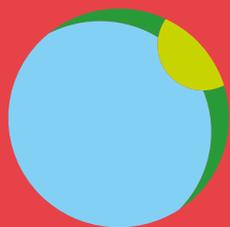
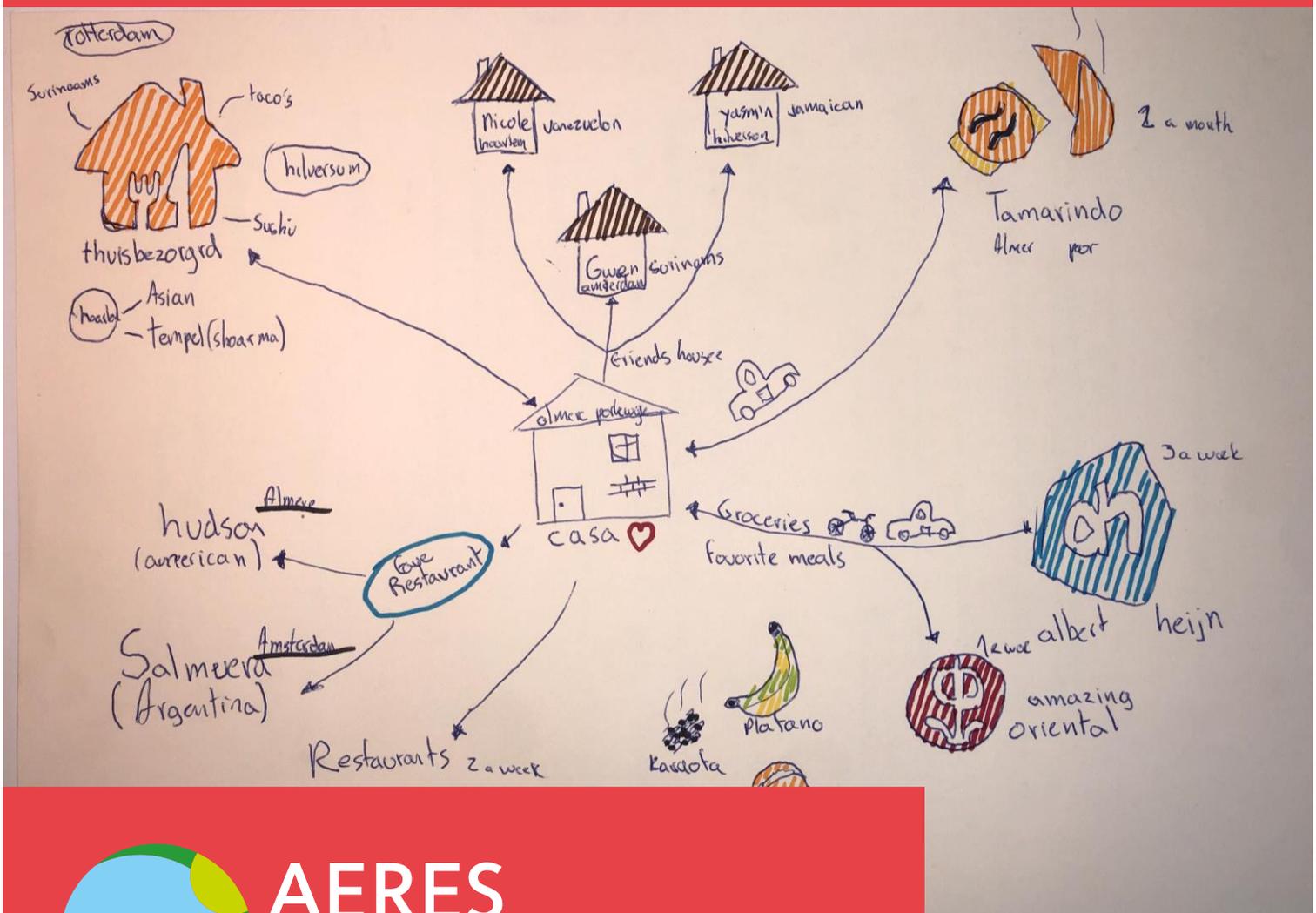


Foodways of adult children of Latin American and Caribbean migrants

Shopping, cooking and eating in the Almere foodscape

Sara Adriano, Esther Veen and Sara Smaal

May 2023



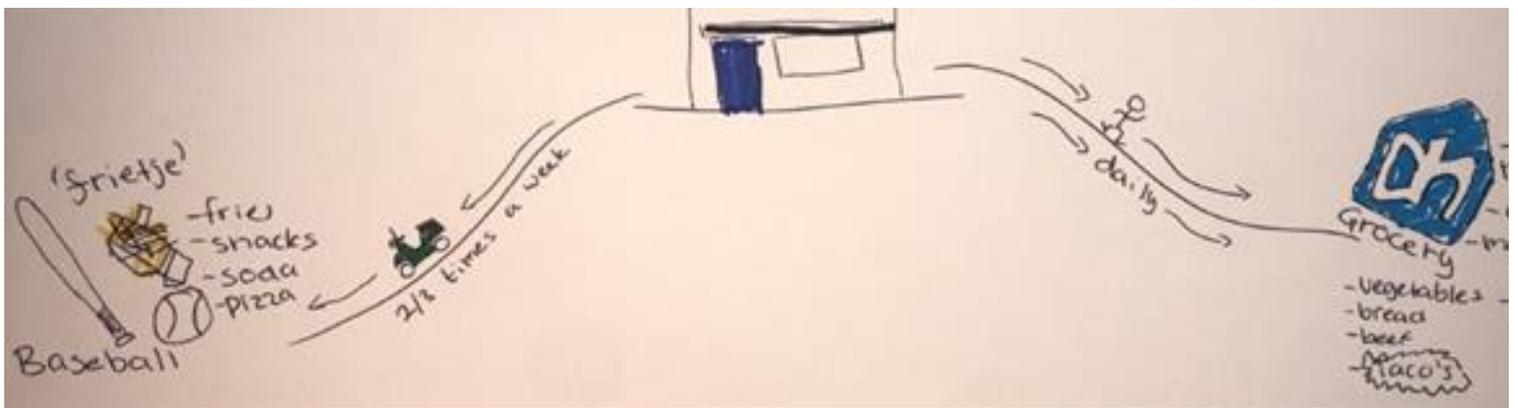
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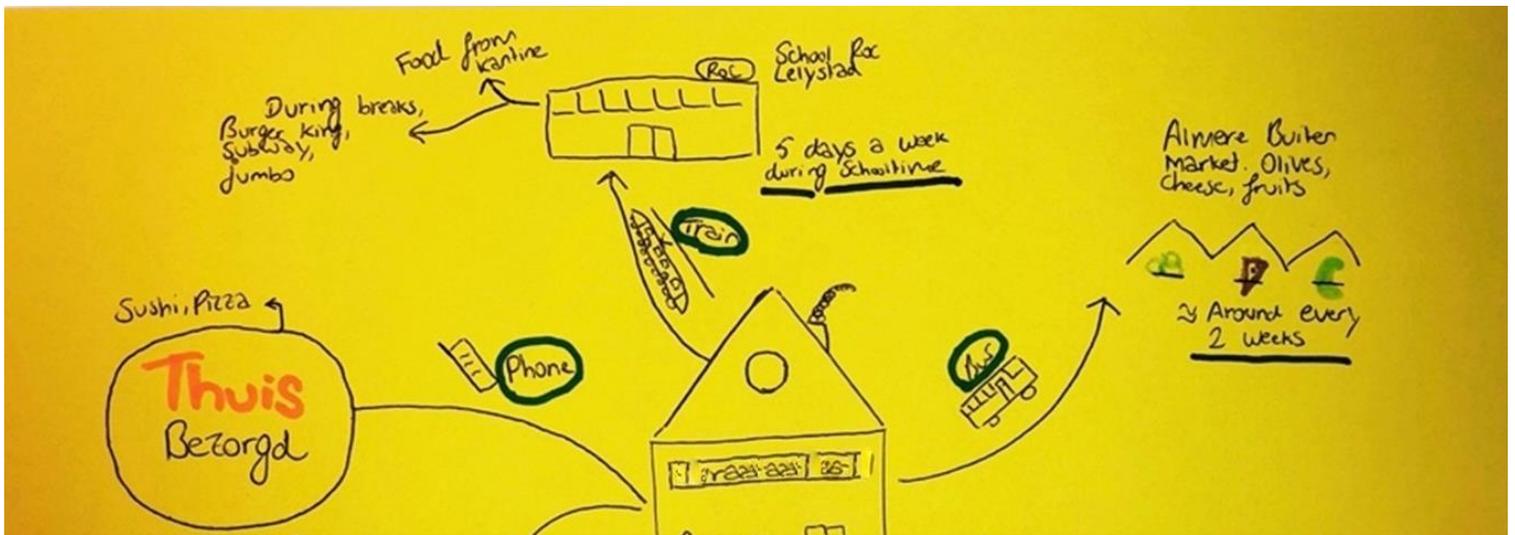
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1 Introduction

Each individual is born and socially produced in a preexisting community imagined and arrayed in some relationship to other communities. Hence individuals do not produce their identities from scratch just as they do not choose to speak any of the world's many languages but grow up speaking that of the group into which they are born. Individual subjectivities are produced in tension with others and other selves. (Ray 2013: 364)

Almere is a multicultural city. About twenty percent of its current inhabitants were born abroad, and almost half of those living in Almere have a migration background (AlleCijfers 2022). People who have migrated to a new place need to develop new food routines because they enter new *food environments*¹, which do not provide all the ingredients that they are used to buying (Brons et al 2020). Moreover, they have to become acquainted with a new *eating culture* with different customs and habits (Terragni et al 2014). To different degrees, migrants try to recreate the meals they are used to cooking and eating, working as best as they can with what this new environment has to offer (Bailey 2017; Marte 2012). By doing so, they are also changing the food environment (Brons et al 2020; Chen et al 2021; Rule et al 2022): shop owners try to cater to their needs, but migrants themselves also actively import foods from abroad, grow and/or process their own produce or exchange with others (also see Veen, Smaal and Korn 2023).

The quote from Krishnendu Ray (2013) at the beginning of this chapter gives an idea of how a migrant's identity is shaped dynamically in relation to one's roots as well as one's environment. A change of environment, such as one caused by migration, can both challenge and (re)affirm one's way of life, attachments and perceptions – also those related to food. In other words, people have to relate to the way of eating that they are used to, on the one hand, and the way of eating in their new (social and physical) environment, on the other. The way in which they eat sets them apart, but connects them at the same time. This was the starting point of the thesis of the first author of this

¹ Definitions of italicized concepts can be found in the box at the end of this chapter

report, who interviewed migrants who moved to Almere from Latin-America and the Caribbean, and who had to adapt to the Dutch food environment (see Adriano 2023). For the current report, we invited the adult children of these respondents, who grew up in Almere (often called the second generation), to share their stories. Being born in the Netherlands with parents who were born abroad – in our case Latin-America and the Caribbean – children of migrants grow up in two different food environments at once. Outside the home, they are surrounded by a Dutch food environment, while the *eating patterns* in and around their household or wider family setting may reflect the background of their parents. This raises the question what Dutch cuisine is to them, how they feel about the cuisine of their parents' home countries, and to what degree they identify with (either of) these cuisines.

Doing so, we follow earlier work by Weller and Turkon (2015), who looked into the *foodways* of Latino migrants (first generation) and their children (second generation) living in Ithaca New York. They found that although there are certainly differences between (but also within) these two groups in terms of consumption patterns, knowledge of food preparation and attitudes towards food, food takes up a central role as a tool for connecting with or rediscovering heritage identities. For second generation respondents the importance of Latino food is among other things influenced by the demographic composition of the community/ies they live(d) in. The joy of connecting over and sharing food with others was stressed by both first and second generation respondents. For the descendants of Lebanese migrants interviewed by Rowe (2012) - who consider themselves fully assimilated into American culture - Lebanese cuisine similarly remains a way to stay connected to their Lebanese roots, relatives and diaspora, especially during family occasions, holidays and celebrations. Finally Chapman and Beagan (2013), who interviewed members from different generations of Indian-Canadian families, explain how food practices of people with a migration background "*may reflect simultaneous, ongoing attachments to multiple national identities*". In line with these studies, this report sets out to explore what adult children of migrants consider to be their eating culture and *food identity*. We do so by looking at how these people shop, cook, and eat on a daily basis and what foods they feel connected to.

A secondary goal of this research is to understand how important sustainable food is for this group. Although it is still highly debated what food practices are sustainable, Sage (2012) lists some common food consumption practices that are recognized as such: reducing the consumption of meat, shortening the supply chain, buying directly from farmers, buying fairtrade food, and opting as much as possible for organic products. As there is currently a lot of attention for the need to eat more sustainably, especially among younger generations, a better understanding of how this group understands and acts upon sustainability concerns is useful. We are interested in whether the respondents experience a generational divide when it comes to sustainable foodways, and how sustainability motives may stimulate, alter or hamper migrant children's engagement with their culinary heritage. This secondary goal was approached more exploratory.

In sum, the research question that we aim to answer with this research is:

What are the foodways of the adult children of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants in Almere?

- How do the adult children of Latin American and Caribbean migrants perceive Dutch cuisine?
- How do they perceive the cuisine of the home country/ies of their parent(s)?
- How do they construct/shape their food identities?
- What do their eating patterns look like: how do they shop and eat?
- How do they perceive, define, and apply food sustainability?

In the next chapter we explain how this research was conducted. Chapter 3 presents the results, and chapter 4 gives the conclusions.

In this report we use a number of concepts:

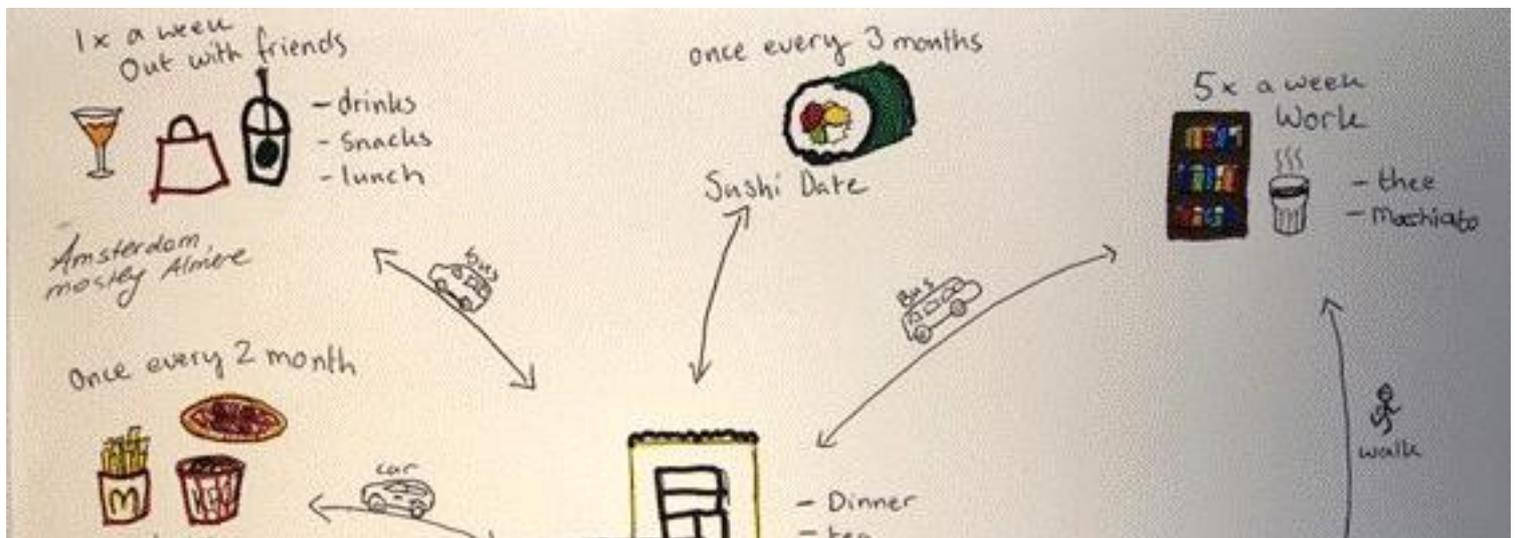
Eating culture refers to an imaginary gastronomic association of how particular groups of people perceive their food culture in a national context (Ichijo and Ranta 2016), such as the Dutch one. An eating culture can thus not be objectively defined but depends on the interpretation of respondents.

Eating patterns refers to the ways in which people eat: what they buy, cook and eat on a daily basis.

Food environment refers to one's surrounding, such as the city or a household, and the food that is available in that surrounding.

Food identity refers to an abstract cultural construction where an individual feels a sense of belonging or affiliation to a certain foodway connected to a geographical space or culture (see Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983; Ray 2013; and Ichijo and Ranta 2016). Food identity in this case is linked to a national territory and to individual, intimate foodways.

Foodways refer to '[C]ultural, social and economic practices associated with food that invite us to think about the way food intersects with history, culture, and tradition' (Koč et al 2022: 398), or a duality of actual eating practices and connections to food.



2 Methods

2.1 Interviews, food maps and cooking

In order to better understand the foodways of the adult children of Latin American and Caribbean migrants, the first author conducted semi-structured interviews with respondents in this group in the fall of 2022 and the first months of 2023. Interviews focused on current eating patterns and food habits – how people shop, cook and eat – their perception of the Dutch eating culture and the eating culture of their parent(s), their own food identities and sustainability. The interview guideline can be found in appendix 1. Interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours. They were recorded and transcribed ad verbatim. Anonymity was guaranteed and respondents were asked to sign informed consent forms.

At the end of the interviews, respondents were asked to draw so-called food maps depicting their food shopping. Respondents were to think about the places where and the times at which they acquire food (e.g. food shops sites: where people consume or purchase food, and with which frequencies) and to draw that. This way participants were able to graphically show where they acquire their food (and how often they do so). The first author provided the participants with materials to draw these maps, such as sheets and a set of color markers. Participants were free to choose two ways in which to go about drawing a map: either they would make it after the oral interview in the presence of the researcher, or they could draw it later and send a picture. Eleven respondents were willing to draw their food maps, and most of them did this straight after the interviews, when the first author was present. The drawing of the food maps took between 20 and 45 minutes. All maps are shown in appendix 2.

Finally, we asked respondents whether they were willing to cook a dish together with the interviewer, based on a recipe that the respondent liked to prepare to convey their cultural or personal identity. Only one respondent agreed to show to the researcher a Latin American dish that he usually prepares during the week. During the cooking process of 25 minutes, the researcher documented the different steps by taking pictures and mostly observed in the kitchen rather than being actively involved in the cooking.

2.2 Respondents

The respondents are second generation migrant young adults who are living in Almere, or have lived in that city for the majority of their childhood. Either both parents or only the mother of all respondents originally comes from Latin America, or a Caribbean country. Parents/ mothers originate from Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Peru and Curaçao: six respondents have a Dutch father, one has a Spanish father. All respondents speak at least three languages: Dutch, English and either Spanish or (for the Caribbean respondents) Papiamentu. For some respondents Spanish is their first language, for others it is Dutch – or that is the language they are most comfortable with/ in which they most often communicate. As the first author, who conducted the interviews, is Italian, all interviews were conducted in English. The first author, however, speaks Spanish as well. The ability to speak Spanish facilitated the communication between the interviewer and the interviewees. The use of Spanish was particularly useful when the respondent was referring to some typical dishes in Spanish or when interviewees switched the conversation from English to Spanish for a couple of sentences.

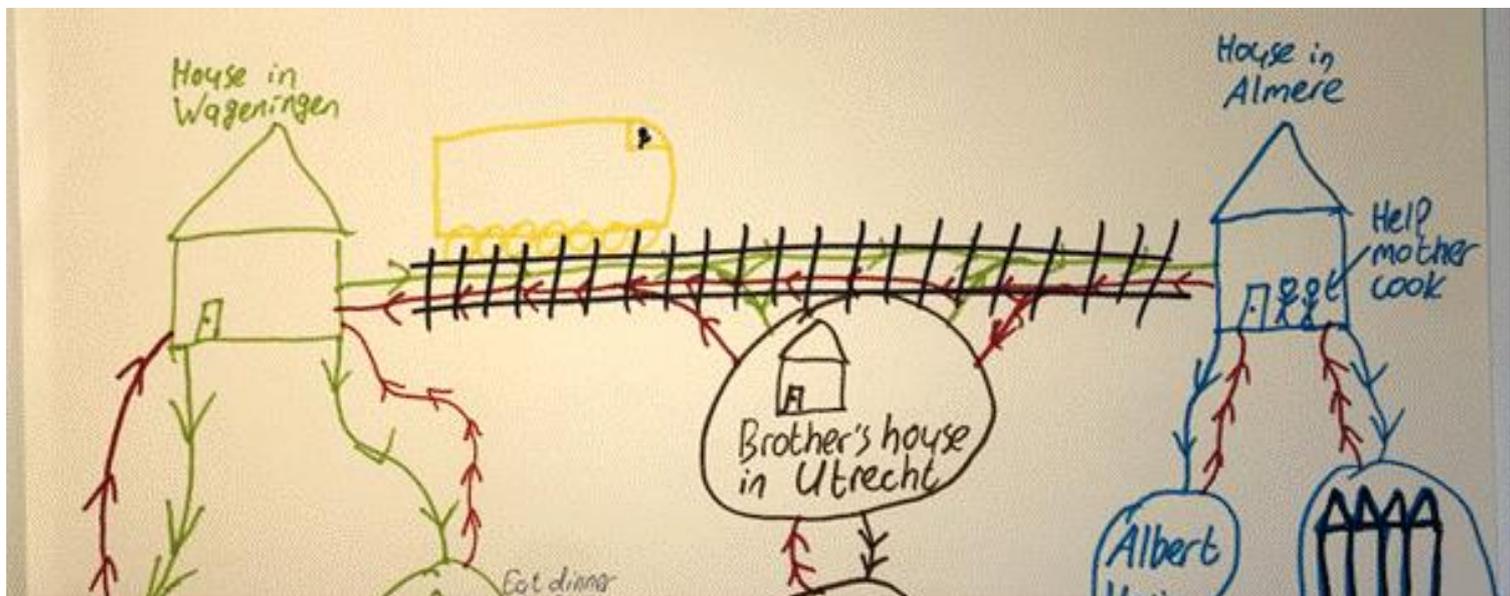
In the earlier research for her thesis (see the introduction), conducted in spring 2022, the first author interviewed first generation Latin American and Caribbean migrants in Almere. During the summer of 2022, she contacted the respondents of that research to ask whether their adult children would be willing to participate in the current research. Communication first took place through WhatsApp, mediated by the parents. Only after trust was created, it was possible to communicate with the second generation directly. Most potential respondents contacted were willing to participate. Only one respondent was not a child of a first generation migrant involved in the previous research: this respondent was a friend of one of the interviewees in the current research.

The age of respondents varies from 18 up to 31 years old. Most respondents are men: only three women were interviewed. Household composition varies: 10 respondents live with their parents, 2 respondents live with their partner and child and one respondent lives alone. The majority of respondents is a student or works part time: 2 respondents are unemployed, 2 work full time. See table 1 for a more detailed overview of a number of characteristics of the respondents.

Respondent pseudonym	Age	Country of origin mother	Country of origin father	Education level	Occupation	Household composition	Number of years in Almere	Current place of residence	Relations among respondents
Simon	28	Honduras	Honduras	University Master	Child psychologist	With girlfriend and newborn	15	Utrecht	Brother of Xander
Theo	18	Venezuela	Spain	Currently in high school	Student	With parents	7	Almere Muziekwijk	
Ulla	21	Peru	The Netherlands	Currently in Bachelor program	Part-time assistant manager in book shop	With parents, brother and boyfriend	21	Almere Muziekwijk	Sister of Yannick
Victor	20	Guatemala	The Netherlands	Currently in Bachelor program	Student	With parents and sister	15	Almere Tussen de Vaarten	Brother of Bea
William	21	Nicaragua	The Netherlands	Currently in Bachelor program	Student	With parents and sister	21	Almere Parkwijk	
Xander	22	Honduras	Honduras	Currently in Master program	Student	With roommates	18	Wageningen	Brother of Simon
Yannick	20	Peru	The Netherlands	High school	Part-time working in book shop	With parents, sister and sister's boyfriend	20	Almere Muziekwijk	Brother of Ulla
Zara	29	Venezuela	Venezuela	Bachelor degree	Unemployed	With parents	10	Almere Danswijk	
Anton	20	Argentina	Argentina	Currently in vocational education	Student	With parents	18	Almere Buiten	
Bea	18	Guatemala	The Netherlands	Currently in Master program	Student and part-time working in Mexican restaurant	With parents and brother	17	Almere Tussen de Vaarten	Sister of Victor

Carlo	30	Curaçao	Curaçao	Unknown	Musician, music teacher	With girlfriend and child	30	Almere Stad Verzetswijk	Brother of Dillan
Dillan	31	Curaçao	Curaçao	Vocational education	Unemployed	Alone	30	Lelystad	Brother of Carlo
Edo	28	Venezuela	The Netherlands	Unknown	Professional make-up artist	With parents	13	Almere Parkwijk	

Table 1: Respondents



3 Results

This chapter is built up in four sections. First, we discuss how respondents perceive the Dutch cuisine, and that of the home country of their parent(s). In the second section we continue by examining the food identities of respondents. Thereafter we explain what this means for cooking and shopping practices. In the last section we discuss the topic of sustainability.

3.1 Perception of cuisines

3.1.1 Dutch cuisine

Since national cuisines are historical and social constructions, we did not give respondents a fixed definition of Dutch cuisine, nor did we define specific (national) Latin American cuisines. Rather, we used respondents' perceptions of these specific cuisines and their opinions of the dishes that are part of them. Hence, we asked respondents directly to describe their definition of Dutch cuisine and Dutch food products. Respondents mentioned several different dishes, elements of dishes or snacks:

- Most respondents associate Dutch cuisine with the use of potatoes. Potatoes are often seen as a main ingredient, and were mentioned in dishes like *stamppot boerenkool*², *hutspot*³, and *AVG*⁴. Indeed, potatoes and stamppot seem to be the most frequently used words to describe Dutch cuisine.
- Several dishes mentioned are or contain meat: sausage, *rookworst*⁵, or meatballs or sausages with gravy.

² Stamppot is mashed potatoes with mashed vegetables, often eaten with a sausage or another meat product, and gravy. Stamppot comes in different varieties – with different vegetables. The one with boerenkool – kale - is one of the most famous.

³ Stamppot with carrots and onions

⁴ An abbreviation of Potatoes, Vegetables and Meat, a traditional Dutch meal

⁵ A typical kind of sausage – smoked sausage

- More than half of the respondents mentioned the word *snack* to refer to fried preparations of meat or potatoes, such as *frikandel* or *kroket*⁶, *bitterballen*⁷, and fries. Some of these are snacks that are quickly consumed at *Febo*⁸ or during leisure time with friends. Some respondents referred to those snacks as very unhealthy.
- Respondents also mentioned sweet cookies or pastries like *stroopwafels* or *speculaas*⁹, liquorish, or *oliebollen*¹⁰.
- Herring was mentioned by three respondents. Only one of them appreciates herring: he defines himself as *foodie* and is passionate about cooking.
- Bread is also seen as a major element of Dutch cuisine: almost all respondents consume bread for breakfast and/or lunch on a daily basis. Three respondents eat bread with butter and *hagelslag*¹¹.
- Respondents also mentioned Dutch pancakes, and *poftertjes*¹² as typically Dutch. Most respondents enjoy these and eat them at home during family brunches.
- More than a third of respondents has a strong association with the winter season and heavy foods, especially pea soup, which they see as an ideal dish for the coldest days.

Dutch cuisine was generally described as easy, simple and basic. It is considered a way of cooking that does not display the care or love that various Latin American cuisines show:

Its simplicity, I think it's the mentality here, they do not spend too much time usually cooking. They just want to get cooking over as quickly as possible and have something which is still very nutritious because it's mostly quite healthy, besides the smaller snacks I mentioned before. I would prefer more spiced up food with more flavour and more care being poured into it, than just simple mashed potatoes, vegetables and meat. (Xander)

Respondents argue that the flavors of several elements of Dutch cuisine are quite bland or plain and that salt and pepper are not often used. Indeed, several respondents highlight that compared to Latin American cuisines, Dutch dishes lack flavor, herbs, spices, and variety. Dillan reported, for instance, that he taught his Dutch partner, who is responsible for the cooking most of the week, how to use Caribbean flavors such as *Adobo spices*¹³. This way she can prepare dishes that, even if not Caribbean, have enough taste. He stated that it is very important for him that his food is spicy and

⁶ Fried meat snacks, typically eaten with fries

⁷ A fried meat snack, often consumed with an alcoholic drink late afternoon or in the evening

⁸ A fast food chain

⁹ Typical cookies

¹⁰ A fried dough snack, typically eaten around New Years' Eve

¹¹ Chocolate sprinkles, commonly eaten on bread

¹² Small pancakes eaten as a snack

¹³ Adobo is a brand

flavored with Maggi, ketjap, 'Badia: The Soul of Cooking Spices'¹⁴ or an Adobo mix. So even if his girlfriend makes pasta or tacos, she uses those spices. Similarly, Simon stated that he would never serve stamppot to guests because of the lack of an enjoyable taste. On the other hand, he expressed appreciation for the meatball and gravy that his Dutch partner makes:

I especially like it when my girlfriend makes it because she knows how. I make the Latin American food and she makes the Dutch food. That's how we try to mix it up. (Simon)

Dutch cuisine is also perceived as open to many food cultures. In fact, Zara stated that Dutch people don't even really have a *specific* cuisine, but that their cuisine especially shows influence from ex-colonies such as Suriname, Indonesia and the Dutch Antilles. She argued that this historical colonization increased the accessibility to other food cultures in the Netherlands:

Because of how Holland colonized – from a very early history – Indonesia, Africa and lots of countries in South America, they had those spices and that sort of food around for a very long time. Here Asian is Filipino, Sushi, Chinese... it's everything because I think they've been open for external influences for a very long time. I think, in that sense, it is a very good cuisine. There are a lot of things that you can eat and you can try and they are open to eat. (Zara)

Zara therefore perceives Chinese-Indonesian-Dutch fusion cuisine as Dutch:

The Chinese take-away menu that they have here, like the babi pangang¹⁵ is an intangible heritage that they have. It was actually created for Dutch people, based on their preferences. So, it has very basic flavors but is still Asian. I think that's something that is still a cuisine from here. (Zara)

3.1.2 Latin American and Caribbean cuisine(s)

Respondents were also asked how they perceive the cuisine of origin of their parent(s) (e.g. Honduran, Guatemalan, Argentinian). Respondents refer to certain ingredients as being specifically Latin American or belonging to national Latin American or Caribbean cuisines. Where the consumption of bread and potatoes is associated with Dutch food habits, rice is seen as the Latin American and Caribbean counterpart. Respondents also mentioned black beans, bananas, corn ingredients (e.g. *Harina Pan*¹⁶ flour to make Venezuelan arepas or *maizena*¹⁷ to make alfajores cookies), spiced and minced beef, tortillas, hard or soft shell tacos, nachos, and different types of chili peppers.

¹⁴ Another brand that sells specific chili powders, sauces and spicy mixes

¹⁵ A dish of grilled pork served with tomato sauce, that is a Chinese-Indonesian-Dutch fusion dish very popular with Dutch people

¹⁶ A brand of corn flour. Over time *Harina Pan* became a colloquial way to refer to refined and precooked corn flour to make arepas, hallacas and empanadas – a bit like how Coca-Cola became the name for a specific beverage

¹⁷ Corn starch flour

Respondents associate color, fun, rich taste, spiciness, and flavor with such foods. They argue that Latin American or Caribbean food is meant to share, and that it is made for convivial moments with family and friends. The variety of dishes is often depicted as wider than the Dutch variety, and as an important cultural way to show affection. Hence, where Xander perceives Dutch food habits as being quick and effective with the cooking, he reports about Latin American food:

Latin American cuisine is a bit more food oriented, we like to express our kindness to others with food. There is a bit more care and passion poured into making food. (Xander)

Some respondents make a distinction between national cuisines – Guatemalan or Nicaraguan for instance – and a broader Latin American one, and a number of them refer to that broader Latin American cuisine as ‘Tex-Mex’. Martynuska (2017: 90) defines Tex-Mex as “*Americanised versions of Mexican cuisine describing a spicy combination of Spanish, Mexican and Native American cuisines that are mixed together and adapted to American tastes*”. The name Tex-Mex refers to the immigration of Mexicans in the United States in the 20th century: many of them ended up in Texas. These Mexican-Americans opened restaurants that reflected their different Mexican origins and catered to Mexicans from different areas, non-Mexican Americans and tourists alike, creating new flavours. One distinguishing characteristic of Tex-Mex foods is cumin, not commonly used south of the border. Products associated with this cuisine are tortillas, enchiladas and nachos. These can be easily sourced in supermarkets and they are prepared faster than some national Latin American dishes. In her interview Bea referred specifically to Tex-Mex cuisine. She stated that it consists of black beans, quesadillas, burritos and tacos, claiming that she likes these dishes but not “*the real culturally appropriate, the real Latin food I don’t really like, like tamales or a dish they make for Dias de los Muertos that now I don’t remember.*”

Other respondents have difficulty defining their cuisines beyond a general Latin American one. Especially for the Honduran and Venezuelan respondents, the cuisine they know is specifically associated with the dishes their mothers used to make at home and some of these dishes can be considered as general Latin American dishes rather than as connected to a specific country. When asked what Honduran cuisine is for Xander, this was his reply:

I never exactly know how to answer because I did not grow up there. I do know a lot of Latin-American dishes. In Honduras we do eat a lot of dishes that are common in Mexico...what we call enchilada they call tostada in Mexico. What they call an enchilada in Mexico, we call a burrito. (Xander)

Xander is therefore constantly learning new Honduran/Latin dishes when visiting his parents in Almere during the weekends. Simon, on the other hand, feels that he lost his Honduran cooking since he moved out from his parents’ house. Zara shared that she is not sure what Venezuelan cuisine is. As she did not live for a longer period of time in Venezuela, she did not experience the authentic flavors of Venezuelan territory directly. This is emotionally painful to her and is a reason of frustration:

To be honest I don't really know. I know arepa, the things that I know that my mom has cooked for me are those dishes. I've never eaten Venezuelan food like that in Venezuela, which hurts me a little. I know the things that my mum cooks for me like hallacas for Christmas. Or quesillo, fried plantain or the national dish with just black beans, pulled beef, rice and fried plantain. Empanadas, tequeños which is like fried cheese stick with dough. (...) I love eating and love going to restaurants. It hurts me a little that I can't do that with my own country. For me food is linked to memories so that's why I really love eating food. I would love to be able to say 'I had whatever, in a very traditional restaurant here [in the Netherlands] but I've had it in Venezuela and there it was better because it was made locally'. That's the thing that hurt me a little but there's nothing that can be done. (Zara)

In sum, respondents value the particular flavours and colours of the cuisines of their parent(s), especially compared to the Dutch food culture, which they perceive as plain and boring. However, some of the respondents have difficulty specifying the cuisines of their parents' home countries.

3.2 Food identity

Above we learned that respondents value the Latin American and Caribbean food cultures as more pleasurable than the Dutch food culture. The next question is how important the respective cuisines are to our respondents, and what they consider their food identities. Perhaps not surprisingly, seeing the above, most respondents argue that eating Dutch cuisine is not important or relevant to them. They explain that they do not enjoy the taste of the dishes, that there is a lack of variety of dishes and that they dislike the fact that it is daily accessible and very common to eat. Most respondents explicitly stated that they do not care about Dutch food, that it is *boring* or that they *could live without it*.

That said, Anton, who has Argentinian parents, feels that eating Dutch food has been part of his identity since his childhood.

I do feel more Dutch, I'm more attached to it. That is what people around me also eat, so I am raised with that. To me is important to keep the identity of the Netherlands, eat some hagelslag for breakfast, those things. (Anton)

Also, both Edo and Zara explained that they started to appreciate certain Dutch food products once they began travelling abroad: although Zara first stated that eating Dutch food is not important to her, she later remembered that she was missing Gouda cheese and saté sauce while living in Sweden for four years.

Despite these exceptions, respondents seem to generally reject Dutch cuisine. However, for a large majority of the respondents eating food that fits the cuisine of their migrant parent(s) (such as Honduran, Nicaraguan or Argentinian) is important. For five respondents it is *very important* to eat

from their migrant parent cultures. They describe it as part of their self and a way to connect with where they come from. Some respondents, like Zara, do not have the possibility to regularly go to their parent(s) home countries, experience local food there and create their own food-related memories based on direct experience. These respondents often ask their parents to share their food memories with them, so as to be able to connect to their past. For both groups of respondents – those who experienced Latin American food in loco and those who can't – the element of memory related to food is very strong. Zara explained that when asking her parents about their life in Venezuela, she always used food to connect to their oral transmitted memories:

Food is a conversation that I have with my parents that serves as a reference for their time in Venezuela. I don't know where the cities are in Venezuela, and I don't know exactly where they lived or what it looked like. But then I for example could ask, when you went to the beach what did you usually eat? Soup? It serves for things that I might never experience or might not taste in my country. It's special for me. (Zara)

Indeed, the emotional meaning that Latin American and Caribbean food has for respondents is described as intense. It is the food *that makes them feel at home*: even if they have spent the majority of their lives in The Netherlands, the household represents home, and Latin American and Caribbean food is home for them. Hence, except for the youngest respondents (18 years old), all interviewees show a certain degree of attachment to and importance in eating Latin American or Caribbean dishes. This importance is strictly related to family or individual memories, and eating Latin American or Caribbean food is a way to connect to a part of their culture that respondents don't have the possibility to experience in The Netherlands. Ulla and Yannick, for instance, two siblings who live with their Peruvian mother and Dutch father, feel the importance of often eating Peruvian food to connect to their mother's culture, as it is in fact the *only* tool to connect to their cultural identity.

Peruvian food is more important because I never really lived in Peru. Sometimes I don't feel that Peruvian because I've always been living in the Netherlands. Every time I eat Peruvian food, I think, most of my friends don't eat this. It's not their food. This is our food, my food. It's a part of Peru I need. (Yannick)

It is the only direct way I experience part of the culture, I would say. It's my connection to Peru. I don't have many Peruvians friends. I know some people, but not so many. It is very tasty and I enjoy eating it. (Ulla)

Anton feels the same way, claiming that he sometimes forgets that he is Argentinian. Therefore, eating empanadas or alfajores made by his parents is a way to link with his heritage, and to not just 'think in Dutch language in his head'. Victor also states that it is important to stay connected to that part of his culture. Even if he doesn't eat traditional Guatemalan food so often, because it takes too much effort and time to prepare, eating tacos for celebrations is a part of him.

Clearly, eating food that is associated with the home country of respondents' parents helps people stay connected with that country. Family and the element of memory are important aspects of this connection. William describes a sense of pride in being partially Nicaraguan. Sharing his food with his friends brings him joy and recalls childhood memories related to some local food products:

Tacos would be my number one. I'm really proud of my Nicaraguan nationality, it's not something you hear quite often here. All my friends always associate me with tacos because we have these taco nights. It's always when they see me they think tacos or something Latin-American, Mexican food. (...) Something like red snapper fish, it really takes me back to Nicaragua, the restaurant of my grandmother over there. It's something I only eat there and nowhere else in the world. I would die to have a nice plate of red snapper here. Rice and beans – those are a big part of who I am. As a child, I woke up to the kitchen in the night and say I'm hungry and I would just have maduros (plantains), nothing else. Just maduros.
(William)

The connection to family and memories also relates to an idea of cultural heritage and of wanting to share with the next generation. Simon and Carlo recently became parents and to them teaching how to eat is very important to transmit their culture to their children.

I want to teach him as well the values of the food as I learned them from my parents. (Simon)
It is important to me... very, very. It's part of my culture. I do think it's important to know where you came from, and food is a big thing in our culture. Now I have a daughter of one year old and I think it's important because she's mixed that she also knows where a part of her roots lay and that she learns to eat the food that is from Curaçao. (Carlo)

Finally, two respondents – Ulla and Edo – highlighted that they do not feel attached to a specific national cuisine but are rather open to multiple cuisines. Thus, even though they feel *connected* to Peruvian or Venezuelan food, they do not necessarily *identify* with it. Edo described his food identity as worldwide and Ulla uses the word fusion.

For me it's difficult to put myself in an identity, in a culture, because I have had so many, and I am surrounded with people who don't identify with their culture anymore. I don't even have Dutch friends. I just surround myself with people that are not fully 'culture' in something. Every friend of mine is a mixed person. Maybe because I am mixed as well, because I have lived in different places. (Edo)

I would say no cuisine at all. I think that's part of being a child from mixed ethnicities or culture. Because you've a bit of both, but you're not completely one or the other and I really like Japanese food. Every dish has something, so I couldn't stamp myself with just one food identity. I would say it's just fusion, a mix of different cuisines. Because we never eat from

just one country in this house, it's always a different culture, different food, try lots of new things. (Ulla)

Concluding we can say that most respondents feel more connected to the food cultures of their parents' home countries than to Dutch food. Although they argue that Latin American or Caribbean food tastes better than Dutch food, a large part of the connection to those cuisines lies in their ability to keep respondents connected to that non-Dutch part of their identities and the culture of their parent(s). A smaller number of respondents, however, also identify with Dutch food, or identify with no specific cuisine at all.

3.3 Eating, cooking and shopping

Above we saw that most of the children of migrants we interviewed are not particularly passionate about Dutch food, and that Latin American and Caribbean food is more important to them. Although this relates to the 'plain' flavours of Dutch cuisine, it also shows respondents' efforts to stay connected to the home countries of their parents. The next question is how this connection plays out in the daily reality of eating, cooking and shopping, which we discuss in this chapter. Appendices 3 to 5 present a number of tables that support the findings in this chapter: appendix 3 shows the frequency with which respondents eat Dutch and other types of food, appendix 4 specifies what specific foods respondents consume, and appendix 5 demonstrates how often and where people eat out.

3.3.1 Eating

All respondents describe dinner as the most consistent meal of the day, consumed with family or friends, together at the dinner table at home. Only 4 interviewees eat Dutch dishes daily; 3 do so weekly (e.g. bread with hagelslag or Dutch cheese). Dishes like pea soup are consumed by 3 respondents during wintertime. As far as the consumption of Latin American and Caribbean dishes is concerned, this frequency varies from once a week to a few times a week. Some traditional dishes from those national cuisines are consumed during special occasions such as birthdays and festivities like Christmas or Easter. Other dishes that respondents eat originate from other countries – pastas, sushi – which may be more or less integrated into the Dutch eating pattern and culture.

Respondents show rather similar eating habits in terms of mealtimes. Breakfast and lunch are generally consumed fast and usually consist of cold options such as bread with hagelslag, yogurt with cereals or sandwiches with cheese or cold cuts. Lunch is likely eaten outside of the household, at the university or the workplace.

3.3.2 Cooking

Almost all respondents live with their parents, and mostly the mothers are the ones who cook the majority of the meals. Respondents therefore generally don't cook much. While this does not mean that respondents would not have any say in what is being cooked, it seems that respondents usually eat with their parents, and that they are generally happy with what they are being served. Cooking together or helping the parents with the cooking was not a common theme in the interviews. Victor, Anton and Bea, for instance – some of the youngest respondents – did not speak much about (care for) cooking. Yannick used to help his father cutting vegetables, but does not do that so much anymore: he did state that he appreciates his parents' cooking skills.

Other respondents do cook sometimes. Xander helps out his mother during the weekends when he visits her, Edo cooks for his parents, and Ulla enjoys cooking her signature dish. Only two respondents cook on a daily basis and usually prepare dinner. Most of them often opt for dishes that are easy to prepare such as pasta with tomato sauce, schnitzel that only needs to be fried in the pan, fried eggs, a piece of red or white meat, or an addition of vegetables or salad. Others cook dishes from the home countries of their parent(s). Xander, for instance, showed a version of a Latin American tortilla lunch that he can easily make during the week (see figure 1). While this is a daily dish, other respondents choose to cook Latin American or Caribbean dishes that are more time consuming. For example, Ulla organizes her meals in advance because she marinates the meat for hours to prepare her signature ramen dish. Edo and Dillan explain that once they moved out of the house and realized that they could not find the right flavors anywhere outside the home, they started to learn how to prepare a number of specific recipes from their parents' cultures:



Figure 1. Xander buys this tortilla for lunch at the supermarket, prepares an egg omelet, spreads the black bean paste on the tortilla, and puts the omelet on top

Most of the time we order sate ku batata or the fried rice at Bon Sabor but there are not a lot of Caribbean restaurants here in Almere. If you want to go to one, you need to go either to Amsterdam or to Rotterdam. That's also a reason why I decided I wanted to learn to make it myself. I'm using this cookbook by Jurino Ignacio: 'Antilliaanse Keuken'. (Dillan)

Following recipes of Jurino Ignacio's cookbook 'Antilliaanse Keuken' (Antillean kitchen), Dillan started to make elaborate desserts or dishes for occasional parties with family or friends. He became specifically proficient in a typical Caribbean preparation of *Cachupete cake* (cashew cake, see figure 2). Dillan also explained that since he is cooking, he started to call an aunt who lives in Curaçao, to exchange suggestions about products to use and family tricks to make various Curaçao recipes. Zara shared how much she loves to organize potluck dinners with friends, for which she cooks arepas - or makes Asian cuisine inspired food. Ulla and Edo also very often cook together with friends and love to try out new recipes from other cultures. On Christmas Edo usually make hallacas with the whole family:



Figure 2. Cachupete cake made by Dillan for a family party

You make a day out of it because that's the fun part. That's a funny story, it came from slave food really. Because it was leftovers from the rich people in Spain back then. They make it in banana leaves and you make the meat and you prepare it completely, then need to boil it. I think it takes a whole afternoon and evening. You make a lot, we make like one hundred hallacas. (Edo)

In sum, most respondents do not cook on a daily basis, which may be related to the fact that several of them live with their parents, who cook for them. When respondents do cook, it is usually something simple or easy to make: in most cases this is not Latin American or Caribbean food. Respondents who are responsible for their own cooking may start to get more interested in cooking in general, and in preparing Latin American and Caribbean dishes in particular, which they learn how to prepare for special occasions.

3.3.3 Shopping

As most respondents do not cook that often, many of them are not responsible for their own grocery shopping. This does not mean, however, that they do not acquire food outside of the home. Indeed, the food maps show that respondents use various different 'channels' to do so. The respondents were very open and committed to drawing the food maps and had fun doing so. Drawing the maps gave them pleasure and they enjoyed thinking about their foodscapes. This joy stands out when looking at the maps (see appendix 2).

The fun that respondents had drawing the maps relates to the memories that drawing these maps gave them. While drawing, respondents were talking about the taste of dishes they love, but also about the moments they spent with friends and family sharing that food. The maps clearly show the importance of social relations around food: the houses of friends and relatives are often depicted as places to consume dinner or snacks in conviviality. Indeed, when comparing these maps to those of their parents (as in the thesis of the first author: Adriano 2023), we can see that their children focus more on relations, sharing food or going to the houses of friends to celebrate. The maps of their parents tended to be simpler and more focused on the products themselves and where to buy them.

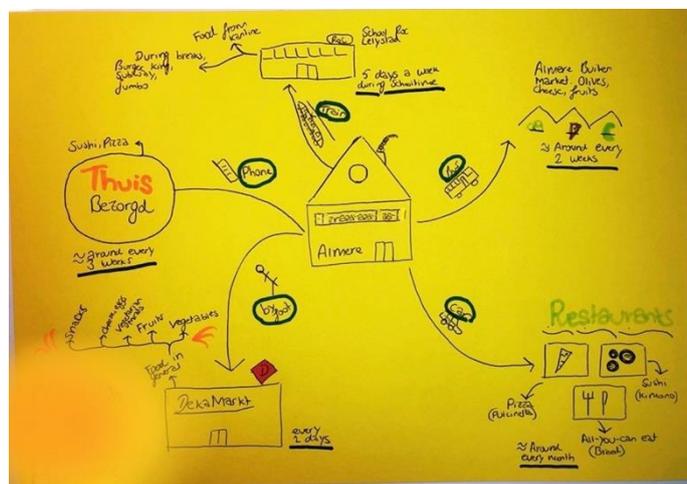


Figure 3. The food map of Anton

The maps also demonstrate a focus on convenience. Respondents eat out quite a lot (including fast food), and the delivery services stand out too. Respondents included restaurants, coffee bars, and places to eat lunch in their maps, depicted both in Almere and in the city where they work and live (e.g. Amsterdam, Lelystad, Utrecht). Several respondents visit tokos to buy ready-to-go lunches, like Edo and Zara, who both like to buy the Surinamese *broodje bakkelijauw*¹⁸ at Oriental in Almere Centrum from time to time. Carlo often gets take-out from a toko when he is on the road. He knows several places where he can get quick meals or sandwiches. Interestingly, three respondents drew the food ordering app ThuisBezorgd as a physical place on the maps. Using so many different ‘channels’ tailored around busy lives may be typical for younger generations.

Despite of this large variety in food acquisitioning, the supermarket plays a major role on the food maps and in interviews. All respondents visit the supermarket to buy food. Supermarkets are often close to home and are easy.

When I go shopping or do groceries, I just feel like the supermarket is a safe place. It's easy. It's close. If I go, I take the bus and a lot of buses go and stop next to the supermarket. I know every food over there. Every Wednesday and Saturday we have the market, but I never know what's good, how much we need. My parents go to the market. (Yannick)

Which supermarket respondents choose depends on the family composition and the economical position of the respondent. All but one respondent regularly visits an Albert Heijn supermarket (AH).

¹⁸ A Surinamese lunch dish: sandwich with smoked and salty cod

Respondents argued that it is close: William for instance, goes to AH because it's nearby and proximity is very important to him, and Simon walks there with the baby. However, AH also offers a variety of produce that our respondents cannot always find in other supermarkets. Xander stated that cheaper supermarkets do not always have the products he wants to buy, like tortillas, black beans or spicy taco sauce. The brand La Morena, which he prefers, is only available at AH. In fact, all the ingredients needed to prepare the tortilla as shown in figure 1, can be found there. So, just going there and buying everything he needs saves time. Also Simon finds ready-made tortillas at AH. Edo states that AH even sells Harina Pan which is very important to make arepas. Carlo also buys specific ingredients at AH, like soy milk, but also ready-made naan. Anton usually goes to DekaMarkt, but argues that the product range there is limited. He and his parents visit larger supermarkets when they are in need of specific ingredients like maizena to make alfajores, typical Argentinian cookies. The interview with William, finally, was intervened by his mother, who explained that when they first moved to Almere they would go to a Chinese toko but since AH expanded its food selection and now offers an international ingredients section, they don't do that anymore. Only one respondent, Zara, does not like AH. She stated that *"they are kind of large food chain probably milking out people in terms of production"* and the shops are very expensive.

Besides Albert Heijn, most respondents also visit one or two other supermarkets. Lidl is most popular with six respondents and is often chosen for its low prices. Of course, these and other supermarkets are sometimes also visited because they are close to where the respondent is. William argued that he visits the supermarket that is closest to him at a specific moment: when he plays sport, supermarket Deen is nearby, when he goes to school this is supermarket Dirk, and when he visits a friend, it is Jumbo.

Respondents thus differentiate between different supermarkets, based on their prices, their locations, and their product ranges. But respondents also buy produce and ingredients elsewhere. Just under half of respondents (6) visit tokos; Dillan even three different ones. The most popular toko is Amazing Oriental, which is a rather 'supermarket-like toko' that has several stores in the Netherlands. Two respondents shop at Tanger market, an Arabic supermarket, and three respondents mentioned shopping at other (not specified) tokos. Some respondents shop at tokos for special ingredients. Ulla for instance, visits Oriental when she wants to cook special dishes: she buys fruits and vegetables like *granadilla fruit*¹⁹ or katsu chicken. Dillan goes to Oriental to buy specific herbs and spices, and Theo buys meat and vegetables at Tanger market. Edo stated:

My father and I also really like to experiment with food and I like to cook with him at Oriental. We made butter chicken. (Edo)

¹⁹ A type of fruit of the plant *Passiflora ligularis*, typical for and originally from Peru

Besides tokos, respondents have other ways of sourcing specific ingredients or dishes. Dillan explained that when he doesn't have the time to prepare the cashew cake (see figure 2), his family calls a Curaçao lady living in Almere Haven who informally sells Caribbean food products. Bea stated that for Christmas her mother sometimes calls a Venezuelan friend who lives in Almere and sells tamales among an informal Latin American network. Finally, Ulla sometimes visits a fish store and a butcher, and Anton goes to the market.

Sometimes I go to Almere Buiten market on Thursday because I like it and the food is more fresh or it tasted better. Especially cheeses, because I really love cheese and they have a large variety of cheeses. I try to get them because it's more fun. It's the older way of buying food but they are not used to it. There I buy cheeses and olives. I really like stinky ones, the blue cheeses. Usually people my age really think that's gross, all the blue cheeses." (Anton)

Zara explained that all these different ways of acquiring food exist alongside each other:

Latin ingredients, like plantain or yuka, my parents don't buy at Albert Heijn. They buy at local food stores in Almere Buiten. They go to a Surinamese guy who apparently has very good plantains. They buy meat at Tanger once a month in an Arab supermarket in Almere centrum. Eggs they buy at this Arab guy that has a lot of eggs for a better price. (Zara)

Finally, William stated that it is very difficult to access all ingredients for the authentic Nicaraguan dishes his mother would want to prepare. In combination with the lengthy time needed to cook these dishes, this is making it difficult for him to truly get to know the cuisine. He explained that his mother feels frustration in not finding naranja agria in Almere, as she is therefore not able to reproduce the taste she could have in Nicaragua. Therefore she prefers to make simple dishes like black bean soup, using supermarket ingredients. The mother argues that she would suffer emotionally when she tries to replicate the taste of naranja agria, knowing it would not be the same. Therefore she would rather not cook it at all. Instead she creates fusion dishes that mix Nicaraguan cuisine with the Dutch one: making a soup with Albert Heijn beans, rookworst and Philadelphia cheese instead of queso fresco cheese is for her a way to accept that she lives in The Netherlands.

In sum, most respondents frequent supermarkets for their groceries, as this is easy and especially Albert Heijn sells most ingredients that they would need. In addition, about half of the respondents visit tokos or have other ways of sourcing their food. The eating cultures of the home countries of respondents' parents play a role here, as being able to buy specific ingredients for specific dishes is important. Besides this grocery shopping, which not all respondents are responsible for, respondents visit lunchrooms, coffee bars and the houses of their friends or use takeout services, showing the connection between eating and socializing, and the importance of convenience.

3.4 Food sustainability

Finally, as argued in the introduction, we asked respondents about their interest in and actions about food-related sustainability. Rather than giving them a definition of sustainability, we inquired what respondents see as sustainable food practices. The answer that was given most often (by more than half of respondents) was not to throw food away or waste it. A second food practice that was considered sustainable, mentioned by almost half the respondents, is eating less meat. A third sustainable practice, mentioned by three respondents, is buying organic products.

Besides questioning which practices respondents see as sustainable, we also asked them whether sustainability is important to them. More than half of the respondents (7) argued that applying sustainable food practices is not relevant to them or *not something they think about*. In line with this finding, over a third of our respondents does not take any labels or characteristics such as fair trade, organic or animal welfare into account during grocery shopping.

The other, slightly smaller, half of respondents (6) stated that sustainability is important, but for two of them sustainability does not influence their food behavior or food choices. To Yannick and Bea this (also) relates to the fact that they hardly cook, as they live with their parents:

I think because I don't really cook that often that I don't really think about it a lot. If my parents always buy food and cook the food, I don't know if they buy the most organic things. (Yannick)

I don't really make that much food. My parents make a lot of meat. I do feel a little bit bad about it, sometimes, because I know it's bad for the environment and stuff like that... If I would be on my own, I would eat less meat. (Bea)

One of the reasons not to buy (more) sustainable food, is the higher price of those products. For more than half of respondents affordability is crucial: five respondents stated that food is becoming more and more expensive in The Netherlands. Anton struggles when buying lunch in supermarkets during his internship and argued that a vegetarian option is usually more expensive than sandwiches with meat products. Bea noticed the same while doing groceries with her father and she stated that being able to buy organic produce is a privilege. For Xander the price of organic products is often too high, and he feels that healthy products are not as accessible as they should be. Carlo said that healthy food should be much more affordable.

Nevertheless, some respondents do take sustainability into account. For a number of them sustainable packaging is important. They try to avoid purchasing products wrapped in too much plastic or buying plastic containers with ready-to-eat cut-up fruits: they would rather buy the whole fruit. Others take animal welfare into account. They look for *three star eggs*²⁰ or make sure that they

²⁰ Certain animal products like meat and eggs sport the 'Beter Leven' [Better Life] label from Dierenbescherming [foundation Animal Protection]. The label gives certain products one, two or three stars. The more stars, the better the product is in terms of animal welfare. Three stars means that the product is organic.

are buying a *happy chicken*²¹. Xander eats fewer animal products altogether: since he moved out from his parents' house to study at Wageningen University, he eats less meat and looks for more vegetarian options such as legumes, or plant-based schnitzels or burgers. He also complains about how much meat his father usually consumes and explains that eating less meat is easier in his university town.

If I decide to make tacos on my own here in Wageningen, I can make them vegetarian. So the same type of food as at home but a bit different, being more vegetable oriented. (Xander)

Reducing food waste is another topic that some respondents bring into practice. Some of them stated that they plan their meals ahead and that they do not cook too much so as to not create waste. Others, on the other hand, argued that they would cook larger quantities of food for multiple days. William, for instance, stated that his mother usually prepares a big pot of bean soup on Monday which lasts him and his sister a few days, in case she comes home late from work. Yannick, Bea and Simon learned from their mothers to cook bigger quantities to save leftovers for upcoming meals. William also often has leftovers in the fridge from previous meals which he re-uses to create a new dish, or which he uses as a quick meal.

Three respondents buy organic produce. Dillan has no specific reason for this but stated that he instinctively trusts the label. Three respondents consider seasonality when purchasing fruits and vegetables. Only two respondents buy directly from a farmer: Ulla buys honey from Almere and Anton's parents buy dairy products from a local farm. Also two respondents take the fair trade label into account: Ulla buys fair trade chocolate bars and while for Bea price is more important, when a product is fair trade this is 'even better'.

Interviewees hardly mentioned any aspects of sustainability in relation to Latin American and Caribbean cuisines. The exception is Xander, who stated that it is part of Latin-American culture to eat a lot of meat (*'my father thinks that a dish is not complete without meat'*). Those respondents who were looking for local or seasonal food did not do so because of the food culture of their parent(s).

In sum, sustainability played a minor role in shopping, cooking and eating practices of the respondents. The cuisines of their parents did not stimulate or hinder them in eating (more) sustainably and the respondents did not mention any connection between their parents' cuisines and sustainability. Only Xander made a connection between Latin American cuisines and meat eating.

²¹ The respondent probably refers to the 'Beter Leven' label as well.



4 Conclusions

This report is based on 13 interviews with the adult children of women who migrated to Almere from a Latin American or Caribbean country. The fathers of these adult children are either Dutch or have a Latin American or Caribbean (or in one case: Spanish) background. Some of the respondents live with their parents, others have moved out – some have started their own families. Most of the respondents have also drawn a food map that shows where they acquire their food.

The interviews and food maps show very clearly that the respondents live in a, what we may call, dual foodscape. Although in general respondents shared that they are not very fond of Dutch cuisine, Dutch food does play an important role in their daily lives. Respondents eat bread with hagelslag, they snack Dutch cookies or fried snacks, and they all eat Dutch dishes like stamppot or pea soup – some more often than others. Interestingly, a few respondents mentioned missing Dutch food when they traveled abroad. Respondents talk more fondly about Latin American and Caribbean cuisines. They enjoy the spices and the flavours, the smells and the colours. However, they are also (or mainly) drawn towards these cuisines because they help them stay connected to the non-Dutch part of their identities. Living in the Netherlands, the food helps them maintain a feeling of being ‘Latin American/ Caribbean’. Respondents have generally not spent much time in the home countries of their parents: food is an ‘easy’ way to keep that connection alive. These findings are fully in line with those of Rowe (2012), who found that for Lebanese migrants in America Lebanese cuisine is a way to stay connected to their Lebanese roots.

Our conclusions based on respondents’ diets are supported by how respondents acquire food. While they frequent supermarkets like most Dutch people, they *also* go to tokos. And while being able to buy specific Latin American or Caribbean ingredients is one of the considerations for visiting a certain shop, for these relatively young respondents it is especially the social element of eating that is important. Thus, they visit bars, lunch places and fast food restaurants, like most young people living in the Netherlands. In other words, our findings corroborate those by Chapman and Beagan (2013), who concluded that food practices of people with a migration background can reflect attachments to multiple national identities.

Our work also shows the ‘relativity’ of Dutch cuisine. Respondents mentioned typical Dutch dishes like stamppot, pea soup and kroketten, but over the years what people in the Netherlands eat has also changed and diversified. There is certainly truth in the words of Zara, who stated that Dutch cuisine is very open to other cuisines. Indeed, whereas appendix 4 – showing what Dutch and Latin American or Caribbean food respondents eat – demonstrates that respondents do eat a lot of South American and Caribbean dishes, appendix 5 clarifies that respondents also eat sushi, Turkish fast food, pizzas and burgers. This may mean that the differences between eating patterns of (second generation) migrants and non-migrants may not be that large; food patterns are already diversified and already show elements of various different cuisines, especially outside of the home. The main difference between our respondents and people with a Dutch background is what they eat when at home with their families.

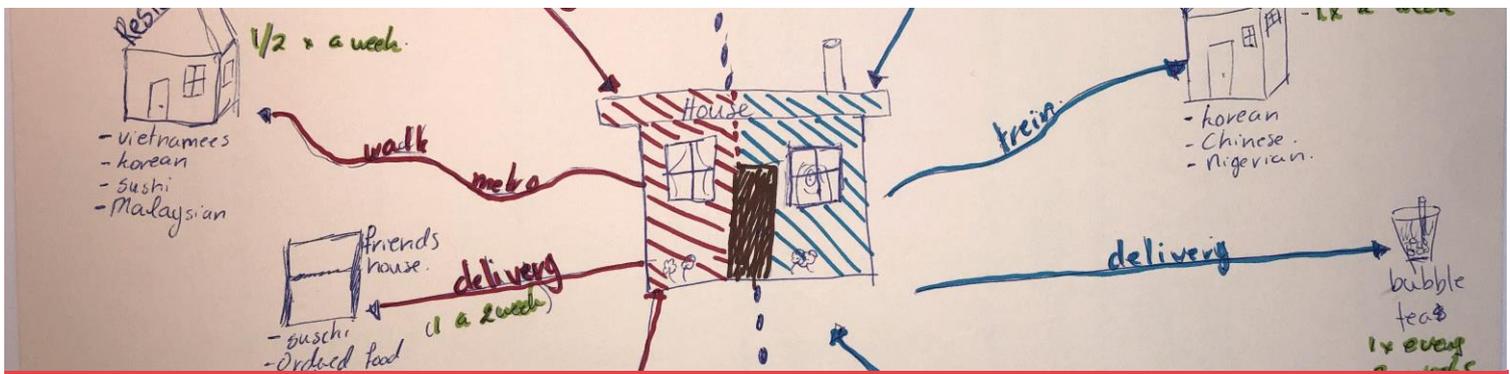
The aim of this report was not to compare generations and it is beyond the scope of this current work to compare the parents interviewed earlier with their children interviewed for this research. The results do suggest, however, and we recognise this from our other work on the topic (see Veen, Smaal and Korn 2023), that interest in and knowledge of cooking Latin American/Caribbean dishes may increase with the years. The current work suggests that when people move out and start living on their own – and become responsible for their own cooking – they may get more interested in cooking the dishes from the cuisines of their parents’ home countries, and also to keep such cooking skills alive so as to be able to transfer them to the next generation.

In sum, our work confirms the findings by Weller and Turkon (2015): food takes up a central role as a tool for connecting with or rediscovering heritage identities, and migrants from different generations find joy in connecting over and sharing food with others.



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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guideline

Introduction: I am Sara Adriano, a Research Assistant working for Aeres University in Almere. From October 2022 to February 2023, I will conduct this anthropologic research, under the supervision of professor Esther Veen. The research goal is to interview second-generation migrants about their eating habits, as I am investigating how migrants of the second generation shape the foodscape of Almere (or wherever they currently live). I want to know what people eat, how this differs from what their parents eat and how they would define their food identity. I am also curious about their opinion about sustainable food practices. These are the research question I will try to investigate and answer:

- How do migrants of the second generation shape their foodscape?
 - Where do they source their food?
 - What is the difference in food consumption practices between the first and second generations?
- How do migrants of the second generation perceive, define, and apply food sustainability?

Before starting the actual investigation, the respondent will be asked to sign a participation consent form, designed to inform each interviewee about the research topic, the modality of investigation and respect of sensitive data. Anonymity and privacy discretion are guaranteed. Therefore, the use of the interview content will be used for merely academic purposes. The recording of the interview is optional and only applied with the participant's consent.

The interview will take about one hour. The respondent will be asked to reply orally to approximately 24 main questions, which concern food habits, culture, and sustainability. The questionnaire is divided into 4 main topics: 1. Origin, 2. Eating Cultures, 3. Current eating patterns, 4. Food sustainability. The respondents will voluntarily participate in the investigation and are reminded that they have the freedom to stop at any time. At the end of the interview, I will ask to draw a food map of their consumption taking into considerations two variables, places and time (e.g. food shops sites, so where do they consume or purchase food and with which frequencies, so when do they food shop?). On a voluntary base, the researcher will be involved in participatory observation by helping in cooking a recipe that the respondent prepares in his household to convey cultural or personal identity.

Origin

- Name, age, birthplace and language/dialect
- Where do you currently live?
- What do you do or study?
- What is the cultural origin of your family?
- For how long have you been living in xx? Why did you or your family choose to live there?
- Household composition: Are you married or have a partner? Do you have children?

Eating cultures

- What is Dutch cuisine for you? How often do you eat Dutch cuisine? What do you like about Dutch cuisine and which Dutch food product do you eat? How often do you eat cuisine from your parents' home country(s)? What is that cuisine for you? What do you like about that cuisine? Which food product from that cuisine do you eat?
- What are the main differences between these cuisines? In tastes and products? And in feelings / emotions?
- When you were still living with your parents, how did you eat? How often did you consume Dutch food? How often did you eat food from the country where your parents are from? When did you eat those foods? Was there a difference between regular days and festivities?
- Has your diet changed since you moved out? How? Why?
- Are you religious? If so, to what extent does religion influence your food choices? Any specific diet you follow or recipes you cook, or food you are not allowed to eat?

Current eating patterns

- How often do you (or your partner/roommate) cook at home? What types of food do you cook?
- Where do you usually do your food grocery shopping? Why there (proximity, price, taste)?
- When guests come over, how do you provide food for them? Do you cook, get food delivered, or go out to eat (or something else)? What types of food? Is there a difference between different guests – and their backgrounds?
- Do you visit restaurants? How often? What types of restaurants? Do you visit restaurants from your parents' home countries as well? What do you think about these restaurants?

Food Identity

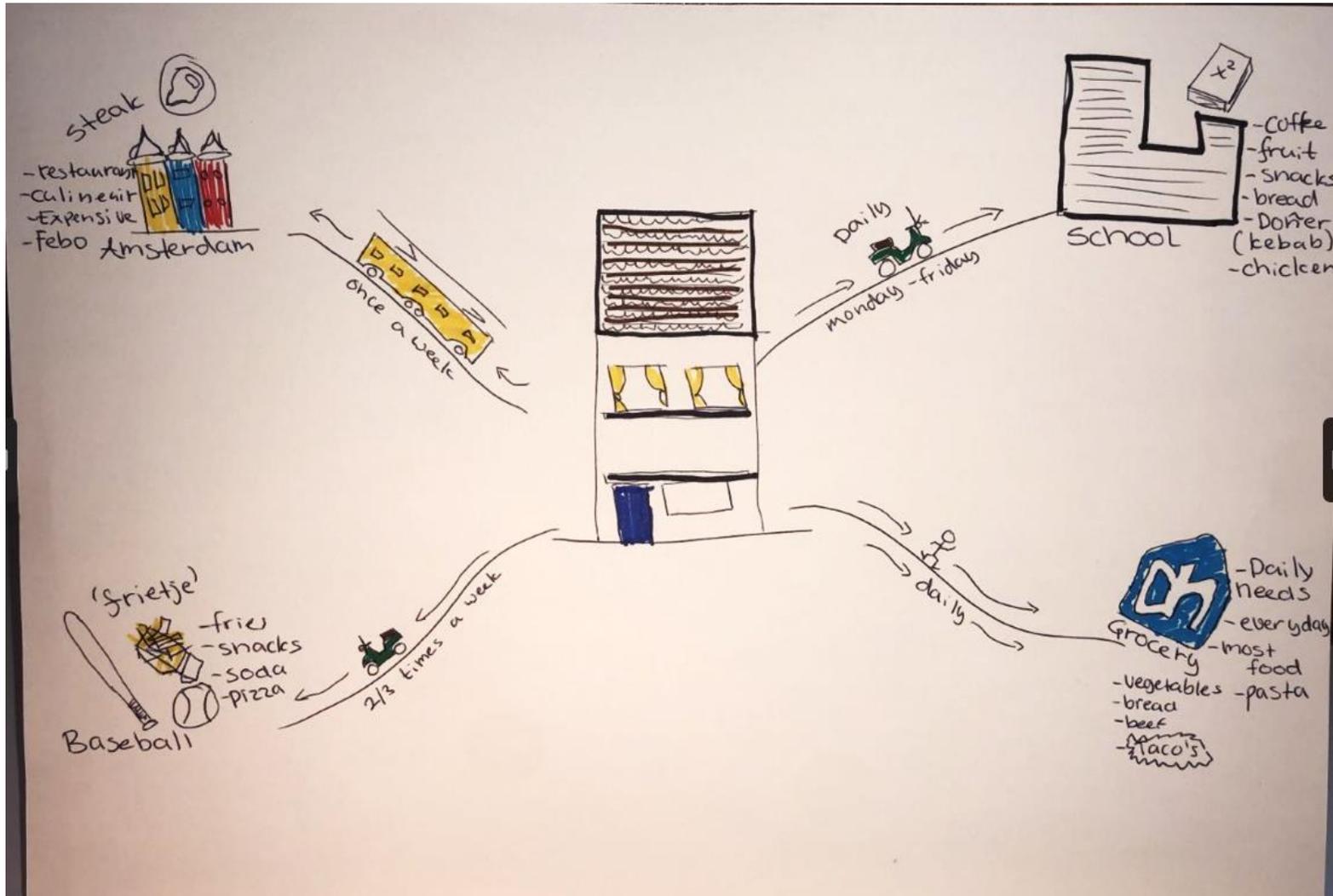
- How important is it for you to eat food from the cuisine from your parents' home country? Has this changed over the years?

- How important is to eat Dutch cuisine? Has this changed over the years?
- How would you describe your food identity? What cuisine do you feel most connected to?

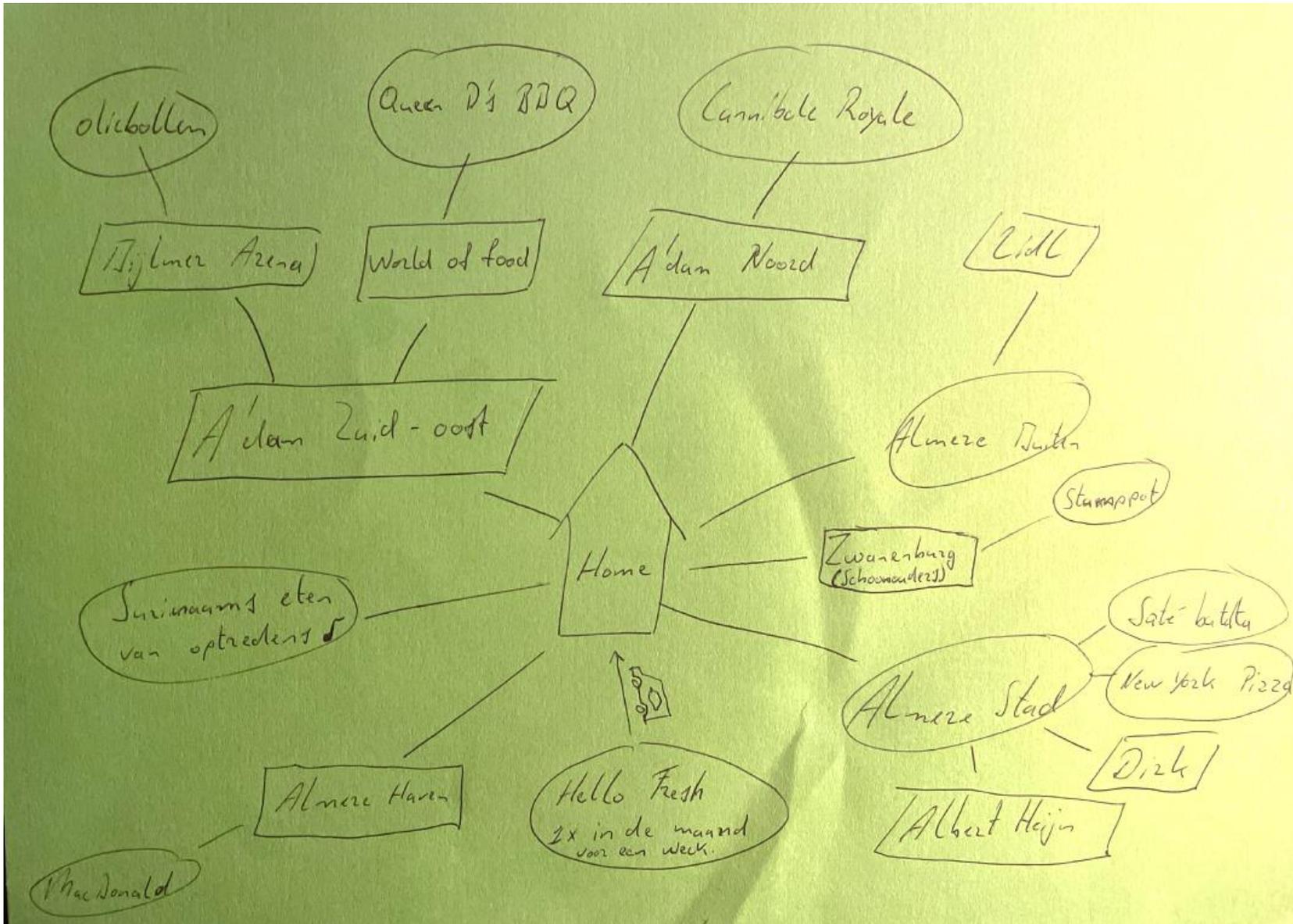
Food Sustainability

- What are sustainable food practices to you?
- How important it is for you to apply sustainable food practices?
- What (IF ANY) do you do to eat sustainably?
- When you choose to purchase sustainable foods, do you take the following features into account? Select those that apply.
 - Fair Trade Label
 - Organic Certified
 - Directly from the Farmer/Local
 - Seasonal Products
 - Animal Well-being
 - Sustainable Packaging/No Packaging
- How important are the following statements for you?
 - My food should be affordable.
 - My food should be healthy.
 - My food should be good for animal welfare.
 - The farmer should be paid a fair price.
 - My food shouldn't harm the environment.
- Is there anything that you would like to add?

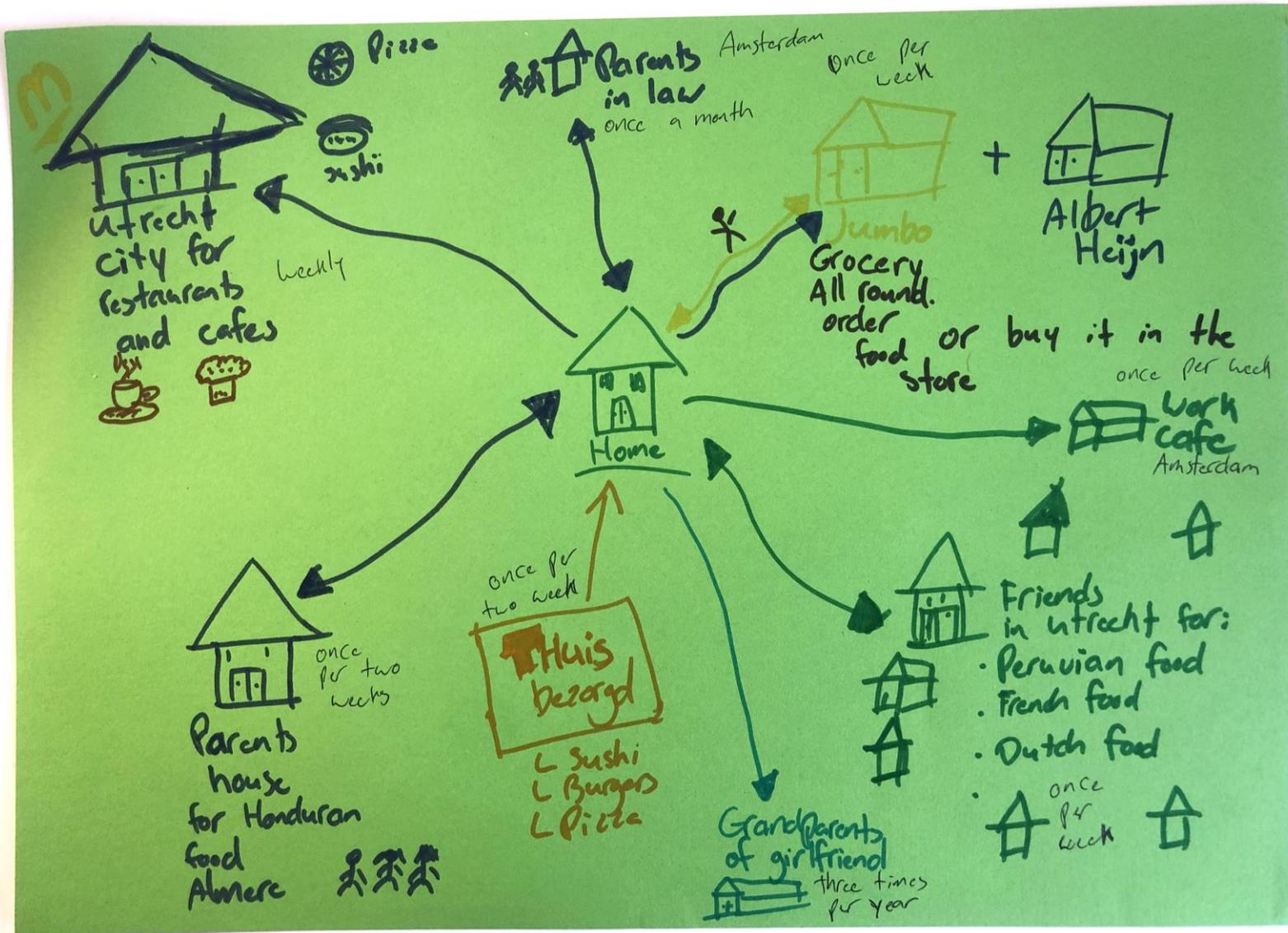
Appendix 2: Food maps



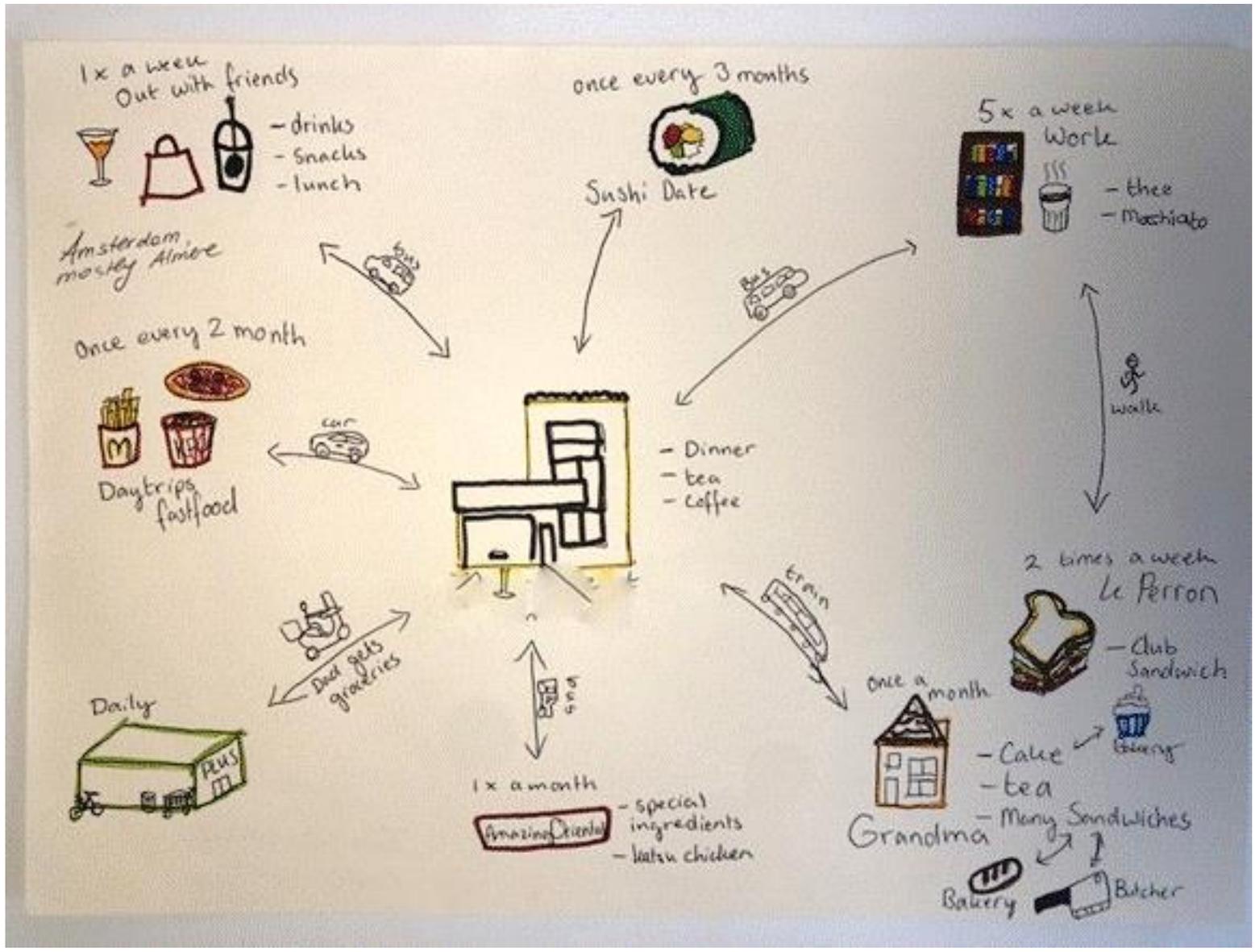
William



Carlo

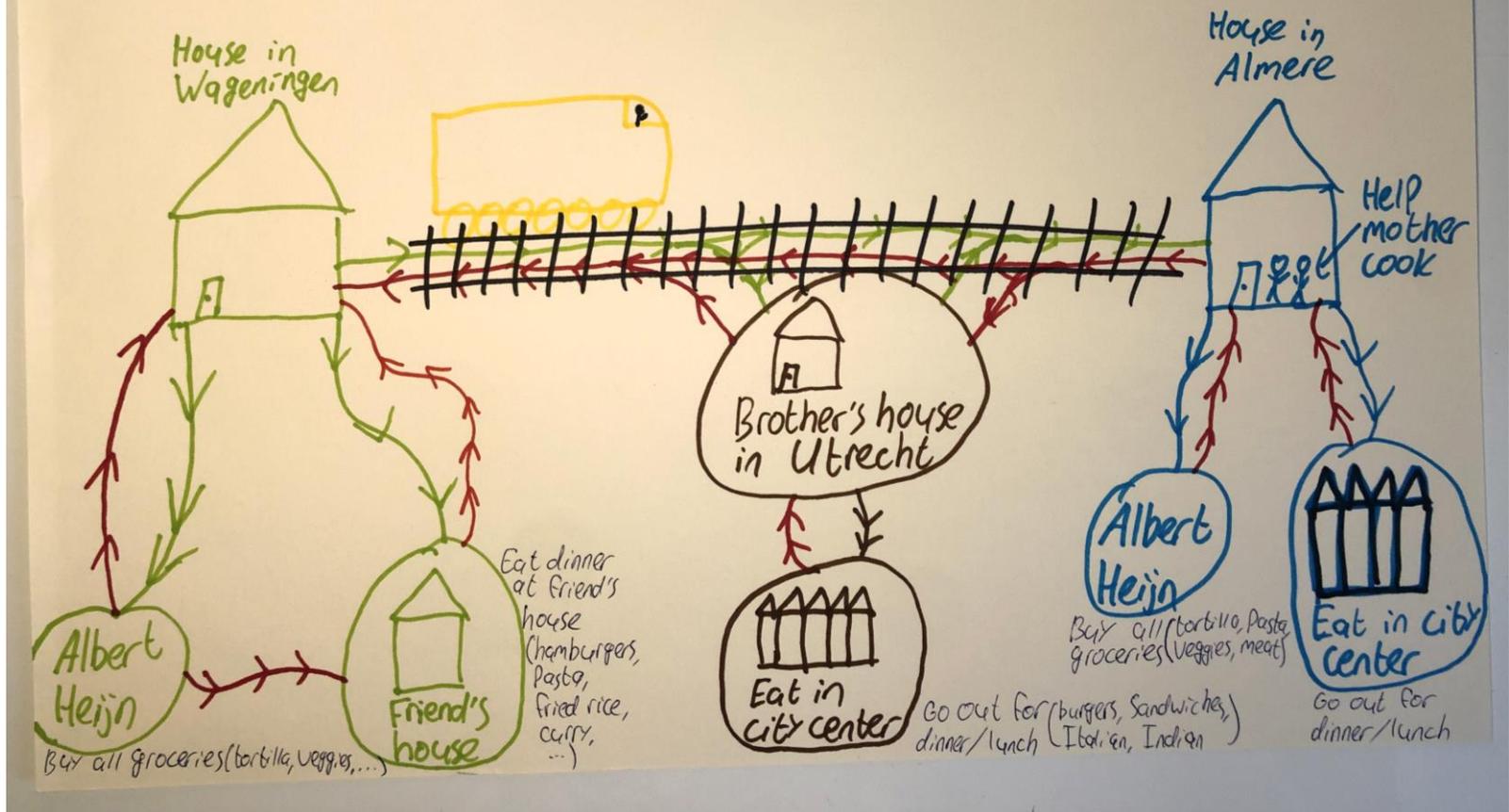


Simon

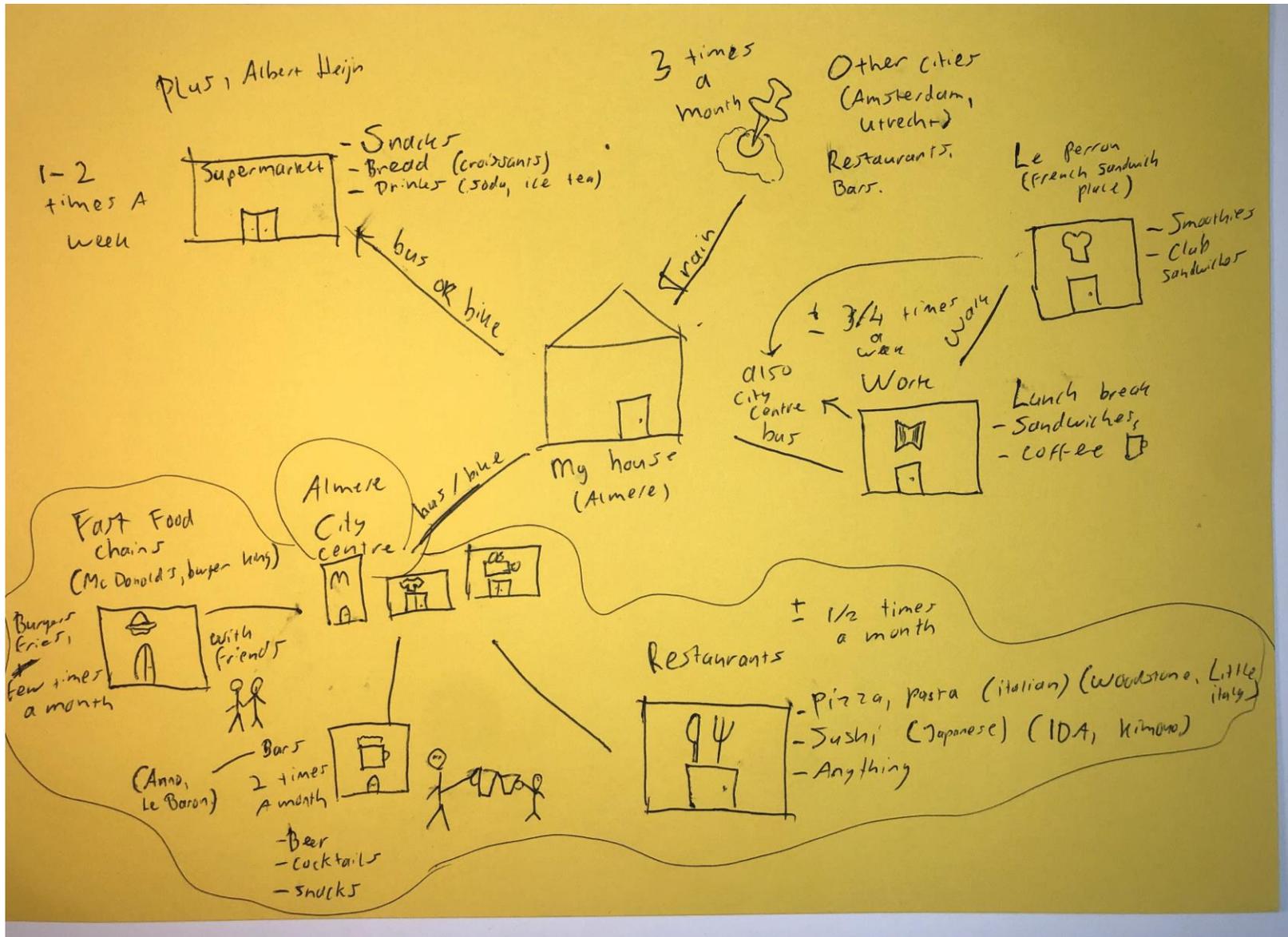


Ulla

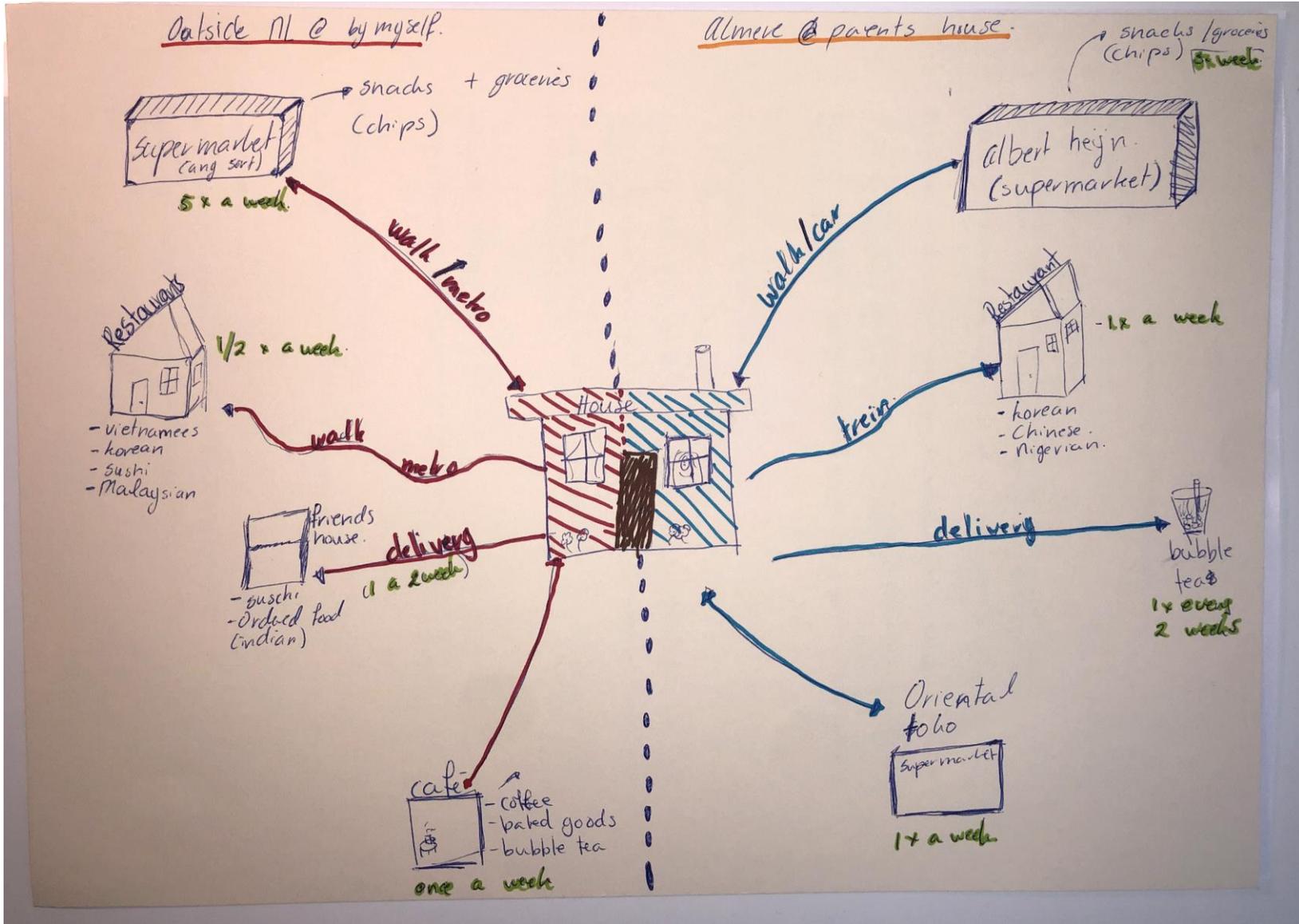
- Legend:
- Locations and Flows in Almere
 - Locations and Flows in Wageningen
 - Locations and Flows in Utrecht
 - Flow from destination back to origin
 - ~~Train~~ Train, because NS trains are yellow



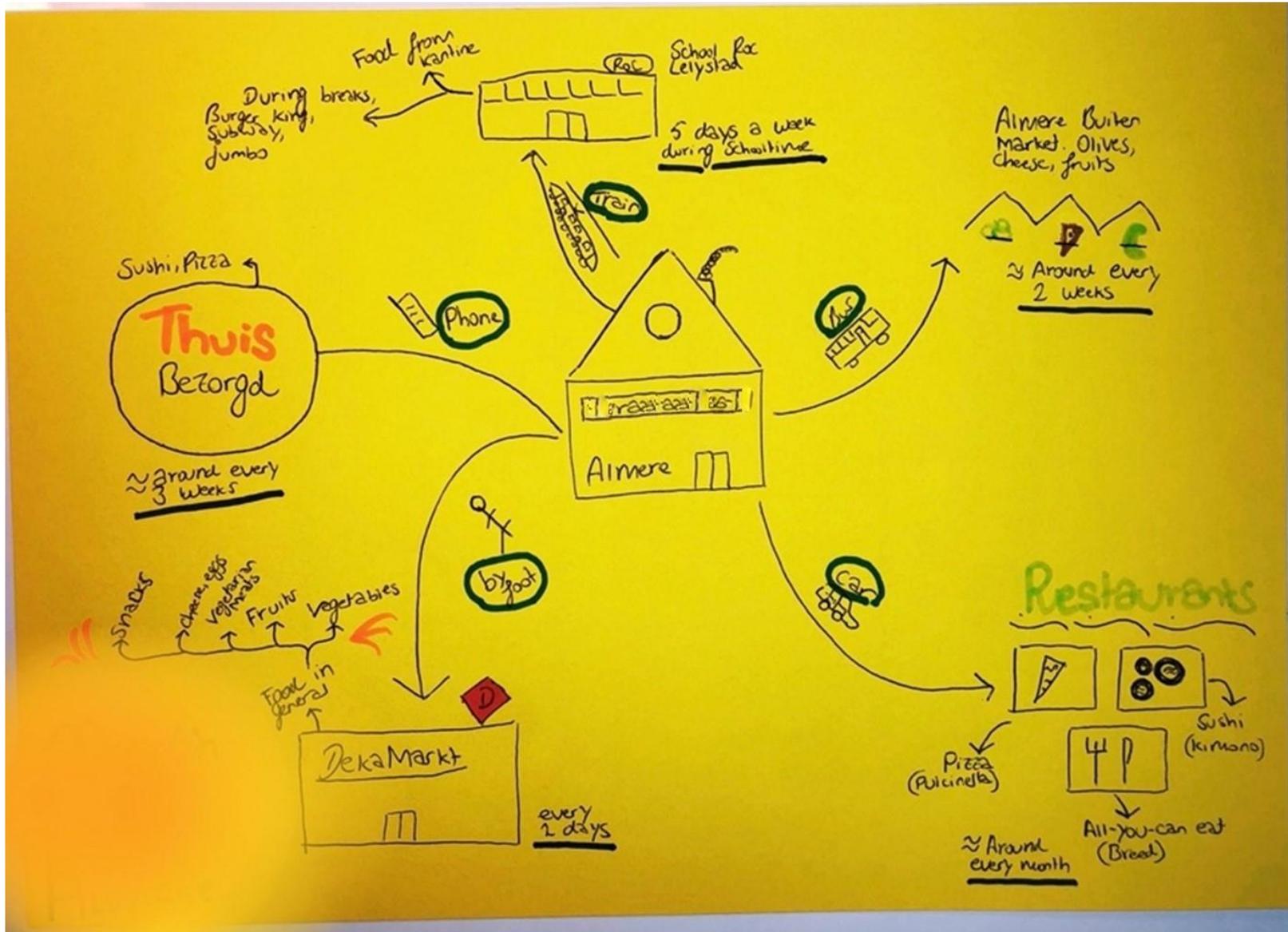
Xander



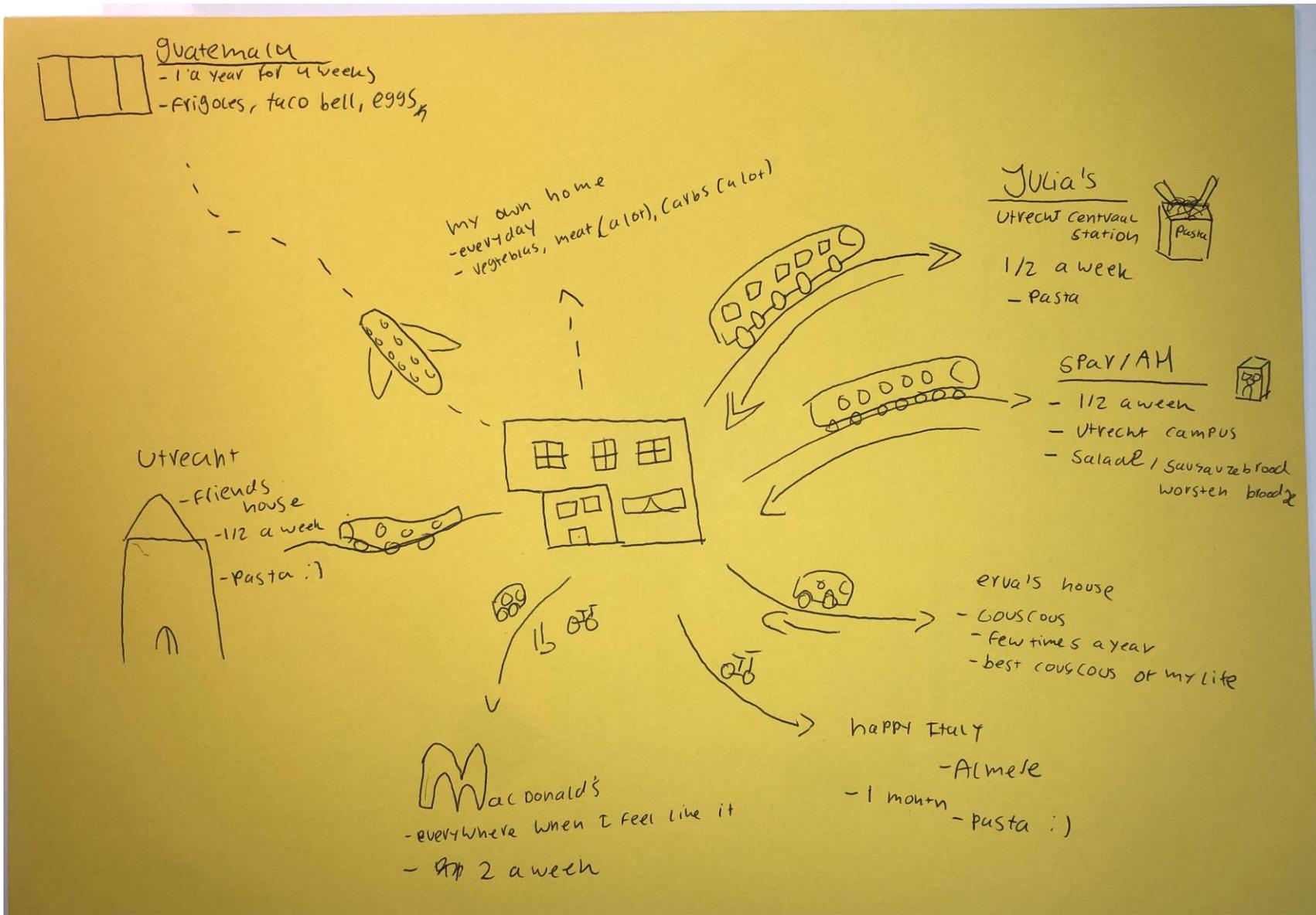
Yannick



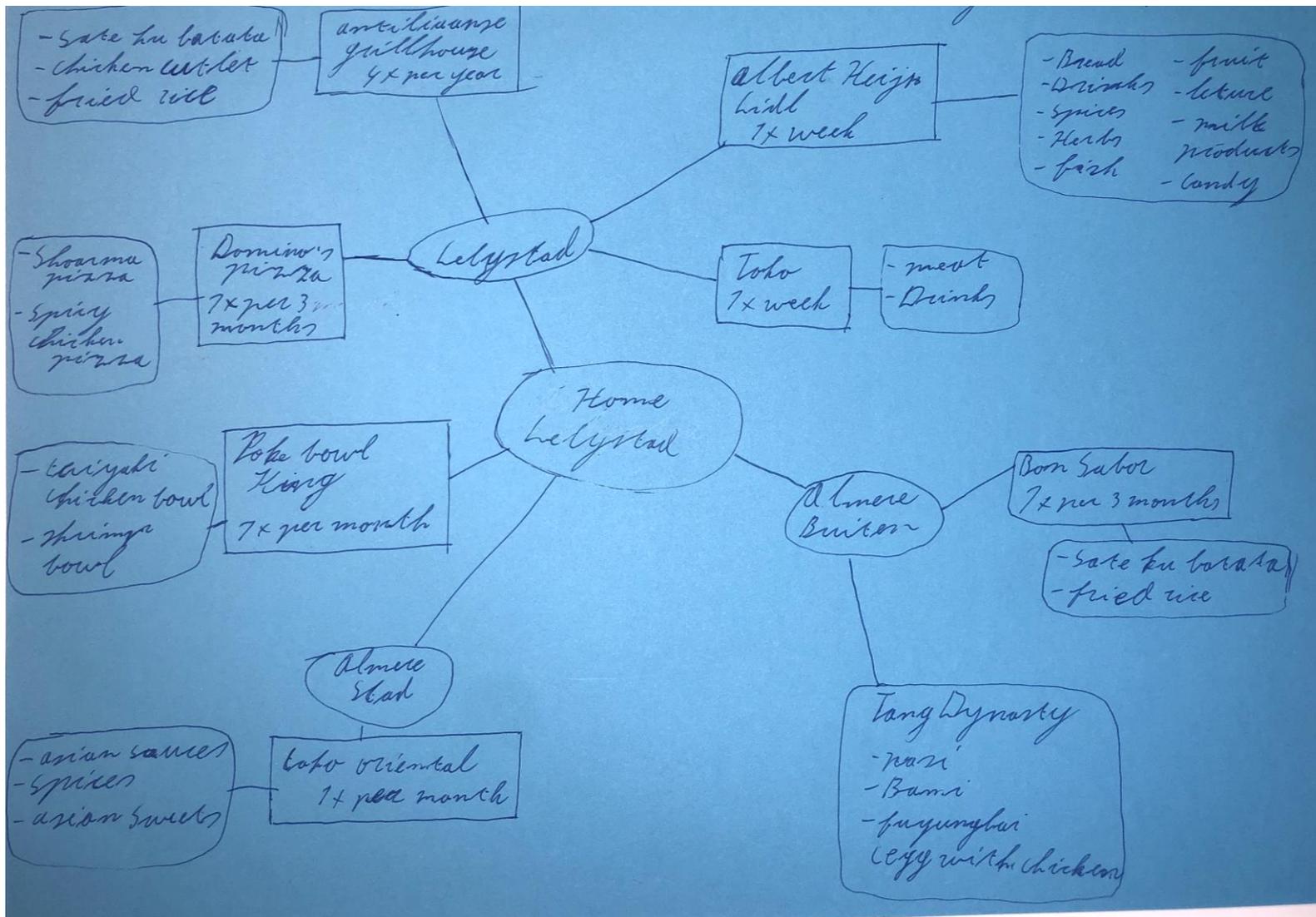
Zara



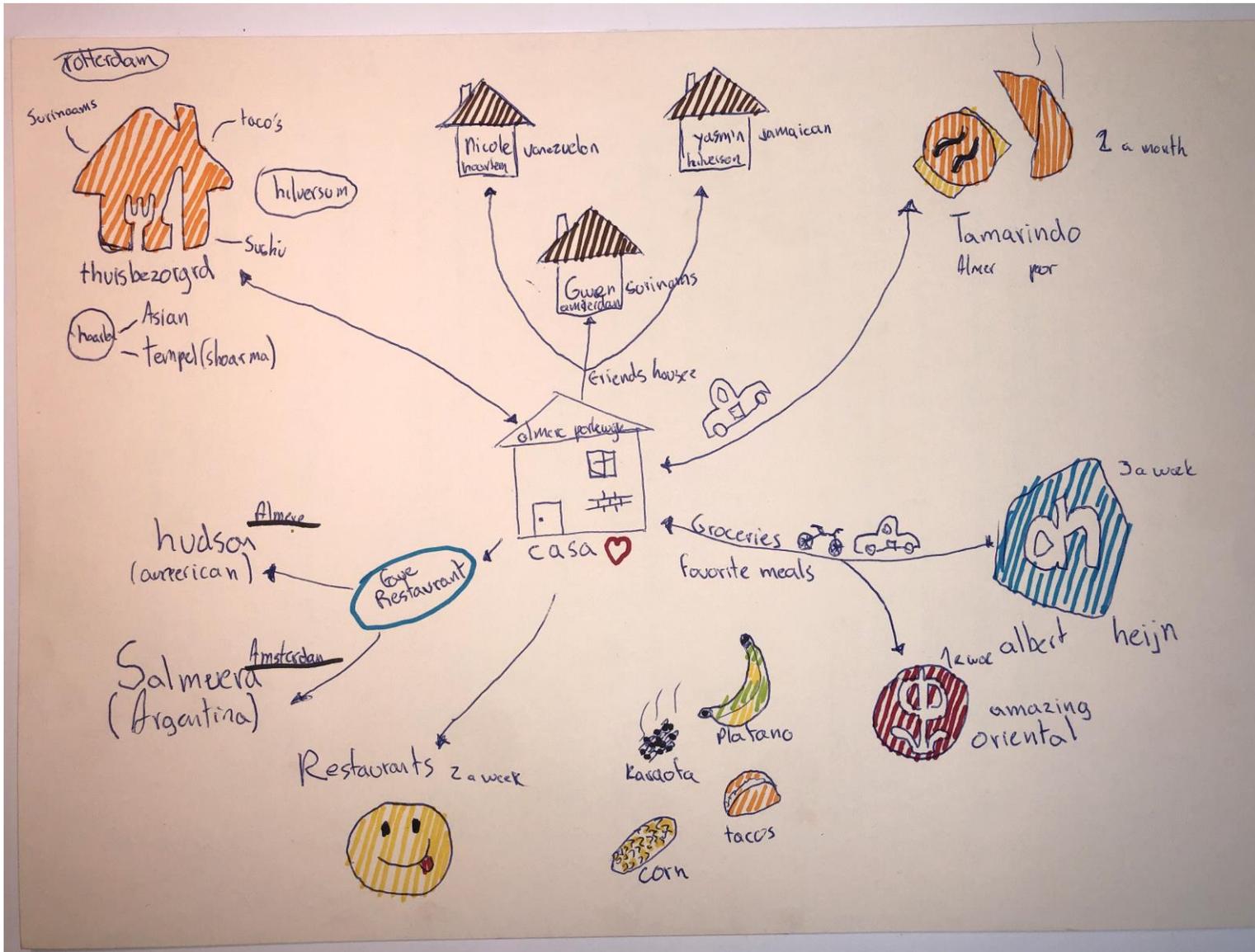
Anton



Bea



Dillan



Edo

Appendix 3: Frequency of eating Dutch and other cuisines

Frequency of eating...			
Respondent	Dutch food	National cuisine from migrant parents (e.g. Argentinian)	Latin American food more broadly
Simon	Twice a week	Once every 2 weeks	2-3 times a week
Theo	Once every 2 months	Once a week	Unknown
Ulla	2-3 times a month: pancakes, kroketten, poffertjes, stroopwafels During wintertime: pea soup, suddervlees	Once a week	Unknown
Victor	Once every 2 or 3 months: stamppot with jus, potatoes, rookworst Daily: bread with hagelslag, frikandelbroodje	On Christmas, or special occasions	Unknown
William	Daily: bread with hagelslag Several times during the week: boerenkool, stamppot, AVG	Once a week	Once a week plus special occasions
Xander	Rarely: frikandel, bitterballen, stroopwaffels During winter time: pea soup	Almost every weekend at parents' house	Weekly
Yannick	Once a month: pancakes Sometimes: stroopwafels, speculaas, poffertjes	Once every two weeks / weekly	Unknown
Zara	Once every 2 weeks: rookworst (with tapioca)	Twice a week: Venezuelan arepas, pabellon, quesillo, tequeños, empanadas shredded beef made by her or her mother Christmas: Hallacas, pernil de cerdo, chicken salad made by her mother	Unknown

Anton	3 times a week	Once a week: empanadas made by his parents Once every 2 weeks: alfajores cookies made by parents Special occasions: gnocchi, pasta, pastel	Unknown
Bea	Daily	'Not that often'	Sometimes
Carlo	Once every 3 or 4 months	Rarely	Once or twice a month
Dillan	Once or twice a month	Two to three times a week	Unknown
Edo	Once every 2 months: licorice or herring Daily: sandwich with Old Amsterdam cheese (sometimes with chicken fillet or vegetables)	Only with Christmas	During the week dishes that are either Latin American / Caribbean, or that can be considered a fusion of Dutch and Latin American / Caribbean food

Please note that besides Dutch cuisines and Latin American and Caribbean cuisines, respondents may also eat other types of food. Carlo, for instance, has a lot of Surinamese friends. He often plays music at parties at Surinamese venues, where there is a lot of food. He is being offered Surinamese dishes like saoto soup with eggs, chicken, bean sprouts, or rise. During the week he eats international dishes like pasta, or rice with beef and vegetables. He also eats Mexican tacos, nachos, enchiladas, and quesadillas. Other respondents may have considered pasta dishes as Dutch, because most Dutch families eat pasta dishes rather often. This table is this based on what the respondents consider Dutch or Latin American and Caribbean food.

Appendix 4: Types of food consumed

Respondent	Dutch food consumed	National food from migrant parents consumed	Latin American food consumed
Simon	Stamppot, kale, AVG, FEBO snacks	Dishes prepared by his mother, like black bean soup	Tortillas with meat/chicken, nachos with different sauces and toppings, black beans spread
Theo	Pastries, sweet baked products, frikandelbroodje, FEBO snacks	Venezuelan plates cooked by his mother: pabellon, arepas with reina pepiada filling	Unknown
Ulla	Dutch pancakes, kroketten, poffertjes, stroopwafels, pea soep, suddervlees	Peruvian dishes made by her mother, like arroz tapado, arroz chauf, aji de gallina (for special occasions)	Unknown
Victor	Stamppot with jus, potatoes, rookworst, bread with hagelstag, frikandelbroodje	Guatemalan dishes his mother makes or orders, like tamales	Tacos, burritos, enchilada with minced beef, lettuce, tomatoes, cheese
William	Bread with hagelstag, boerenkool, stamppot, AVG	Black bean soup made by his mother, that turns into gallo pinto after 3 or 4 days	Nachos, burritos, tacos with beef, salads, corn and tomato, often shared with friends
Xander	Frikandel, bitterballen, stroopwaffels, pea soup	Dishes prepared by his mother like tortillas, black beans, minced beef with cumin, cilantro	Tortilla with eggs and black beans spread, dishes to share with friends like tacos, nachos, chiplote, avocado, guacamole

Yannick	Dutch pancakes, stroopwafels, speculaas, poffertjes	Peruvian dishes made by his mother, like arroz tapado, arroz chauf, aji de gallina (for special occasions)	Unknown
Zara	Hema rookworst (she eats it with tapioca and not with potatoes)	Venezuelan arepas, pabellon, quesillo, tequeños, empanadas with shredded beef, hallacas, pernil de cerdo, chicken salad made by her mother	Unknown
Anton	Fried snacks, pea soup, potatoes, mashed vegetables	Empanadas made by his parents, alfajores cookies made by parents, gnocchi, pasta, pastel	Unknown
Bea	Bread with hagelslag	Guatemalan dishes her mother makes like black beans spread	Burritos, tacos
Carlo	Hutspot or stampot	From the toko or made by his mother: bakijou ku funchi, sate ku batata	Surinamese food like saoto soup, taiga, nasi, bami, moksi meti
Dillan	Sausage, frikandel, French fries	From the toko or made by his mother: Sate ku batata, jambo soup, bakijou, banana soup	Unknown
Edo	Licorice or herring, sandwich with Old Amsterdam cheese (sometimes with chicken fillet or vegetables)	Hallacas made by his family	Arepas, carne mechada, rice and black beans, patacones, corn and chicken soup

Appendix 5: Eating in and eating out

Respondent	Cooking frequency	Dishes prepared	Frequency of restaurant visit	Restaurants visited	Frequency of food delivery	Types of food delivered
Simon	Daily for lunch or dinner	Pasta or tortillas with eggs	A few times a month, less after covid	Italian, sushi all-you-can-eat, Mexican, Argentinian, pancake restaurant	Once every 2 weeks	Pizza, sushi, burgers
Theo	Twice a month when alone (mostly mother cooks) for dinner	Fried eggs, pasta, grilled chicken, steak, ramen, salad	Not specified	Asian restaurant, Chinese or all-you-can-eat places	Not specified	Turkish fast food or Domino's pizza
Ulla	Once a week or once every 2 weeks for dinner	Japanese curry, shepherds pie, ramen	Once every 3 months: sushi-all-you-can-eat in Almere Once every 2 months: KFC, McDonalds or other fast food Twice a week: sandwich bar for lunch	Sushi all-you-can-eat, fast food restaurants, sandwich bar for lunch	Rarely	Pizza
Victor	Parents usually cook	Sandwiches with ham and cheese or bread with hagelslag in the morning or tacos for friends	Once every 2 months	Chinese, Greek, Italian, all-you-can-eat, Latin American restaurants	Not specified	Pizza or Chinese with friends

William	Daily or every 2 days for dinner	Pasta with tomato sauce or minced beef, mushrooms and vegetables or rice. Supermarket schnitzel/ chicken/ beef/ fish with potatoes, broccoli or cauliflower. Very often tacos.	Daily for lunch: Fast food restaurants, Turkish fast food, Turkish fast food, Chicken butcher and shop for sandwich Once or twice a month: Argentinian, sushi	Fast food restaurants, Turkish fast food, Chicken butcher and shop for sandwich, Argentinian, sushi	Not specified	Pizza, kebab, hamburgers, spareribs with friends
Xander	Daily for dinner or lunch	Couscous, quinoa salad, curry, hamburgers, pasta, tacos, fried rice, tortilla with beans and egg	Once a month: Tapas restaurant, Italian restaurant Not specified: sandwich bar	Tapas restaurant, Italian restaurant, sandwich bar	Not specified	Not specified
Yannick	Parents usually cook	Potatoes, fries, schnitzel made by him	Once or twice a month	Fast food restaurants, Italian restaurant, sushi restaurant, coffee bars	Not specified	Not specified
Zara	Mother usually cooks, respondent cooks when friends are over	Arepas	Once a week	Korean barbeque, Indonesian fast food, Malaysian, Chinese, barbecue meat, Nigerian	Not specified	Not specified
Anton	Parents usually cook	Ravioli or filled pasta from supermarket, egg or toast	Once a month or every 2 months	All-you-can-eat, sushi	Not specified	Not specified

Bea	Parents usually cook, she does when alone	Pasta with sauce and some meat or pesto with chicken or Bolognese sauce, potatoes with schnitzel, French fries	Once every 2 months	Italian, Mexican, Greek, fast food restaurants, Korean street food	Not specified	Not specified
Carlo	Girlfriend cooks daily, he does it twice a week	They order weekly Hello Fresh (meal kit). Pasta, rice with beef and vegetables, tacos, nachos, enchilada	Once every 2 months	Steak house, International Street food court, American restaurant, Surinamese tokos	Not specified	New York Pizza, sate ku batata, nasi, bami at Caribbean and Surinamese tokos
Dillan	Daily for dinner or for special occasions	Caribbean dishes (arroz moro, stew), cachupete cake, salads, with meat/chicken, rice with cauliflower, air frier fries, frozen pizza	Rarely	Chinese restaurant, all-you-can-eat	Not specified	sate ku batata, nasi, bami at Caribbean and Surinamese tokos, Antillean Grillhouse
Edo	Twice a week for dinner	Tacos, chicken with vegetables and rice, pasta with chicken and cream, Mac and cheese, patacones	Twice a week	Latin Café, Indonesian fast food for lunch, American restaurant, Steak house, Argentinian	Not specified	Asian food, fast food, sushi, Surinamese, taco

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