

'Going Native?' Settler Colonialism and Food





Food and Identity in a Globalising World

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'Going Native?'

Settler Colonialism and Food



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Introduction

Alejandro Colás, Daniel Monterescu, and Ronald Ranta

'As settlers are non-indigenous, they are forever indigenising ... The question then is how to be efficient self-indigenisers'
—Veracini (2015: 270)

What do settler colonial foodways and food cultures look like? Are they based on an imagined colonial heritage, do they embrace indigenous repertoires or invent new hybridised foodscapes? What are the

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socio-economic and political dynamics of these cultural transformations? This volume offers a comparative survey of diverse settler colonial experiences in relation to food, food culture and foodways—how the latter are constructed, maintained, revolutionised and, in some cases, dissolved. In particular, this volume focuses on three key issues: the evolution of settler colonial identities and states; their relations vis-à-vis indigenous populations; and settlers' self-indigenisation—the process through which settlers transform themselves into the native population, at least in their own eyes. These three key issues are crucial in understanding the rise of settler colonial identities and states and their interaction with the indigenous populations that inhabit them.

In recent years two parallel culinary debates have occurred in many settler colonial states regarding indigenous people. The first debate concerns the growing interest in indigenous food cultures, foodways, terroir and culinary heritage (e.g. see Banerjee-Dube 2016; Grey and Newman 2018; and Monterescu and Handel 2019). Indigenous foods, which have been, in some cases, previously neglected or rejected, have been 'rediscovered', celebrated and occasionally incorporated or appropriated as part of the national settler colonial food culture. This 'rediscovery' is sometimes presented as part of a decolonising move towards liberal cosmopolitan societies, which are more inclusive of indigenous people and their cultures (Grey and Newman 2018). The growing interest is also part of a wider indigenous food movement that emphasises indigenous food sovereignty (e.g. see Daigle 2019). This is happening in parallel to a debate concerning the place and rights of indigenous people and at times other minorities, within settler colonial states. In terms of food, more inclusive and/or multicultural sensibilities promote indigenous rights to food sovereignty and to practice traditional ways of life, including hunting, fishing and foraging, and access to their land, water and related resources.

The above debates raise multifaceted and difficult questions over the main drivers and beneficiaries of this renewed interest in indigenous food

¹The term indigenous has been and is mostly used to refer to the descendants of the pre-colonial peoples of several regions, including the Americas, the Arctic territories, Australia and New Zealand. The term is often used interchangeably with the terms first people, aboriginal people, native people or autochthonous people. In addition, other, often marginalised, ethnic and national groups with distinct cultures, define themselves as indigenous.

and whether these debates signify a shift in thinking regarding the nature and structure of settler colonial identities and states. One major concern is that such fresh attention on indigenous foodways ends up commodifying and ossifying these cultural forms into reified spectacles and performances, rather than opening up new spaces of recognition and creativity. This concern is in line with Veracini's argument that 'privileging the indigenous over the non-indigenous' may turn colonial logic upside down without necessarily changing it (2011: 7–8). As Adele Wessel points out in her chapter on macadamia nuts, 'embracing native foods can be used in the construction of a national cuisine, an imagined connection and belonging to a place still predicated in erasing Indigenous food sovereignty and appropriation' (this volume, 123).

Before delving further into the above issues and debates, it is important to clarify what this volume does and does not do. The volume is a critical, multidisciplinary and comparative study of settler colonial identities and states: it is not an attempt to provide an indigenous perspective on these issues or an account of indigenous food cultures and foodways. All the scholars in this volume are either descendants of settlers or part of the critical settler colonial paradigm, researching and writing as 'insiders' about settler colonial identities and states. We would like to make clear that we are not speaking on behalf of indigenous people or trying to represent their views; in cases where indigenous views are provided these are based on either primary sources or indigenous scholarship; though we fully acknowledge that much of the primary evidence regarding the food culture, foodways, food perspectives and experiences of indigenous people was generally documented and interpreted by settlers.

The focus of this volume is on settler colonial foodways and food cultures rather than indigenous ones, though the balance of analysis is different in each chapter. Nevertheless, it is clear that indigenous foodways and food cultures have been profoundly altered by settler colonialism, through, for example, the forceful transformation of the land, the removal of indigenous people from it, and the introduction of new crops and animals. Historically, colonised and occupied people and cultures have struggled to resist the encroachment of cultural materialism and the structures, changes and ideas, which were in many cases imposed upon them (Ranta and Mendel 2016; Wilk 2006). There has been substantial

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research on the impact of settler colonialism on the cultures and identities of indigenous people, much of it from an indigenous perspective (e.g. see Bhabha 1997; Fanon 1991).

What Is Settler Colonialism? A Relational Approach

The term settler colonialism is used here to refer to the movement of people from one place, normally from the metropole² and often with the support of an imperial power, for the purpose of permanently settling in and occupying another. It differs from associated terms, such as colonialism and imperialism, in that settler colonialism is not specifically about the exploitation of the indigenous people it encounters or the land and its resources, though these are more often than not associated with the process, but about the acquisition of and taking over the land for the purpose of settling it. This process of acquiring and settling the land normally leads, by design or by default, either to the marginalisation of the indigenous people who previously inhabited the land or to their forceful removal from it. Thus the relationship between the settler and the indigenous is always in relation to issues of land and power. In contrast to forms of colonialism that seek to perpetuate their power mechanisms, settler colonialism aims to supersede, normalise and exhaust the colonial situation: 'a settler colonial project that has successfully run its course is no longer settler colonial' (Veracini 2013: 29).

In trying to understand the evolution and construction of settler colonial identities and states the volume focuses on the process of settler self-indigenisation and on relations vis-à-vis the indigenous populations. Reframing a structure of power as a historical process, we propose to read the relations between settlers and indigenous identities as a relational unfolding process—problematising Wolfe's argument (2006) that the settlers came to stay, thus viewing settler colonialism as a structure rather

²Though the term is normally used to denote the metropolitan centre of diverse Empires, we used it here more broadly to denote the political and cultural centres of imperial power (the obvious exception here is Israel—a settler colonial state without a clear cut metropole).

than an event. Self-indigenisation is the process through which settlers seek to turn themselves into the native population and to naturalise their very existence in the land of contention. Food, including drink, in this context becomes an emblematic vehicle for settlers to write themselves into and shape the territory and history; the process also directly questions who and what should be considered native and/or indigenous and part of the settler constructed state. As Mamdani (1998) notes: 'the settler-native question is a political question. It is also a historical question. Settlers and natives belong together. You cannot have one without the other, for it is the relationship between them that makes one a settler and the other a native. To do away with one, you have to do away with the other'. In short, the ways in which the category of the indigenous is discursively framed varies between cases.

Settler colonialism is primarily about power and land. It is the domination of one group, albeit a heterogeneous one, and its use of appropriated indigenous lands primarily for the production of food to sustain its polity. Food is thus central to the establishment and survival of the settler colony and settler colonialism. Food, however, is not merely about consumption and sustenance. Food is a marker of identity in that what people eat informs 'who and what they are, to themselves and to others' (Mintz 1985: 13); this point is relevant not only at an individual level, but also on a societal and national one (Ranta and Ichijo 2016). Food is also embodied material culture and thus reflects the politics of its production, reception and consumption. Linking the above points, food can provide a useful prism through which to examine and think of the formation, evolution and maintenance of group and national identities. As noted by Bell and Valentine: 'the history of any nation's diet is the history of the nation itself, with food fashions, fads and fancies mapping episodes of colonialism and migration, trade, and exploration, cultural exchange and boundary-marking' (1997: 168-169). In short, the study of settler foodways and food cultures provide us with a window, for understanding not only how settler colonies are formed and evolve, but also the evolution of relations and power dynamics within settler societies and between the settlers and the indigenous populations. As Lisa Markowitz explains in her chapter on Peru, the 'examination of contemporary [settler] foodways reveals deeper histories and connections' (this volume, 25).

The use of food by the settlers is multifaceted, but we would like to highlight three areas in particular. First, settlers adopt, adapt and appropriate indigenous food traditions and knowledge when transforming themselves into the 'new' natives. As the dominant power, settlers have been mostly able to choose the elements they want to adopt and those they prefer to reject from the indigenous foodways and food cultures (Wilk 2006). Second, the process of self-indigenisation is not based solely on the adoption, adaptation and appropriation of indigenous traditions and knowledge, but also based on the transformation of the land and the introduction of new crops, animals and farming methods brought from their former homelands. Third, the creation of the new settler societies, based on the hybridisation of indigenous and former traditions and knowledge, is supported by the displacement of the indigenous populations and their crops, farming and hunting, often generating new settler colonial expressions of landscape and terroir. As Claudia Prieto Piastro and Alejandro Colás explain in their chapter on Mexico, settler colonial foodways and food culture need to be understood and situated within a 'wider socio-economic and political context' that acknowledges 'the structural legacies ... relating to land tenure, collective rights or racial hierarchies' (this volume, 104).

In focusing on settler self-indigenisation and the relationship between settlers and indigenous populations, the volume asks four pertinent questions. First, and thinking of these issues historically, whether and to what extent is the process of self-indigenisation based on the incorporation, adaptation and appropriation of indigenous culture and knowledge, in our case food culture? Second, how do settler self-indigenisation and settler-indigenous relations correspond to different modalities of settler colonial relations—domination, control, erasure, co-optation, appropriation, integration, mimicry, hybridity and resistance? Third, to what extent is the renewed interest in indigenous foodways and food cultures related to processes of decolonisation? Lastly, what happens to self-indigenising and the separate settler identity after successful decolonisation?

Self-indigenisation

When thinking about settler colonial identities and states, it is possible to broadly discuss a starting point, a moment in time in which the process began: the moment settlers arrived; though it is clear that settlers continue 'to arrive' from that point onwards. The settlers rather than immigrate to another country, immigrate, either by design or by default, to establish their 'own' country and create their 'own' nation (Veracini 2010). The arrival of settlers, and their desire to settle and transform, what they see as, 'their' land and create their 'own' nation, is, in most cases, an existential threat to indigenous populations. In terms of the relationship between the settlers and the indigenous populations, we do not dispute Wolfe's (2006) assertion that settler colonialism destroys the existing indigenous social and political structures in order to replace them with its own. However, as the volume demonstrates, there is more to the settler-indigenous relations. Wolfe (1999) argues that the relationship is not so much between settler colonialists and the indigenous societies they encounter as between the settlers and the land. The settlers' need for more land eventually necessitates the removal of the indigenous population and in some cases their outright extermination. As we demonstrate, settler-indigenous relations were and are not simply about the elimination of the indigenous people and their culture to replace them with a settler society, although we fully acknowledge that this is often a feature of settler colonialism. In addition to acquiring land, settler colonialists also undergo a process of change that has implications for their relations with the indigenous populations: transforming themselves into the native inhabitants by establishing political frames of representation and forging new discourses of rights. This transculturation or self-indigenisation manifests differently in each settler society, depending on their relations with the indigenous populations and the interactions between existing settlers and new arrivals, including indentured workers and slaves, with examples of hybrid and creole or mestizo identities. These complex cultures are particularly evident in long-established settler colonial states, such as in the Americas, as demonstrated in the chapters on Mexico and Peru. Here it is also worth noting the cleavages of class, nationality and

indeed gender that cut across the otherwise homogenised category of the 'settler': in colonial North Africa and elsewhere a stark social distinction between the 'petits blans' (transport workers, dockers, office clerks) and the 'grand families' of settler capitalism, as did the differentiation between, say, French settlers and later Spanish, Italian or Maltese immigrant arrivals; this issue is further explored in the Algerian case study chapter.

It is therefore important not to reproduce the impression of a monolithic or uniform settler society or identity. As we explained above, settlers are a diverse category that often includes a range of identities, including nationalities, ethnicities and religions, and their accompanying complex power relations. Within the settler category are marginalised and oppressed groups, including indentured and enslaved workers, as well as racialised white settlers, such as the Irish and Jews in the case of the US. When thinking about settler foodways and food cultures, it is thus important to recognise the complexity of the settler category and the multi-layered social relations that exist between the various groups that constitute it, as well as between settlers and indigenous people (e.g. see Gabaccia 1998; and Harris 2012; on the entangled relationships between indigenous people, enslaved workers, migrants and white elites, in the construction of American foodways and food culture).

The complexity of settler identities and societies means that the process of self-indigenisation occurs at several different levels. Settlers transform themselves into the natives in relation to the indigenous people and cultures they encountered, which includes the diffusion and transfer, often by force, of ideas and knowledge. This fits in with Hixson's (2013) argument relating to the existence of a range of interactions between settlers and indigenous people in North America. Parts of the indigenous culture and knowledge—those that are of use to the settlers—are adopted, adapted and appropriated by the settlers, either for instrumental reasons or as part of the process of transforming themselves into the new natives. In Israel/Palestine, for instance, Zionist settlers adopted local plants, such as the prickly pear and the orange, as their national symbols to emphasise their nativeness (Abufarha 2008; and Bardenstein 1998). As discussed in his chapter on the Federal diet, Peter Mabli provides examples of how American settlers were selective in their adoption of indigenous food, for

example, rejecting jappon tea as unfit for consumption and naming it, unfortunately, *Ilex vomitoria* (this volume, 56).

After the settler colonial state is established, settler foodways and food culture go through a process of de-indigenising. The term is used here to refer to the gradual process by which settler colonialists rewrite and forget their history, denying the vital influence of indigenous foodways and food cultures and marginalising it in the construction of the new settler identity. The process begins when the settlers' desire for more land and a separate settler state increases and the conflict between the settlers and indigenous population intensifies. Indigenous food cultures and foodways are then presented as part of the founding myths, histories, customs and practices of the settler nation, and after the creation of the settler nation-state, these are often nationalised. Settler national symbols also include food items that they have introduced, but devoid of their colonial history, as in the case of lamb in Australia and dairy milk in North America serve as national food symbols. This process allows for the construction of a national narrative that charts the transformation of the settlers into the natives, but which does not include the contribution made by indigenous people and culture. As many of the volume's case studies demonstrate, settler authenticity and rootedness are often predicated on the logic of elimination, silencing and institutional forgetting, with national history replacing settler violence. A point emphatically made by Aboriginal Australian food scholar Bruce Pascoe: 'You can't eat our food if you can't swallow our history' (Allemann 2018).

The settler colonial encounter was never unidirectional. It always involved cross-references, rejection and appropriation. Our proposed revisionist conceptualisation of the settler colonial encounter makes visible, as Albert Memmi (1985) has noted, the dialectic enchaînement between the coloniser and the colonised that produces in the process multiple intentionalities, identifications and alienations. The culinary colonial frontier thus emerges not as a site of zero-sum conflict but rather as 'a place in which the unfolding histories' of both dominators and dominated, centre and periphery, 'met—there to be made, reciprocally, in relation to each other'. Beyond and beneath colonialism's black-and-white dualisms and 'working essentialisms,' the settler-indigenous encounter did create an 'awareness of ruptures at which local resistance

was directed, and in which new hybridities could take root' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 403).

Methodology and Structure

As we explain above, this volume examines settler colonial foodways and food cultures, with a focus on their evolution, relationships vis-à-vis indigenous populations and their processes of self-indigenisation. It was clear to us, when we first conceived of this volume, that the most appropriate approach for analysing the subject would be a comparative and holistic one, which would enable us to capture the various and complex dimensions of the subject. In order to do so, we predicated our case study selection on examples that span different time periods and geographic areas and include a range of disciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches from the social sciences and humanities.

The cases selected provide examples from three crucial time periods, namely the establishment and evolution of settler colonial societies and states; established settler colonial states debating cosmopolitanism and decolonisation; and the ongoing and at times painful process of decolonisation which defines the postcolonial condition in the present and the projected future. In terms of geography, we included cases from the Americas, Africa and the Middle East, Asia, and Australia; we also included one case study focused on a specific food item, namely macadamia nuts. We left out only one region, partly by choice and partly by default. We had discussions with several potential contributors regarding a European case study—Ireland and Northern Ireland—but for various reasons these did not pan out. Nevertheless, the centrality of Europe and European societies and states to settler colonialism is discussed extensively in all of the chapters, including that of Taiwan.

In terms of methodology, food as a field of study naturally lends itself well to a holistic and multi- and cross-disciplinary approach (Mintz and Du Bois 2003). We were conscious that simply following a historical or sociological route would not be sufficient to capture the complexity and diversity of settler colonial foodways and food cultures. The approach taken, to include a range of methodological and disciplinary viewpoints,

helps us bring into the volume historical as well as political-economic and socio-cultural elements. It allows the volume to include a wide range of important issues, such as race, ethnicity, ecology, nationalism, migration, rights and justice. Additionally, the diversity of case studies and methodologies helps us analyse the phenomenon from different angles of settler foodways and food cultures, from land clearing and cultivation to consumption and commodification.

Comparative edited volumes too often end up as collections of ad hoc chapters with little synergy between them. In order to mitigate this problem, we decided to invite the case study contributors to be part of the process of editing the volume. We circulated all of the chapters, including the introduction, amongst the contributors and held two writing and feedback workshops. This provided contributors the space to discuss their own work, but also offer feedback on other case studies and on the volume, and we made a concerted effort to include points made by the contributors. In doing so we tried to use the volume to create a platform for genuine dialogue between scholars studying this subject.

This volume was written in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, and we acknowledge how difficult it has been for contributors to participate in the workshops and submit their chapters on time given the challenges involved, including lockdowns, home-schooling and, in some cases, illness. Nevertheless, the volume is not as complete as we initially intended it to be. At different stages, several authors who agreed to contribute had to withdraw, with the result that we were unable to include chapters on Brazil, Portuguese Africa and Italian Ethiopia. In this sense we were very lucky in managing to retain a large selection of case studies and are grateful for the chapters that were submitted.

Beginnings: Hybrid Food Cultures and Foodways

The second chapter in the volume sets out to explore the very origins of settler colonialism in South America. Lisa Markowitz's 'Spanish Settlers and Andean Food Systems' describes the sixteenth- and

seventeenth-century antecedents of the contemporary booming Peruvian foodscape. In the century before the Spanish invasion, the Andes were home to one of the great Native American empires, the Inka, which suffered the horrors of Spanish settler colonialism. The extractive appropriation of land and labour, however, did not result in the extinction of indigenous foodways. Rather, Markowitz shows that new hybrid foodways set root, predicated on the interpenetration of colonial and indigenous culinary economies. In the process local food mitigated pervasive dualisms: the separate spheres of Spanish/Indigenous, Coast/Highland and wheat/maize. In this rearranged world, indigenous foodstuff such as avocados, maize and passion fruit, as well as guinea pig (cuy), produced new culinary repertoires which attested to the ongoing exchange between coloniser and colonised. Throughout the centuries, Peruvian gastronomic hybridities embodied, mutated and reshaped the colonial encounter between indigenous peoples, enslaved Africans, Spaniards and the various combinations of their offspring, in public spaces such as workshops and markets, but also in private spaces sheltered by the intimacy of household and family. At the same time settler products such as the pisco sour became emblems of national foodways, celebrated as Peruvian authentic heritage.

The analysis of gastropolitics and culinary hybridity, as essential features of the original colonial encounter, are also present in the second chapter. In 'What Belongs in the "Federal Diet"? Depictions of a National Cuisine in the Early American Republic', Peter Mabli follows and examines the process of selection and exclusion of food items and recipes. Transitioning from colonial to a postcolonial and national polity, early American settler diet was a complex affair of rejecting certain Native American, European and African ingredients, while embracing others. Gradually, however, by the end of the eighteenth century, American political and social structures had evolved into entities distinct from their European colonial counterparts and settler food reflected a growing appreciation for the plentiful nature of the new land of milk and honey. The seemingly arbitrary choice to include some native items, such as maple syrup, yet exclude others (yaupon tea), in what may constitute a 'federal diet', defined a singular American cuisine largely affected by negative perceptions of certain cultures and peoples. Indeed, Mabli

concludes, the identities formed using food were often deductive: settlers focused more on what they were not (not British, not Native American, etc.) more so than what they actually had become.

Across the Pacific in Taiwan, yet another complex variation of settler colonial food syncretism has unfolded over the past 500 years. In the chapter 'The Taste of Colonialism? Changing Norms of Rice Production and Consumption in Modern Taiwan', Yujen Chen takes an actual process of hybridisation—the development of new rice varieties on the island—as a means to explore the dynamics of native and settler colonial culinary identities in a context where the major colonial power (Japan) was not the main source of settler populations. Indigenous 'upland rice' (a variant of the Javanica breed) was, together with other local staples such as millet and taro, replaced from the seventeenth century with other rice varieties by the Qing masters of Formosa. Aboriginal peoples were gradually outnumbered by Han settlers and forced through land transfers, dispossessions and Imperial Chinese edicts to radically reorient the island's rice cultivation to the needs and tastes of the settler colonial and later immigrant populations. Formal annexation by Japan in 1895 further accelerated this process, imposing metropolitan preferences for short/medium grain Japonica rice—a trajectory that was paradoxically only reinforced as Taiwan became a new republic, home to mainland Kuomintang exiles. As Chen vividly illustrates in her chapter, intricate ecological, technological and geopolitical factors have over the past century combined with the continued contestation of rice flavour, texture and aroma within Taiwan, creating a market for idiosyncratic rice varieties like the now highly prized versions of 'Taiwanese Koshihikari'. The unquestionable transformation of Taiwan's agricultural systems and food cultures as a result of foreign occupation, settlement and immigration has however also witnessed the emergence of distinctly 'native Taiwanese' rice varieties and their accompanying dishes—many of which invoke aboriginal tastes in, for instance, taro-like aromas.

Similar processes of hybridity occurred in Mexico, which shares several parallels with the Peruvian case study. Despite (or perhaps because of) the violent dispossession and marginalisation of indigenous populations in Mexico, a distinctively 'republican' food repertoire emerged by the start of the twentieth century—almost a hundred years after national

independence—where autochthonous staples like maize, chillies and squashes combined with imported ingredients and, in particular, invasive ungulates, to transform the country's culinary landscape. In a globalising context where nations are interpellated to define 'their' national or native cuisine, Mexican authorities in 2010 turned to the UNESCO's 'intangible heritage of humankind' by way of codifying a 'traditional Mexican cuisine'. In their chapter on 'mayoras', or traditional female cooks, Prieto Piastro and Colás tease out the tensions and contradictions between indigenous identities, market forces and institutional drivers negotiated by traditional cooks. At once purveyors of ancestral culinary cultures and gastronomic entrepreneurs (often dependent on public funding) 'mayoras' tend to find themselves recreating an idealised and largely (re)invented canon of traditional Mexican dishes, many of which employ postcolonial ingredients or techniques (the use of lard for cooking mole or distillation in the production of mezcal are cases in point). In the end, their contribution suggests, the process of certifying traditional Mexican cooks veers towards a liberal multiculturalism where the socio-economic, political and cultural hierarchies accompanying *mestizaje* are elided in favour of an atomised and essentialised performance of indigenous authenticity mainly tailored to heritage tourism and gastrodiplomacy.

From Erasure to Decolonisation

The culinary complexity of the colonial encounter, which blends rejection and expropriation with appropriation and incorporation, is illustrated in Adele Wessell's 'Unsettling the History of Macadamia Nuts in Northern New South Wales'. The Macadamia, an Australian native tree nut crop, reveals an entangled history of changing attitudes to indigenous flora and yet continuities between contemporary food culture and colonial attitudes. Originally eaten as a 'bush nut' it was commercialised in the nineteenth century, disrupting conventional representations of colonial distaste for native foods as simplistic and misleading. And yet, from the 1920s until 1997, it was rather Hawai'i that was the largest producer of the nuts in the world only to be temporarily replaced by Australia and currently by South Africa. The globalisation and commoditisation of

macadamia nuts link large-scale economies to local histories of settler colonialism and dispossession. Food production was the motivation for settling the North Coast of New South Wales and used to rationalise the dispossession of Bundjalung Aboriginal people. In many ways, current agro-capitalism continues this history of disenfranchisement.

While Hawai'i was central to the globalisation of macadamia nut production, this by no means entailed a recognition of the Island's own indigenous heritage. Laura Kitchings' chapter entitled 'Definitions of Hawaiian Food: Evidence of Settler Colonialism in Selected Cookbooks from the Hawaiian Islands (1896-2021)' provides a critical account of such erasure. Analysing five cookbooks published over more than a century, Kitchings examines the unfolding definitions of Hawaiian foodways. The first two cookbooks reproduce a condescending settler approach by folklorising Native Hawaiian traditions and treating the Hawaiian feast, also identified as an 'Ahaaina', or 'Luau', as a large picnic. The third cookbook (1985) shows how the importation of a plantation labour force to serve the needs of the original settler colonialists led to a redefinition of Hawaiian foodways, one that embraced the diverse food cultures of the Islands but without specifically recognising Native Hawaiian food culture. In the twenty-first century, however, the narrative took a critical turn and the final two cookbooks examined demonstrate attempts to decolonialise the Islands foodways and acknowledge the history of settler colonialism in Hawai'i.

The contested definition of local food (settler and indigenous alike) and the challenge of decolonising gastronomy are the major themes in the heated debate about food politics and culinary appropriation in Israel/Palestine. Ronald Ranta and Daniel Monterescu provide an ethnographic account of these debates by framing the Jewish-Israeli foodscape as a struggle over definitions of authenticity and indigeneity. The chapter 'Decolonising Israeli food? Between Culinary Appropriation and Recognition in Israel/Palestine' examines whether the field of Israeli food is undergoing a paradigmatic shift with regard to the role and place of Arab and Palestinian people and food cultures. And, what such a shift might mean for Israeli settler colonial identity, society and attempts at decolonisation more broadly. Based on fieldwork and interviews, the authors identify three particular discourses adopted by Jewish-Israeli