹⁷. Finally, in 2014 the Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) released a mini-series leading up to the festival, entitled Calentita: Food for Thought. In addition to these six half-hour episodes, the GBC also recorded a live three-hour show on site at the festival. Together this media collection represents a range of years (2009-2014) and a variety of perspectives (personal accounts, professional reports, official narratives, local responses).

Data Analysis

This project is based upon a thematic analytical framework¹⁸. I decided to undertake this form of analysis because it offers flexible and adaptable structure without 'the heavy baggage of prescriptions and procedures' (King 2004: 268). It also facilitates a grounded approach to research that is both inductively data-driven and deductively theory-driven (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006: 82). I had originally also planned to utilize discourse analysis to examine the festival texts but early on in my fieldwork I realized that I would not be going into the rigorous analytical detail and extensive scope of sources that it truly requires. For this reason, I came to the decision to only use thematic analysis. Since I intend to integrate my analysis of both case studies and the accompanying variety of oral, textual, and observational data, I believe using the same analytical framework ultimately ensures that the final report is more cohesive.

While the following outline presents thematic data analysis as a 'linear, step-by-step procedure', in reality it is a highly 'iterative and reflexive process' (ibid.: 83). To start off, before embarking upon my fieldwork, I developed a codebook of potential focus topics drawn from my research objectives and literature review (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006: 84). Throughout my

¹⁶ I conducted a search online using the terms 'Calentita', 'food', 'festival'; however, the vast majority of results were very short standard bulletins.

¹⁷ See Appendix B for a complete list of Calentita media sources.

¹⁸ This type of analysis is also known as template analysis, see Aronson (1994).

data collection process, I applied these deductive codes where relevant, while at the same time noting the inductive codes emerging from the output data itself (ibid.: 87). Then, once my fieldwork was finished, I aggregated all the interview transcripts, field notes and media texts and reviewed my applied codes, grouping them into preliminary themes. With this updated codebook, I re-examined my research data once again and began organizing my data themes hierarchically. This vertical arrangement crucially facilitates the writing process in which the researcher creates a cohesive and clear argument¹⁹. However, King (2004: 268) also asserts that it is important to keep in mind ‘the danger of drifting towards generalizations, and losing sight of the individual experiences from which the themes are drawn’. For this reason, I shall substantiate my overarching themes by breaking each chapter down into subthemes and employing specific examples from both case studies to exemplify the analysis from a range of perspectives.

¹⁹ See Appendix C for a brief outline of my data analysis process.

4. Analysis I: Imagined Culinary Community

*Like a language, food articulates notions of inclusion and exclusion,
of national pride and xenophobia'*

(Bell and Valentine 1997: 168)

In the following chapter, I examine how the Gibraltar nation is inwardly constructed as an imagined culinary community. I have chosen to split this chapter into three parts—the local, the multicultural and the national—in order to capture the main themes pertaining to this domestic culinary nation-building project. However, it is important to note that this arrangement does not represent distinct categories, but rather overlapping layers. Internally, Gibraltar food culture is currently dominated by two diverging food trends, based upon local family traditions and culinary multiculturalism, which have hindered the growth of a cohesive national culinary identity.

Local Food Traditions

The French term ‘terroir’ is commonly employed to describe the premise that certain traditional foods are intrinsically connected to specific geographical places and cultural contexts (Amilien 2005). Within Gibraltar, however, the popular traditional dish *rosto* provides an excellent illustration of the complicated nature of such local meaning. Like many of the traditional foods in Gibraltar, the geographical knowledges (Cook and Crang 1996) surrounding *rosto*’s origins are markedly obscure. Geraldine Finlayson, director of the Institute of Gibraltar Studies, has suggested that *rosto* is ‘probably related to’ fricandó, a delicacy developed in Catalonia, Spain²⁰. Alternatively, Gibraltarian historian Tito Benady has pointed to a ‘clearly’ Italian influence²¹; a popular theory corroborated by Yolanda. Meanwhile, celebrity chef Pepe Palmero has offered quite a different account—‘*rosto* sounds very Italian. It’s not. *Rosto es al resto del roast de sabor domingo*’—contending that the dish is actually the product of the classic English Sunday roast leftovers²².

Evidently, there is a general consensus within the public as well as academic community that *rosto*, like many purportedly ‘local’ dishes, is actually externally derived from Gibraltar’s immigrant

²⁰ Finlayson, G. ‘History of Casemates’, *Calentita Press*, 2013, 21

²¹ Benady, T. ‘Recipes for some Gibraltarian favourites’, *Calentita Press*, 2011, 18

²² Interview with Pepe Palmero, 18 June 2014

heritage. However, *rosto* has been so effectively re-contextualized within the Gibraltarian setting that this foreign origin is now an irrelevant enigma; as Preston-Werner (2012: 190) observes, its traditional status renders it romantically ‘ahistorical’. In this manner, Cook *et al.* (2000: 113) reflect how the transnational movement of a food does not necessarily detract from its indigenous identification, as highlighted in Narayan’s (1995) study of curry as a distinctly British-Indian fare, a native invention of its specific colonial context.

The curious typicality of the *rosto* recipe is further magnified by the lack of traditional standardization in the relative ingredients chosen and their respective preparation²³. Yolanda’s comments demonstrate how recipes themselves are socially constructed around individual families and their personal taste preferences (Figure 4.1). In a similar fashion, Rob Lomax discusses how the process of oral transmission also contributes to these deviations over time (Figure 4.1). Accordingly, while *rosto* is cooked throughout households in Gibraltar, there is as much entrenched diversity, as there is ostensible commonality in this shared culinary practice. Indeed, Rob Lomax asserts that it is the very miscellany of culinary interpretations, which ‘fundamentally’ characterizes ‘Gibraltarism’.

Figure 4.1 Quotation from Yolanda and Excerpt from Rob Lomax

And through the years things go changing, you know? A person says ‘rosto is made like this and that’, and then somebody else comes and adds a little bit more of this or puts that into it. Some people put wine, some other people don’t use the wine and they still call the dish the same name. People are different. And it’s what your family is used to that comes back to you, if you pay attention.

(Interview with Yolanda, 2 July 2014)

[...] some dishes are made as in the country of origin, whereas others have been adapted for various reasons such as: lack of produce (due to the many sieges Gibraltar has endured) and family adaptations. As few people could read and write these recipes were passed down, from generation to generation, by word of mouth. These ‘mistakes’ became family traditions. And to this day, these recipes are still passed by word of mouth with each individual or family personalising each dish [...] Alternative versions are not wrong. Fundamentally, they embrace Gibraltarism!

(Rob Lomax ‘Gibraltar’, Gastro Rob, 21 May 2012, accessed 10 July 2014)

Hocking *et al.* (2002: 122) suggest that the notable difference in the consistency of Thai and New Zealand culinary traditions may be attributable to the impact of colonial immigration, such that ‘New Zealanders pride themselves on being geographically mobile, adaptable and inventive’. This colonial consequence would explain why the food culture in Gibraltar is authenticated neither in

²³ Violeta described how the recipes differs with some recommending the use of chicken or pork over beef and veal, others white wine rather than red and a few tinned tomatoes instead of the fresh, Interview with Violeta, 3 July 2014

terms of static ties to spatial place, nor the systematic replication of social practice. Instead, like the New Zealanders (*ibid.*: 121), the notion of a Gibraltarian food tradition’s local ‘belonging’ was tied to intimate affiliations with the family.

Akin to much of Europe, Gibraltar has seen a gradual shift in domestic culinary duties away from the emblematic housewife with the increasing presence of women in the public workforce²⁴. Contemporary families are much more likely to dine out²⁵, such that children experience the majority of home-cooking while in the care of their grandparents²⁶. Consequently, it is the figure of the grandmother who is today largely responsible for preserving everyday culinary customs. Several of the Calentita stall members directly associated their cooking with the nostalgic memory of their grandmother’s own efforts in the kitchen²⁷. Similarly, El Gigi affectionately details her granny’s instinctual skills (Figure 4.2). Her recollection aptly applies to Matthee’s (2004: 438-9) discussion of ‘embodied knowledge’ and the culinary art form as a mystical mixture of corporeal and cerebral expertise. As Rob Lomax remarks, this presents certain inherent difficulties for the intergenerational transfer of food traditions (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Excerpts from El Gigi and Rob Lomax

My Granny’s movements within the kitchen, whether she was mincing meat [...] or balancing the demands of four pots on the hob, came to her like an unforced second nature. Her method is best captured by the almost untranslatable phrase ‘al cálculo’—there was no recipe with determinate amounts written down anywhere; instead, she had an inbuilt knack for judging exactly how much of each ingredient was required. She felt what was right in any given dish—a skill that cannot be explicitly taught but comes only by marrying an innate talent with years of practice.

(El Gigi ‘My granny’s cooking’, Calentita Press, 2014, 6)

I remember whilst at university, phoning my Gran and asking her how to make her rice pudding. After all with ‘un puñado’ (a handful) of this and all measured ‘a calculo’ (by eye) I didn’t have a recipe to follow. I was on the phone to her for approx [sic] an hour whilst I stirred the rice pudding mixture on the hob; describing its texture to her, until she was confident that I had made it as she would have.

(Rob Lomax ‘Gibraltar’, Gastro Rob, 21 May 2012, accessed 10 July 2014)

²⁴ Interview with Isabel, 21 June 2014

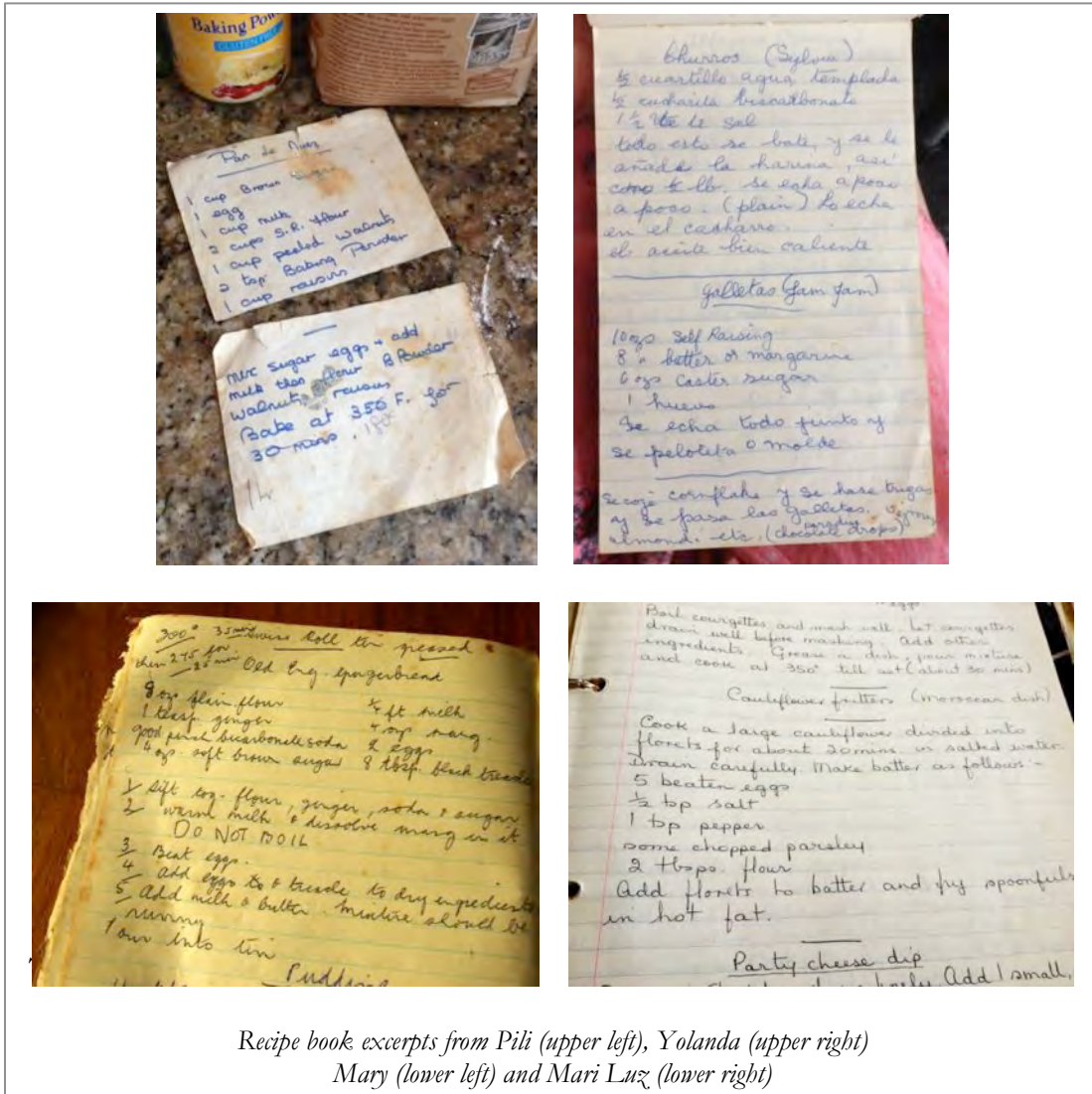
²⁵ Cartwright, R. ‘Three generations of lunches’, *Calentita Press*, 2012, 18

²⁶ El Gigi ‘My granny’s cooking’, *Calentita Press*, 2014, 6

²⁷ Gibraltarian desserts stall organizer, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 5, 17 June 2014; Neapolitan stall volunteer, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 6, 24 June 2014

Though, one of the interviewees cooked entirely from memory²⁸, the rest possessed personal recipe books: a lifetime’s compendium sourced from their friends and family, as well as magazine and newspaper clippings. Torn, tatty, blotted with food stains, with a variety of instructions and ingredients, and family and friends’ comments—these represent the veritable archives of Gibraltar’s local culinary heritage (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3 Photo-documentation of Personal Recipe Books



Recipe book excerpts from Pili (upper left), Yolanda (upper right)
Mary (lower left) and Mari Luíz (lower right)

Today, in homage to this influential role, the grandmother has become an icon for community attempts to document Gibraltarian cooking. The Girl Guides’ recipe book, published and sold locally in Gibraltar, is a longstanding tradition originally released in 1956 (Figure 4.4). For

²⁸ Interview with Leonora, 17 June 2014

the 2012 book, the guides were specifically tasked with collecting the ‘proper recipe’ to create their own grandmother’s specialties²⁹. That same year, Juan Bautista established *Mama Lotties* online recipe forum to share ‘Gibraltar’s love for food and family with the aim to bring back traditional home cooking’³⁰. The inspiration behind the website is manifest in its brand, featuring his grandmother’s aproned likeness stirring a bowl (Figure 4.4). This earnest recognition of culinary roots lies in stark contrast to what Swinbank (2002: 471) observes as the egotistic ‘appropriation of female domestic cooking’ historically by renowned male haute-cuisine chefs. Though admittedly lacking in gourmet authority, Gibraltarian cooking instead boasts traditional authenticity. Tominc (2014) notes that the ‘authority of tradition’ is one of Van Leeuwen’s (2008) key legitimation strategies often applied to amateur cookery books. As such, the Rock’s culinary matriarchs and their inherited family recipes have been employed tactically to reinforce awareness and appreciation of the local culinary culture in the absence of a strong gastronomic celebrity-led trend.

Figure 4.4 Photo-documentation of Girl Guides’ Recipe Book and Image of *Mama Lotties* Logo



²⁹ Interview with Pepe Palmero, 18 June 14

³⁰ 'About', *Mama Lotties*, n.d. accessed 9 August 2014, www.mamalotties.com

Culinary Multiculturalism

Within Gibraltar, food culture has become one of the preeminent areas in which the community navigates the pivotal subject of diversity. This treatment of food as a ‘universal language’³¹, an ‘ambassador’³² and a ‘bridge-builder’³³ can be conceptualized as culinary multiculturalism (Flowers and Swan 2012). Throughout the private and public spheres in Gibraltar, there is an outspoken expression of pride³⁴ in the ‘open arms’³⁵ tolerance and acceptance of all ethno-cultural communities³⁶. As Dennis Beiso acknowledges in his opinion piece (Figure 4.5), Gibraltar is uniquely self-aware of its own poly-ethnic heritage and the fundamental role that immigration has played throughout its history.

Figure 4.5 Excerpt from Dennis Beiso

Indeed, diversity is a key component of modern Gibraltarian identity. There is no such thing as an “ethnic Gibraltarian”—Gibraltarians come from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds and the modern Gibraltarian is happy to celebrate that heterogeneity without any fear that his or her identity is being diluted or that his or her status as a Gibraltarian is any less valid. In sharp contrast to the arguments used in so many parts of the world, diversity in Gibraltar STRENGTHENS and REAFFIRMS identity. Diversity is a cause for celebration, not consternation.

(Beiso, D. ‘*Calentita and Gibraltarian identity*’, *Calentita Press*, 2012, 10, original emphasis)

While Highmore (2008: 395) notes that ‘where there is difference, there is unevenness, seemingly inevitable inequality’, Beiso actively avoids these connotations through the alternate use of the term diversity. In this manner, Beiso effectively deranges the binaries of an elite white mainstream and inferior ethnic Others by highlighting the Rock’s inherent hybridity. As such, Beiso argues that it is diversity that has the profound capacity to unite Gibraltar, with multiculturalism serving as the overarching common denominator.

The annual Calentita food festival represents an ideal opportunity in which to showcase Gibraltar’s ‘melting pot’³⁷. The collective response to the event has been notably positive, as one resident evocatively commented: ‘I believe it’s a time when we, all the Gibraltarians, stick

³¹ ‘Committed to Calentita’, *Calentita Press*, 2011, 8

³² Idan Greenberg Jewish stall organizer, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 2, 27 May 2014

³³ Reyes, B. ‘Calentital food fest’, *My Mediterranean Diet*, 13 June 2010, accessed 10 July 2014

³⁴ Interviews with Mary, 8 June 2014; Isabel, 21 June 2014; on-the-spot interviews with locals, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 1, 20 May 2014

³⁵ Presenter, Calentita Live, 21 June 2014

³⁶ Indian stall organizers, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 2, 27 May 2014

³⁷ ‘About’, *Calentita Festival Facebook*, accessed 10 August 2014

together...³⁸. Vikram Nagrani, organizer of the Indian stall, has asserted that Calentita ‘gives us all a sense of belonging’³⁹. In 2013 the event was moved to a Saturday to allow the Jewish community to actively participate for the first time following the end of Shabbat⁴⁰. The importance of equal representation was exemplified within the 2014 live coverage, in which the GBC presenter noted that: ‘every year there seem to be new contributors, so even if that particular culture is not that very well represented locally, it has its place here within the festival’⁴¹. As McClinchey (2008) comments, to achieve integration the ethnic festival must balance the dominant groups with those with less cultural capital. This ensures that the festival facilitates an inclusive ‘dialogue’ of the evolving meaning of the community’s identity (Duffy 2005: 679). The importance of these diplomatic cultural negotiations is underscored by Lee *et al.*’s (2012: 338) Korean study that indicates that such festivals significantly ‘affect attitudinal change’ among visitors promoting multiculturalism.

The Calentita festival also offers an interesting insight into the public act of cross-cultural production and consumption. The event is featured as a ‘whirlwind tour of world food’⁴². Through this rhetoric the festival becomes an extra-ordinary event that briefly whisks visitors away from their everyday lives for a colourful culinary holiday (Cook and Crang 1996). Molz (2007: 81) defines this type of ‘culinary tourism’ as ‘imaginative mobilities’ dependent upon ‘foreign foodways “travel[ing]” so that the culinary tourist does not have to’.

Figure 4.6 Excerpts from Calentita Festival Coverage

It’s a great night where you can celebrate more than just eating and drinking, but rubbing shoulders with people who are Gibraltarian who may not normally be the people who you rub shoulders with

(Owen Smith, Calentita: Food for Thought, program 1, 7 May 2014)

Presenter 1: People sometimes enjoy going to one of the stands of foods that they do not normally eat so it’s a discovery [...]

Presenter 2: I think it’s very much an opportunity to sample dishes that you normally wouldn’t come across and perhaps go a bit more daring, if you don’t necessarily like spices, you know, go down that route.

(Calentita Live, 21 June 2014)

Owen Smith furthers this idea by drawing attention to the fact that the Calentita experience allows intrepid visitors to engage in exotic social encounters in their own native home (Figure 4.6).

³⁸ On-the-spot interviews with locals, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 1, 20 May 2014

³⁹ ‘Committed to Calentita’, *Calentita Press*, 2011, 8

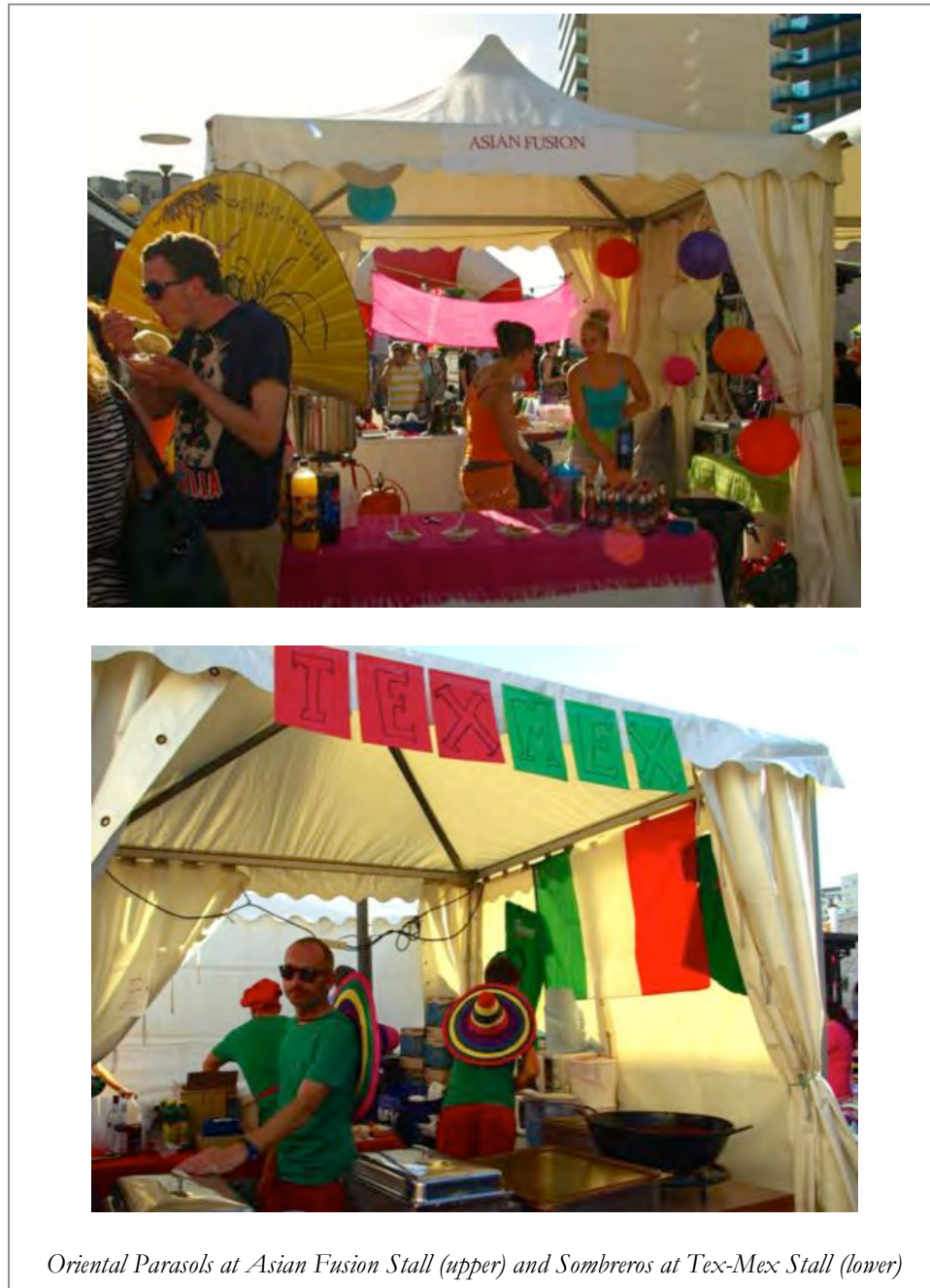
⁴⁰ ‘Calentita moved to a Saturday’, *Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation*, 15 April 2013, accessed 5 June 2014

⁴¹ Calentita Live, 21 June 2014

⁴² ‘Calentita! Gibraltar’s sensational celebration of food’, *Gibraltar Eye*, n.d., accessed 5 June 2014

Meanwhile, the festival's international atmosphere is conspicuously and quite stereotypically exhibited through the food stalls' décor and volunteers' dress. In 2014, Casemates square hosted a flurry of Tex-Mex sombreros, Moroccan fez hats, Irish bar maids, and Asian fusion parasols (Figure 4.7). The presenters on Calentita Live also discuss how the event presents visitors with the opportunity to savour unfamiliar flavours outside their usual comfort zone.

Figure 4.7 Calentita Stall Décor and Volunteers' Dress



Oriental Parasols at Asian Fusion Stall (upper) and Sombreros at Tex-Mex Stall (lower)

For Heldke (2003: 2) such commodified and decontextualized ‘food adventur[ing]’ is at best an ignorant exploration of the exotic and at worst an act of white exploitation. However, the Calentita festival is more than merely eating. The television program and annual magazine purposefully engage the populace beyond the night’s event to contextualize their culinary consumption. Furthermore, Narayan (1997) contends that there is a degree of agency in the process of self-ethnicization and the conscious commodification of one’s own culture. In this manner, Calentita’s multicultural participants are not merely servers passively standing behind stalls but legitimized members of the Rock’s community actively telling their own transnational stories and determining their own style of self-representation (Bramadat 2001).

It is also important to consider how this multicultural culinary encounter is enacted in the everyday, vernacular setting. There was a striking variety of opinions among the interviewees concerning the consumption of ‘international’ foods. Some conveyed a strong sense of repulsion to all identifiably foreign cuisines⁴³, while others cited certain foods as personally unpalatable⁴⁴. Violeta unabashedly unloaded all her ingrained stereotypes of the Chinese Other (Figure 4.8); however, Isabel barely registered any distinction between the local and international restaurants that counted among her favourites. Yolanda was the only one who included Chinese within her repertoire of cooking, a fact that she expressed with extreme pride (Figure 4.8). Though, Lourdes was alone in mentioning personal culinary interactions with her husband’s good Indian friend. Yet it was Mari Luz’s casual recommendation of the small Indian take-away shop across the road, where she occasionally purchases her Sunday lunch that stood out for its utter lack of self-consciousness in engaging in this multicultural experience.

Figure 4.8 Quotations from Violeta and Yolanda

Well I’m not keen on going to those kinds of restaurants. I don’t like the Chinese. I don’t trust the Chinese. They say they cook dogs and cats or whatever. Not for me. That’s why. I don’t bother. No Chinese. I’m not a person that tries different styles.

(Interview with Violeta, 3 July 2014)

Last week I did the Chinese noodles with, with prawns. I just chopped up the three colours of pimientos: yellow, red and green. And onions, very chopped. And then with soy sauce. And the prawns and I boiled the noodles. And it was good. So that I did last week, so you see I cook anything.

(Interview with Yolanda, 2 July 14)

⁴³ Interview with Leonora, 17 June 2014

⁴⁴ Interviews with Mary, 8 June 2014; Pili, 18 June 2014

The interviewees' array of responses, despite pertaining to a fairly uniform demographic, highlights that there is no single act or manner of cross-cultural consumption; it is entirely an individual experience (Molz 2007). As Cook (2008: 8, original emphasis) stresses, blanket judgements of decontextualization often fail to recognize that: 'people's heterogeneous biographies and everyday lives are often *both* food colonialist *and* anti-colonialist. They are, in a way, self-disruptive'. Thus, the interviewees expressed seemingly contradictory opinions of multicultural eating not only among each other, but also within their own narratives (Duruz 2005).

National Cuisine

While all national cuisines encompass a range of identifiable dishes, first and foremost among them is the quintessential national dish. This food, according to Adapon (2008: 114), is a culinary 'synecdoche', the single dish essentially representing the cuisine as a whole. In Gibraltar, the national dish is served up in the form of *calentita*, a savoury snack made from chickpeas. According to the prevailing narrative, the recipe for *calentita* was originally brought to Gibraltar by Genoese migrants long before British rule⁴⁵. Although this tale of descent is generally seen to be corroborated by *calentita's* similarity to the Genoese farinata, there are in fact numerous counterparts throughout the Mediterranean including: the French socca, the Tuscan cecina and the Algerian karantita⁴⁶. Like rice and beans, this international dish has developed along a variety of historical pathways (Wilk and Barbosa [ed.] 2012). In Gibraltar, as a good source of protein, this legume was a 'poor family's staple, a cheap and simple way of filling the gut in lean times'⁴⁷. The basic mixture could even be adapted to offer the illusion of variety, fried as savoury *panissas* or onion filled *tortillitas* or coated with cinnamon sugar for dessert⁴⁸. However, normally it was baked in the oven and sold by vendors carrying it through the crowds on a tray on their heads calling out '*calentita*'⁴⁹, a colloquial Spanish term for 'nice and hot'⁵⁰. Although, this practice has disappeared, many of the older generation still fondly remember purchasing a slice on the street⁵¹.

⁴⁵ 'Calentita! Gibraltar's sensational celebration of food', *Gibraltar Eye*, n.d., accessed 5 June 2014

⁴⁶ Ballantine Perera, J. 'Are we what we eat?', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 4

⁴⁷ Reyes, B. 'Calentita! food fest', *My Mediterranean Diet*, 13 June 2010, accessed 10 July 2014

⁴⁸ Interview with Pepe Palmero, 18 June 2014

⁴⁹ Benady, T. 'Recipes for some Gibraltarian favourites', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 18

⁵⁰ 'Calentita! Gibraltar's sensational celebration of food', *Gibraltar Eye*, n.d., accessed 5 June 2014

⁵¹ Interview with Leonora, 17 June 2014

Calentita is a debateable choice for a national dish. On the one hand, Jennifer Ballantine Perera has argued that with its accessibility as a street food and its nostalgic familiarity, *calentita* is practically a pre-packaged culinary ambassador (Figure 4.9). Akin to the falafel, the fact that *calentita* was originally a ‘low status’ food has not prevented it from rising to national eminence; rather it has enhanced its popular appeal (Raviv 2003: 22). *Calentita* has the additional advantage of being decidedly un-Spanish⁵², except perhaps begrudgingly in name, and yet still distinctively representative of Gibraltar’s transnational heritage. On the other hand, while historically *calentita* has been a popular favourite, today the dish is not nearly so ubiquitous. As families’ purchasing power has increased, reliance upon the chickpea has concurrently decreased. Furthermore, *calentita* is admittedly an ‘acquired taste’⁵³, such that ‘if you grew up with your granny cooking *calentita* every Sunday, chances are you like it. If, however, you didn’t, you’re less likely to find it appealing’⁵⁴. There is also little public exposure as such common dishes rarely feature in sophisticated ‘high’ class restaurant menus (Chuang 2009). Furthermore, the street vendors are merely a memory for the older generations, and utterly unknown to the younger or to any newer migrant communities.

Figure 4.9 Excerpt from Jennifer Ballantine Perera

An interesting aspect here is that we are talking about street food—about a product that is accessible to all, both in terms of cost and visibility, and these elements go some way to suggest why *Calentita* can be considered as a communal food product that cut across social if not class barriers. It is a very basic commodity—not a more complex, expensive festival type dish—and in this sense, *calentita* is a unifier [...] The fact that not only are we dealing with an accessible food product, our memory of it is also very accessible, and this, I would suggest, renders *Calentita* a very plausible and seductive symbol of Gibraltar’s food culture. We do not have to work hard at this exercise of cultural recovery [...] Neither do we have to invent nor construct it out of nothing.

(Jennifer Ballantine Perera ‘Are we what we eat?’, *Calentita Press*, 2011, 4)

Like the Costa Rican day of *Gallo Pinto*, the humble *calentita* only gained national eminence recently through official government sponsorship (Preston-Werner 2012). Since 2007, the eponymous *Calentita* festival has been attempting to revive this culinary tradition and publicise it as an emblematic aspect of the national identity. The 2011 cover of the *Calentita Press* underscores the dish’s diplomatic role today: the silhouette of a *calentita* vendor personified through an array of symbols interspersing the Rock’s multicultural religious communities alongside national icons like

⁵² Interview with Leonora, 17 June 2014

⁵³ Interview with Pepe Palmero, 18 June 2014

⁵⁴ ‘The *Calentita* competition’, *Calentita Press*, 2011, 22

the cable car and the Barbary macaque (Figure 4.10). In this manner, the antiquated yet sentimentalized figure of the *calentita* vendor has become symbolically re-summoned as a culinary ‘tool of propaganda’ (Raviv 2003: 25).

Figure 4.10 Image of 2011 Calentita Press



Calentita Press Cover 2011

The Calentita festival has been very effectively overseen by private company Word of Mouth on behalf of the Gibraltarian Ministry of Culture. The success of this endeavour is exemplified by the annual visitor log, which totalled approximately four to six thousand in 2014⁵⁵. Now, as the September National Day marks the end of the summer, Calentita heralds its beginning⁵⁶; it is essentially ‘ingrained in the [national] social calendar’⁵⁷. In this manner, Pepe Palmero has noted that an increasing number of expatriates living in England have begun to make the annual pilgrimage

⁵⁵ Owen Smith, *Calentita Live*, 21 June 2014

⁵⁶ Clark, S., *Calentita Festival Facebook*, 21 June 2014, accessed 7 August 2014

⁵⁷ Presenter, *Calentita Live*, 21 June 2014

back for the event⁵⁸. The festival is a perfect example of a modern invented tradition (Hobsbawm 1983), the Minister for Culture, Steven Linares, even proudly identifies it as such in his opening report in the 2012 Calentita Press (Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11 Excerpt from Minister for Culture, Steven Linares

Under the Calentita Night banner we show the world what Gibraltarians are all about. Our traditional values recognized from far afield by all who have visited us are demonstrated. Our family values, our religious diversity and tolerance, the mixing of different races are all galvanized in this event. This invented tradition, which is very much a work in progress, preserves, encourages and builds on traditional Gibraltarian values. Long may Calentita Night continue so that future generations can be educated in our unique way of life much envied by others.

(Steven Linares 'It's time for the Calentita party', Calentita Press, 2012, 3)

In Nowak's (2014) study of the invented margherita tradition, the pizza is usually interpreted as a tactful effort by the Savoy monarchy to "italianize" the newly united Italian peninsula. However, Nowak notes that regardless of the veracity of the myth, its widespread popular propagation indicates that there was a vital 'social need' for the narrative (ibid.: 119). In a similar manner, the overwhelming triumph of the Calentita festival suggests that the idea of an imagined culinary community resonates strongly among the Gibraltarian populace.

It is somewhat unclear however, how the melting pot of Calentita offerings fit within the notion of an overall Gibraltarian cuisine. Despite the rampant rhetoric drawing on Calentita as a true Gibraltarian event in its publicity, the event itself does not demonstrate a clear and cohesive culinary nationalism. In 2014 there was no sight of the Gibraltar national flag, merely the subtle banal 'flagging' (Billig 1995) of the red and white colour scheme in the festival's signage (Figure 4.12). With all the stalls flamboyant national décor, the general ambience was markedly more international than national. Furthermore, over the years the 'Gibraltarian' stall has wavered between being marketed as 'llanito' (Spanish nickname for Gibraltarians) and simply as Gibraltarian⁵⁹. This irregularity indicates a reluctance to specifically classify what actually constitutes Gibraltarian food, and what comparatively does not. When asked to try and characterize Gibraltarian cuisine Yolanda stated that 'we have everything', while Mari Luz commented that the 'scope of food is very wide' and Mary eventually concluded that it was in fact identifiably 'international'. In contrast, however, when Rob Lomax⁶⁰ and Tito Benady⁶¹ list the dishes they consider within the Gibraltarian cuisine

⁵⁸ Interview with Pepe Palmero, 18 June 2014

⁵⁹ See Appendix D for a table of Calentita stalls from 2011-2014

⁶⁰ Rob Lomax 'Gibraltar', *Gastro Rob*, 21 May 2012, accessed 10 July 2014

⁶¹ Benady, T. 'Recipes for some Gibraltarian favourites', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 18

they include everything from *calentita* and *rosto* to the Italian *minestra* and Maltese *rolitos* in a selectively European interpretation of Gibraltar’s migrant heritage. The impression of an ill-defined national cuisine is also mirrored in the significant absence of published Gibraltarian recipe books. The Girl Guides book, the League of Hospital Friends’ replica and the Mama Lotties website all largely focus only on ‘traditional’ European delicacies. In this manner, the recent celebrations of local and multicultural cuisines have created a discordant culinary culture that fails to capture a cogent and commanding national identity.

Figure 4.12 Red and White Calentita Festival Signs



Only recently, local chef Zoe Torres has singlehandedly spearheaded a more concerted effort to lay the foundations for an overarching national cuisine (Figure 4.13). The available publicity indicates that this recipe book will adopt an inclusive definition of Gibraltarian food culture intent upon foregrounding the Rock’s evolving culinary culture alongside its growing immigrant community. According to Torres, Gibraltar is not internationalized by other cultures, but instead nationalizes them into its own inventive culture. Though Torres implies a family hierarchy of Gibraltarian recipes—some are ‘true local’ members, others are ‘adopted’ secondary relations—her references to ‘every Gibraltarian’ and ‘our beloved Rock’ nevertheless speaks on behalf of all Gibraltarians. Thus, through this forceful rhetoric Torres effectively employs the notion of a singular culinary imagined community to envisage Gibraltar as a self-assured nation with a strong national identity that is ready to establish an international presence.

Figure 4.13 Excerpts from Zoe Torres

We need a straightforward cookbook that actually is documenting the Gibraltarian recipes and the recipes that we Gibraltarians like to eat. Because the book is not just only about our true local recipes it's also about the wide spectrum of recipes that we have actually made our own, that we have adopted from all the other cultures that have become part of Gibraltar. And that's what gave me the idea, I wanted to put that our there and put it out internationally'

(Zoe Torres, Calentita: Food for Thought, program 5, 17 June 2014)

The Rock's Kitchen also highlights the culinary history of our beloved Rock together with heartfelt anecdotes and funny stories about our culture and way of life, both past and present, something that every Gibraltarian will relate to.

(Zoe Torres, 'The rock's kitchen', Calentita Press, 2014, 19)

Conclusion

Within Gibraltar, the national culinary identity is still very much in evolution, largely due to the presence of two competing food discourses. On the one hand, the recipe books documenting 'local' customs, founded upon the rhetoric of family traditions and the authenticating figure of the grandmother, highlight the influence of historical European-centric food cultures. On the other hand, the Calentita festival has focused more strongly upon celebrating Gibraltar as a global melting pot and an exemplary modern multicultural society. In this manner, these two discourses draw upon very different aspects of Gibraltar's dynamic migratory heritage leading to a lack of overall national cohesion. For this reason, there is currently not a clear Gibraltarian imagined culinary community. Ultimately, the nation-building project is suffering from weak central branding. Zoe Torres' recipe book, however, may herald a new culinary movement towards a defined national cuisine that supersedes the growing popularity of these disparate trends. In titling the book *The Rock's Kitchen*, Torres highlights the one point of constancy and placedness in a rapidly evolving nation, alluding to the popular refrain 'strong as the Rock of Gibraltar'. It is yet to be seen, however, how effective Torres' book will be in establishing a sense of inclusive Gibraltarian commonality and reconciling the Rock's historical lack of a national culinary identity.

5. Imaginative Culinary Geographies

‘All prejudices come from the intestines’

Friedrich Nietzsche, 1979
(as cited in Palmer 1998: 190)

This chapter focuses upon Gibraltarian food culture as constructed through imaginative culinary geographies of foreign nations. Here, food represents not merely a metaphor, but in the truest sense a medium. In this manner, I seek to map out the culinary terrain of popular experience onto the underlying layers of geopolitical affairs. I explore how Gibraltarian nationhood is built around and in response to three defining relationships with Britain, Spain and Morocco. Within this external aspect the nation-building project, a sense of bounded Gibraltarian culinary identity is effectively reinforced through the recognition of threatening international influences.

British Belonging

Gibraltar’s official status as a British Overseas Territory represents an integral aspect of the Rock’s contemporary culinary identity. This ‘colonial culinary inheritance’ (Cusack 2000: 207) is unmistakably manifested within the community’s response to the Queen’s jubilee. During her interview, Pili showcased a clipping from her recipe book of a local newspaper entitled ‘Tea with the Queen’ (Figure 5.1). The rhetoric of the piece exemplifies Billig’s (1995: 94) discussion of how banal British nationalism is embedded within the ‘habits of language’. The article invites the reader to partake in the royal festivities, marking no distinction between the intended Gibraltarian audience and any of Her Majesty’s other ‘ordinary subjects’. Thus, Gibraltar is framed as a genuine part of the British national life that may legitimately partake in the etiquette of expertly brewed pots of tea and scrupulously crafted Victoria sandwiches (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.1 Excerpt from the Gibraltar Chronicle article ‘*Tea with the Queen*’,

Already whetted by the Royal Wedding our appetite for street parties is back with a bang this year as the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee approaches. And there is no more fitting way to mark Her Majesty’s 60 years on the throne than the quintessentially British culinary experience of afternoon tea. When she’s at Buckingham Palace, the Queen likes to be in her suite by 5pm to be served a spread of scones, sandwiches and cakes—with the corgis often tucking into the crumbs. Her ordinary subjects may not always have time to do the same, but the tea party tradition that swept into fashion in the 19th century is making a comeback.

(‘Tea with the Queen’, Gibraltar Chronicle, 19 May 2012, 14)

The 2012 Calentita festival also featured a ‘decidedly British theme’ in honour of the jubilee⁶². Accordingly, the Calentita Press depicted Catalan Bay adorned with Union Jack and crown bunting (Figure 5.2) and on the day, three stalls were dedicated to the celebration of British cuisine. While in the past, civil affiliations with Britishness were associated with elite ‘social climbing on the back of monarchism’ (Constantine 2006: 30); today, borrowed culinary traditions like the afternoon tea party have become a democratic manner in which the Gibraltarian populace performs its loyalty to the British royalty.

Figure 5.2 Image of 2012 Calentita Press and ‘Tea with the Queen’ *Gibraltar Chronicle* Article



2012 Calentita Press Cover (left) and Pili's Jubilee Recipe article (right)

Beyond the stately spectacle, the Rock's culinary connection to Britain is personally reinforced within the lives of Gibraltar's people. Many of the interviewees were evacuated to Britain during the war years⁶³; Leonora has even stated that 'London, to me, is my second home'. According to Tito Benady, this historic experience reaffirmed the British culinary influence, an effect further

⁶² Smith, O. 'Calentita in the jubilee year', *Calentita Press*, 2012, 2

⁶³ Interviews with Leonora, 17 June 2014; Pili, 18 June 2014; Isabel, 21 June 2014; Mari Luz, 25 June 2014; Yolanda, 2 July 2014

bolstered by the subsequent influx of women's magazines⁶⁴. Akin to the former British colony of Belize, as historically restricted British goods came to be widely available they forfeited their status as social markers (Wilk 1999). Today, as the only large supermarket on the whole Rock, British company Morrisons is a regular feature of most Gibraltarians everyday lives. While Maribel and Mary both expressed a penchant to buy British, this was due to their general prejudice towards Spain, rather than their high opinion of British goods. Meanwhile, Pili's past attempt to shop at a smaller Gibraltar-owned business failed purely because of the store's stock being too limited, rather than any sense of it lacking quality. Nowadays, Britishness holds no exceptional 'culinary cultural capital' (Bell 2002: 14). However, the hegemonic normativity of the act of buying British serves to reinforce the Rock's underlying banal nationalism.

Overall, the British culinary influence in Gibraltar is concentrated within a few enduring traditions that lie at the heart of the Rock's food culture. When asked if they consume any British foods, most of the interviewees immediately identified the roast dinner⁶⁵. Additionally, the practice of drinking tea with milk is so popular that Christina Cortes labels it one of Gibraltar's national drinks⁶⁶. Such colonial adoptions are perplexing anomalies in the heat of the Mediterranean climate. For this reason, it is useful to consider Bhabha's (1994) notion of mimicry. As aforementioned, in the past the British colonizer's culture occupied the highest echelon of social status within Gibraltar. The maintenance of this rigid hierarchy was part of a general strategy of colonial control that at once encouraged the local mimicking of the colonizer's traditions, but inevitably ensured that such undertakings were only partially successful. At the end of the day, eating British could not render the colony part of the true metropole. In his work, Bhabha highlights how this colonial simulation ultimately engendered the creation of hybrid cultures. Today, the hybrid British-Gibraltar identity is epitomized in the Rock's tradition of drinking tea from a Thermos flask at the beach⁶⁷. Thus, the original mimicry has turned the classic and proper teatime on its head by propagating an alternatively casual and sandy affair in a characteristically subversive manoeuvre. To this end, while Gibraltar is keen to play up its Britishness in spectacular culinary celebrations, Gold (2010: 382) notes that overall there is a movement to distinguish British-Gibraltarianness as a unique postcolonial identity, not simply a derivative version of Britishness.

⁶⁴ Benady, T. 'Recipes for some Gibraltarian favourites', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 18

⁶⁵ Interviews with Leonora, 17 June 2014; Isabel, 21 June 2014; Maribel, 23 June 2014; Lourdes, 26 June 2014; Yolanda, 2 July 2014; Violeta, 3 July 2014

⁶⁶ Cortes, C. 'Standing on the edge of the world', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 10

⁶⁷ Alvarez Campos, V. 'Calentita 2013: Mucho Loco international work' *Mucho Loco*, n.d., accessed 10 July 2014; Cortes, C. 'Standing on the edge of the world', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 10

Spanish border relations

As the entire 2.3 square miles of the Rock is intrinsically affected by the situation at the Gibraltar-Spain border, Gibraltar can be conceived as a veritable borderland (Newman 2003: 18). One manner in which to explore the border conflict is to consider how it is popularly experienced through the medium of food. Recent work has foregrounded the materiality of border life as the ‘object-soaked reality’ of ‘frontier modernity’ (Álvarez 2006: 211). Such a material focus has been effectively applied to the study of mobilities to examine the personal negotiation of traversing geopolitical boundaries (Burrell 2008). Before considering the contemporary context, it is important to first explore its underpinnings, namely the Franco-driven border closure. As the Moroccan trade route was swiftly substituted for the Spanish, the populace barely even registered any culinary consequences of the sudden halt in Spanish food supplies⁶⁸. As Isabel remarked: ‘we didn’t suffer on that score’. Indeed, the supply situation was so amenable and the growing hostility towards Spain so fervent, that many of the interviewees recalled how there was a general lack of concern if the border would open up at all⁶⁹. Mary stated that ‘we didn’t care, we just had the beach’; Yolanda similarly commented that ‘nothing happened [...] We just got on with our lives’; and Violeta even asserted that ‘for me, they should have left that border closed’. The border closure resurrected the Rock’s siege survival heritage and thoroughly entrenched a sense of Gibraltarian territoriality, defined by Paasi (2011: 14) as the ‘ideological practice and discourse that transforms national spaces and histories, cultures, economic success and resources into bounded spaces’.

Despite the 16-year border closure and in defiance of essentialist understandings of purely distinct cultures (Prokkola 2009), contemporary Gibraltar reflects the significant spill over of Spanish culinary influence. As Yolanda observed, Gibraltar is essentially located in Spain’s ‘back yard’⁷⁰. Drawing on the metaphor of the nation as a body, Haller (2000: 59) frames the border as its skin, regulating the insider from the outside. In the context of food culture, however, the border does not represent an authoritative ‘division line’ but rather more of an ambivalent ‘transition threshold’ (2005: 83). Tristan Cano’s 2011 Calentita Press article was dedicated to tracing the Andalusian Spanish foods that had made their way into the local cuisine: from Granada’s *tapas* to the

⁶⁸ Interview with Leonora, 17 June 2014

⁶⁹ Here it must be noted that the border closure’s complete severance of communication divided many families, an ordeal that should not be overlooked in light of these interviewee’s personal perspectives.

⁷⁰ Interview with Yolanda, 2 July 2014

Sevillan *buevos a la flamenca*⁷¹, an article very similar to one included in Mary’s personal recipe book (Figure 5.3). This neighbourly commensality is again expressed in an article discussing the Valencian origins of the much beloved *paella*, plainly titled ‘Pa-todos’ (linking the dish’s initial syllable to the abbreviation of ‘*para todos*’, which means ‘for all’)⁷². In the same edition, Christina Cortes goes so far as to warmly acknowledge the Spanish *cafelito*-style coffee as one of Gibraltar’s national drinks, ranking alongside the aforementioned British tea⁷³. Such open articulations of culinary camaraderie, however, were very limited. Generally, these articles’ distanced the favourable rhetoric concerning the Spanish culinary culture from the actual Spanish people themselves. In this manner, foods can be easily de-politicized and re-contextualized facilitating their capacity to cross borders much more easily than people (Howes 2002).

Figure 5.3 Photo-documentation of Spanish Food Article from Mary’s Recipe Book



The medium of food culture also highlights how Gibraltar-Spanish cross-cultural relations are based more upon superficial consumption than symbolic interaction. The popular geopolitical imagination of the Spanish Other is ultimately constructed around ‘emotional landscapes of control’ (Paasi 2011: 23). According to Paasi, this indoctrination determines ‘what are the legitimate and hegemonic national meanings attached to these borders and what are the pools of emotions, fear

⁷¹ Cano, T. ‘A taste of Andaluca in 5 easy dishes’, *Calentita Press*, 2011, 14

⁷² ‘Pa-todos’, *Calentita Press*, 2011, 15

⁷³ Cortes, C. ‘Standing on the edge of the world’, *Calentita Press*, 2011, 10

and memories that we have to draw on in this connection’ (ibid.). Yolanda offered a particularly interesting example in her interview, stating that the culture and way of life in Gibraltar and Spain are incredibly different despite their proximity and attributing this to the fact that although ‘we [Gibraltarians] enjoy a lot of the things that they do [...] they don’t know anything about us’⁷⁴. Here, the one-way flow of inter-cultural appreciation reaffirms that Spain is the historical aggressor to blame and Gibraltar is merely the enduring victim. The Spanish vilification is even more flagrant within Jonathon Scott’s 2012 *Calentita Press* article on the threat of Spanish overfishing⁷⁵. Scott brazenly lambasts Spain’s ‘terrible track record’ for ‘encourag[ing] the development of excessive and destructive fishing practices’ and ‘support[ing] illegal “pirate” fishing’ and appeals to the Gibraltarian public as consumers to boycott this environmentally hazardous market supply. Haller (2005: 89) discusses how Gibraltar has relied upon a strong sense of ‘moral superiority’ in the aftermath of the border opening. This hegemonic Gibraltarian discourse draws on everything from Spain’s unconvincing transition to a democracy, to its decaying social standards and endemic diseases to frame its neighbour as ‘the evil on the other side’ (ibid.: 87, 91).

As Walker (2013) found in her study of Tijuana restaurants, it is in the daily micro-geographies of border life that the geopolitical boundary gains real meaning. In Gibraltar, border-crossing practices have become highly politicized, particularly in the wake of excessive Spanish-induced queues (Figure 5.4). Many of the interviewees recalled how they used to purchase all their fruit and vegetables from the market in the town of La Linea in Spain⁷⁶ and travel the short distance to its beachside restaurants for weekend meals⁷⁷, as Spain is significantly cheaper than Gibraltar for such everyday consumer items. However, since the degradation of diplomatic relations, the border queues have become so unpredictable that many do not take the risk⁷⁸. Today, the mental and physical strain ‘practically inscribe national identity on border-crossers bodies’ (Haller 2005: 94). In this manner, Haller (2000: 60) proffers the notion of ‘border performativity’ as Gibraltarians’ collectively inherited ‘bodily memory’ of uncontrollable immobility. Even though today’s youth did not directly experience the border closure, this collateral trauma is still embodied within the present populace.

⁷⁴ Interview with Yolanda, 2 July 2014

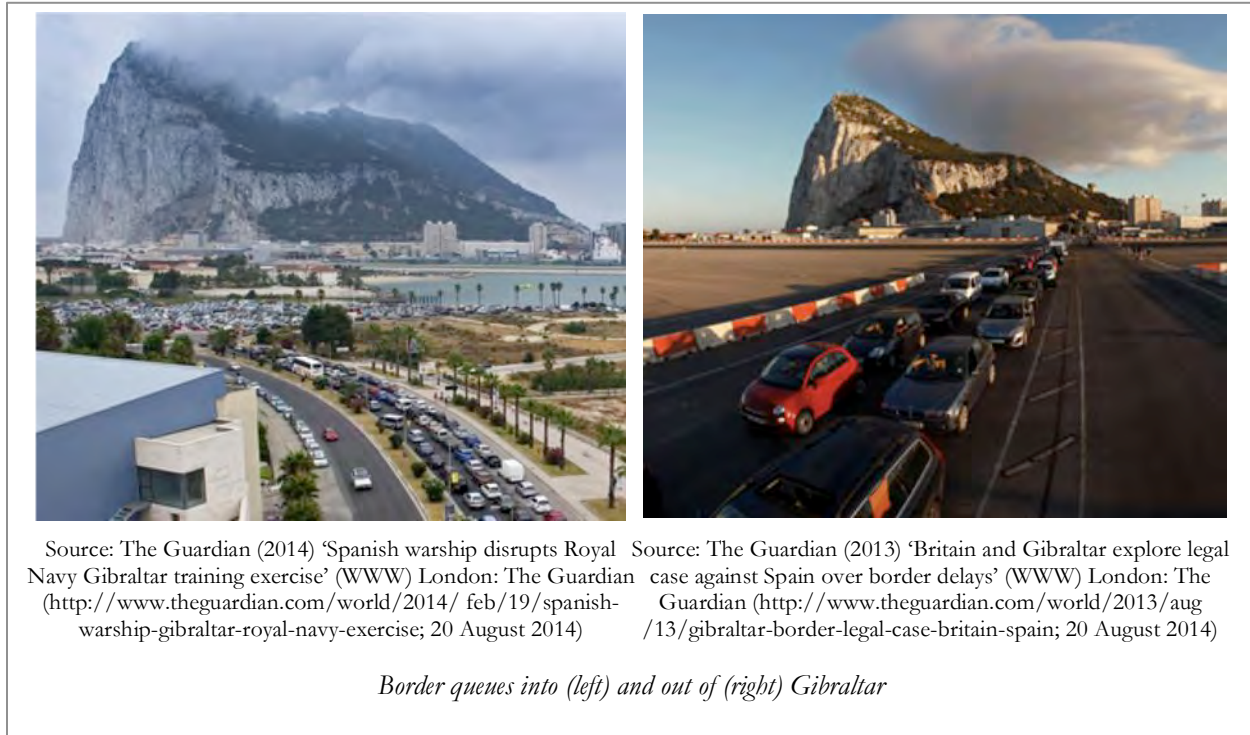
⁷⁵ Scott, J. ‘Fishy business’, *Calentita Press*, 2012, 6

⁷⁶ Interviews with Leonora, 17 June 2014; Pili, 18 June 2014; Maribel, 23 June 2014; Yolanda, 2 July 2014

⁷⁷ Interview with Pili, 18 June 2014

⁷⁸ Interviews with Pili, 18 June 2014; Maribel, 23 June 2014; Lourdes, 26 June 2014; Yolanda, 2 July 2014; Violeta, 3 July 2014

Figure 5.4 Images of the Traffic Queues at the Gibraltar-Spain Border



While, the temporal wait in the queues certainly represents the main disincentive⁷⁹, Leonora and Violeta both talked about not trusting Spaniards and Isabel discussed her own and several other friends' brutal experiences of being mugged. Thus, the act of crossing re-activates old experiences and re-enacts them within new scenarios. While much of the border literature has hailed the ability of crossing to rupture and subvert societally imposed norms (Anzaldúa 1987), in this situation crossing reinforces hegemonic narratives of national identity and difference (Hyams 2002).

As a result, the dominant attitude in Gibraltar has reverted back to its historical siege mentality, aptly summarized by Maribel: '[...] we are not spending the money over there, we spend the money here now'. With the overarching geopolitical situation seemingly beyond control, Gibraltarians are exercising their agency as consumers (Halkier and Holm 2008). Consequently, the restaurant industry in Gibraltar is flourishing, with early bookings a requisite for the weekend at most establishments⁸⁰. In contrast, the neighbouring La Linea region is seriously suffering and closed shops and restaurants have become a feature of the contemporary urban landscape (Figure 5.5).

⁷⁹ Queues have extended up to 10 hours in past years in the summer heat.

⁸⁰ Interview with Isabel, 21 June 2014.

Figure 5.5 Quotations from Maribel, Isabel and Violeta

Amy: The restaurants here [in Gibraltar] must be doing very well.

Maribel: In La Linea they are closing down.

Amy: Which...

Maribel: It's not our fault.

(Interview with Maribel, 23 June 2014)

Obviously it hurts them more than it hurts us because...I mean...you can not go into La Linea if you don't want to. But the people who are working here have to come in. And have to put up with a lot of nonsense from their side, not *our* side, *their* side.

(Interview with Isabel, 21 June 2014)

It hurts Gibraltar too, mind. We have to admit that...But the way that they are treating us. Because they are eating from Gibraltar. If it wasn't for Gibraltar. They would be starving over there.

(Interview with Violeta, 3 July 2014)

The culinary connection between Gibraltar and Spain can be thought of as a precarious case of symbiosis. Franco's border closure proved that Gibraltar could survive siege conditions. However, as the Spanish economic situation becomes increasingly dire, the surrounding La Linea region relies more and more upon Gibraltar as a market for their food and labour supply. As such, Violeta concludes that the relationship is parasitic in nature in that Spain is ultimately 'eating from Gibraltar' (Figure 5.5). Ultimately, the question isn't who these border control measures benefit (Newman 2003: 22), but rather who loses the least.

In the context of this uneasy geopolitical border situation, the Calentita food festival has become an active site of 'boundary management' (Newman 2003: 17). As Paasi (2011: 22, original emphasis) comments 'the key *location* of a national(ist) border does not lie at the concrete line, but in the manifestation of the perpetual nation-building process and nationalist practices...'. For this reason, it is insightful to explore Spain's evolving role within the event over the years. In the first year in 2007, the Spanish delegate was one of the festival's stalwart stalls⁸¹. By 2011, however, the Spanish cuisine was represented by two denationalized stalls simply serving *paella* and *montaditos*⁸². In 2014, Spain was even more absent. *Paella* was totally off the menu and the *montaditos* stall had eschewed any connection to Spain under new administration⁸³. Other lingering allusions to the Spanish culinary influence were similarly subdued and disjointed: the Irish stall sold *tinto de verano*

⁸¹ Smith, O. 'Welcome—to five years of Calentita', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 2

⁸² 'Stalls at this year's Calentita', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 12-13

⁸³ 'Calentita', *Calentita Press*, 2014, 12-13

alongside Guinness, the Gourmet Gibraltarian stall offered tapas with *Serrano* ham and *Manchego* cheese and the Gibraltarian desserts stall served *mantecados* and *torrijas*⁸⁴.

References to Spain in the media run-up were also few and far between. The Filipino stall was noted as raising funds for a charitable organization located in Spain⁸⁵, and Gunther Jutting, organizer of the German stall, talked briefly about the Spanish crisis' consequent homeless population⁸⁶. Official acknowledgement was limited to Calentita organizer Owen Smith's brief comment that festival leftovers would reach homeless shelters in both Gibraltar and Spain⁸⁷. All these remarks embodied a notably philanthropic agenda fitting within the notion of Gibraltar as the geopolitical conflict's passive party and general moral authority. The only supplementary commentary was provided by Owen Smith's Calentita Live interview in which he observed how the growing interest from Spain would contribute to the festival's increasing size⁸⁸. It remains to be seen whether the Calentita festival will continue to build an insular culinary wall against Spain, or whether it may open up to act as an unofficial embassy, drawing the communities on both sides of the border together through food (Álvarez 2006).

The Moroccan Frontier

The closure of Gibraltar's only land border effectively opened up an alternative maritime frontier (or "wet frontier" Driessen 1998: 99) with the Rock's second closest Mediterranean neighbour, Morocco. De Haas (2007: 12) has suggested that the Straits of Gibraltar represents Europe's version of the United States' Rio Grande. This new geopolitical relationship not only concerned the importation of the Moroccan food supply, but it also involved the immigration of Moroccan labour force to replace the ousted Spanish workers⁸⁹. However, as Isabel recalled, the men faced the brunt of local prejudice as an isolated foreign workforce (Figure 5.6).

⁸⁴ Field notes, 21 June 2014

⁸⁵ Filipino stall organizer, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 6, 24 June 2014

⁸⁶ Gunther Jutting, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 3, 3 June 2014

⁸⁷ Owen Smith, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 1, 20 May 2014

⁸⁸ Owen Smit, *Calentita Live*, 21 June 2014

⁸⁹ Interview with Mary, 8 June 2014

Figure 5.6 Quotation from Isabel

At the beginning I think the Moroccans had different [treatment], the poor people came over to help us really and they were put into a type of barracks and they weren't allowed to bring their families over. Just the people who were going to be employed or that were kind of skilled that could be made useful here. And all the men were put into that... And at the beginning it was a bit of a problem because all these men together, you know. People sort of looked down on them, I won't say they despised them or anything but they said 'they're so dirty' [condescending tone]. But they were living in conditions that didn't help and they had to do the laundering and all that and sometimes [gestures foul smell] 'oooh Moroccan'. As things went on I think people were allowed, some of the men found themselves places in town and gradually were able to claim their wives and children. And that improved the situation quite a bit.

(Interview with Isabel, 21 June 2014)

In the meantime, however, the Moroccan food supply was appreciatively welcomed. Violeta described the produce, the fish, the bread and everything else as 'lovely', while Conchi earnestly proclaimed that the quality of the fresh fruit and vegetable was so high that 'they supply Paris'. Eventually, as the border closure became a permanent as opposed to a temporary reality, the Moroccan workers were given permission to relocate their families to the Rock. In accordance with contact theory, as the Moroccans began to establish themselves, enhanced potential for intimate acquaintance with the Gibraltar community helped reduce the extent of local culturally-based prejudice (McLaren 2003). With this cemented migration pathway, Gibraltarans were personally exposed to the Moroccan culinary culture, rather than merely to its dissociated raw ingredients.

Over time, the Moroccan influence was tentatively invited into the more daring domestic kitchens. Recipes for 'fruity Moroccan chicken' and '*Harira* de Marrakesh' were casually interspersed among Mariluz's other handwritten recipes in her personal cookbook. Conchi, too, discussed learning how to cook many Moroccan dishes from her sister's two Moroccan maids. Pilcher (1996: 213) notes a similar trend in Mexico in which women were responsible for opening up the exchange of recipes among differing ethnic and class communities. Similarly, in India, Appadurai (1988: 7) observes how women were the 'trendsetters' in spearheading interethnic culinary practices. Here, however, it is worth noting that Mary's great grandfather's cookery book actually includes a recipe for 'Fowls with Cuss-Cuss (a Moorish dish)' (Figure 5.7). In this manner, the idea that Moroccan cuisine was an unheralded foreign phenomenon fails to take into account the fact that Gibraltar was under Moorish rule for approximately seven hundred years⁹⁰ (Norris 1961). As such, North African

⁹⁰ Interview with Isabel, 21 June 2014

food culture has a deep-rooted connection to the Rock. For this reason, it is fitting that Tito Benady recognized the Jewish-Moroccan dish *adafina* in his selection of Gibraltar’s favourite foods⁹¹.

Figure 5.7 Mary’s Great Grandfather’s Recipe for Cous Cous



Mary’s Great Grandfather’s Recipe for Cous Cous

Moroccan food illustrates the popular conception of safe and unsafe cases of cross-cultural consumption. Although, Isabel stated that she enjoys Moroccan food and occasionally visits a particular local restaurant, her apprehensive preconceptions of its sanitary standards remained ingrained. Her memory of her tour group being taken ill while in Morocco, continued to colour her attitude towards unfamiliar restaurants locally: ‘there’s one, but I wouldn’t recommend it, it looks...you know? I’ve never actually been, but I’ve been past it and it’s so dark and it is not the kind of place that [I] would risk going to’. Several of the other interviewees also registered similar concerns surrounding the hygiene of the local Moroccan restaurants, regardless of the fact that their own trips to Morocco were more fortuitously healthy⁹². Highmore (2008: 386, 396) documents how ‘disgust’ functions as a key psychosocial factor in the individual’s ‘alimentary pedagogy’ as an experience that demarcates and rejects threats to the self. In the context of the nation, Edwards *et al.*’s (2000: 298) discusses how the trope of ‘indigestion’ offers a more ‘acceptable metaphor for expressions of racist sentiment’ concerning new immigrant communities. Drawing upon the omnivore’s dilemma, the nation is framed as a body requiring the ingestion of external matter for

⁹¹ Benady, T. ‘Recipes for some Gibraltarian favourites’, *Calentita Press*, 2011, 18

⁹² Interviews with Maribel, 23 June 2014; Violeta, 3 July 2014

survival yet concomitantly vulnerable to indigestion from an ‘overdose’ of foreign food (ibid.: 303). According to Bost (2003: 513), however, the Mexican chile pepper often involved in American indigestion is not a passive subject of consumption, but rather an active agent of defiance, fighting back against the dominant culture. In this manner, the act of eating Moroccan is a two-way interaction that involves variable power geometries.

Figure 5.8 Photo-documentation of Moroccan Stall at Calentita Festival



Busy Moroccan Stall throughout the Calentita Festival

In stark contrast to the interviewees' guarded views on Moroccan restaurants, the Moroccan stall has become the undeniable 'flagship' of the Calentita festival⁹³. The Rock for Beginners blog announced that 'the most sought-after stall with the longest queue would hands down be the Moroccan stall with its popular *pinchitos*'⁹⁴. As expected, in 2014 the Moroccan stall's *pinchito* line undeniably commanded the traffic in Casemates central square (Figure 5.8). Cook and Harrison (2003: 311), however, identify the inherent Eurocentrism in 'the success of a marginal "ethnic" cuisine [being] measured in terms of its (in)ability to "cross over" into the... "mainstream"'. Indeed, other stalls have begun to capitalize upon the *pinchito* name recognition to market their own kebab-style offerings. Thus, there were 'Himalayan *pinchitos*' at the Nepalese tent and '*pinchitos de pollo*' at the Filipino⁹⁵. On the one hand, this practice highlights the degree to which culinary popularity is entirely anchored in conformity to the mainstream's tastes. On the other hand, however, this practice also echoes Narayan's (1997) understanding of the immigrant Other's performance of agency in the enterprising manner of commodification. Here the act of self-ethnicization has resulted in innovative hybrid food offerings that create truly ambivalent visions of race's role in 'future worlds' (Slocum 2011: 304).

The Moroccan festival stall is ultimately an attempt to pioneer culinary integration into the Gibraltarian food culture⁹⁶. As Jonathon Scott illustrates in his 2011 Calentita Press article: 'Ali and his friends [stall organizers] embrace the chance to be part of—and be seen to be part of—the fabric of Gibraltarian culture and proudly share their Moroccan heritage'⁹⁷. According to Ali Doussi, President of the Moroccan Community Association, 'we want to contribute to *la buena imagen de Gibraltar* [the good image of Gibraltar]'⁹⁸. In this manner, the Moroccan *pinchito* producers seek the accepted national status famously extolled by former Foreign Secretary Robin Cook in a speech about the British Chicken Tikka Masala (Buettner 2008). However, like the story behind Chicken Tikka Masala, the popularity of the *pinchito* stall is conditional. Despite the festival's progressive intentions, the subtle rhetoric of the Calentita Live presenters underhandedly re-affirmed Morocco's place in Gibraltar. As one presenter commented about the *pinchito* queue: 'it's almost like being at the

⁹³ A term used both by Idan Greenberg organizer of the Jewish stall, Calentita: Food for Thought, program 2, 17 May, 2014 and the presenters on Calentita Live, 21 June 2014

⁹⁴ 'Calentita, Calentita, Calentita', *The Rock for Beginners*, 20 June 2012, accessed 10 July 2014

⁹⁵ Field notes, 21 June 2014

⁹⁶ Ali Doussi Moroccan stall organizer, *Calentita: Food for Thought*, program 1, 20 May 2014

⁹⁷ Scott, J. 'Taking part is winning', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 15

⁹⁸ Scott, J. 'Taking part is winning', *Calentita Press*, 2011, 15

frontier but there is something good at the end of it'⁹⁹. While this comment was designed to celebrate the Moroccan food at the expense of the Spanish, it also definitively located it outside of Gibraltar. This seemingly banal act speaks volumes as to the popular understanding of Morocco as a peripheral and foreign part of the Gibraltar's food culture that has not been truly assimilated into the national identity.

Conclusions

This Gibraltarian study underscores how food is a key part of the popular negotiation of the nation's geopolitical affairs. Culinary culture illustrates both the banal nationalism of unconscious practices and the overt nationalist agenda of calculated performances. While the commitment to the British culinary influence is seen in monarchic celebrations and everyday shopping habits, it is also used to re-define a hybrid postcolonial interpretation of British-Gibraltarianness. Meanwhile, the internecine border conflict with Spain is expressed within the Gibraltarian sense of culinary territoriality, which denationalizes the Spanish foods favoured in Gibraltar and politicizes the consumer's act of border crossing. Finally, the alternative, albeit indirect, frontier with Morocco embodies a complicated cooperative relationship that at once sustains the Gibraltarian populace but at the same time is restricted in its culinary belonging. These imaginative culinary geographies are built upon a concurrent fear and fascination of the Other. While Gibraltar cannot truly regulate these transnational influences, Gibraltarian culinary nationhood relies upon the idea that the foreign can be controlled through cultural re-interpretation, decontextualization and commodification.

⁹⁹ Presenters, Calentita Live, GBC, 21 June 2014

6. Conclusions

“Food permits a person...to partake each day of the national past.”

Roland Barthes, 1961
(as cited in Raviv 2002: 164)

To this day, the scholarship on Gibraltar has overlooked the role of culinary popular culture in shaping the national identity. My research has sought to address this gap in the literature by grounding the abstract conception of nationhood in the familiar materiality of food. The above quotation from Barthes highlights how food acts as a national repository, archiving how various communities have influenced the Rock’s culinary culture over the years. However, national identity is not only inherited but also linked integrally to the populace’s progression. In order to capture the dynamism of the contemporary culinary nation-building process, I have delved into both the private and the public spheres, exploring the motivations and meanings behind individual practices and collective performances. While my methodology involved two distinct case studies, I have purposefully conducted my analysis in a manner that interweaves the private narratives of local ladies with that of the public food festival. This juxtaposition offers a unique insight into multiple dimensions that encompass the ‘edible’ Gibraltarian nation.

Domestically, Gibraltarian food culture epitomizes the notion of the culinary ‘displacement’ of transnational migration pathways (Cook and Crang 1996: 137). In this manner, traditional Gibraltarian dishes speak more to the adaptability and mobility of the community than to a conventionally static understanding of locality. Thus, notions of indigenous authenticity are not rooted in a specific placedness but are instead anchored in the family and developing domestic cooking practices. Meanwhile, Gibraltar annually embraces new immigrant arrivals within the invented multicultural tradition of the Calentita festival. Here, the celebration of culinary diversity is lauded as a definitive strength of the Rock’s community. This mobility and adaptability, however, ultimately has engendered an ambiguous imagined culinary community that currently lacks a stable and clear overarching national identity.

In marked contrast, within the realm of geopolitics, food is employed as a means of exerting control over Gibraltarian cultural ‘territoriality’ (Paasi 2011: 14). This is highlighted within the postcolonial context as Gibraltar reprises British culinary culture but also asserts its own version of Britishness. As concerns the border conflict, a strong undercurrent of food nationalism has

resurrected Gibraltar's siege mentality, restricting the incoming culinary influence of Spain and resisting the outgoing consumer act of crossing the border. The more recent Moroccan relationship is currently characterized by the community's selective appreciation and rejection of Moroccan culinary culture. As such, the heightened sensitivity to external Otherness within Gibraltarian imaginative culinary geographies has consequently generated a strong sense of the national self.

I conclude that this culinary nation-building project is much more effectively enacted through Gibraltar's perception of external difference than recognition of internal commonality. This suggests that the Gibraltarian nation is being built from the outside in. Here it is useful to apply Adema's (2007: 3) theorization to conceptualize a spatial Gibraltarian 'foodscape'. In this manner, while the peripheral culinary borders are currently the focus of construction efforts, the core infrastructure has been largely neglected. Thus Gibraltarian culinary nationhood is not under threat from without but from within. The absence of a galvanizing domestic culinary identity is potentially symptomatic of future difficulties to sustain the self-determining sovereignty situation. However, the upcoming release of the first real Gibraltarian recipe book and the successful reinvigoration of the *calentita* national dish may herald a definitive first step towards crucially refocusing this culinary nation-building process.

It must be acknowledged that this research project has certain limitations, generally attributable to time constraints. First, my case study exploring everyday culinary practices necessarily targeted a very specific demographic, namely elderly local ladies. With more time, however, this interview segment would ideally include a more inclusive range of the Gibraltarian populace, exploring the meaning of food across age generations and offering an alternative male perspective into the female-dominated domestic discourse. Secondly, in my festival case study I relied heavily upon the media material available online. If I were able to have spent more time in Gibraltar, I would have conducted a thorough investigation of the local libraries' physical archives so as to aggregate enough material to conduct a comprehensive discourse analysis of the festival.

Based off of this project, I also recognize a crucial outstanding area of interest for further research into Gibraltarian culinary nationhood. Thus, I call for future work to address not only the mainstream but also the marginal. A potential avenue in which to get more intimately, and perhaps ethnographically, involved in the wider community would be to follow the Calentita festival organization on the ground in the months leading up to and following the actual event. In this manner, the researcher would gain access to a variety of local culinary communities through focused interviews with the stall organizers. This line of inquiry would also open up the opportunity to use

food as a medium to facilitate multicultural focus group discussions and investigate the cultural politics side-lined within official festival strictures.

Given that the geopolitical situation is unlikely to be resolved in the near future, Gibraltar realistically faces an unrelenting challenge to its fundamental national existence. While the realm of culinary popular culture may appear trivial to the uninitiated observer, I strongly contend that food should not be underestimated as a defining factor in Gibraltar's future legitimacy as a nation and as a strategic medium through which to study this crucial nation-building process.

References

- Abarca, M.E. (2006) *Voices in the Kitchen: Views of Food and the World from Working-Class Mexican and Mexican American Women*, College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Abarca, M.E. (2007) 'Charlas culinarias: Mexican women speak from their public kitchens', *Food and Foodways*, 15, 3-4, 183-212.
- Adapon, J. (2008) *Culinary Art and Anthropology*, Oxford: Berg.
- Adema, P. (2007) 'Foodscape: an emulsion of food and landscape', *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, 7, 1, 3.
- Álvarez, M. (2006) 'Food, poetry, and borderlands materiality: Walter Benjamin at the taquería', *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies*, 10, 1, 205-230.
- Amilien, V. (2005) 'Preface: about local food', *Anthropology of Food*, 2,
- Anderson, B.R.O. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.
- Anzaldúa, G.E. (1987) *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
- Appadurai, A. (1981) 'Gastro-politics in Hindu South Asia', *American Ethnologist*, 8, 3, 494-511.
- Appadurai, A. (1986) 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value', in A. Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-63.
- Appadurai, A. (1988) 'How to make a national cuisine: cookbooks in contemporary India', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30, 1, 3-24.
- Archer, E.G. (2003) 'Imperial influences: Gibraltarians, cultural bonding and sport', *Culture, Sport, Society*, 6, 1, 43-60.
- Archer, E.G. (2005) 'An imperial legacy—British by inclination: socialization, education and a Gibraltarian sense of identity', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 22, 4, 582-599.
- Aronson, J. (1994) 'A pragmatic view of thematic analysis', *The Qualitative Report*, 2, 1, n.p.
- Avakian, A.V. (ed.) (1997) *Through the Kitchen Window: Women Explore the Intricate Meanings of Food and Cooking*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Babdzan, A. (2000) 'Anthropology, nationalism and "the invention of tradition"', *Anthropological Forum: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Comparative Sociology*, 10, 2, 131-155.

- Baxter, J. and J. Eyles (1997) 'Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: establishing "rigour" in interview analysis', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22, 4, 505-525.
- Bell, D. (2002) 'Fragments for a new urban culinary geography', *Journal for the Study of Food and Society*, 6, 1, 10-21.
- Bell, D. and G. Valentine (1997) *Consuming Geographies: We are Where we Eat*, London: Routledge.
- Bendix, R. (1989) 'Tourism and cultural displays: inventing traditions for whom?', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 102, 404, 131-146.
- Bhabha, H.K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge.
- Billiard, E. (2006) 'When tradition becomes trendy: social distinction in Maltese food culture', *Anthropological Notebooks*, 12, 1, 113-126.
- Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage.
- Bost, S. (2003) 'Women and chile at the Alamo: feeding US colonial mythology', *Nepantla: Views from South*, 4, 3, 493-522.
- Brah, A. (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, London: Routledge.
- Bramadat, P.A. (2001) 'Shows, selves and solidarity: ethnic identity and cultural spectacles in Canada', *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 33, 3, 78-98.
- Brennen, B.S. (2013) *Qualitative Research Methods for Media Studies*, New York: Routledge.
- Bryman, A. (2001) *Social Research Methods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buettner, E. (2008) "'Going for an Indian": South Asian restaurants and the limits of multiculturalism in Britain', *The Journal of Modern History*, 80, 4, 865-901.
- Burke, S.D. and L.A. Sawchuk (2001) 'Alien encounters: the *jus soli* and reproductive politics in the 19th-century fortress and colony of Gibraltar', *The History of the Family*, 6, 4, 531-561.
- Burrell, K. (2008) 'Materialising the border: spaces of mobility and material culture in migration from Post-Socialist Poland', *Mobilities*, 3, 3, 353-373.
- Caldwell, M.L. (2002) 'The taste of nationalism: food politics in postsocialist Moscow', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, 67, 3, 295-319.
- Chen, Y-J. (2011) 'Ethnic politics in the framing of national cuisine: state banquets and the proliferation of ethnic cuisine in Taiwan', *Food, Culture and Society*, 14, 3, 315-333.
- Chuang, H.T. (2009) 'The rise of culinary tourism and its transformation of food cultures: the national cuisine of Taiwan', *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, 27, 2, 84-108.

- Constantine, S. (2006) 'Monarchy and constructing identity in "British" Gibraltar, c. 1800 to the present', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34, 1, 23-44.
- Cook, I. *et al.* (2008) 'Geographies of food: mixing', *Progress in Human Geography*, 32, 6, 821-833.
- Cook, I. and P. Crang (1996) 'The world on a plate: culinary culture, displacement and geographical knowledges', *Journal of Material Culture*, 1, 2, 131-153.
- Cook, I. and M. Harrison (2003) 'Cross over food: re-materializing postcolonial geographies', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28, 3, 296-317.
- Cook, I., Crang, P. and M. Thorpe (1998) 'Biographies and geographies: consumer understandings of the origins of foods', *British Food Journal*, 100, 3, 162-167.
- Cook, I., Crang, P. and M. Thorpe (2000) 'Regions to be cheerful: culinary authenticity and its geographies', in I. Cook, S. Naylor and J.R. Ryan (eds) *Cultural Turns/Geographical Turns: Perspectives on Cultural Geography*, Harlow: Prentice Hall, 109-139.
- Crang (2003) 'Qualitative methods: touchy, feely, look-see?', *Progress in Human Geography*, 27, 4, 494-504.
- Crang, P., Dwyer, C. and P. Jackson (2003) 'Transnationalism and the spaces of commodity culture', *Progress in Human Geography*, 27, 4, 438-456.
- Cusack, I. (2000) 'African cuisines: recipes for nation-building?', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 13, 2, 207-225.
- Cusack, I. (2003) 'Pots, pens and "eating out the body": cuisine and the gendering of African nations', *Nations and Nationalism*, 9, 2, 277-296.
- Cusack, I. (2004) 'Equatorial Guinea's national cuisine is simple and tasty: cuisine and the making of national culture', *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies*, 8, 1, 131-148.
- Cusack, I. (2014) 'Cookery books and celebrity chefs: men's contributions to national cuisines in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Food, Culture and Society: An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 17, 1, 65-80.
- Davies, G., and C. Dwyer (2007) 'Qualitative methods: are you enchanted or are you alienated?', *Progress in Human Geography*, 31, 2, 257-266.
- De Haas, H. (2007) 'Morocco's migration experience: a transitional perspective', *International Migration*, 45, 4, 39-70.
- Delyser, D., Aitken, S.C., Herbert, S., Crang, M. and L. McDowell (2010) 'Introduction: engaging qualitative geography', in D. Delyser, S. Herbert, S. Aitken, M. Crang and L. McDowell (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, Los Angeles: Sage, 1-17.

- DeSoucey, M. (2010) 'Gastronationalism: food traditions and authenticity politics in the European Union', *American Sociological Review*, 75, 3, 432-455.
- Dittmer, J. (2010) *Popular Culture, Geopolitics, and Identity*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Dittmer, J., and K. Dodds (2008) 'Popular geopolitics past and future: fandom, identities and audiences', *Geopolitics*, 13, 3, 437-457.
- Dittmer, J., and N. Gray (2010) 'Popular geopolitics 2.0: towards new methodologies of the everyday', *Geography Compass*, 4, 11, 1664-1677.
- Dodds, K., and J.D. Sidaway (1994) 'Locating critical geopolitics', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 12, 5, 515-524.
- Dodds, K., Lambert, D. and B. Robison (2007) 'Loyalty and royalty: Gibraltar, the 1953-54 royal tour and the geopolitics of the Iberian peninsula', *Twentieth Century British History*, 18, 3, 365-390.
- Driessen, H. (1998) 'The "new immigration" and the transformation of the European-African frontier', in T.M. Wilson and H. Donnan (eds) *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 96-116.
- Driver, F. (2013) 'Imaginative geographies' in P. Cloke, P. Crang and M. Goodwin (eds) *Introducing Human Geographies*, London: Routledge, 144-155.
- Druckman, C. (2010) 'Why are there no great women chefs?', *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies*, 10, 1, 24-31.
- Duffy, M. (2005) 'Performing identity within a multicultural framework', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 6, 5, 677-692.
- Dunn, K. (2010) 'Interviewing', in I. Hay (ed.) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 101- 138.
- Duruz, J. (2005) 'Eating at the borders: culinary journeys', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, 1, 51-69.
- Dwyer, C. and M. Limb (2001) 'Introduction: doing qualitative research in geography', in M. Limb and C. Dwyer (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates*, London: Arnold, 1-20.
- Edensor, T. (2002) *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, Oxford: Berg.
- Edmonds, M. (1981) 'Gibraltar—where two monologues do not make a dialogue', *Review of International Studies*, 7, 4, 217-225.
- Edwards, L., Occhipinti, S. and S. Ryan (2000) 'Food and immigration: the indigestion trope contests the sophistication narrative', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 21, 3, 297-308.

- Fereday, J. and E. Muir-Cochrane (2006) 'Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: a hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5, 1, 80-92.
- Ferguson, P.P. (2003) 'Writing out of the kitchen: Carême and the invention of French cuisine', *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies*, 3, 3, 40-51.
- Flowers, R., and E. Swan (2012) 'Eating the Asian other? pedagogies of food multiculturalism in Australia' *Portal: Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies*, 9, 2, 1-30.
- Fox, J.E. and C. Miller-Idriss (2008) 'Everyday nationhood', *Ethnicities*, 8, 4, 536-563.
- Frank, M.C. (2009) 'Imaginative geography as a travelling concept', *European Journal of English Studies*, 13, 1, 61-77.
- Friedberg, S. (2003) 'Editorial: not all sweetness and light: new cultural geographies of food', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 4, 1, 3-6.
- Geertz, C. (1994) 'Thick description: toward an interpretive theory of culture', in M. Martin and L.C. McIntyre (eds) *Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science*, 213-231.
- Gold, P. (2002) 'Sport as a political tool: the case of Spain and Gibraltar', *The Sports Historian*, 22, 2, 164-177.
- Gold, P. (2009) 'Gibraltar at the United Nations: caught between a treaty, the charter and the "fundamentalism" of the special committee', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 20, 4, 697-715.
- Gold, P. (2010) 'Identity formation in Gibraltar: geopolitical, historical and cultural factors', *Geopolitics*, 15, 2, 367-384.
- Guibernau, M. (1996) *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Morris, D.S., and Haigh, R.H. (2002) *Britain, Spain, and Gibraltar, 1945-1990 The Eternal Triangle*, London: Routledge.
- Halkier, B., and L. Holm (2008) 'Food consumption and political agency: on concerns and practices among Danish consumers', *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 32, 6, 667-674.
- Haller, D. (2000) 'The smuggler and the beauty queen: the border and sovereignty as sources of body style in Gibraltar', *Ethnologia Europaea*, 30, 2, 57-72.
- Haller, D. (2005) 'Beyond Europeanization: a peripheral view of culture and the nation-state', in T.M. Wilson and H. Donnan (eds) *Culture and Power at the Edges of the State: National Support and Subversion in European Border Regions*, 81-102.
- Heldke, L.M. (2003) *Exotic appetites: Ruminations of a food adventurer*, New York: Routledge.

- Highmore, B. (2008) 'Alimentary agents: food, cultural theory and multiculturalism', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 29, 4, 381-398.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. (1983) 'Introduction: inventing traditions', in E.J. Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-14.
- Hocking, C., Wright-St Clair, V. and W. Bunrayong (2002) 'The meaning of cooking and recipe work for older Thai and New Zealand women', *Journal of Occupational Science*, 9, 3, 117-127.
- Holtzman, J.D. (2006) 'Food and memory', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35, 361-378.
- Howes, D. (2002) 'Introduction: commodities and cultural borders', in D. Howes (ed.) *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*, London: Routledge, 1-18.
- Hutnyk, J. (2005) 'Hybridity', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, 1, 79-102.
- Hyams, M. (2002) "'Over there" and "back then": an odyssey in national subjectivity', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20, 4, 459-476.
- Jackson, P. (1999) 'Commodity culture: the traffic in things', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24, 1, 95-108.
- Jackson, P. (2000) 'Rematerializing social and cultural geography', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 1, 1, 9-14.
- Jansen, W. (2001) 'French bread and Algerian wine: conflicting identities in French Algeria', in P. Scholliers (ed.) *Food, Drink and Identity: Eating and Drinking in Europe Since the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Berg, 195-218.
- Karaosmanoğlu, D. (2007) 'Surviving the global market: Turkish cuisine "under construction"', *Food Culture and Society*, 10, 3, 425-448.
- King, N. (2004) 'Using templates in the thematic analysis of text', in C. Cassel and G. Symon (eds) *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*, London: Sage, 256-270.
- Lambert, D. (2005) "'As solid as the rock"? place, belonging and the local appropriation of imperial discourse in Gibraltar', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30, 2, 206-220.
- Lawson, J. (2011) 'Food legacies: playing the culinary feminine', *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory*, 21, 3, 337-366.
- Lee, I., Arcodie, C. and T.J. Lee (2012) 'Benefits of visiting a multicultural festival: the case of South Korea', *Tourism Management*, 33, 2, 334-340.
- Leitch, A. (2003) 'Slow food and the politics of pork fat: Italian food and European identity', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, 68, 4, 437-462.

- Lincoln, Y.S. and E.A. Guba (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Longhurst, R., Johnston, L. and E. Ho (2009) 'A visceral approach: cooking "at home" with migrant women in Hamilton, New Zealand', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34, 3, 333-345.
- Matthee, D.D. (2004) 'Towards an emotional geography of eating practices: an exploration of the food rituals of women of colour working on farms in the Western Cape', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 11, 3, 437-443.
- May, J. (1996) "'A little taste of something more exotic": the imaginative geographies of everyday life', *Geography*, 81, 1, 57-64.
- McAndrews, K. (1998) 'Incorporating the local tourist at the Big Island Poke Festival', in L.M. Long (ed.) *Culinary Tourism*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 114-127.
- McClinchey, K.A. (2008) 'Urban ethnic festivals, neighborhoods, and the multiple realities of marketing place', *Journal of travel and tourism marketing*, 25, 3-4, 251-264.
- McLaren, L.M. (2003) 'Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: contact, threat perception, and preferences for the exclusion of migrants', *Social Forces*, 81, 3, 909-936.
- Merriam, S.B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M-Y., Kee, Y., Ntseane, G. and M. Muhamad (2001) 'Power and positionality: negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20, 5, 405-416.
- Metro-Roland (2013) 'Goulash nationalism: the culinary identity of a nation', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 8, 2-3, 172-181.
- Molz, J.G. (2007) 'Eating difference: the cosmopolitan mobilities of culinary tourism', *Space and Culture*, 10, 1, 77-93.
- Morris, C. (2013) 'Kai or kiwi? Māori and "kiwi" cookbooks and the struggle of the field of New Zealand cuisine', *Journal of Sociology*, 49, 2-3, 210-223.
- Muller, K. (2004) 'Being "European" in Gibraltar', *Journal of European Integration*, 26, 1, 41-60.
- Murcott, A. (1996) 'Food as an expression of identity' in S. Gustavsson and L. Lewin (eds) *The Future of the Nation-State: Essays on Cultural Pluralism and Political Integration*, London: Routledge, 21-37.
- Narayan, U. (1995) 'Eating cultures: incorporation, identity and Indian food', *Social Identities*, 1, 1, 63-86.
- Narayan, U. (1997) *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third World Feminism*, London: Routledge.

- Nash, C. (2003) 'Cultural geography: anti-racist geographies', *Progress in Human Geography*, 27, 5, 637-648.
- Nechtman, T. (2011) '...For it was founded upon a rock': Gibraltar and the purposes of empire in the mid-nineteenth century', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39, 5, 749-770.
- Newman, D. (2003) 'On borders and power: a theoretical framework', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 18, 1, 13-25.
- Norrie, C. (2003) 'The last rock in the Empire: evacuation, identity and myth in Gibraltar', *Oral History*, 31, 1, 73-84.
- Norris, H.T. (1961) 'The early Islamic settlement in Gibraltar', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 91, 1, 39-51.
- Nowak, Z. (2014) 'Folklore, fakelore, history: invented tradition and the origins of the pizza margherita', *Food, Culture and Society: An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 17, 1, 103-124.
- Nugent, P. (2010) 'Do nations have stomachs? food and drink and imagined community in Africa', *Africa Spectrum*, 45, 3, 87-113.
- Padiak, J. (2005) 'The "serious evil of marching regiments": the families of the British garrison of Gibraltar', *The History of the Family*, 10, 2, 137-150.
- Paasi, A. (2011) 'A border theory: an unattainable dream or a realistic aim for border scholars?', in D. Wastl-Walter (ed.) *The Ashgate Companion to Border Studies*, 11-32.
- Palmer, C. (1998) 'From theory to practice: experiencing the nation in everyday life', *Journal of Material Culture*, 3, 2, 175-199.
- Papademas, D. and IVSA (2009) 'International Visual Sociology Association code of research ethics and guidelines', *Visual Studies*, 24, 3, 250-257.
- Paulson, S. (2006) 'Body, nation, and consubstantiation in Bolivian ritual meals', *American Ethnologist*, 33, 4, 650-664.
- Peake, B. (2012) 'Listening, language, and colonialism on main street, Gibraltar', *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 9, 2, 171-190.
- Pilcher, J.M. (1996) 'Tamales or timbales: cuisine and the formation of Mexican national identity, 1821-1911', *The Americas*, 53, 2, 193-216.
- Pillow, W. (2003) 'Confession, catharsis, or cure? rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16, 2, 175-196.

- Preston-Werner, T. (2012) 'Defending national foodways: laying claim to tradition in Costa Rica', in R. Wilk and L. Barbosa (eds) *Rice and Beans: A Unique Dish in a Hundred Places*, London: Berg, 181-202.
- Prokkola, E.K. (2009) 'Unfixing borderland identity: border performances and narratives in the construction of self', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 24, 3, 21-38.
- Raviv, Y. (2003) 'Falafel: a national icon', *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies*, 3, 3, 20-25.
- Ray, K. (2008) 'Nation and cuisine: the evidence from American newspapers ca. 1830-2003', *Food and Foodways*, 16, 4, 259-297.
- Rose, G. (1997) 'Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics', *Progress in Human Geography*, 21, 3, 305-320.
- Rose, G. (2012) *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, Sage: London.
- Rusher, K. (2003) 'The Bluff Oyster Festival and regional economic development: festivals as culture commodified', in C.M. Hall, L. Sharples, R. Mitchell, N. Macionis, and B. Cambourne (eds) *Food Tourism Around the World*, Amsterdam: Butterworth-Heinemann, 192-205.
- Said, E. (1979) *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books.
- Shurmer-Smith, P. (2002) 'Introduction' in P. Shurmer-Smith (ed.) *Doing Cultural Geography*, London: Sage, 1-10.
- Silverman, D. (1993) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text, and Interaction*, London: Sage Publications.
- Skey, M. (2009) 'The national in everyday life: a critical engagement with Michael Billig's thesis of *Banal Nationalism*', *The Sociological Review*, 57, 2, 331-346.
- Slocum, R. (2011) 'Race in the study of food', *Progress in Human Geography*, 35, 3, 303-327.
- Smith, A.D. (1986) 'State-making and nation-building', in J.A. Hall (ed.) *States in History*, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 228-263.
- Stockey, G. (2012) 'Sport and Gibraltar: problematizing a supposed "problem", 1713-1954', *Sport in History*, 32, 1, 1-25.
- Swinbank, V.A. (2002) 'The sexual politics of cooking: A feminist analysis of culinary hierarchy in western culture' *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 15, 4, 464-494.
- Tominc, A. (2014) 'Legitimising amateur celebrity chefs' advice and the discursive transformation of the Slovene national culinary identity', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17, 3, 316-337.

- Valentine, G. (1997) 'Tell me about...: using interviews as a research methodology', in R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: a Guide for Students Doing Research Projects*, Essex: Longman, 110-127.
- Van Esterik, P. (1982) 'Celebrating ethnicity: ethnic flavouring an urban festival', *Ethnic Groups*, 4, 4, 207-228.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2008) *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walker, M.A. (2013) 'Border food and food on the border: meaning and practice in Mexican haute cuisine', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 14, 6, 649-667.
- Wilk, R.R. (1999) "'Real Belizean food": building local identity in the transnational Caribbean', *American Anthropologist*, 101, 2, 244-255.
- Wilk, R.R. (2002) 'Food and nationalism: the origins of "Belizean food"', in W.J. Belasco and P. Scranton (eds) *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*, New York: Routledge, 67-89.
- Wilk, R.R., and L. Barbosa (eds) (2012) *Rice and Beans: A Unique Dish in a Hundred Places*, London: Berg.

Appendix A: Glossary of Food Terms

Name	Description (origins based on popular geographical knowledges)
<i>Adafina</i>	Slow-cooked meat stew of Jewish-Moroccan origin
<i>Cafelito</i>	Spanish milky coffee served in a short glass
<i>Calentita</i>	Savoury snack made from chickpeas that is baked in a dish tray and sliced into squares
<i>Croquetas</i>	A bite size fried mixture sometimes made from potato, béchamel sauce, or ground meat eaten around the world
<i>Huevos a la Flamenca</i>	Spanish dish of sautéed tomatoes, peppers and sausage baked with an egg on top
<i>Manchego cheese</i>	Sheep's milk cheese from La Mancha, Spain
<i>Mantecados</i>	Crumbly, biscuit like Spanish sweet
<i>Minestra</i>	Italian soup with lots of vegetables and normally some sort of pasta (minestrone)
<i>Montaditos</i>	Small bread roll with tapas-style fillings
<i>Paella</i>	Spanish rice-based dish often made with chicken and seafood
<i>Pan de Nuez</i>	Sweet loaf cake with nuts and dried fruit
<i>Pan Dulce</i>	Sweet bread with anise made at Christmastime
<i>Panissa</i>	Made from the calentita batter but then cooked and left to set before cutting into pieces and fried.
<i>Pinchitos</i>	Seasoned kebabs of meat of North African origin
<i>Pisto</i>	Spanish tomato based vegetable dish similar to a ratatouille
<i>Potaje de Acelga</i>	Spanish stew made out of spinach and meat
<i>Potaje de Lentejas</i>	Spanish stew made out of lentils and meat
<i>Rolitos</i>	Maltese dish of small bite size pieces of meat stuffed with a filling and cooked together
<i>Rosto</i>	Genoese stew made with meat, tomato sauce and pasta
<i>Serrano ham</i>	Dry-cured Spanish ham
<i>Tapas</i>	Variety of small dish portions often shared among diners in Spain
<i>Tinto de Verano</i>	Spanish drink made from wine and carbonated lemonade
<i>Torrijas</i>	Spanish version of fried French toast eaten at Easter
<i>Tortillitas</i>	Made from calentita batter with chopped onions added and spooned into a hot pan of oil for frying

Source: Personal knowledge and research fieldwork

Appendix C: Data Analysis Outline

Stage 1: Deductive Codes	Stage 2: Inductive Codes	Stage 3: Preliminary Themes	Stage 4: Coding Hierarchy
<p>Invented Traditions</p> <p>Banal Nationalism</p> <p>Conflict with Spain</p> <p>Connection to Britain</p> <p>National Cuisine</p> <p>Authenticity</p> <p>Hybridity</p> <p>Cross-Cultural Consumption</p> <p>Nation-building</p> <p>Multiculturalism</p> <p>Food politics</p> <p>Gender</p> <p>Domestic Cooking Practices</p> <p>Public Food Performances</p>	<p>Recipe books</p> <p>Safe/un-safe cross-cultural consumption</p> <p>Cultural Representation</p> <p>Main Food Supply</p> <p>Daily Shopping</p> <p>Crossing the border</p> <p>Moroccan Frontier</p> <p>Restaurant Scene</p>	<p>‘Local’ food traditions</p> <p>Culinary multiculturalism</p> <p>National cuisine</p> <p>British belonging</p> <p>Spanish border relations</p> <p>The Moroccan frontier</p>	<p>1. <u>Objective 1: Migration</u></p> <p>1.1 Local</p> <p>a. Rosto as example of local dish</p> <p>b. The role of the grandmother</p> <p>c. Documenting local cuisine</p> <p>1.2 Multicultural</p> <p>a. The melting pot</p> <p>b. Cross-cultural consumption in festival</p> <p>c. and at home</p> <p>1.3 National</p> <p>a. Calentita history</p> <p>b. Calentita festival</p> <p>c. National cuisine</p> <p>2. <u>Objective 2: Geopolitics</u></p> <p>2.1 Britain</p> <p>a. Jubilee celebrations</p> <p>b. Buying British</p> <p>c. Eating British</p> <p>2.2 Spain</p> <p>a. Border closure</p> <p>b. Local Spanish foods</p> <p>c. Spanish vilification</p> <p>d. Border crossing</p> <p>f. Calentita festival</p> <p>2.3 Morocco</p> <p>a. Food/Labour Supply</p> <p>b. Home Cooking</p> <p>c. Indigestion</p> <p>d. Pinchito stall</p> <p>e. National un-belonging</p>

Appendix D: Calentita Stalls

Cuisine	2011	2012	2013	2014
Asian Fusion	0	0	1	1
American	0	0	1 (Corn Dogs USA)	2 (Tex Mex USA Hot Dogs)
British	0	3 (Best of British British Desserts Tea in the Park)	2 (Best of British Pies British Desserts)	1 (British Desserts)
Caribbean	1	0	1 (Rock Chef)	0
Chinese	1	1	1	1
Cuban	0	0	0	1
Filipino	0	1	1	1
German	1	1 (Wurst Bude)	1	2 (Brat Wurst German Broth)
Gibraltarian	3 (Calentita Gibraltarian Llanito Desserts)	3 (Calentita Llanito Food Llanito Desserts)	2 (Calentita Gibraltarian Desserts)	4 (Calentita Gibraltarian Gibraltarian Desserts Gourmet Gibraltarian)
Greek	1	0	1 (Binky's Kitchen)	1 (Greek and Preserves)
Hong Kong	1	1	1	1
Hungarian	0	0	1	0
Indian	2	1	1 (Sai Darbar)	3 (2 Indian Sai Darbad)
Irish	1	0	0	1
Italian	1 (Sicilian)	0	0	2 (Italian Neapolitan)
Jewish	1	0	2 (Middle Eastern Jewish Salt Beef)	1 (Middle Eastern)
Kenyan	1	0	0	0
Malaysian	0	1	1	1
Maltese	0	1	0	0
Mexican	1	0	0	0
Moroccan	1	2 (Tagine Moroccan Pinchitos)	2 (Vicky's Fusion Moroccan Pinchitos)	1
Nepalese	0	0	0	1
Scottish	1	0	0	0
South African	1	1	0	0
Spanish	2 (Paella Montaditos)	0	2 (Montaditos Real Ale)	(Montaditos)
Sri Lanka	1	0	0	0
Thai	0	0	1	0

Source: Calentita Press 2011-14

Appendix E: Interview Schedule

Preliminary Information

- Review project purpose and participation requirements
- Discuss audio/visual documentation and anonymity [Photo Audio - Answer questions about project/participation

About the Dish [if relevant]

Dish Name: _____

- How did you **learn to cook** this dish: family/friend? Recipe book? Self-taught?
- Is the **recipe** written down or from memory?
- Does it require special/very specific **ingredients**?
- Are there different **versions**: traditional? Modern?
- Do you know the **origin** of this recipe/dish comes from: local? Foreign?

Biological/Genealogical

- Were you **born in Gibraltar**: parents? Grandparents etc.?
- Do you have **family** living here now?

Childhood Food Memories

- How did you **learn to cook**: when? Who taught you?
- What were your **favourite dishes** as a child?

The Border Closure

- How did the closing of the frontier affect **food supplies** in Gibraltar?
- Did you have to **improvise** recipes? **Adapt** your diet much?

Cooking Practices

- What are some of your **favourite dishes**?
- Have you **taught** your children/grandchildren to cook?

Shopping Practices

- Where do you normally go **food shopping**?
- Do you tend to buy **Spanish/British/International foods**?

Eating Out Practices

- Which are some of your **favourite restaurants**?
- Do you cross the border to go to **Spanish restaurants**? **International restaurants**?

National Cuisine

- Would you say Gibraltar has a **national cuisine**?
- Have you heard of/been to the **Calentita! food festival**?

Nationality

- How important is **British citizenship** to you?
- How important is it to maintain the **Spanish cultural heritage**?
- Do you think Gibraltar is open to **new immigrant communities**?
- What does it mean to be **llanito/a**?

Closing Comments

- Explain the next stage of the research (i.e. festival)
- Further comments/suggestions?
- Thank participant for their time and participation

Appendix F: Extract from Interview Transcript

Extract from interview with Isabel, 21 June 2014

...

A: I've heard that when the frontier closed that instead of everything coming from Spain it was brought in from Morocco instead and the UK... There wasn't really any scarcity of food?

I: No not really. We didn't suffer on that score... The only adverse thing really was not being able to get out of Gib. And not everybody could afford to take a plane or boat. We were lucky, by that time I was working so we used to save up and at least during the summer holidays perhaps, we would go over to England and go to the theatres and that kind of thing, which here we're very confined. We used to, on a Sunday, in the winter...it wasn't so bad in the summer because people used to go to the beaches, but in the winter when the weather was not particularly good, heavy levante or something like that, people with cars would go round. They used to call it the scalextric run because you could actually go through the tunnel and out the other side. *Up* the other side, *down* the rock, *up* the rock... Apart from that really. I suppose it was the deprivation of how limited we were, confined to such a small place.

A: So when the frontier closed a lot of the Spanish had to leave and instead the Moroccans came over?

I: That's right. A lot of skilled workers in the dockyard for example and artisans really were mainly Spanish. The Moroccans weren't as highly skilled as the Spanish were. But...well, I suppose we managed all those years. I've still got my Moroccan lady who cleans for me. She came over well forty years ago. Because most of them must have citizenship now... Well, this one, she's been working here for a *long* time. She has eight children. And she comes and goes. Say for Ramadan she might pop over for a week. It's not a very long journey.

A: So have you been to Morocco?

I: Yes I have. Funnily enough not during the time that the frontier was closed. I've been to Morocco, much much later on tours, I went on tours. And I did the imperial cities, and you start over in Tangiers really and we had a coach tour, we did all the imperial cities. There's Fez, Casablanca, Rabat all the down to the Sahara. I really enjoyed that... Well we all got sick. Because, I wasn't so bad but my friends, we had a couple. She got *absolutely*, she got dysentery. *Ooh* she was really quite quite sick. It spoiled her holiday really. *And we were careful what we ate!* But obviously at some point or other... We must have slipped up and had fruit or something, I don't know. The thing is, we all got sick. At one point or another. And usually we ate the same type of food within the restaurants. They seemed quite clean and everything... I don't know maybe a fly might have [laughs] deposited it's cargo on your particular piece food that you had. Particular dish. I enjoyed it and it felt quite safe. The only bothersome thing was that you were followed everywhere and asking, and trying to sell you things, it became really, I wouldn't say boring, it became really annoying. Because everywhere you went, little children asking for money for anything. *Biro, biro!* I remember asking for *biro, biro!* We used to take over sweets and bios and then just give it to them, but of course as soon as that happened, *what happened*, all the others came.

A: Have you eaten Moroccan here?

I: Yes I have, I forgot that one... Well there's a Moroccan restaurant there and they do some very nice tagines, yes very nice. And it's very reasonable as well, it doesn't cost you an arm and a leg. We've been there as well. Not so much with this one friend, I don't think she likes Moroccan food, very much. I'm not sure, she never suggests going there.

A: I haven't been to a Moroccan here...

I: That's the only one that I know that I could recommend. There's one, but I wouldn't recommend it, it looks, you know. I've never actually been, but I've been past it and it's *so* dark and it is not the kind of place that would risk going to. But that one in the Bizuela it's called where the Theater Royal used to be... Marakesh I think it's called.

A: Do you think there's much turnover of restaurants here?

I: Lately, there have been more restaurants really doing business because of the frontier. Everybody on the Sunday, nearly everybody *used to* go across. But *now* it's not worth the wait really, so people dine here.

A: To get a reservation on Sunday...

I: On Sunday's yes you have to book. Usually weekends is very busy. I went to the Sandborn. The big boat that is a hotel. And the *expense*. I think they haven't got their acts together yet because it was somebody's birthday and they decided that they wanted to have tea there. And when we arrived, the place wasn't laid out *or anything*. I thought it was odd. You know, it's *supposed* to be so classy. And we had to ask for serviettes, we had to ask for knives... and they brought the, the fare was nice. It was really nice. The sandwiches were very nicely laid out.

A: So like English afternoon tea?

I: Yes, they bring it in a sort of tiered thing and you have cakes and scones and the works. That cost without the tip, it cost *24 pounds!* You have as much tea as you like. I thought, well I won't come here again... No it's very expensive. And I believe, people who have been there for lunch or for dinner. It's quite, depends whether you have two courses or three. I really enjoy going to London, but it's expensive. I spent most of May and a bit of June in London, with my family.

A: So you were born in Gibraltar, and what about your parents?

I: My parent's were Gibraltarian as well. My grandparents, on my mother's side she was Spanish. And my grandfather on my mothers side was Genoese. The Genoese came over when they started building the docks. They were from Genoese descent... And on my father's side, there, my father's grandparents were Maltese. Again they came over and there was a lot of work for people willing to work in the dockyards, building the docks. And it attracted a lot of outsiders from, mainly from Malta and from Italy. A lot of the names are really Italian, Maltese, Spanish, Portuguese, a lot of Portuguese came over as well. It was work so people go where the work is. And then there is intermarrying with the locals. A lot of the sir names if you look at it are English. Different regiments

were here. Mainly soldiers and airmen, well the airmen were after the war... Mainly it was the soldiers and the sailors here really. A lot of the girls married. So you have lots of names, English and Welsh and Irish and Scottish.

A: It's really quite a blend.

I: It is, isn't it! I must show you a picture that one of the Jewish guys gave me. [goes to get it]. A Jewish guy I know gave it to me. He had them made and it's the rabbi, the bishop, the imam from the Moorish, and that's the Roman Catholic Bishop. We *all* seem to get on. Fairly well, with each other.

A: Gibraltar is quite unique in that respect, definitely.

I: At the beginning I think the Moroccans had different...the poor people came over to help us really and they were put into a type of barracks and they weren't allowed to bring their families over. Just the people who were going to be employed or that were kind of skilled that could be made useful here. And all the men were put into that. And at the beginning it was a bit of a problem because all these men together, you know. People sort of looked down on them, I won't say they despised them or anything but they said '*they're so dirty*'. But they were living in conditions that didn't help and they had to do the laundering and all that and sometimes [gestures foul smell] '*oooh Moroccan*'... As things went on I think people were allowed, some of the men found themselves places in town and gradually were able to claim their wives and children. And that improved the situation quite a bit. And then when the frontier opened a lot of them found themselves without jobs... Poor people. Because I think the people here found the Spaniards more acceptable.

A: Really after the frontier had been closed, there wasn't any lingering?

I: Because there's a lot of intermarriage. A lot of people had family there and they went through a very bad patch themselves. Because there was no work, the frontier was closed... A lot of them emigrated to France. I know lots of families there whose children were born there in France and they worked wherever they could find, Germany, to Switzerland, to Belgium. A lot of families that I knew, and many of them also migrated northwards, to Barcelona and to Galicia, to places like that. The Gallegos and the Catalans always looked down on the Andalusians... They didn't like them. The picture that the people of the Andalusia was the guitar and singing and having the tapas. So the Catalans are very work-focused so they considered these people lazy. Not that they were, but you know they had their reputation. And if you're reputation goes before you, you've had it... But a lot of families, actually, *eventually* a lot of them came back to La Linea. But many of them had made their lives, you know their children were educated in France and in Germany. And they worked hard for it. When the immigrants went to America, the worst were, other than the negro population, the Irish got a *very* bad reputation. But *who* built all the skyscrapers if not the Irish, and the roads?... And they came to England as well.

A: When you really think about Gibraltar, it's just been 300 hundred years of...

I: A big melting pot really.

...