

FROM THE GRASSROOTS: FESTIVAL DE LA CHICHA, EL MAÍZ, LA VIDA Y LA DICHA, BETWEEN ENJOYMENT AND RESISTANCE



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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

We need the bubbling transformative power of fermentation.

Sandor Katz, *Fermentation as a metaphor*

1.1. THE FESTIVAL DE LA CHICHA, EL MAÍZ, LA VIDA Y LA DICHA

The Festival de La Chicha, El Maíz, La Vida y La Dicha (The Festival of Chicha, Corn, Life and Bliss) (from now on The Festival) had its first version in 1988 and since then, it regularly takes place yearly in the Perseverancia neighborhood (Bogotá, Colombia). The Festival has an international character and consists of a chicha's showcase, traditional food feast, artistic programming, rituals, and activities linked to the neighborhood history. The event presented its 23rd and most recent version on November 19, 2019.

Chicha, main protagonist of The Festival, refers to an artisanal indigenous and popular beverage made with fermented corn or other cereals. It can have low and medium levels of alcohol and has its origins in prehispanic indigenous cultures as a ritual beverage. Since colonial times until the first half of 20th century, it was continuously defamed, displaced and prohibited from the legit arena to acquire an alternative existence. However, it never stopped its production and consumption on the popular field as a traditional culinary practice. Although its liminality prevails, during the 21st century it has found a fertile ground to resurge in the public domain.

The Perseverancia was the first workers' neighborhood in Bogotá founded in 1912 by employers of the Cerveceria Bavaria, the long-lived beer company in Colombia. With a substantial social and political basis and strong communitarian linkages, the neighborhood has resisted stigmatization and urban development projects. Here, the culinary practice of producing and consuming chicha was associated with culture, leisure, public space, and traditions, and it survived as a popular expression regardless of its persecution and prohibition. Moreover, in 1988, the Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos created The Festival as a tribute to this beverage's significant role in the neighborhood characterization and development. They also wanted to highlight its symbolic value as embedded into ancestral practices linked to their territory and prehispanic times. In 2004, The Festival was declared a Bien de Interés Cultural (Asset of Cultural Interest) by the Agreement No. 121 of June 24,¹

¹ Council of Bogotá. "Agreement No. 121 of June 24, 2004," 2004.

issued by the Council of Bogotá. This declaration was in tune with Law 397 of 1997,² which included as part of the cultural heritage the manifestations of intangible culture, and with the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage promoted by UNESCO in 2003³ that was later adopted by Colombia following Law 1037 of 2006.⁴

1.2. HISTORIOGRAPHIC REVIEW AND INNOVATIVE ASPECTS

To trace the culinary practice of chicha within the Perseverancia neighborhood's particular context will demand to unravel a complex network of sociocultural, economic, and power relations. It will also require establishing a historical framework of analysis to understand how the past builds upon the present and nourishes the material conditions to look at the future. Nowadays, The Festival's significance is ambivalent and presents very paradoxical and complex issues. On the one side, it can be seen as an enacting event to give value to a former delegitimized cultural practice and as an activity that enhances economic development in the neighborhood. On the other side, it can be seen as an institutionalized festival, that has lost its authenticity, does not benefit the neighborhood, and hinders the local's potentialities. The liminality of this beverage and this event seem to subsist. Further, The Festival as a research topic has not been fully discussed, and there is not much previous research on it. Food studies can be understood as a yielding field to solve questions related to a sense of belonging, communitarian practices of appropriation, and empowerment. Besides, the importance of acknowledging culinary practices and enhancing their safeguarding and promotion is manifested. Hence, this topic might be of interest to enrich discussions about grassroots movements, power structures and public policy development. This research paper interest is to trace the popular expression that flourishes from the corn plant. Further, through The Festival, to search how, against all odds, this popular drink with ancestral origin resists and, through its current manifestation, has the potential to empower a community.

There is a wide-ranging bibliography about chicha production and consumption in the prehispanic Andean communities captured by authors like Estrella⁵ and in multiple essays

² Colombian Political Constitution (Const). "Law 397 of 1997, General Law of Culture (Colombia)," 1997.

³ UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. 32nd Session of the General Conference." Paris: UNESCO, October 29, 2003.

⁴ Colombian Political Constitution (Const). "Law 1037 of 2006 (Colombia)," 2006.

⁵ Eduardo Estrella, "La función social del beber en los pueblos andinos prehispánicos," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 50, no. 2 (1993): 45–58.

found in the Basic Library of Traditional Kitchens of Colombia,⁶ who trace its origins to indigenous times to understand the modes of preparation and its different uses. For instance, Campuzano and Llano⁷ and Alzate Echeverri⁸ analyze chicha persecution in modern Colombian territory from the late 19th to mid 21st century, when prohibited, from a critical anthropological and sociological perspective. Contrary, authors such as Bejarano⁹ study the persecution of chicha from the same period until 1948, but his position as hygienist doctor, state official, and leading promoter of its proscription, highlights its ideological perspective. Calvo and Saade¹⁰ centered on the latter hygienist discourse as a device for leading modernization in the country at the beginning of the 20th century and Moreno¹¹ analyzes urban configurations and transformation because of chicha's persecution. The Colombian context of social movements and neighboring identities can be studied in Archila¹² and Torres Carrillo¹³. For this research, the most relevant work on the Perseverancia history is *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda* (La Perseverancia, a neighborhood with history: Sculpting the clay) written by the local organization Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos in 1988¹⁴. Cruz and Ruiz¹⁵, throughout the qualitative inquiry and ethnographic work,

⁶ The Basic Library of Traditional Kitchens of Colombia was edited by the Ministry of Culture in 2012, as one of the first actions of "The indicative policy for the knowledge, safeguarding and promotion of food and traditional cuisines of Colombia".

⁷ Marcela Campuzano and María Clara Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la historia (Serie Amerindia)* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología & CEREC, 009 (SA009), 1994).

⁸ Adriana María Álzate, "La chicha: entre bálsamo y veneno. Contribución al estudio del vino amarillo en la región central del Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglo XVIII," *Revista Historia y Sociedad*, no. 12 (November 2006): 161–90.

⁹ Jorge Bejarano. *La derrota de un vicio: origen e historia de la chicha* (Bogotá: Editorial Iqueima, 1950).

¹⁰ Óscar Iván Calvo and Marta Saade. *La ciudad en cuarentena: Chicha, patología social y profilaxis* (Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura, 2002).

¹¹ Ricardo Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados: Conflicto, Negociación y Resistencia ciudadana en la prohibición alcohólica y su impacto en las dinámicas urbanas de Bogotá, durante la primera mitad del siglo XX*, (Bogotá: Fundación para el Desarrollo Audiovisual y Cultural El Criollo Producciones; Puerto Contemporáneo, Espacio Alternativo para las Artes, 2019).

¹² Mauricio Archila, "Desafíos y perspectivas de los movimientos sociales en Colombia." Conference dictated on October 12, 2004, as part of the celebration of 25 years of Fescol. This text is an update of the essay

"Overwhelmed, but not defeated" (published in Forum Magazine, No. 50, June 2004, pp. 37-47); Mauricio Archila, "Los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos al inicio del siglo XXI," *Revista Sur* 1 (2011): 177–206;

Mauricio Archila, "Los movimientos sociales y las paradojas de la democracia en Colombia," *Controversia*, no. 186 (2006); Mauricio Archila, "Protestas, Movimientos Sociales y Democracia En Colombia (1975-2007)," n.d.

¹³ Alfonso Torres Carrillo, "Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas." *Serie Ciudad y Hábitat*, no. 6 (1999); Torres Carrillo, "Identidades barriales y subjetividades colectivas en Santafé de Bogotá." *Revista de la Facultad de Artes y Humanidades, segunda época*, no. 10 (1999); Torres Carrillo, "Organizaciones populares, construcción de identidad y acción política," *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud* 4, no. 2 (2006).

¹⁴ Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda* (Bogotá: 1988)

¹⁵ Esteban Cruz Niño and Liliana Ruiz Gutiérrez. *La Perseverancia: barrio obrero de Bogotá (Proyecto Tu Historia Cuenta: Historia de los barrios de Bogotá). Proyecto Misión Bogotá* (Bogotá: Instituto Distrital de Patrimonio Cultural and Archivo de Bogotá, 2007)

also worked on testimonials to build the neighborhood's identity, and their work already introduced some aspects of The Festival. Carreira¹⁶ and Delgado¹⁷ study The Festival more in-depth and from a critical point of view. They outline The Festival's purpose and value and its complexities. However, to the present no other relevant information was found and to a lesser extent written in English. Hence, this work aims to review past literature written about the topic, frame it within the theoretical framework mentioned below and find new information to give a deeper and more contemporary perspective on the subject. Besides, it intends to collect valuable information to discuss The Festival's present significance and its future development. Thus, the innovative aspects can be highlighted as mainly twofold: firstly, since the culinary phenomenon of chicha has been broadly discussed by anthropologist and social researchers, the objective is to analyze the particular relationship between food, identity and territory that arises in The Festival; secondly, throughout the review of literature about the topic, qualitative research and the field work, the aim is to centralize rather disperse information, to inventory the material history of The Festival and to set a possible framework of analysis for further investigations. Chicha is resurging in the public domain and this thesis intends to enrich the field for discussion for the future.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTION

The central question of this research is as follows:

What was the initial purpose of The Festival de la Chicha, El Maíz, la Vida y la Dicha of the Perseverancia neighborhood, and what has been its communitarian significance from the first version in 1988 to today?

To answer the main research question, several sub-questions will be addressed:

1. What are the grassroots origins of The Festival?

¹⁶ Ana Maria Carreira, "La redención de la chicha en La Perse," Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano, 2013; Ana Maria Carreira, "Festival de la Chicha. Un grito desde la tierra del olvido," Bifurcaciones, Revista de Estudios Culturales Urbanos, 2016.

¹⁷ José Albeiro Romero Basallo, "Bogotá D.C: Destino para la chicha y la dicha." *Antrópica. Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, 3, no. 6, (July-December 2017): 99-118.

2. To what extent can this event be considered an expression of resistance by the Perseverancia neighborhood?

3. How does The Festival, a material and symbolic place that enacts the past in the present, renew conflicts and generate a broad new interpretative ground for discussion?

The history of chicha can be read from an intersectional perspective to study its economic, political, and sociocultural meaning. Understanding its role as a culinary practice and identifying the communities that appropriate the beverage can give some insights on why it has continuously been displaced, rejected, and prohibited and by whom. It is expected that questioning the practices and contexts responsible for producing its social validation or invalidation will enable to assess The Festival's significance nowadays. Further, three activities will permit to assess how different historical forces find a fertile playground in this localized event: First, analyzing the role the event plays for the Perseverancia community. Second, exploring the social history of this neighborhood and third, determining the context that is responsible for producing the urban and social setting for a resistance practice. Thus, the thesis will be structured in four chapters, which will reflect upon the sub-questions mentioned above. Chapter 1 consists of the introduction and theoretical framework set up. Chapter 2 will draw around a *what* question, focusing on chicha as the medium through which conflictive relations can be highlighted. Chapter 3 will draw on a *where* question, focusing on the Perseverancia as a spatial device where the latter relations are in play in particular territorial conditions. Finally, Chapter 4 will draw on a *how* question, focusing on The Festival and its significance for its stakeholders nowadays. Since time and context are essential, the project will be structured in chronological order to give sustenance to the historical backgrounds, adding layers of understanding chapter by chapter.

1.4. FERMENTATION AS A METAPHOR

Sandor Ellix Katz, a renowned American fermentation revivalist, launched his new book in 2020 *Fermentation as metaphor*.¹⁸ This book was very enriching to give shape to the master

¹⁸ Sandor Ellix Katz, *Fermentation as metaphor* (London: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2020).

thesis in different layers. Fermentation was used in its symbolic way, as a theoretical concept, and as a methodological tool. Plus, it served to raise a form of activism within academia and invited the reader to engage.

Fermentation comes from the word Latin *fervere*, which means "to boil." It refers to the microbial transformation of food and beverages through bacteria and fungi that can be everywhere. Since fermentation as a culinary manifestation is explicitly linked to chicha, this was the point of departure to link Katz's ideas. Further, fermentation also serve as a methodological tool to refer to the fermentation of ideas and the process of writing, which is gentle, slow, steady, consist in "transforming what was into what is next,"¹⁹ and has moments of agitation and bubbling excitement. As a theoretical concept, fermentation was also helpful, for example, to understand better the war on bacteria, purity and contamination, and discourses of sanitization familiar worldwide. Like viruses, as the Covid-19 crisis has made evident, bacteria and fungi have been associated with danger and disease. However, Katz's theory arouses interesting reflections about fermentation as an engine for social change and as "something that transcends our individual experience and grows into a broader social process."²⁰ The characteristic of fermentation is that it breaks forms to give rise to new forms with a promise of what might be called "spectrum empowerment."²¹ This feature acquires relevance when thinking about hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces and practices of resistance. In the current context of the food system of mass production that looks unsustainable for the world, food can be a means of building and strengthening community. Thus, fermentation, both in its material and allegorical way, is a form of activism. Katz incites to cultivate a "rebellious spirit"²² to resist and not let the most intense social control be achieved. This way, fermentation appears as a "force that cannot be extinguished." Hence, "we can cultivate the rebellious spirit, encouraging critical analysis and action as a form of fermentation."²³ Thinking about fermentation as a transformative political tool, is an invitation for the reader.

1.5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

¹⁹ Katz, *Fermentation as metaphor*, 15.

²⁰ Katz, *Fermentation as metaphor*, 15.

²¹ Katz, *Fermentation as metaphor*, 92.

²² Katz, *Fermentation as metaphor*, 79.

²³ Katz, *Fermentation as metaphor*, 86.

The main theoretical concepts that guide the research are food and identity, social organization and resistance practices, and heritage discourses. They will be discussed below through the review of relevant literature on the topic.

1.5.1. FOOD AS “EMBODIED MATERIAL CULTURE”

Food is studied as a medium that gives the necessary energy to bodies and as an object crossed by social, cultural, political, and economic dynamics. Foodways and lifestyles can tell us about the construction of identities, sense of belonging, equality and social justice, localization, assimilation of knowledge, and globalization’s cultural consequences. Insofar, cultural studies and material cultural anthropology can help trace the significance of food and its use and consumption within certain relations and contexts. For instance, studies on eating arise as an essential field to inquire about the food’s symbolic and material meanings and how it models societies culturally and cognitively. In this respect, Dietler's²⁴ and Fajans'²⁵ studies introduce a theoretical framework of analysis related to the meaning, value, and relationships embedded in the chicha relevant to the topic of interest.

Fajans approach to food studies, for instance, shows the whole range of social and cultural properties of food that can be found depending on the context. She inquires about “how food acquires social value in each society; and how it serves as a transformative agent.”²⁶ Her premise is that “food is an agent in creating, enacting, and sustaining substantive social and cultural processes... not just a symbol, nor a simple signifier... Food is not only transformed, but it is also transformative”.²⁷ These thoughts on food as a symbolic medium for social relationships and its blurred meaning as culturally constructed will be the directive line to study chicha’s historical background and its present meaning in the contemporary society.

Further, Dietler’s analyses of alcoholic beverages as a unique form of “embodied

²⁴ Michael Dietler, “Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35, no. 1 (October 2006): 229-249.

²⁵ Jane Fajans, “The Transformative Value of Food: A Review Essay,” *Food and Foodways* 3, no. 1–2 (November 1988): 143–166.

²⁶ Fajans, “The Transformative Value of Food: A Review Essay,” 144.

²⁷ Fajans, 143.

material culture”²⁸ will also be fruitful. His historiographic analysis comprises a shift from older perspectives to contemporary studies compelled to study alcohol as an “integrated social artifact and culturally valued good.”²⁹ In tune with Fajans, Dietler permits to read food, and specially drinking alcoholic beverages, as a practice that enables individuals and collectivities to actively construct, perform, and transform their identities. His worldwide perspective helps to analyze the relationship between alcohol and identity, gender, politics, political economy, religion, and colonialism from a localized perspective.

Moreover, from a broad view, it is interesting how Dietler also highlights the global “discourse and construction of drinking as a problem and alcohol as a disease”³⁰; the moralizing colonial discourse about the “predilection for inebriation and disorder among colonized peoples,”³¹ and the “demonization and medicalization of drinking that arose in the context of an emerging urban industrial social order and the demands of capitalist work discipline.”³² Here arises alcohol’s role as an essential political tool to exercise power over communities and relate with ideas about individual and collective identities, construction of the self and the alterity, and class boundaries. Further, it appears as an economic good that enacts as a colonial tool and an object of constant legislation, throughout numerous attempts intended “to control native consumption and production of alcohol while promoting the sale of revenue-producing imported varieties or state monopolies.”³³

1.5.2. SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AND RESISTANCE PRACTICES

The urban shape of the cities is continuously reconfigured by a sum of different actors and interactions, and because of continuous struggles between local and global dynamics. The entangled network of flows that interact in city formation and urban development compels sociological theories to understand organizational processes, issues of power between civil society and governments or other institutions. Discourses on urban transformation, collective identities, social movements, popular culture and cultural politics, and resistance practices are relevant to the research question.

²⁸ Dietler, “Alcohol”, 231.

²⁹ Dietler, 230.

³⁰ Dietler, “Alcohol”, 230.

³¹ Dietler, 230

³² Dietler, 231.

³³ Dietler, 240.

Torres Carrillo's³⁴ studies on popular neighborhoods as a historical and cultural construct where collective identities with an emancipatory potentiality are built are very revealing to deepen these concepts. His studies about transforming from a colonial village into a modern city related to Bogotá state a historical background fundamental for understanding the Perseverancia neighborhood's sediments. To study the historical context in which the Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos emerged, the social dynamics that they initiated and have influenced the social fabric as well as the neighborhood organization are vital. Torres Carrillo's theoretical framework is thus significant to shed light on the Colombian relevant historical or political aspects and speculate about the conformation of collective subjectivities that reunite to empower and transform communities positively.

Archila's³⁵ studies complement Torres Carrillo when thinking about the complex historical, economic, and political circumstances that shaped Colombian urban cities throughout the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century. Further, his analyses of the emergence and development of social movements in Colombia and across Latin America permit to frame actions and relations occurring in the Perseverancia with a broader regional context.

The conceptualization of popular culture led by authors such as García Canclini³⁶ will also be illuminating to study cultural resistance as a counter-hegemonic artifact against dominant discourses. “¿De qué estamos hablando cuando hablamos de lo popular?” (What are we talking about when we talk about the popular?) refers to the conflictive polysemy of the “popular” and the different discourses that are enhanced under its name. Popular relates to a collective process that arises to participate in a social struggle. Nonetheless, the social struggle cannot reductively be found on a hegemonic/subalternity interaction. Thus, it is essential to broaden social conflict to economic dimensions associated with distribution and consumption and to read between historical, political, social, and cultural sedimentation layers.³⁷ Which is the place of transformative praxis among social organizations? Is every

³⁴ Torres Carrillo, “Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas”; Torres Carrillo, “Identidades barriales y subjetividades colectivas”; Torres Carrillo, “Organizaciones populares, construcción de identidad y acción política”

³⁵ Archila, “Desafíos y perspectivas”; Archila, “Los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos”; Archila, “Protestas, Movimientos Sociales y Democracia”; Archila “Los movimientos sociales y las paradojas de la democracia en Colombia.”

³⁶ Néstor García Canclini, “¿De qué estamos hablando cuando hablamos de lo popular?,” *Antología sobre cultura popular e indígena*, 2004, 153–165.

³⁷ García Canclini, “¿De qué estamos hablando cuando hablamos de lo popular?,” 153–165.

autonomous social action a practice of resistance? To answer the extent to which The Festival can be considered an expression of resistance, is necessary to analyze the neighborhood notion of identity and conceptualizing notions such as “popular” and its linkage with resistance practices.

García Canclini's theories³⁸ also help understand how chicha turned from being a persecuted culinary practice to be the protagonist of a cultural event. The "popular" discourses can be related to tradition and folklore and enhance ideas of nation and identity promoted by State or oligarchists powers. Reflecting on Torres Carrillo³⁹ and Archila⁴⁰, Colombia's historical background and its institutions' development entangles conflictive ideas about senses of belonging and the value of difference. For instance, the 91' Colombian Political Constitution⁴¹ represents a key instrument for promoting multiculturalism and broadening the "popular" notion. It is significant how The Festival, which had its first version in 1988, was later framed in the Constitution's novel thesis, then by the peak of liberalization practices and currently is by the neoliberal crisis.

1.5.3. HERITAGE DISCOURSES

The Festival promotes the encounter between people and works as a pivotal place for enhancing performative bonds between past and present, as well as people and ideas. Further, it is an excellent example of a tangible/intangible heritage object, even though it is not excluded from debates in this respect. Heritage definition and scope have widened from buildings or historical towns or areas to include non-material values such as oral traditions, performing arts, rituals, and culinary practices. While there is an apparent consensus around this terminology, it remains elusive and may vary between cultures and countries.⁴² Considering the difficulties of defining what heritage might be or not be, the second layer of complexity arises when trying to understand its significance for individuals, communities, and

³⁸ García Canclini, 153–165.

³⁹ Torres Carrillo, “Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas”; Torres Carrillo, “Identidades barriales y subjetividades colectivas”; Torres Carrillo, “Organizaciones populares, construcción de identidad y acción política”.

⁴⁰ Archila, “Desafíos y perspectivas”; Archila, “Los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos”; Archila, “Protestas, Movimientos Sociales y Democracia”.

⁴¹ Colombian Political Constitution (Const). “Law 397 of 1997, General Law of Culture (Colombia),” 1997.

⁴² Yahaya Ahmad, “The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 3 (2006): 292–300.

governments. Why it is essential to safeguard it and who should be responsible for this task? Heritage definition and scope are elusive. It is a dissonant concept and a disputed element of discussion where rhetoric and power structures are in play. Hence, a heritage framework will help assess the significance of The Festival and how it can be enhanced or hindered by different stakeholders and approaches.

Del Barrio et al.⁴³ define Cultural Festivals as an emblematic example of immaterial cultural heritage that can be perceived as experience goods⁴⁴ and accumulated cultural capital⁴⁵. The authors comprehend “culture as a tool”⁴⁶ and the consequent emergence of the phenomenon of cultural festivals as a field of interest for people, scholars, and governments. Under this premise, they studied the economic and cultural value of festivals, their size and impact, and evaluated cultural institutions’ efficiency. For instance, their study shows efficient tools to assess cultural festivals’ value, yet also the complexities and gaps that are still present.⁴⁷

In tune with Del Barrio et al., Graham⁴⁸ examines the relationship between the heritage notion and the knowledge-based city. The author highlights the difficulties embedded in the term and the tensions related to its many different yet interlinked economic and cultural uses. He directs the discussion to the importance of heritage and its relation to place-making. His premise is that heritage is “a social construction, imagined, defined and articulated within cultural and economic practice”⁴⁹, and hence, its uses are not fixed but continuously redefined and reshaped. There is representation and production of value, and heritage is dependent on a “meaning” that is intimately “rooted in place and region.” The author reflects on the relations linked to heritage discourses that aim to use heritage objects as a resource, thus highlighting a conflict within the legitimization of power structures.

⁴³ María José del Barrio, María Devesa, and Luis César Herrero, “Evaluating Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Case of Cultural Festivals,” *City, Culture and Society* 3, no. 4 (December 2012): 235–44.

⁴⁴ Del Barrio et al., “Evaluating Intangible Cultural Heritage,” 236, “Cultural festivals essentially reflect an experience good, in which visitors attend with the aim of enjoying a live performance that expires at the moment it is produced, and of which nothing remains immaterial form, unless it be through subsequent exploitation by the cultural industry”

⁴⁵ Del Barrio et al., “perceived as a resource, cultural festivals bring together, display and re-interpret a cultural legacy and may thus be considered as historical heritage and as intangible cultural heritage”

⁴⁶ Del Barrio et al.

⁴⁷ Del Barrio et al.

⁴⁸ Brian Graham, “Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?” *Urban Studies* 39, no. 5–6 (May 2002): 1003–17.

⁴⁹ Graham, “Heritage as Knowledge”.

Giblin⁵⁰ continues the debate presented by Graham about the power relations embedded in heritage discourses from a very particular perspective. He analyses heritage as a locus of power, “through the appropriation of which the dominant in society may attempt to control the future by creating historical justifications for contemporary goals”.⁵¹ Giblin reveals the colonial and postcolonial traces embedded in the heritage term and studies the postcolonial critique and the postcolonial and post-conflict heritage discourses. His analysis understands heritage as a territory in dispute of “contested political, sacred, economic and cultural power”⁵² that enables the development of colonizing heritage practices of dispossession. However, it also conceives heritage as a mobile performative arena, which through the “re-triangle” of “reappropriation, recycling, and renewal” can build new identities and nations. In summary, he emphasizes the importance of “retheorizing heritage as an essentially intangible common, but dissonant, cultural process or performance whereby constructions of the past are valorized, negotiated or contested, and instrumentalized in the present for future goals”.⁵³

In the same line with Graham and Giblin, Wu and Hou⁵⁴ recognize heritage as a territory in dispute that is “intertwined with discourse and discursive practices”.⁵⁵ Their aim is to broaden the intellectual endeavor of heritage studies through a discourse analysis approach. The latter is related to how past and present tensions shape heritage and legitimate paths for building individual and national identities. Hence, the way heritage is built and understood “generates not only conceptual but also material consequences: it shapes how heritage is constructed, identified, interpreted, valued, conserved, managed and used”.⁵⁶ The paper suggests the call of the “newly emerging globalized heritage discourse” as a mean to “explore different cultural and historical discourses about ‘heritage,’ delineating how the past is understood, conceptualized, managed and used in varied local (especially Indigenous) contexts and at different historical moments”.⁵⁷ Throughout exploring how different assets

⁵⁰ John Giblin, “Critical Approaches to Post-Colonial (Post-Conflict) Heritage,” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 313-325.

⁵¹ Giblin, “Critical Approaches to Post-Colonial (Post-Conflict) Heritage,” 313.

⁵² Giblin, “Critical Approaches to Post-Colonial (Post-Conflict) Heritage,” 315.

⁵³ Giblin, 317.

⁵⁴ Zongjie Wu and Song Hou, “Heritage and Discourse,” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 37-52.

⁵⁵ Wu and Hou, “Heritage and Discourse,” 37.

⁵⁶ Wu and Hou, 41.

⁵⁷ Wu and Hou, 47.

and discourses shape heritage, the authors propose to creatively use specific methodological tools to “stimulate localization, Indigenization and pluralization of heritage and its underlying historical consciousness and cultural logic. Only in this way can heritage be an enterprise for safeguarding and promoting cultural diversity around the globe, as is so often assumed to be the case”.⁵⁸

Beth Perry et al.⁵⁹ also raise the need for a new heritage framework. For the authors, festivals function as integrative sites for sustainable development where intangible and tangible heritage properties are entangled. They aim to see festivals as part of the “New heritage paradigm” framework, contributing to just urban transformations. This model explores international conventions and previous heritage policymaking instruments and conceptualization and goes further. Overall, it intends to understand heritage “based on concrete cases placed in context”⁶⁰ to be able not to be proscribed but let values and meanings “of everyday urban and rural setting and sites”⁶¹ emerge. This relationship between context and content should be dynamic, “where place, meaning and cultural expression combine”.⁶² This way, it proposes engaging on the politics and practice of the just city and paying more attention “to heritage ‘from below’”.⁶³ These reflections are constructive, considering the research methodology of this thesis project discussed in the next sub-chapter.

1.6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.6.1. METHOD

The primary research method is qualitative through the inquiry of oral history and critical discourse analysis. Besides, an ethnographical approach to observe social and urban patterns in the Perseverancia is made. The purpose is to assess interactions and cultural patterns, relationships between people, food, identity, and place. The latter has the aim to reveal changes of perception or attitudes over the years regarding the beverage and The Festival. The idea is to amplify the respondents voice and build knowledge based on their ideas. The

⁵⁸ Wu and Hou, 47.

⁵⁹ Beth Perry, L. Ager, and R. Sitas, “Cultural Heritage Entanglements: Festivals as Integrative Sites for Sustainable Urban Development,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 26, no. 6 (June 2, 2020): 603–18.

⁶⁰ Perry et al., “Cultural Heritage Entanglements,” 608.

⁶¹ Perry et al.

⁶² Perry et al., 612.

⁶³ Perry et al., 615.

fundamental interest assessing qualitative research is to describe The Festival phenomena in context, interpret processes or meanings, and seek understanding. Overall, the purpose is to analyze, understand, and explain the relationship between The Festival and hegemonic narratives, reveal power structures embedded in cultural practices, and disclose agency in social subjects with transformative potentialities. The dialectical method is intended to highlight the struggle between civil society and the political sphere through the research topic of cultural resistance and the analysis of data that resists the dominant discourses. The conversation between cultural resistance and colonial discourse, and between civil society and governmental subjects, and the contested arena of heritage, is intended to explore the conflictive interactions found in chicha as embodied of material culture. The methodology consists of two stages described below.

1. Eleven interviews were done to collect diverse life histories organically and in a conversational mode. Interviews with residents inquired about their relationship with the neighborhood, knowledge of the culinary practice related to chicha production and consumption, The Festival and their rituals and activities. A government representative was asked about the office involvement in The Festival and the public policies that are enhanced by the public institution. A summary of the interviews can be found in Appendix 1.

2. For the data analysis, Fairclough's "dialectical-relational" method⁶⁴ and Foucauldian approach of discourse analysis⁶⁵ served as a guideline for evaluating the sources. Following this, the data collected was systematized and can be found in the text and appendices.

1.6.2. SOURCES

This research's main primary source of analysis is the interviews with Perseverancia residents and the government representative. The principal benefit from these sources is, on the one hand, the possibility of listening to experiences from people who have lived in this neighborhood. The latter permits understanding the relationship they have, as individuals and

⁶⁴ Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier, "Analyzing Discourses and Dispositives: A Foucauldian Approach to Theory and Methodology," In *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, 3rd edition (London; Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE, 2016), 256.

⁶⁵ Norman Fairclough, "A Dialectical-Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Research." In *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, 3rd edition (London; Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE, 2016), 256; Jäger and Maier, "Analyzing Discourses and Dispositives".

collectivities, with the beverage, assessing their relationship with the neighborhood over the years, and broadening The Festival's view, purpose, organization, and performance. Also, it permits to identify their Festival-related thoughts and concerns and to be able to establish the research project relevance emphasizing some of these issues. On the other hand, the government interview enables assessing the official discourses over The Festival and the relationship between civil society and public institutions.

Artistic references nourish the discussion and expand the connection between culinary practices and all aspects of life. Through photographs and maps, the neighborhood transformation is documented, and through posters and newspapers changes of perception over the years about the beverage and The Festival are described. These documents enrich the oral narratives from interviewers and built material and visual memory of the event to contribute to a patrimonial recovery. Government reports and legal documentation permit to establish several historical facts relevant to the contextualization of The Festival and measure its economic impact. Much of The Festival's information circulated internally and was never stored by institutions such as the National Library or the Luis Ángel Arango Library. This research found an opportunity to identify printed sources that circulated but are not cataloged in any institution yet.

As secondary sources, scholarly journal articles and academic texts, and other literature written by local organizations and webpages were used.

1.6.2.1. SOURCES CRITICISM

The use of oral history as data does not lack limitations and problems. Reliability and authenticity are in play. Interviews are used as evidence of social phenomena, and thus, the linkages between memory and history arises as fundamental. No written or oral source might be considered purely objective, and because of this, critical discourse analysis is essential. Plus, reliable techniques as such proposed by Oelofse⁶⁶ are used for a truthfulness study. To attempt consistency, sources are tested against other evidence and studied within a broader context. Different candidates were interviewed related to the same subject, and this permit a kaleidoscopic viewpoint on to a single event. Then, to reconstruct The Festival significance, a dialectical approach is used to fill gaps and read between layers. Thus, being aware of the

⁶⁶ Marietjie Oelofse, "Applying principles of historical critique: authentic oral history?" *International Conference on Social Science and Humanity IPEDR* 5, 2011.

pitfalls of subjectivity and memory, bias is read as part of a structural part of the discourse's analysis. The reliance on the testimonies might be prejudiced but needs to be considered as enacting facts and a personal experience, nourished and sedimented by time.

CHAPTER 2:

FROM THE GRASSROOTS: A CORN PLANT FLOURISHES

*Oigan esto los que tienen
sobre la chicha sus dudas:
unas hay mejores que otras
pero males nu'hay ningunas.*

Hear this those who have
about chicha any doubt:
some are better than others
but there are not any bad at all.

*Si la chicha se muriera,
¡Que suerte tan desastrosa!
Llorarían toos por ella,
¡No permita Dios tal cosa!*

If the chicha died,
What disastrous luck!
They would cry all over her
God forbid such a thing!

Joaquín R. Medina and José Vargas T., *Cantas del Valle de Tenza*
English translation by the author

Recommended soundtrack for this chapter:

Ecos de la chicha (chicha's echoes), Multi sensorial culinary and sonic art experience by David Vélez⁶⁷
<https://habitatsonoro.wordpress.com/2019/10/15/ecos-de-la-chicha/?fbclid=IwAR0TVAQsDaRvKqJOxpUbxM3UAixfZR7B82WE6F7QdPUTxE6LBubmEshl>

⁶⁷ David Vélez in collaboration with Elena Villamil and María Buenaventura. Ecos de la chicha (chicha's echoes). 45 Salón Nacional de artistas. Bogotá – Oct 2019. This concert is the product of David's Ethnographic culinary sonic art methodology in which he works in the Perseverancia and studied it in relation with chicha. The Perseverancia faces gentrification, and this is how David met Elena Villamil, the main collaborator artist in this piece, whose small horticultural parcel is facing the rigors of gentrification and he documented sounds that evidence her resistance. The concert served chicha and recipes based on chicha and presented sounds collected during his ethnographic work.



Photos 1, 2 and 3

From left to right, up to bottom: Portrait of Doña Lilia Ramírez “Mister Lilia,” next to the 2013 Festival’s flyer (author and date unknown); Mister Lilia and her daughter Ruth in their house, store, and restaurant at the Perseverancia (2021) posing with the *moya* where Ruth prepares chicha; photo of a portrait of Mister Lilia next to the liquors that are sold in her store and a collage of *toreros* (2021). “Mister Lilia” is almost 100 years old, she arrived at the Perseverancia neighborhood in the early 20th century, learnt how to prepare chicha from her grandmother and mother, and dedicated her life to prepare and sell food and chicha in secrecy since the ’50s when chicha was displaced from the legit arena. She is the oldest *chichera* alive in the Perseverancia and she was crowned Chicha’s Queen in the first edition of The Festival in 1988. Her knowledge was transmitted to her daughter Ruth, who learnt the traditional method and still uses it. Nowadays she only prepares chicha for The Festival or custom made, and she was also crowned in 2018. The family traditional recipe transcript (see Appendix 2) permits to highlight the complex process of producing chicha in terms of times and implements. It also shows the difficulties in transmitting this knowledge orally, even for local Spanish speakers such as the author.

Source: Personal archive of the author.



Photos 4, 5 and 6

Photos of Ana Teresa Torres, traditional chichera, in her house and chichería. “Doña Tere” learned how to prepare chicha when she was ten years old from her grandmother. Today, at 80 years old, she sells chicha every day, next to the Plaza de Mercado de La Perseverancia (Market Place) at her house and *chichería* in the Calle 32 # 4-31, where a graffiti group painted her portrait, the corn plant, and a *totumo*, as a tribute for her work. Source: Personal archive of the author



Photos 7 and 8

Left: Yolanda García, traditional chichera. She is 84 years old, 78 of which she has lived in the same house in the Perseverancia. She learned how to prepare chicha and cook traditional meals from her mother, who dedicated her life to the same area of expertise. Right: The sisters Maribel and Beatriz Torres, traditional cooks and chicheras. The latter arrived 45 years ago to the Perseverancia, and since then, she has always participated in The Festival. She sells an average of three buckets, 3 gallons of chicha, per festival.

Source: Personal archive of the author

2.1. INTRODUCTION

To find out the grassroots origins of The Festival it is necessary to trace its background history. This chapter will draw upon a culinary genealogy that starts with a corn plant that flourished and culturally shaped the indigenous communities inhabiting the American territory since prehispanic times and will continue with a panorama of chicha production and consumption practices during colonial, republican, and modern periods. The focus will be on the indigenous Muisca people, inhabitants of the territory that gives shelter to the Perseverancia neighborhood. The background history of chicha's defamation and persecution will also be set. Thus, the legal implementation of taxes, regulations, and spatial segregation, and the integration of different moral, political, social, and economic discourses will lead the narrative. Since chicha is the main protagonist of The Festival, understanding its history from prehispanic times until today, it is possible to set de map of interactions and agents that brew The Festival's conditions. Some conclusions will be highlighted to breed the ground for discussion of chapter 2. The latter will focus on the Perseverancia foundation and its linkages with this ancestral beverage as a cultural element of identity and collective resistance. Having established the culinary, social, and territorial roots of The Festival, chapter 3 will study this event using the concept of heritage as theoretical framework.

2.2. A CORN PLANT FLOURISHES AND IS BEING TRANSFORMED INTO CHICHA

The corn plant is an identitarian element of most indigenous American civilizations: It has origins in this continent, shaped the path for technological and agriculture development, and was the primary food source for the populations scattered throughout the territory. Its botanical origin and its processes of acculturation remain unrevealed. However, the ancient history of the continent's early civilizations appears to be related to this grain.⁶⁸ Indigenous cosmogonies in American territory and the cultivation of corn are intertwined. Maize was a livelihood in physical and symbolic ways: Its production and consumption structured a system of representation of the meaning of the world found in different communities and described in many ways that range from foundational myths,⁶⁹ chronicles, recipes, verses, rhymes, and

⁶⁸ Montes and Rodríguez, *El maíz en el habla y la cultura popular de Colombia*.

⁶⁹ Luz Marina Arboleda Montoya and María Elena Rincón Marulanda, "El maíz, el verdadero tesoro de El Dorado," in *Algunos componentes generales, particulares y singulares del maíz en Colombia y México* (Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia, Facultad de Ciencias Agrarias and Fondo Editorial Biogénesis, 2018).

stories.⁷⁰ This way, corn had a ubiquitous presence that complied with a social, cultural, and political function.⁷¹ For instance, the communitarian work of sowing and harvesting corn was reflected in its collective consumption that looked forward over a common future.⁷²

Regarding its uses and preparations, the corn plant is very versatile: it can be used as flour, be cooked, boiled, toasted, sprouted, or chewed, and it can be the main element of different preparations such as *bollos*, *envueltos*, *tamales* and *arepas*, which are still part of the popular Colombian diet. It can also be used to prepare nourishing beverages, fresh and fermented. An example of the latter is chicha.⁷³

Chicha can be produced with different fruits and cereals such as yucca, pineapple, arracacha, and chontaduro. However, the chicha made from corn was consumed more than versions based on any other plant and was the most produced in the Nuevo Reino de Granada,⁷⁴ being the oldest and profoundly traditional beverage of the Colombian territory. The corn plant was easy to cultivate in different thermal floors and weather conditions and had a very effective temporality due to its relatively short harvesting compared to yucca. The latter can partly explain why, even though numerous plants served to produce fermented beverages, the most popular and widespread drink was corn-based. Preparation of chicha is documented in different ways. However, a summary description can be done as follows: Indigenous people, usually women, chewed the corn, liberating its sugar and accelerating its fermentation process,⁷⁵ and then put it in large ceramic pots called *múcuras* or *moyas* (see Image 1), where it was cooked and then left to ferment for a few days. The time needed to *enfuestar* (to strengthen the alcohol level) varied depending on taste and levels of alcohol. This process took a great amount of resources, time, and energy from the communities.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Arboleda and Rincón, “El maíz, el verdadero tesoro de El Dorado.”

⁷¹ Estrella, “La función social del beber en los pueblos andinos prehispánicos,” 45–58.

⁷² Saldarriaga, Gregorio. *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*. Biblioteca Básica de Cocinas Tradicionales de Colombia (Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia, 2012), 188.

⁷³ In all indigenous inheritance and corn economy areas, chicha was the preferred beverage among the people from different social ranks, except for Mexico, where *pulque*, extracted from the maguey, enjoyed a similar acknowledgment. For instance, Marisa Valadez Montes, “Pulque Limpio / Pulque Sucio: Disputas En Torno a La Legitimidad y La Producción Social Del Valor,” *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 50, no. 2 (December 3, 2014): 41–63, sheds light regarding specific colonial patterns in American territory through the analysis of social construction of the value of pulque in Tlaxcala, México.

⁷⁴ Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 208.

⁷⁵ Following Bejarano, *la derrota de un vicio*, 22, women salivated and chewed the corn to give it specific benefits, through an active element present in spit called ptyalin, a substance that has the property of transforming starch in sugar, a step without which fermentation cannot occur.

⁷⁶ Justin Jennings, “La Chichera y el Patrón: Chicha and the Energetics of Feasting in the Prehistoric Andes,” *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 14, 241–259.

Chicha was not preserved for long; after a few days it acquired a sour taste and became vinegar. Therefore, it was necessary to renew its production constantly.

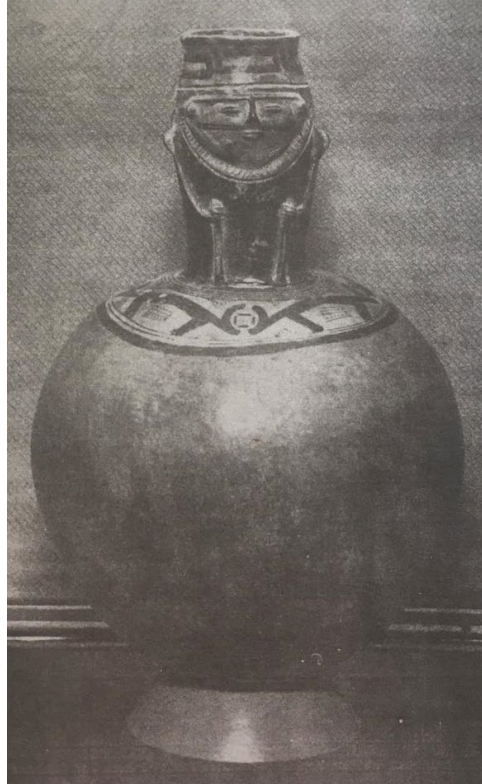


Image 1

Múcura. Colombia's National Museum.
Source: Bejarano, *La derrota de un vicio*.

Concerning the etymology of chicha,⁷⁷ what is relevant to this research's extent is that this name, chicha, was expressed, documented, and spread by Spaniards and consisted of enunciating any fermented drink obtained through various fruits and cereals of indigenous origin.⁷⁸ It also was described as a native wine or “yellow wine” aiming to find commonalities between the Hispanic and the American diet. As a nominal matter, the name chicha already reveals the power structures, disguised of linguistic attachments, that were mediums for

⁷⁷ Regarding chicha's etymology, there is not a unique background, and there are still many hypotheses. It is interesting that, as highlighted by Bejarano, *la derrota de un vicio*, 23, Chibcha language, which Muisca's people spoke, has different voices whose endings are the syllables cha-chi. Also, suppressing the b from the word Chibcha, which means “Men” our “Our Men/people,” remains chicha, the beverage name. Other theories trace the origin of the name to different cultures in American territory. Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 26, for instance, reflect on the origins of the word and found interesting similarities between chicha and Chihicha, the Chibcha's word for “Time to death”, which could refer to the beverage or the altered state it produced.

⁷⁸ Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 208.

acculturation and demise of differentiation of indigenous practices during colonial and postcolonial periods. To univocally call a fermented drink *chicha*, obliterating the context and process of preparation and the specific community involved, followed the idea of calling any native community *indio* (indigenous people)⁷⁹ regardless of its ethnicity and territorial roots; or to call any state produced by drinking chicha *borrachera* (drunkenness), irrespective of the social and cultural context where this activity was performed.⁸⁰

As food, chicha was consumed throughout the day, accompanied by other food. It was also drunk in different events such as rituals of abundance, feasts,⁸¹ births, weddings, and deaths. Chicha could be a subsistence food and be eaten as a purificator agent that permitted specific characters to bring supernatural forces in favor of collective interests.⁸² Also, drinking chicha was understood as a cohesive mediator that integrated the community, while reconstructing its social tissue, unifying collective aims and serving as a bonding element that reproduced hierarchical systems of production and power.⁸³ Following the latter, Jennings⁸⁴ identifies feasting as a “domain of political action” to mobilize labor, redistribute goods, build political power, and maintain social differences. In the case of chicha, “the ability to brew large quantities of chicha was closely related to one’s ability to govern.”⁸⁵ Hence, rituals, feasting and the significant ingest of alcohol in the form of chicha, were means of social capital and prestige.⁸⁶ In any case, its consumption strengthened social and community ties. Here it is relevant to mention that, as stated by Dietler, “because sustaining the process of

⁷⁹ As stated by Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 128, the homogenization of aboriginal groups began with the process of imposition of the conquerors, who with language assigned certain characteristics and created a synthesized unit of analysis in the *indio* word.

⁸⁰ Álzate, “La chicha: entre bálsamo y veneno,” 164, describes chicha as an-arena where different arguments to defend it and condemn it are in dispute. She focuses on the importance of language as a device of power to delimitate concepts and whole perspectives of the world. Terms such as chicha and *borrachera* (drunkenness) are reductive for defining the various preparations and particularities of the indigenous beverages and of the mood they produce depending on the context. Dietler, “Alcohol,” also announced the importance of language as a colonial and postcolonial tool that shaped the relationship between hegemonic powers and subalternities (through evangelization, for example).

⁸¹ Jennings, “La Chichera y el Patrón,” 241–259.

⁸² Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 188.

⁸³ For instance, Stephen G. Bunker, “Ritual, Respect and Refusal: Drinking Behavior in an Andean Village,” *Human Organization* 46, No. 4 (Winter 1987), 33 states how personal power and ritual performance are intertwined, as “the responsibility for a fiesta (celebration) implies personal status; the success of the ritual requires that people drink abundantly; and the personal status of the host at a ritual feast is at risk if people refuse to consume what he offers. Neither the offering nor the receiving of drink are evenly distributed among the population, rather they vary significantly with power and status.”

⁸⁴ Jennings, “La Chichera y el Patrón.”

⁸⁵ Jennings, “La Chichera y el Patrón,” 252.

⁸⁶ Dietler, “Alcohol,” 237.

alcohol consumption requires continual replenishing production through both agricultural and culinary labor, this domain of material culture reveals especially intimate dialectical linkages between the domestic and political economy.”⁸⁷ In this respect, the context of consumption of chicha is vital to understand its meaning, preparation, peculiarities of its ingestion, and the ends that were pursued with it.⁸⁸ For instance, chicha could be prepared in two different spheres: public and private, for domestic consumption or within collective encounters. In the collective sphere, a high consumption tended to communal union and drunkenness as a playful practice for social integration.⁸⁹ Further, in the public domain, women played a vital role as the “productive base” to sustain the power structure of production and redistribution of good in indigenous communities,⁹⁰ but could not drink during grand celebrations or events of political characteristics. This way, drinking chicha was subject to social, cultural, economic, and political functions, and its consummation was regulated differently, depending on its purposes. Following this, as stated by Dietler, alcoholic beverages “form a versatile and highly charged symbolic medium and social tool that are operative in the playing out of ritual and politics, and in the construction of social and economic relations, in crucial ways.”⁹¹ Moreover, the consumption of chicha “constitutes a prime arena for the negotiation, projection, and contestation of power, or what may be called commensal politics.”⁹² At this point, it is relevant to highlight the significance of women within the production of chicha as a culinary practice. Although its consumption is differentiated within the members of the community, the brewing and serving of chicha is primarily a female activity, being central to their identity. Women are the productive base to build upon the desired political power and their role, as it will be seen in next chapters, already from prehispanic times, announced their agency to build over “considerable social power and autonomy”⁹³ through this practice.

The colonial authors, from whose documents and chronicles it is possible to learn about indigenous practices, tended to reveal a genetic propension from indigenous communities towards drinking alcoholic beverages or to what they also called *vicio* (vice) in a contemptuous manner. However, there are not unique hypotheses related to this tendency.

⁸⁷ Dietler, “Alcohol,” 232.

⁸⁸ Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 126.

⁸⁹ Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 208.

⁹⁰ Jennings, “La Chichera y el Patrón.”

⁹¹ Dietler, “Alcohol,” 232.

⁹² Dietler, “Alcohol,” 232.

⁹³ Jennings, “La Chichera y el Patrón,” 244.

Religion, festivities, agricultural celebrations, and the pure enjoyment of life are related to certain culinary practices. For instance, the studies related to alcohol consumption in the Andean people led by Estrella examine three basic models of drinking, which are: ceremonial, transfiguring, and stimulating to describe communitarian practices for the transmission of knowledge and the cycles of life; the linkages between drinking and the agricultural cycles; and the alcohol-related transformative aspect of religious rituals and its cohesive role.⁹⁴ Other studies appoint to purifying and medicinal uses. For example, chroniclers of Father Bernabé Cobo describe chicha as a medicine against kidney diseases,⁹⁵ and there are theories describing that frequency and abundance of chicha consumption made drinking water practically unnecessary, avoiding digestive tract diseases caused by water pollution.⁹⁶

As stated by authors such as Estrella,⁹⁷ Dietler,⁹⁸ and Fajans,⁹⁹ to drink and eat are cultural behaviors shaped by different forces that give meaning to individual and communitarian experiences of the world and the way they build upon identities. Moreover, according to Dietler, food, as “embodied material culture,” has a unique role since it is “created specifically to be destroyed but destroyed through the transformative process of ingestion into the human body. Hence it has an unusually close relationship to the person and to both the inculcation and the symbolization of concepts of identity and difference in the construction of the self.”¹⁰⁰ Overall, chicha can be described as a vital element of the cosmogony and the foundation myths of many Andean peoples, and its study shows the linkages between the life of individuals and their communities, and to their reflections and representations related to the existence of the world. Further, the corn plant is revealed as vital for the functioning of the prehispanic societies, which provided the food sustenance and the bases on which the social – and later colonial – structure was established.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Estrella, “La función social del beber en los pueblos andinos prehispánicos,” 45–58.

⁹⁵ Alexandre C. Varela, “Dulces regalos del Nuevo Mundo. Alimentos de indios en las recetas medicinales del padre Bernabé Cobo (s. XVII),” *Allpanchis*, año XL, no. 73-74, 2009, 175-240.

⁹⁶ Víctor Manuel Patiño, *Historia de la cultura material en la América Equinoccial. Alimentación y alimentos, Biblioteca Básica de Cocinas Tradicionales de Colombia* (Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia, 2012), 116.

⁹⁷ Estrella, “La función social del beber en los pueblos andinos prehispánicos,” 45–58.

⁹⁸ Dietler, “Alcohol.”

⁹⁹ Fajans, “The Transformative value of food.”

¹⁰⁰ Dietler, “Alcohol,” 232.

¹⁰¹ Dietler, “Alcohol,” 218.

**Image 2**

Indigenous people harvesting corn

Source: Archeological Museum Ecohotel Taironaka.

Photo from the personal archive of the author.

**Image 3**

Corn plant sculpture in the Perseverancia.

Source: Personal archive of the author.

**Image 4**

A 19th-century lithograph depicting women brewing chicha in the town of Arequipa, Perú.
Source: Jennings, *La Chichera y el Patrón: Chicha and the Energetics of Feasting in the Prehistoric Andes*

**Image 5**

Indigenous celebration where women and men are drinking and dancing
Source: *Historia de Bogotá*, Tomo 1. Salvat-Villegas Editores, 1989 in Campuzano and Llano Restrepo, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la historia*, 19.

2.3. THE MUISCAS PEOPLE

The Muisca people were a major indigenous social organization that settled inner lands, in higher Andean mountains, in the Altiplano Cundiboyacense, which encompasses Santander, Boyacá, and Cundinamarca. The latter circumscribes Bogotá, the capital of Colombia.

The principal source of information about the Muisca people are conquerors and travelers' chronicles aiming to describe the "New World." However, Patiño¹⁰² stresses the difficulty of finding enough information related to general indigenous culinary practices due to the peninsular contempt over these populations. The author also highlights the information scarcity related to Muisca food practices, further than elementary products and preparation methods.

Regarding corn plant linkages within the Muisca's cosmology, Arboleda and Rincón¹⁰³ compiled a foundational myth which recalls the story of Picará, a native, losing and recovering some pieces of gold, and Bochica, Muisca's god, asking for patience and telling him to bury the gold grains and to come back fifteen days later to find a surprise. Picará found beautiful plants covered with thick gold-colored grains on the expected date: This was the corn plant. From this moment, Picará's family and other communities cultivated the maize plant, and hunger disappeared forever from Chibcha's community.

Rojas de Perdomo¹⁰⁴ describes the Muisca's main activity being agriculture, through which they developed significant technological advances. According to the author, the compiled data about their culinary practices permit to deduce a rich cuisine, balanced in meat, fish, tubers, cereals, fruits, and vegetables, with different seasonings of chili peppers and aromatic herbs, accompanied with fruits from warm climates and abundant quantities of chicha made with corn, called *zapcua* in Chibcha, Muisca language.¹⁰⁵ The author also stresses the Muisca's knowledge of pottery and the extended uses of different vessels for domestic, industrial, and religious purposes.¹⁰⁶ For instance, the decorated pots and the *múcura* (or *zie* in Chibcha) (see Image 1), and the *totumo*, containers that come from the totumo tree, *Crescenfia cujete* L., are described as essential for chicha purposes. Campuzano and Llano¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Víctor Manuel Patiño, *Historia de la cultura material en la América Equinoccial*.

¹⁰³ Arboleda and Rincón, "El maíz, el verdadero tesoro de El Dorado," 9.

¹⁰⁴ Lucía Rojas de Perdomo, *Comentarios a la cocina precolombina. De la mesa europea al fogón amerindio. Biblioteca Básica de Cocinas Tradicionales de Colombia* (Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia, 2012).

¹⁰⁵ Rojas de Perdomo, *Comentarios a la cocina precolombina*, 206.

¹⁰⁶ Rojas de Perdomo, *Comentarios a la cocina precolombina*, 209.

¹⁰⁷ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*.

also found the regular presence of corn in the chronicles that describe the Muisca's diet, even though its quotidian consumption is not precise. According to the authors, there is not much information about beverages drunk by the Muisca's besides chicha, but the existence of a specific tool for its preparation, which accomplished the function of a colander, called *Fi* in Chibcha,¹⁰⁸ recalls the importance of this beverage for the community. They also stated there is information about chicha preparation only with corn, even though it was probably made with other plants such as corozo, cachipay, hibias, habas, and arracacha. It is also described that there were different ways of preparing it.

Rojas de Perdomo describes the culinary practice as essentially feminine and of a stratified kitchen, divided into power cuisine, religious and popular; the corn being highlighted because of its magical-religious usages.¹⁰⁹ According to Campuzano and Llano the use of corn for chicha preparation, for celebratory events, as a treat, as tradable, and with a hospitable end as recurrent. According to the authors, most of the corn harvest was dedicated to chicha, and chicha consumption appears to have mainly ritual purposes with catalyst characteristics.¹¹⁰ For instance, according to the authors, the Fiestas de Huan (Huan's Festival) recalled for a ritual passage, only possible through Gods' act, remembering the creation myth. This ritual finalized with a great chicha drunkenness, through which people went from a state of sadness to joy, from the state of death (*Chihicha*) to that of bliss (*chichacun*). Through this drunken celebration, it was believed that people were offering to Nemcatacoa God. Other chicha-related gods are Fo and Chaquen, who assisted to this ritual, producing their sacred meaning.¹¹¹ During these celebrations, chicha was regulated, and restrictions over the beverage were related to the context and moments for drinking, not related to the quantity of beverage permitted. Indigenous could drink until falling without being socially condemned because of their behavior.¹¹² Hence, there were no connotations of excess, contrary to the later assumptions of *vicio* (vice) and *borrachera* (drunkenness), denounced by the colonizers.

¹⁰⁸ Rojas de Perdomo, *Comentarios a la cocina precolombina*, 208.

¹⁰⁹ Rojas de Perdomo, 217.

¹¹⁰ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 27. For instance, the authors summarized the events where chicha was the protagonist, as follows: "Rites of passage (Weaning, Initiation, Marriage, Burial), such as religious celebrations (Fiestas de Huan, Recognition of the Sheikh), fertility rites (sowing and harvesting), and political celebrations (Recognition of the cacique), ended in great drunkenness of chicha, an element that sealed the ceremony and facilitated the recognition of the fact that it was being celebrated (change, coronation, etc.) by the community"

¹¹¹ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 35.

¹¹² Campuzano and Llano, 20-43.

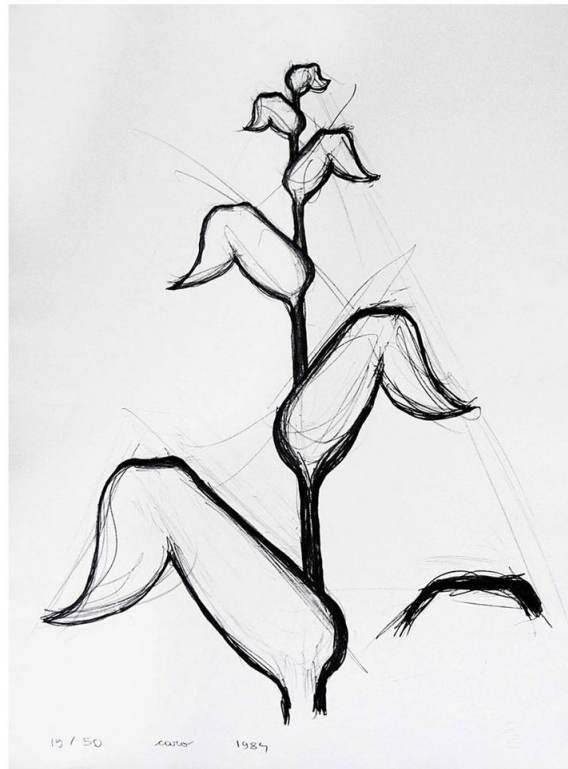


Image 6 and 7

Top: *Cosecha de maíz* (Corn harvest) (1984), Antonio Caro (1950-2021). The artist drew and printed insistently the image of the corn plant, highlighting its symbolic character and cultural importance.

Source: Galería Sextante, available at: www.tienda.artedos.com/products/cosecha-de-maiz

Bottom: Image from María Buenaventura's exhibition "Alguna vez comimos maíz y pescado" (We once ate corn and fish) at Galería Santafé, February to March 2020. The artist reunited Altiplano Cundiboyacense native corn varieties to highlight the immense variety and richness of the maize plant, contrary to the unified and homogenous industrialized products commercialized. She reconstructed the corn plant in a bidimensional plan the corn plant, creating beautiful constellations of meaning.

Source: María Buenaventura's web page, available at:

<https://mariabuenaventura.com/portfolio/alguna-vez-comimos-maiz-y-pescado/>

2.4. DISCOVERING THE “NEW WORLD”: MISCEGENATION AND ACCULTURATION

The colonial discourse established by the Spaniards was based on the control over the population. To maintain its exploitative structure, indigenous people, and the nascent workers field, were the sensitive demographics for this entrepreneurial colonial and postcolonial conquest. Following the latter, different ideological and political discourses based on religious, scientific, moral, social, and economic values built the stage to neglect the culinary practice of chicha.¹¹³

Later, the institutions of the Republic of Colombia were not very different from the colonial set up. The political rules and social norms were unequal on their base: the city met with racial hierarchies and economic inequality, the ownership of the land was in the hands of few, the power was submitted to an elite and land and wealth were a privilege of a minority. The elite influenced politics and hence legislation, and the stratification of the society led to a hierarchical relationship of subordination.¹¹⁴ Hence, throughout the alliance between the State, the clerk, elite, industrials, and media, and throughout regulation, taxation, urban segregation and control, censorship and stigmatization, chicha was finally prohibited (by limiting its manufacturing possibilities) in 1948.

2.5. THE BATTLE AGAINST CHICHA

2.5.1. LEGAL PERSECUTION, TAXES, REGULATIONS, CENSORSHIP AND SPATIAL SEGREGATION

Since the early years of the Spaniards' arrival to the Americas, social segregation and a hierarchical organization were imposed as a colonial institution. Nueva Granada's¹¹⁵ society was structured in a severe and racially determined caste system, a hegemonic power nourished by the otherness obliteration. In this system, people were categorized depending on their ethnic and racial origin, occupying a different social, economic, and political status. Spaniards and the mixed people of Spaniard origin (*blancos* or *criollos*) occupied the higher

¹¹³ For more information about the colonial power related to the Altiplano, Cundiboyacense region where the Muisca inhabited, it is possible to refer to an interactive map representing the dispossession of the land and the transformation of indigenous agricultural landscapes in: <https://paisajescoloniales.com/> (Spanish)

¹¹⁴ Melo, Jorge Orlando, *Historia mínima de Colombia* (Bogotá: Editorial Turner, 2017).

¹¹⁵ Nueva Granada (1831-1858) refers to the newly born Republic that encompassed Colombia and Panamá. Its predecessor was Gran Colombia (encompassing Venezuela and Ecuador), and it was followed by the Confederación Granadina (1858-1863), later followed by Estados Unidos de Colombia (1863-1886) and finally by the Colombian Republic.

places in the hierarchy while others, in the shape of mulattos, indigenous or slaves were in the bottom. Within this colonial system, the indigenous people had a particular position, finding their place as the productive base through exploitation, stripped of civil rights and political power access. They were stigmatized as uncivilized people, and thus, through annihilation or acculturation, they were intended to be marginalized or converted. For instance, the colonial enterprise was based on the premise of evangelization.¹¹⁶ Thus, from the Spaniards' arrival, a moral struggle against indigenous cultural practices (paganism) established a moral discursive framework to inculcate to the native population. The "proper way of living, drinking, and living" arose, and, from 1560 onwards, this process promoted the stigmatization.¹¹⁷ Consequently, the indigenous population started voiding their encounters of religious significance, overturning rituality into other ways of communal interactions and exchanges.¹¹⁸ Under this panorama and parallel to development and growth of cities, the aim of initial castes spatial segregation in the urban centers faded, enhancing miscegenation and cultural exchanges (mainly between the lower classes).¹¹⁹ Indigenous people were the agricultural workforce and the principal domestic labor group, migrating forcibly from rural areas to urban centers.¹²⁰ This context promoted the encounter of indigenous, *mestizos* and slaves in the *trapiches* (sugar mills) to drink *guarapo* (juice of the sugar cane stem) mainly in the rural areas and to the emergence of *chicherías* (places to sell chicha) in the urban centers.

Within this framework, the colonial institutionalized power structure, a perfect triad of the State, the church, and the elites, built an entire system of censure and neglect of the indigenous people and their practices.

Appendix 3 consists of a compilation of moral, legal, and fiscal regulations over chicha found in diverse sources and divided into different categories of analysis (date, (desired) impact, type of regulation, at the head of whom, results and bibliographic reference. It shows that, throughout the colonial and republican periods from 17th to the 20th century, it is possible to trace stigmatization of chicha's social and cultural significance, initiatives aiming to

¹¹⁶ Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 128

¹¹⁷ Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 128

¹¹⁸ Marta Herrera Ángel, "Muisca y cristianos: del "biohote" a la misa y el tránsito hacia una sociedad individualista," In *Muisca: representaciones, cartografías y etnopolíticas de la memoria*, author Ana María Londoño (Bogotá: PENSAR, Instituto de Estudios Sociales y Culturales. PUJ, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2005), 164.

¹¹⁹ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 46.

¹²⁰ Campuzano and Llano, 47.

impose regulation over chicha preparation, restrictions over the spaces for its consumption, fiscal limitations for its manufacturing and selling, and censorship. It is relevant to highlight the emphasis on chicha as a beverage and not the corn as the food itself, which has been essential for the Colombian diet from prehispanic times to today. Moreover, on a first basis, not even the chicha was persecuted but the altered states it produced. Those were called, as it has been mentioned: overconsumption, *vicio* or *borrachera*.

According to Álzate, firstly, the battle against chicha was not only founded on ideological but also economical concerns. The desire for habit transformations relied on excluding any productive activity that could limit the Royal Treasure earnings.¹²¹

Later, as stated by Saldarriaga and Campuzano and Llano, from late 16th century onwards, there is documentation that started to claim that indigenous people were savages, devoid from spirituality and anchored to worldly needs; dedicated solely to eat, drink and die, with no ambition but to get drunk with chicha and to idleness.¹²² Although from the early years of the conquest, the perception of them was coated by colonial contempt, it was only in the 1560 decade that the intention of eradicating festivities where chicha was drunk appeared. However, until the 19th century, no measure appeared to have the desired impact. Thus, due to their inefficiency, taxes and spatial segregation measures turned to be the proper way to set up chicha's persecution. Moreover, new discourses on urban development, social control, and the emergence of hygienist concerns established the perfect basis to carry it out. Simultaneously, there was a paradox embedded in this battle. The ecclesiastic and political power that defamed and stigmatized the beverage, along with the elites, was also the owner of *chicherías*, a conflictive arena that merged different economic interests.¹²³

Regarding the early years of the 20th century, Appendix 3 also illustrates that the two first decades consolidated the first legal framework that regulated the phenomenon of chicha's production and consumption in the city.¹²⁴ For instance, the culinary practice and its urban transformation analysis led by Moreno is illuminating to think about notions of identity

¹²¹ As stated by Álzate, "La chicha: entre bálsamo y veneno," 168, the collection of taxes from distilled beverages such as aguardiente were higher, and more state controlled until over the 18th century. This encouraged the battle against chicha.

¹²² Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 125; Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 58.

¹²³ Bejarano, *la derrota de un vicio*, 22; Álzate, "La chicha: entre bálsamo y veneno," 172-3; Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 84.

¹²⁴ Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados*, 33.

and territory.¹²⁵ Through the cartographic analysis to study the impact of restrictions, regulations, and spatial segregation over chicha, examining primary sources, and utilizing the study mentioned previously by Calvo and Saade,¹²⁶ the author discovered a double movement between control vs. resistances practices. He also highlighted the paradoxes of the guideline persecuting/promoting headed by the State in connivance with different sectors (clerk, elites, and industrials).¹²⁷ On the one side, the double movement can be reflected in the number of *chicherías* existent regardless of the number of regulations implemented. Through different movements that accounted for translation from one place to another, the transition from center to peripheries, and lastly, to secrecy: chicha's popular practice managed to survive the crusade against it. On the other side, the paradox can be explained by the significant spaces for legal evasion that the regulations promoted by the State sometimes permitted.¹²⁸

The battle against chicha was led mainly by hygienists, industrialists, and clergy. The Government was rather interested in the fiscal utilities, and it only gave the final strike when it was able to assure economic growth through a replacement, namely the beer industry (see subchapter 2.6). Through a regulation with cracks, the State permitted *chicherías* to weave the urban and social fabric, reaffirming this culinary practice throughout public and private spaces. Besides, spatial segregation and regulation were the main obstacles for chicha's production and consumption, causing its movement and occultation. For instance, from Moreno's intervention in the maps of Bogotá (see Maps 1 and 2), a possible hypothesis regarding the linkages between chicha and the Perseverancia neighborhood arises. Since the regulations were intended mainly to establish urban location and perimeter limitations for chicha's production and consumption, *chicherías* started to move beyond the restricted areas to peripheries. The maps highlight in red the location of the Perseverancia in-between restricted areas, in a strategic geographical location where the city development growth expanded, currently being at the epicenter of commercial, social, and cultural activity. The movement of *chicherías* beyond the restricted perimeter areas for producing and consummate chicha, although it is not documented, permit to induced was directed, at least

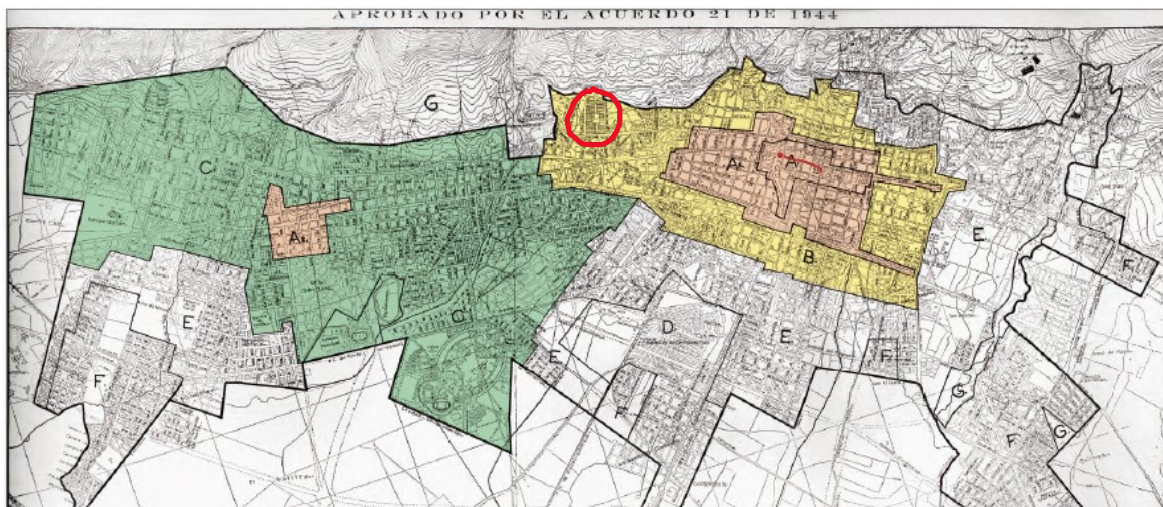
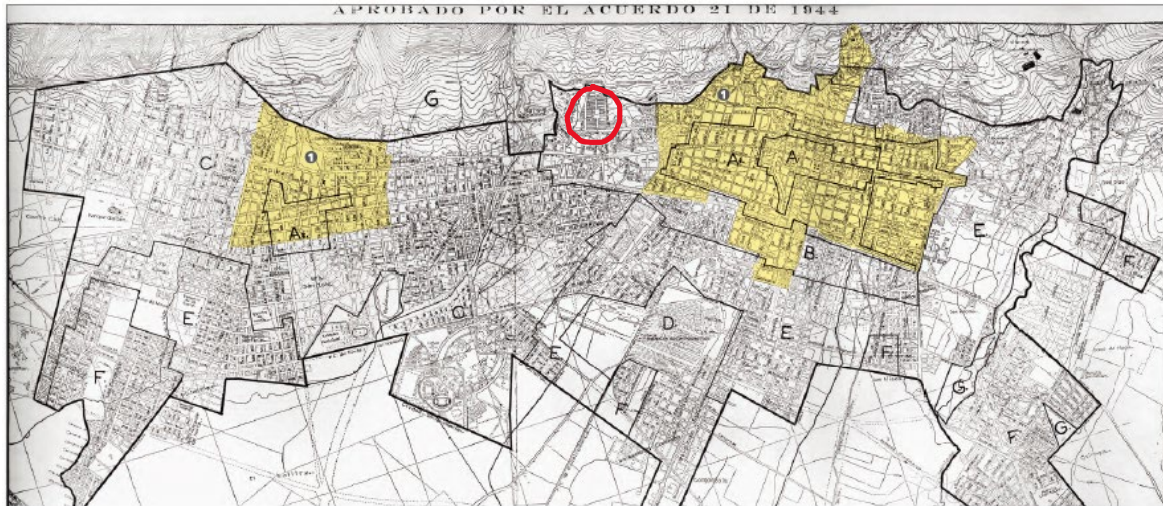
¹²⁵ Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados*.

¹²⁶ Calvo and Saade, *La ciudad en cuarentena*.

¹²⁷ Calvo and Saade.

¹²⁸ Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados*.

in part, to the peripheral area where La Perseverancia is located. The latter, summed to the strong roots of the culinary practice within this neighborhood that will be addressed in chapter 3, feature the importance of territoriality and resistance regarding chicha's culinary practice.



Maps 1 and 2

Municipal Public Works Secretariat. Section of the plan, 1944. Bogotá zoning plan. This plan was approved by Agreement 21 of 1944, by which the developable area of Bogotá is divided and each one of them is regulated.

Top:

Geo-referencing of the prohibition perimeters established in Agreement 52 of 1928.

Bottom:

Geo-referencing of the prohibition perimeters established in Agreement 52 of 1947

The Perseverancia neighborhood is circled in red.

Source: Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados*, p. 64-5

2.5.2. CHICHA AS A SOCIAL PATHOLOGY: EMERGENCE OF THE *CHICHISMO* CONCEPT

From half the 19th century, ideas on class and race were the perfect basis for sustaining social and political discourses related to public health, nutrition, and education, through hygienic and eugenicist approaches. Drunkenness, insalubrity, and degeneration were the chicha's common denominator for the emergent wave of characters aiming for developing a de-contextualized city only possible on behalf of the eradication of indigenous and popular practices. Alcoholism and the emergent discursive sickness of *chichismo*, were marked as a social pathology, as well as the people who tended towards this alluring beverage.¹²⁹ *The defeat of a vice*, a book written by the Minister of Hygiene Jorge Bejarano in 1950 and based in Libardo's Zerda *Pathological and hygienic chemical study of chicha, a popular drink in Colombia*,¹³⁰ is vital to understand the main discourse that led to the implementation of Law 34 of 1948 (which finally marginalized chicha completely from the public space, leading it to secrecy).¹³¹ The book *The city in quarantine: chicha, social pathology, and prophylaxis* by Calvo and Saade, describes the discursive axiom led by a moral, social, political, and economic discourse to carry out the final strike against chicha in depth.

In the 20th century, the turn from an agrarian and traditional society to a capitalist, industrial, urban, and modern society marked the pathway. The desire to enter the global market and actively participate in global processes, permitted the continuation of discriminatory discourses based over indigenous population and the popular field, constituted mainly by peasants and urban workers. The ideal of progress make up the population characteristics, need and cultural practices, to mimicry alien civilizer ideas.¹³² Nascent industries, such as the brewery industry, were the opposite to the culinary practice of chicha: they were advanced, innovative, neat, permitted a proper tax collection and would lead to economic growth and welfare. Thus, a transformation in consumer tastes and habitus emerged as essential. At this point, the relation between race, nation and economic progress

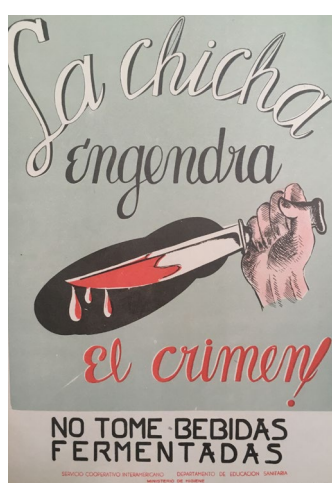
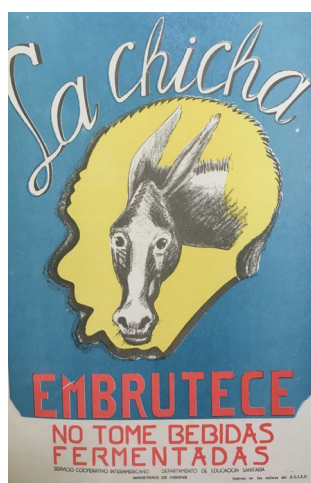
¹²⁹ Calvo and Saade, *La ciudad en cuarentena*; Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*; Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados*.

¹³⁰ Liborio Zerda, "Estudio Químico e Higiénico de la Chicha, Bebida Popular en Colombia," *Repertorio de Medicina y Cirugía* (Bogotá, 1889).

¹³¹ Colombian Political Constitution (Const). "Law 34, Decree 2194 of 1948 (Colombia)," 1948.

¹³² Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 64. To deepen to this respect, the study of Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28, Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis (Spring, 1984): 125-133, is enlightening.

risers to importance when thinking about the building of a national modern state.¹³³ To exemplify the anti-alcoholic campaign that started in the newly 20th century and had special impact on 1916, 1923, 1929, 1930 and the later chicha's "prohibitions" (Appendix 3), the images presented below are very suggestive. The poster printed and distributed by the Hygiene Ministry characterized fermented beverages, and particularly chicha, as a degenerative drink that makes people brutalize and become "donkeys" (see Image 8), breeds crime within its consumers (see Image 9) and tends to produce criminals who fill the jails (see Image 10). As stated by Moreno, the establishment of regulations that raised in a first basis as resolutions of the Municipal Hygiene Directorate, later became municipal agreements. Moreover, the constant publication of articles by press that proliferate a negative discourse against alcoholism and *chichismo*, led by the government and the media¹³⁴, represented an attack both to the phenomenon of production and consumption of chicha, as well as the social and cultural practices that took place in *chicherías*.¹³⁵



Images 8-10

Posters from the anti-alcoholic campaign at the head of the Hygiene Ministry

Source: Bejarano, *La derrota de un vicio*.

¹³³ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 99.

¹³⁴ This thesis compiled national journals related to chicha from 1899 to 2020 that were mentioned in the sources investigated or found during the research. The titles can be found in the bibliography. It is relevant to mention that the articles found from 1899 to 1952 have a negative perception of chicha. From 2006 onwards, the articles open the ground for historical discussion and situate chicha in the public arena as a national heritage, especially from 2018 until today.

¹³⁵ Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados*.

2.6. PARADIGMATIC CASE: BEER VS. CHICHA

In parallel to the chicha's displacement from the public arena, the beer production, a State controlled and profitable business, started growing and being established as one of the leading industries.¹³⁶ The latter took place in consonance with the wave of industrialization occurring in the country and the need to integrate all the members of the community within the domestic market through the purchase and consumption of manufactured products. The prosecution of chicha was not naïve. The interest of disappearing its consumption and making beer the most popular beverage was embedded into a strong desire to be in tune with worldwide capitalist markets.¹³⁷ Figure 1 shows that the tax revenues from beer production were more beneficial than those from the chicha and how this significant growth was correlative with a rise in State revenues.

Relation of the participation of beers and fermented beverages in the main effective income of the State, 1932-1937

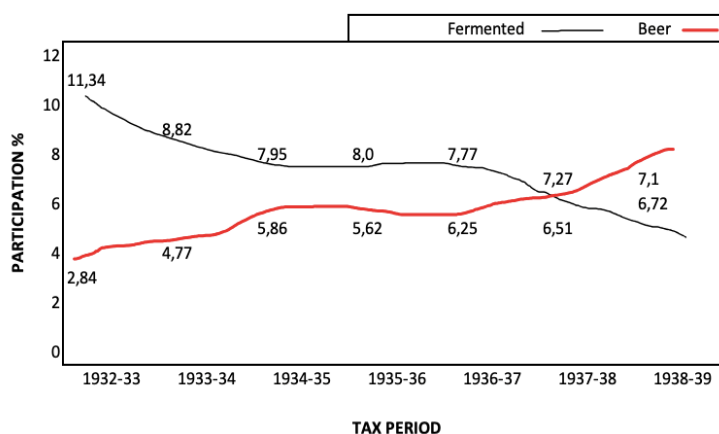


Figure 1

Ratio of the share of fermented beers in the main effective income of the State, 1932-1937. The figure allows to see the evolution of the tax rate to chicha and beer between 1932 and 1939, where it is visible the preponderant role of the tax on the beer and the constant detriment in the collection for taxes on chicha.

Source: General Comptroller, National Statistics Directorate, Statistics Yearbook, 1937, Imprenta Nacional, Bogotá, 1938, p.313 in: Calvo and Saade. *La ciudad en cuarentena*, 323

Bavaria, the iconic Colombian beer brand for excellence, founded by the German immigrant Leopold Kopp in Bogotá in 1889, is the most antique beer industry in the history of Colombia. Its vertical strategy integrating the production in all stages of the value chain (from barley to

¹³⁶ Carlos Alberto Rodríguez and Edison Jair Duque, "El Grupo Santodomingo: El Pez Chico Se Come Al Grande de Generación En Generación," *Innovar: Revista de Ciencias Administrativas y Sociales* 18, no. 32 (2008): 127.

¹³⁷ Rodríguez and Duque, "El Grupo Santodomingo"; Ruiz, Lina. "Family Business and value: Valorem S.A group and its contribution in Colombia," Universidad de Barcelona, 2020, not published.

glass bottle production) and its modern know-how imported from Europe established this firm as the one with the most significant influence in the country. Throughout an extended period, from the early 20th century to the '30s, it strengthened its infrastructure and business in the region and promoted competition to increase the national production and the domestic market.¹³⁸ The development of the brewing industry caused one of the fundamental changes in the country's consumer traditions.¹³⁹ Paradoxically, the main protagonists of the anti-alcoholic battle were also the leading promoters enhancing the beer industry. The uneven status given to beer because of its supposed nutrition facts, healthy ways of preparation, and social value can be observed, for instance, in the Agreement 14 of 1916 (Appendix 3). It established taxes discriminatory over fermented beverages and other drinks. Beer was not taxed at all, benefiting from these circumstances. Other examples of the uneven treatment of beer over chicha can be seen in the publicity information disseminated. For instance, while fermented beverages were stigmatized as degenerating and decreasing productivity, beer could be drunk even by children (see Image 11).



Image 11

Bavaria's advertisement. It shows beer as a nutritious and healthy drink that even children can drink, contrary to chicha, which was presented as dirty and dangerous for the population.

Source: Calvo and Saade. *La ciudad en cuarentena*.

¹³⁸ Rodríguez and Duque, "El Grupo Santodomingo".

¹³⁹ Aída Martínez Carreño, *Mesa y cocina en el siglo xix Colombia. Biblioteca Básica de Cocinas Tradicionales de Colombia* (Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia, 2012).

Hence, from the beginning of the 20th century onwards, the ideological guidelines that pursued modernity, social, hygienist, and moral arguments to discredit chicha's production and consumption, were framed into a nascent capitalist and industrialized city. Thus, migration to cities and new dynamics of work, time, and leisure, transformed the habit of the urban population, which includes the emerging worker's sector.

Throughout regulation, taxation, and urban segregation and control, chicha was finally prohibited the same year that the *Bogotazo*, a crucial historical event in Bogotá occurred on April 9, 1948. Chicha prohibition was intertwined with this episode and ensued after the killing of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, a populist liberal leader strongly linked with the Perseverancia community (see chapter 3.2.2.) and the following chaos that destroyed half of the city. When the leader got shot, the population went wild, rioting in the streets. After this event, the hegemonic power profited and accused chicha of causing the social turmoil. This way, under the presidency of Mariano Ospina Pérez, through Law 34, Decree 4194, and Law Decree 1839 of 1948 and days after the 9th of April, chicha finally got completely marginalized from the public space. For instance, Decree 1839 of 1948, which entered into force on June 8 of that year, was issued within the framework of the state of siege declared by Decree 1239 of April 10, 1948, and its purpose was, in accordance with the provisions of the considerations, to regulate the use of fermented beverages from sugar cane, corn, rice, barley or other cereals and fruits. It further subjected their manufacture and sale to technical and hygienic rules, to ensure, among other purposes, the health of the people.¹⁴⁰ The myriad of regulations and taxes imposed, plus the spatial segregation caused by increasing limitation of areas for chicha production and consumption, displaced the beverage from the legit arena. However, it is relevant to highlight that the regulation over its production did not nominally prohibit it. The regulation, disguised with the discourse of industrialization, submitted its production to impossible to achieve parameters (in terms of manufacturing and capitalization). The *resguardo* (customs of the moment), was the entity in charge of the followed up of the regulation, pursuing the people and punishing whom violated it. To this respect, Yolanda García (Photo 7) recalls:

¹⁴⁰ Colombian Political Constitution (Const). "Law 34, Decree 4194 of 1948 (Colombia)," 1948; "Law 46 of 1948 (Colombia)," 1948; "Law Decree 1839 of 1948 (Colombia)," 1948; "Law 34, Decree 2194 of 1948 (Colombia)," 1948; Ministry of Health. "Radicado No. 201942300906672 - Concepto sobre la vigencia del Decreto Ley 1839 de 1948, de la Ley 34 de 1948 y del Decreto 4194 del mismo año," October 30, 2019.

"She [her mother] made food, and with food, we sell much chichita...¹⁴¹ but a president persecuted us a lot. My mom was imprisoned for three days. However, from here to down there, there was chicha up to the seven streets. The *resguardo* threw all the barrels that we own... So, she did it secretly, and sometimes some soldiers would come. Then the commander found them there at the station. Then they would come after April 9, but they must be kept in a large room that had the dining room... And they came out from behind. Then my mother made fun of them: 'it is not my fault, they come to buy from me, and I gladly sell them...' And after I grew up, the soldiers came here, the Bavariunos (from Bavaria) ... So, she sold them the chicha, but she had to get them so they would not be seen. Down there was a chicha factory, so, when she could not make it, she bought it there and sold them in some aluminum jars of oil, and there she brought the chicha to yield it in the barrels with which she made, and it came out faster because that one was stronger."¹⁴²

The instant effect produced by the normative was to return to the handicraft process of manufacturing chicha and to retract it to an underground existence. Its roots in the popular field imaginary and dynamics, summed to the resistance's practices developed from the colonial period, let it survive regardless of its persecution. The principal effects from the law can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Chicha consumption turned into secrecy,
- 2) People transformed their ingrained habit of drinking chicha for beer,
- 3) End of public and massive consumption of chicha,
- 4) Chicha became a marginalized and liminal beverage,
- 5) Difficulties in the transmission of the culinary practice through generations

Today, the status of chicha production remains in a grey area, both for common citizenship and public authorities. However, a legal concept of the Ministry of Health on the validity of Law 34, Decree 4194, and Law Decree 1839 of 1948 given in 2019, revealed that Law 9 of 1979 (Appendix 1), which was intended to regulate all alcoholic beverages over 2.5% alcoholic level and other fermented beverages, derogated every previous regulation contrary to its parameters (eliminating the validity of 1948 decrees and laws). Moreover, Decree 1686 of 2012 (related to articles 417, 418 and 419 of the Law 9 of 1979), established a technical regulation on the sanitary requirements that must be met for the manufacture, elaboration, hydration, packaging, storage, distribution, transportation, commercialization, spending,

¹⁴¹ Diminutive of chicha, a thoughtful way to refer to it.

¹⁴² Yolanda García (traditional chichera), in discussion with the author, February, 2021.

exportation, and importation of alcoholic beverages destined for human consumption.¹⁴³

Today, even though chicha is resurging in the public arena, questions about its ways of production are a playground for dispute. Traditional methods of preparation not always are in tune with the aseptic requirements demanded by the sanitary governmental institutions in the present. Plus, quality and authenticity are a ground for discussion.

2.7. CHICHA'S PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION TRANSFORMATION

2.7.1. CHANGES IN THE PREPARATION OF CHICHA

The “discovery of the ‘New World’”, especially of the region of Latin America, was characterized by the exploitation of natural resources to enrich the coffers of the kings of Europe. This way, tons of goods in the form of commodities or raw materials were exported to comply with a greedy growing continent's demands. Nonetheless, the exchanges, if uneven, were not unilateral. In a double movement regarding food and culinary practices, both products from Latin America entered Europe, and Europe's products entered Latin America. For instance, people across the region of Latin America integrated oil, garlic, and rice into their diet. Although the integration of new elements conditioned the *mestizo* culinary practices prevailing today, there were also substantial changes in the indigenous diet resulting from the de-valorization of their native products and their later obliteration within the local traditional knowledge. Sugar, brought by the Spaniards to the Americas from the Asian continent, mainly in Brazil or Cuba and in lesser extent in Colombian territory, enriched the local consumption and was essential to the further economic and political development of the region. The expansion of this commodity into these areas contributed to shaping the cultural landscape of these territories.¹⁴⁴ It influenced consumers' systems, tastes, and ways of living, which cultivated the people and identity. For instance, the consumption of the *guarapo*, was a remarkable addition with deep and permanent roots.¹⁴⁵ Regarding the production of chicha, after the Spaniard's arrival, it overcame a significant change that endures until today.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Ministry of Health of Colombia. “Radicado No. 201942300906672 - Concepto sobre la vigencia del Decreto Ley 1839 de 1948, de la Ley 34 de 1948 y del Decreto 4194 del mismo año,” October 30, 2019.

¹⁴⁴ Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America since independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁴⁵ Patiño, *Historia de la cultura material en la América Equinoccial*, 208.

¹⁴⁶ Other alcoholic beverages such as aguardiente and rum appeared because of the integration of distillation processes, enlarging the indigenous culinary techniques that only acknowledged fermentation. However, the

Panela, which is also a fundamental element of the nowadays *canasta familiar* (familiar basket)¹⁴⁷ and has a great significance within the rural market economy¹⁴⁸ is made with the juice of the sugar cane stem that has not been refined, and when it is melted in water, produces the sweet syrup called *melao*. The latter was introduced during chicha preparation, serving as a catalyzer for the fermentation of the beverage and giving it a sweetness. This way, *melao*, sugar and honey, extended the products for chicha preparation that endure in the 21st century. The use of different species is also documented from the colonial period and prevails today. Cinnamon and clove, which are products introduced from Asia are frequently used¹⁴⁹, as well as other fruits, such as pineapple skin, and herbs that remain a secret ingredient from each *chichera*.¹⁵⁰ Since colonial times, the market and the challenges of new developments induced the integration of additives, such as yeast, or even of ammoniac (which make the fermentation time shorter), in chicha's preparation.¹⁵¹ For instance, in the present day, the addition of artificial colors to chicha is a trend to promote consumers' curiosity. The results of these additions vary and are inconclusive but were, and still are, a significant arena of discussion regarding nutrition and authenticity.

Regarding the type of maize used, Bejarano described the change of the former yellow and tender corn grain used by indigenous to a white and more hard grain in the colonial period.¹⁵² Today, *chicheras* in the Perseverancia usually use *porva* corn, a big, floury, and yellow grain to prepare their chichas. For instance, to reduce their workload, Ana Teresa Torres (Photos 4-6) and Yolanda García (photo 7), manage to buy the corn flour already

most significant contribution to mestizo cuisine was made up of sweet things since sugar cane cultivation found very favorable conditions in the region (Patiño, *Historia de la cultura material en la América Equinoccial*)

¹⁴⁷ It serves as an economic tool for measuring and includes food, wearing, education and recreation, basic goods, and services a family need for its subsistence and welfare.

¹⁴⁸ Semana, "Panela: una oportunidad para emprender", February 27, 2020. Accessed on March 2020. Available in: <https://www.semana.com/emprendimiento/articulo/cuales-son-los-emprendimientos-con-panela-en-colombia/281885/>, the Colombian' panela agroindustry is the second most socially important (after coffee). About 350'000 families depend on it and contribute 3% of agricultural GDP, being the second rural employment generator. However, panela, understood as "food for the poor," faces several challenges. For instance, oscillation on its price makes producers look for different prospects for their product, and buyers, such as chicha producers, increase their investment in this commodity.

¹⁴⁹ Rojas de Perdomo, *Comentarios a la cocina precolombina. De la mesa europea al fogón amerindio*, 18.

¹⁵⁰ Chicheras, in discussion with the author, mentioned some of the special ingredients they use but every recipe remains a knowledge and secret of each family.

¹⁵¹ Calvo and Saade, *La ciudad en cuarentena*, 270.

¹⁵² Bejarano, *La derrota de un vicio*, 43

prepared and use honey, so they do not have to mill the corn for the preparation neither to prepare *melao*.¹⁵³

As for the techniques and modes of preparation, although it has numerous variations related the ingredients' quantity or days of fermentation, the most significant changes are related to the containers and tools for its preparation. For instance, the utilization of mud pots and vessels such as the *múcuras* or *moyas* from prehispanic times have survived mainly in the rural areas, in peasantry houses, or small villages. Few chicha establishments used the former indigenous system in the early 20th century, turning the mud implements into wood tools and wood barrels with iron bottoms.¹⁵⁴ In the 21st century, the turn of mud vessels and wood implements into plastic barrels and aluminum is prevalent and highlights the new requirements linked to sanitary practices. Regarding the technological advances integrated, the traditional implements (Photo 9), are frequently supplanted using blenders, industrial colanders, and other tools, in the same way that *totumos* for its consumption have been supplanted by glass and later by plastic vases.¹⁵⁵



Photo 9

Traditional implements to prepare and serve chicha, from top to bottom: Fruit from the *totumo* tree (*Crescentia cujete* L.), *cedazo*, *metate*, *molino*, *totumo* and *moya*. Photo taken in El Paraíso, culinary laboratory, where the author tried to elaborate traditional chicha using these tools.

Source: Personal archive of the author.

¹⁵³ Chicheras, in discussion with the author.

¹⁵⁴ Bejarano, *La derrota de un vicio*, 43

¹⁵⁵ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 81.

2.7.2. CHANGES IN THE CONSUMPTION OF CHICHA

The production of chicha has overcome substantial changes that encompass integrating new food into traditional practices. Hence, Hispanic commerce and supply transformed consumption, diets, and food culture of indigenous communities.¹⁵⁶

After the Spaniards' arrival, a culinary shock occurred. According to Saldarriaga, chicha, liquid that served as food and as a beverage, with domestic uses and staggering properties, seemed very strange for the Hispanic diet based on a "bread and wine"¹⁵⁷ culture. Even though they recognized the nourishing properties of chicha, its differences and lack of commonalities within their understanding converted it into an inferior scale compared to other food.¹⁵⁸ However, regardless of the derogatory perception of the food and its way of preparation, indigenous people, mestizos, and Spaniard drank chicha evenly during the colonial period. Changes in socialization practices surrounding chicha arrived through migration, the development of urban centers and the development of new markets.¹⁵⁹ Then, what transformed gradually, was the traditional way of consumption rooted in the territory and identitarian systems of values and rituals of the indigenous people. For instance, throughout the years chicha voided its content structure (harvesting, rituality, context, regulations), but its consumption structure remained the same (commonality, invernness).¹⁶⁰ The encounter between indigenous, mestizos, slaves, and Spaniards created an amalgam of relationships where chicha consumption was repurposed and recontextualized, converting it from a traditional beverage to a popular drink that could be found in rural areas and urban centers, and be drunk by members from diverse groups and social categories, with no age or gender discrimination.¹⁶¹ For instance, in the Nueva Granada, chicha was no longer a cohesive agent within a community but served as a medium of encounter and interaction between different people, linked to leisure and food, rather than rituality. According to Álzate, in the 18th century, chicha extended over the population and started being used in public and

¹⁵⁶ Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 32.

¹⁵⁷ Here it is also possible to highlight the transubstantiation characteristics of food, meaning that the Hispanic catholic credo of the body and blood of Christ reflected on their bread and wine Hispanic diet (based on bakery and distilled beverages). The comparison between Hispanic Catholic sacrality and Muisca's rituality can be found in Marta Herrera Ángel, "Muisca y cristianos: del "biohote" a la misa."

¹⁵⁸ Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 141.

¹⁵⁹ Saldarriaga, 133.

¹⁶⁰ Saldarriaga, 133.

¹⁶¹ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 80.

private religious events such as Corpus, marriages, and baptisms. In Santafé de Bogotá,¹⁶² chicha was produced or consumed evenly by the ecclesiastic community, colons, distinguished people, and the poor.¹⁶³ Further, in 19th century, *chicherías* emerged (see Image 12), serving as binding point for an heterogenous group of people to converge around drinking and leisure.¹⁶⁴ On a first basis, *chicherías* were localized in indigenous neighborhoods, and served as food and chicha stores, as well as hostels.¹⁶⁵ Later they became specialized places to sell chicha, domestic supplies and traditional food, mostly located in the city center.¹⁶⁶ Overall, *chicherías* appearance arouses questions related to public space, entrepreneurial development, and urban growth. Also, relevant issues surrounding the development of the popular field. *Chicherías* were places that enhanced the construction of social fabric, conviviality, and vital forces at play to build upon ideas of commonality. For instance, Álzate describes how these places expressed a popular body and sexuality conception, different from other contemporary social groups.¹⁶⁷ Following the latter, it is possible to induce that chicha's delegitimization and the existence of these places was also linked to an institutionalized contempt for popular customs and the aim of dismantling them, since they represented an inner force at play to transgress hegemonic powers and generate conflicts.

During the early 20th century, regarding chicha market, even though it did not compete with the mechanical processes or integration of technological innovations of industries such as the one of beer, the emergence of specialized places to sell chicha was followed by the emergence of fabrics, accounting for a semi-industrialized process which separated the productive and the commercial place.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, until the end of the 30's, chicha was thriving in the domestic market, being the preferred beverage within the popular field and extending across Bogotá. For instance, the data compiled by Clavijo in the topographic map of the city realized in 1891 and intervened by Moreno, accounted for almost

¹⁶² Former name of Bogotá capital district.

¹⁶³ Álzate, "La chicha: entre bálsamo y veneno," 165.

¹⁶⁴ It is relevant to emphasize there are differences between rural and urban areas practices and aspects of chicha's preparation and consumption. For instance, in rural areas consumption is extended to different class members. To the extent of this paper, it will focus on the development of chicha particularly in the city of Bogotá, and specifically in the Perseverancia neighborhood.

¹⁶⁵ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 54.

¹⁶⁶ Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados*, 24.

¹⁶⁷ Álzate, "La chicha: entre bálsamo y veneno," 188.

¹⁶⁸ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 81-82.

208 chicherías existent in the Republican capital city (see Map 3). Moreover, the map of Clavijo indicates the significant relationship between chicherías, *turmequé* play¹⁶⁹, and marketplaces.



Map 3

Clavijo, Carlos. Topographic map of Bogotá (ink manuscript, paper, 121.5 x 138 cm), 1891. In: Museo de Bogotá (MdBP00342). Intervened by Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados*. Geo-referencing of the chicherías census that describes 208 establishments in the directory of the same document.

Source: Moreno, *la ciudad de los enchichados*, 18.

¹⁶⁹ Turmequé or tejo is a popular game, known as “the Colombian national sport”, which has indigenous origins. The census described in the Clavijo map, indicates that there was a direct relationship between chicherías and the game of turmequé, pointing out that in 32 of the 208 chicherías, worked scenarios for this practice. Marketplaces and consumption of chicha were also correlated (Moreno, *la ciudad de los enchichados*, 18).

The latter highlights the conviviality between the commercial place of chicha and different social and cultural practices of the popular classes.¹⁷⁰ For instance, testimonies associated with chicha and food's relationship are also significant to understand its function as embedded material culture and as a culinary practice. For instance, traditional *chichera* Ana Teresa Torres (Photos 4-6) asseverates that chicha is elementary to her family diet and that its nourishing aspects has keep her healthy:

"I drink a lot of chicha, my grandchildren, and my children were raised with chicha. My grandmother gave us chicha to go to study: *Mija!*¹⁷¹ - she used to say. Take a cup to give you a bit of chicha and a *black mogolla* (that she has made herself). In the countryside they do lots of things... To send us to study... chocolate loosens the stomach, better take *chichita*... Well yes, right now because of my age, but see how much I have endured. Three operations that have been done, and I took chicha to the nurses there and the doctor who operated me, and they told me that my chicha is delicious... and this is the reason why I got the fame of my chicha. Many foreign people come, boys who bring lots of tourism and they were the ones who painted my wall"¹⁷².

Lilia Ramírez (Photos 1-3) also evokes this delicious duo between the *black mogolla* (sweet bread) and the beverage. Moreover, for the other traditional *chicheras* interviewed, the relationship between chicha and traditional food is indissociable. For instance, for the couple mother and daughter of Lilia and Ruth, the sisters Maribel and Beatriz (Photo 8), and Yolanda (Photo 7) and Ana Teresa with their respective families, the preparation and serving of chicha has been always intertwined with the preparation and serving of different popular plates such as *bofe*, *mazamorra*, *huesos de marrano*, *menudo*, *pelanga*, *fritanga* and *piquete*, that, in turn, they have learnt how to cook from their mothers and grandmothers.¹⁷³

After the implementation of Law 46 in 1948,¹⁷⁴ the socialization of chicha was reconfigured. The preparation and consumption of the beverages never stopped, but the practices of secrecy created a new dynamic for the people to gather and create bondings. For instance, its process of fabrication returned to be completely artisanal and handmade and, throughout the years, it repledged in small stores, reducing its consumption and remaining

¹⁷⁰ Moreno, *La ciudad de los enchichados*, 18.

¹⁷¹ Kind expression to refer to someone, generally use by older generations

¹⁷² Ana Teresa Torres de Forero (traditional *chichera*), in discussion with the author, December-February, 2020-2021. She references the graffiti found in her house and *chichería* (See photos 4-6, page 24). Unless otherwise noted, all interview's translations are my own.

¹⁷³ Lilia Ramírez (traditional *chichera* and cook), in discussion with the author, February 2021; Ruth Serrano (traditional *chichera* and cook), in discussion with the author, February 2021.

¹⁷⁴ Colombian Political Constitution (Const). "Law 46 of 1948 (Colombia)," 1948.

marginalized within a few neighborhoods in the city.¹⁷⁵ From early 2000 onwards,¹⁷⁶ the process of reappearance of chicha in the public space has given it new meanings and has promoted new ways of preparation and consumption, even though its liminality persists. For instance, today, chicha can be found in popular neighborhoods of the city such as the Perseverancia, Belén, and Egipto; made from different plants such as arracacha and chontaduro, in different flavors and colors in the Chorro de Quevedo passage in the city center as a touristic spot or to be served in high cuisine Colombian restaurants such as Salvo Patria, Chichería Demente and Minimal.

Although the rituality of the consumption of chicha progressively disappeared, through time its recontextualization has given this culinary practice new meanings. From a traditional to a popular expression, its potentialities for weaving culture and transform individual and social identities remained latent.



Image 12

Tienda de vender chicha or Chichería, according to an illuminated lithograph by Ramón Torres Méndez, 1860 Ca. Source: Banco de la República' collection.

¹⁷⁵ Calvo and Saade, *La ciudad en cuarentena*, 337.

¹⁷⁶ This paper compiled national journals related to chicha from 1899 to 2020. The titles can be found in the bibliography. As mentioned before, it is relevant to mention that the articles found from 1899 to 1952 have a negative perception of chicha. From 2006 onwards, the articles open the ground for historical discussion and situate chicha in the public arena as a national heritage, especially from 2018 until today.

2.8. CONCLUSIONS OF THE CHAPTER

Through this chapter, the idea of chicha as “embedded material culture” related to senses of belonging and cultural practices, and chicha production and consumption as a cultural field of struggle between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces at play covered significance. Following the latter, understanding the historical background of chicha as a culinary practice, permitted to highlight partly the grassroots origins of The Festival. Linking notions of identity and territory in the next chapter will permit to reveal why this neighborhood gave shelter to chicha after its “prohibition,” and later gave birth to The Festival.

Different discourses have played an essential role in building a particular way of producing and consuming chicha throughout the times, shaping its development, and transforming how communities are linked to its cultural meaning and usage. For instance, the perfect triad of the State, the church, and the elites (an institutionalized colonial structure) built an entire system of stigmatization and neglect of the indigenous people and the later popular field and its practices. Miscegenation, obliteration, and segregation are at the basis of the changes in consumption related to chicha. Modern ideas of development and the nascent capitalist industrial city and urban settlers, found the perfect devices of power for the de-legitimation of chicha through regulations, taxes, persecution, spatial segregation and social, biopolitical, moral, and economic discourses. Moreover, as stated by Saldarriaga, colonial practices had the capacity to create structural practices related to taste, since they included at the same time not only the workers force, but also the consumer.¹⁷⁷

The liminality of the appreciation of chicha appears to be related to notions of taste. The latter is linked both to a productive system and to a social system of values that cannot be discerned from each other. However, in occasions, the desire of transformation of taste found a resistance of a system of values that is highly integrated and has its own mechanism and ways of existing. The popular field arises as a not fixed entity, with the capacity of integration or change. Further, it appears as a place of forces that attract and repels, where there is no complete submission, but rather a counter point. Hegemonic power, such as colonial power, does not appear as a totalizing entity.

¹⁷⁷ Saldarriaga, *Alimentación e identidades en el Nuevo Reino de Granada siglos XVI Y XVII*, 332.

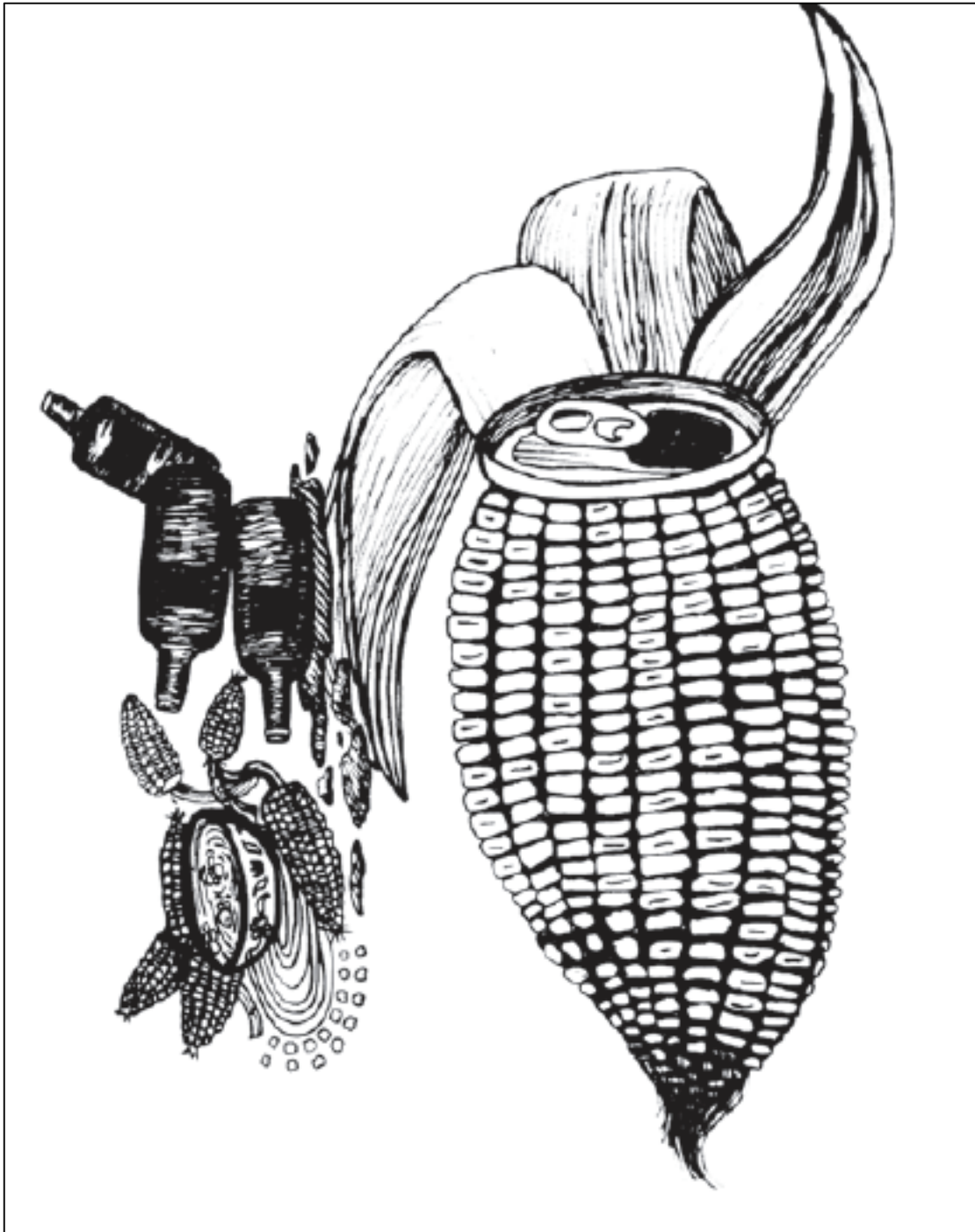


Image 13

Suggestive drawing of a hybrid between beer can and corn plant.
Source: Rodríguez and Duque, "El Grupo Santodomingo."

CHAPTER 3:**FROM THE GRASSROOTS: COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES AND PRACTICES OF RESISTANCE**

*Persevera, Perse,
Y la casa de Rosita tiene la mejor sopita
Más abajo el aguardiente y la chicha
Chicha, chichita*

*Persevera, Persevera,
Persevera, Perseverancia*

*Persevere, Perse,
And Rosita's house has the best soup
Further down the brandy and chicha
Chicha, chichita*

*Persevere, persevere,
Persevere, Perseverance*

María Savina group. *Persevera Perseverancia*

Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uWwZFG62UKM>

English translation by the author



Image 14

Album cover of *Persevera, Perseverancia* from María Savina group.
Source: Juan Sebastián Salazar's archive.



Photo 10

Luis Ruiz, the Festival's founder – Member of the Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos. Portrait next to the Perseverancia Market place, in front of a graffiti that says: Somos Perse (We are Perse, see Perseverancia), resilience, joy, transformation, hope. He belonged to La Jota and was an active part of the aesthetic-political processes developed against Avenida de Los Cerros and other urban development projects. He has a rebellious spirit and a critical training with which he has promoted different initiatives of social organization.

Source: Personal archive of the author.

3.1. INTRODUCTION

There is a story told by Doña Josefa that describes how in early 1949 in the Perseverancia, where the most important factories of chicha were located, all its inhabitants gathered and held a symbolic burial of the chicha. They carried the dragged barrels, as if they were an important deceased, and in a procession went down 32nd Street to bury them as if they were returned to mother earth, to their original state: corn.¹⁷⁸ This anecdote serves to introduce the next chapter which will focus on the Perseverancia foundation and its linkages with chicha's culinary practice as a cultural element of identity. Notions of identity and territory will permit to reveal why this neighborhood gave shelter to chicha after its "prohibition" and to give a more solid basis to understand the grassroots origins of The Festival. Further, the intrinsic forces of this popular neighborhood, built upon strong communitarian linkages and a class and political identification, will reveal the extent to which The Festival can be considered an expression of resistance by the Perseverancia neighborhood.

The timeline contemplated in this chapter starts in the early 20th century when the neighborhood was founded until 1988 when the first version of The Festival took place. Chapter 4 will describe the general characteristics and organizational structure of The Festival, trace its development over the years from 1988 until 2019, and will focus on the paradoxes embedded in this event.

3.2. THE PERSEVERANCIA NEIGHBORHOOD

3.2.1. SCULPTING THE GREY: FOUNDATION

The Perseverancia (in English, Perseverance) or "La Perse", as it is commonly known, is located at a place formerly called Altos de San Diego (see Map 4), in the skirts of the Cerros Orientales (Eastern hills) of Bogotá. At the end of the 19th century, this place was in the periphery of the city and was an extensive farm property of the Vega family called the same name. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, during the early days of industrialization, the Vega family found interest in building a Buitrón (bricks) factory (1896) to comply with the contemporary needs. Similarly, Leopold Kopp decided to build the beer factory Bavaria (1894) (see Photo 11) in the neighboring lands. In this way, they

¹⁷⁸ Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la Historia*, 152.

expanded the city beyond the symbolic limits and enhanced a new form to think about urban planning and the new modern city developing. In this respect, it is interesting to note that Kopp bought the land for his newly born brewery next to a traditional chichería, property of the Sergeant José María Prieto and his wife Catalina Rojas.¹⁷⁹



Map 4

Altos de San Diego in the Eastern hills of Bogotá. It served as a Public deed of the lands of the Vega family.
Source: Torres Mora, *Por la calle 32: historia de un barrio*.

In 1905, the population of Bogotá counted over 100,000 inhabitants, and the area built consisted of only 320 acres. A colonial structure still defined the urban city shape, and social and cultural relations evolved in a reduced space.¹⁸⁰ Thus, the industrial extension to the peripheries made the emergence of new urban configurations possible. For instance, within this wave of city transformation, the Vega family decided to parcel part of their land out. This way, they destined 17 bushels to a worker's neighborhood. Each land had an average of 4,30 meters front and 8 meters back and cost 35 pesos delivered in cash.¹⁸¹ Most buyers were leading the ranks of Bavaria's factory (called *Bavariunos*) or labored indirectly with this industry. Hence, to promote the consolidation of this workers' neighborhood and satisfy the modern capitalist need, Kopp undertook a patronage strategy giving financial support to their

¹⁷⁹ Cruz and Ruiz, *La Perseverancia: barrio obrero de Bogotá*; Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda*.

¹⁸⁰ Torres Carrillo, "Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas," 2.

¹⁸¹ Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda*.

workers, who could deduct money from their salary as they acquired property over the land sold by Vega. This way, the Perseverancia neighborhood, identified with chicha's vocation, paradoxically has its origins linked to the development of the beer industry.

The neighborhood, firstly called Unión Obrera (Worker's Union) (1913) and then the Perseverancia, was one of the first neighborhoods in the city that consolidated as a worker's residential zone. This way, its foundation was linked to a class and popular identification that strengthen as the people did not have the proper conditions to ensure a decent life.¹⁸² The neighborhood had a steep condition, housing was made with *adobe* (clay rammed but not cooked) (see Photo 15), and it was carried out as a communitarian activity where every person participated, helping each other, in a joint effort developed in different stages.

The Perseverancia residents were primarily people of peasant origin with links to ancestral and popular practices such as drinking chicha.¹⁸³ Among the *Bavariunos*, diverse professions could be found in the neighborhood: artisans, bricklayers, builders, upholsters, carpenters, sewers, typographers, shoemakers, gunpowder manufacturers, and merchants, food sellers, and chicheras. For instance, factories and chicherías such as La Victoria, Las Múcuras, La Campana (property of the President Alfonso López Pumarejo), Los Arrayanes, Las Delicias, Los Patos, Tres Esquinas, La Cubana, among others, shaped the neighborhood's landscape (see Map 5). Chicha was the preferential beverage but aguardiente, guarapo and beer were sold massively for family events, entertainment activities or celebrations (see Photo 14).¹⁸⁴ The founders of the neighborhood happily remember the relationship of chicha, food, sports, music, theatre, and dance, as well as with the excursions to the mountains or closer parks, in time of leisure, with family and friends, to rest, or to collect moss for Christmas celebrations.¹⁸⁵ The culinary practice of chicha was then strongly rooted in the social and cultural practices of the Perseverancia residents as well as in their economies. For this reason, after its "prohibition," it never stopped being produced. Also, although diminished and transferred to illegality, its consumption became an identitarian aspect of the Perseverancia people, who collectively knew and enjoyed chicha's underground existence

¹⁸² Cruz and Ruiz, *La Perseverancia: barrio obrero de Bogotá*.

¹⁸³ Cruz and Ruiz, *La Perseverancia: barrio obrero de Bogotá*.

¹⁸⁴ Martha Cecilia Torres Mora, *Por la calle 32: historia de un barrio* (Bogotá: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 1992); Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda*

¹⁸⁵ Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda*; Cruz and Ruiz, *La Perseverancia: barrio obrero de Bogotá*; Luis Eduardo Ruiz (Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos, The Festival founder and current adviser), in discussion with the author, December-February, 2020-2021.



Photos 11-15

From left to right, top to bottom: Old facilities of the Bavaria factory in Carrera 13 with Calle 30 (Bavaria); Old-fashioned public laundries, located in the El Paraíso neighborhood, near La Perseverancia, 1988 (Photo by Jairo Chaparro Valderrama); Guadalupe Poveda selling fritanga close to the bus station, 1950. Reproduction of family album made by Juan Camilo Segura; Doña Adela Osorio (seated, with pants), drinking beer with friends, unknown year. Family album reproduction made by Juan Camilo Segura. Source: Torres Mora, Martha Cecilia. Por la calle 32: historia de un barrio. Last photo: Facades of the last three houses in the Perseverancia that remain original, made with adobe (2021). Source: Personal archive of the author.

3.2.2. CULTURAL AND POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION

In the early 20th century, while the city was rapidly growing, the social inequalities were also deepening. The colonial structure inherited from the past prevailed, and the process of democratization in the country was still to be fulfilled. For instance, Archila stated that, well into this period, voting was restricted to a reduced part of the citizenship, and civil rights and political rights were a fiction.¹⁸⁷ In 1930, after the long hegemony of the conservative party in the political power since the late 19th century, liberals rose to power. Although this liberal movement intended to close the social gap and integrate urban and workers sectors, its objectives were fruitless, even more after the *Bogotazo* resulting from the murder of the liberal leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán on the 9th of April of 1948. The genocide ensued a popular revolt as an epitome of the period of the bipartisan struggle (Liberals vs. Conservatives), commonly known as La Violencia (The Violence) (1925-1958).¹⁸⁸

It is relevant to highlight the significant *gaitanista* movement in The Perseverancia. Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, El Jefe (The Chief), is representative of the political identification of the neighborhood, in a relationship forged not only because of the constant and familiar visits of the leader, also known as “Papá Gaitán” (Father Gaitán),¹⁸⁹ but also because of his political intervention against a strategical urban plan aiming to expropriate the inhabitants of the neighborhood and the public policies implemented on behalf of the workers' classes (such as the school restaurants).¹⁹⁰ The Perseverancia, known as the Red Belt (referring to its liberal identification), armed as a *gaitanista* resistance movement, went to fight, manifest, revolt, and sack, incentivized by rage and alcohol, during *Bogotazo* (Photos 16 and 17). During these chaotic days, the Perseverancia was both a political fort and a Persian bazaar. The neighbors profited from the chaos to loot multiples stores and wear furs, drink whiskey and sit on Versailles chairs. This class and cultural appropriation, which might be read as an act of rebellion from the bottom, was understood by the government and officials as mere vandalism, consequence of alcohol's and chicha's negative effects.

From this moment, hostilities, and stigmatization against the neighborhood boosted

¹⁸⁷ Archila, “Protestas, Movimientos Sociales y Democracia En Colombia (1975-2007),” 121.

¹⁸⁸ Archila, 121.

¹⁸⁹ Juan Sebastián Salazar, “La Perseverancia, vivir en un barrio bravo,” *Altair magazine*. Accessed on May 5, 2021. Available in: <https://www.altairmagazine.com/voces/la-perseverancia/>

¹⁹⁰ Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda*; Cruz and Ruiz, *La Perseverancia: barrio obrero de Bogotá*.

because of its political identification and chicha vocation. Despite the significant loss after Gaitán assassination, *Perseveranciunos* strongly identify themselves with him. Plus, their political managerial skills used in the party, served to strengthen their social organization.

As a tribute to the leader, the neighbors made a board pro-monument and raised money to build a bust that later got knocked down by detractors and replaced by a sculpture of the Sacred heart of Jesus (the plate stills keeps the trace with the name of Gaitán) (see Photo 18). However, they managed to collect more money and build another sculpture of the leader, which is still an iconic place in the neighborhood (Photo 19).¹⁹¹



Photos 16-19

From left to right, top to bottom: Jorge Eliécer Gaitán addressing to the Perseverancia inhabitants from an improvised tribune in Carrera 3 with calle 3; Enraged inhabitants of the Perseverancia during the events following Gaitán assassination on April 9, 1948 (Photos by Lunga), Source: Torres Mora, Martha Cecilia. Por la calle 32: historia de un barrio. Sacred Heart of Jesus replacing the first sculpture of Gaitán in the Perseverancia. The trace of the former is still visible. Sculpture of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán next to the Park. Source: Personal archive of the author.

¹⁹¹ Luis Eduardo Ruiz in discussion with the author, December-February, 2020-2021.

3.2.3. URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS

From the early 20th century, the strategic location of the Perseverancia has converted the zone into a disputed place on which urban development plans have a particular focus. For instance, Centro Internacional was a project of modernization that changed the image of Bogotá, transforming the ancient villa into a modern city. It takes its name (International Center) from the developing urban plan of converting it from an obsolete industrial zone to a metropolitan location where financial, commercial, and cultural global dynamics could occur.

Today, Centro Internacional is in a strategic location near the airport and the historic center. Besides, it serves as a center-west corridor for the city. From the mid-20th century it has been known for its commercial and entertainment services and its iconic infrastructure and cultural equipment: The former Panopticon (1823) and later National Museum (1948), Independence Park (1909), Bullring La Santamaría (1931), National Park (1932), Tequendama Hotel (1953), Torres del Parque buildings (1970) and Parque Central Bavaria (former Bavaria brewery) (1991) are among the most renown buildings and areas that currently serve as residential, cultural and commercial venues. It is in UPZ 91 – Sagrado Corazón¹⁹² in Santa fé's locality and its influence areas are delimited to UPZ 91 – Sagrado Corazón and UPZ 92 – La Macarena, which encompasses the Perseverancia neighborhood, as shown in Map 6.



Map 6

Left: Santa Fé's locality. Right: Centro Internacional and its influence areas delimited by UPZ91-Sagrado Corazón and UPZ92-La Macarena. The grey square highlights the Perseverancia area.

Source: Elaborated by the author.

¹⁹² Unidad de Planeamiento Zonal (Zonal Planning Unit). These are urban areas smaller than localities and larger than neighborhood. The function of the UPZ is to serve as territorial units or sectors to plan urban development at zonal level. They are a planning instrument to develop an urban regulation at the level of detail that Bogotá requires. Definition available at: <http://recursos.ccb.org.co/ccb/pot/PC/files/3definicion.html>

For half of the 20th century, the urbanization processes expanded from the city center to this zone, and it became an essential pole of development. A public-private alliance promoted the integral renewal plan. It consisted of allocation and concentration of resources, promotion, and attraction of private investment, and agglomerative economies that brought cultural, educative, entertainment equipment, transportation, and mobility facilities to this area. There was an aim to enhance this socio-spatial transformation for economic centrality and urban consolidation. Also, it served to regulate and configure a neoliberal framework focused on economic growth, spatial consumption from the elites, and marginal population control.¹⁹³ In this way, the consolidation of Centro Internacional was a long process that brought many socio-economic complexities. While there was a significant investment based on the will to expand the city's networks, the implementation was uneven towards the popular sector.¹⁹⁴

This urban transformation threatened popular and traditional sectors, such as the Perseverancia, located in UPZ92-La Macarena. Although not much has changed radically in terms of new constructions or demolitions in the last 20 years, this neighborhood reveals dynamics related to globalization and urban processes such as gentrification (see Image 15).¹⁹⁵ The Perseverancia embodies the resistance process against the coercion that arrived with urban landscape transformation through cultural instrumentalization.¹⁹⁶

Overall, the urban planning of Centro Internacional focused on promoting competitiveness and strategical leadership, residential reactivation for higher strata,¹⁹⁷ economic shift to more administrative, commercial, and service areas, promoting urbanizing neighboring places and international connectivity. For instance, the residential reactivation economy consisted of offering high-income population venues in this area. This change

¹⁹³ María Cecilia Benavides Escobar, "Una mirada a la gentrificación: El caso Bogotá." Master diss., Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2017.

¹⁹⁴ Benavides Escobar, "Una mirada a la gentrificación: El caso Bogotá."

¹⁹⁵ Gentrification: It refers to developing different strategies to recuperate urban areas commodifying the space through development and capital investment. The latter can have positive consequences such as the recovery of heritage places, improvement of mobility, public services and infrastructure, growth of flux of people and capital, and potentiating a very dynamic cultural scene. However, it also might have very problematic consequences, especially for residents: the rise of living and housing costs, change of neighboring dynamics, insecurity, and displacement. As a global urban phenomenon, it affects cultural landscapes and changes the outlook of cities.

¹⁹⁶ Benavides Escobar, "Una mirada a la gentrificación: El caso Bogotá." Cultural instrumentalization is defined as: To use arts and culture infrastructure and services to implement urban plans of development, commodifying the space and benefiting from high land and housing values.

¹⁹⁷ City's stratification: It is a technical instrument used to allocate subsidies and contributions to in-home public services (water, sewerage, cleaning, electricity, and gas). Strata 1 and 2 corresponds to lower-income population subsidized and strata 4, 5 and 6 correspond to medium high-income population.

promoted capital investment in high-profit spaces intended for medium and high-income populations compared to the historic socio-demographic context that belonged to a relatively low-income working-class. In this way, to market pressures, accessibility restrictions arose, and prices became high, global consumption was shocked with local lifestyles, and an instrumentalization of culture and growth of tourism products occurred.¹⁹⁸

The city stratification dynamic tends to agglomerate cultural and creative economy into a tiny part of the city. For instance, Appendix 4 shows by color the housing strata characterization for each block from the area. The map highlights the preponderance of red spots (which correspond to higher strata) while the Perseverancia is characterized as low strata (low-income population). This neighborhood has along persisted in reacting against this urban transformation. However, the graphs are suggestive regarding the market's pressure. The concentration of resources in the North-East part of the city and the high cost of living and housing in these areas, plus the conceptually interiorized idea of a stratified society, account for a very complex socio-economic context that affects urban processes. Centro Internacional articulates the desire for improvement and integration of a nascent city into a global network. At the same time, it also produces global dynamics of exclusion such as gentrification. Moreover, the concentration of resources has produced the indirect displacement of population, popular economic activities and it deepened the differences in the equitable access to the city's goods.

3.3. COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES AND RESISTANCE PRACTICES

3.3.1. SPATIAL CONFIGURATION

The industrial growth parallel to the coffee bonanza at the beginning of the 20th century occurred along with massive migrations to the urban area and a consequent deficit in infrastructure and social services in the city. The latter enhanced neighboring organization and solidarity to fight for the city's rights. Appropriation and production are then fundamental concepts to understand spatial configurations, social organization, and cultural building.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Benavides Escobar, "Una mirada a la gentrificación: El caso Bogotá."

¹⁹⁹ Torres Carrillo, "Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas"; Torres Carrillo, "Identidades barriales y subjetividades colectivas".

From the beginning, the conditions in the neighborhood were precarious due to the lack of public services and governmental support. The fight for public goods resulted from the collective work, conditioning dynamics, and building a sense of belonging. This way, spatial and social organization served as an agglutinating element, and the neighborhood identity consolidated through a territorial ground. For instance, the lack of water was redeemed by the encounter of *lavanderas* (washerwomen) in the Arzobispo river and later in the two piles to collect water (see Photo 12). These encounters shaped the intimate relationships between neighbors and entangled the private and public domain into a unique political sphere where communitarian practices were daily activities. As the housing, the streets were built from cobblestone by the people and only later paved. Children, youth and adults were involved in the configuration of the space, every job and building activities. The Perseverancia got electric light in the 30s, and only at the end of this decade public works of sewerage, aqueduct, road paving, marketplace, among others, began to be completed. For instance, to pave the streets, each owner had to pay his rights, and to do the sewerage, he had to provide the necessary material for his front.²⁰⁰ Relevant places built by the common work are the Church (1934) and the Jorge Nova Park basketball court. To collect the resources, bazaars were organized by the ecclesiastic institution, and every person contributed with material or money. These events were born with the neighborhood and were done for people to gather around a common interest, collaborate, and have fun. A variety of food, amusements, and games were offered, and of course, chicha was present. The neighboring band played popular music, the same as on Sundays, during religious festivities. These bazaars are the predecessors of The Festival as they were the binding point to build the social and urban fabric of the Perseverancia through a community social setting where the encounter happened around enjoyment, traditional food, and beverages. With a class and political identification, this popular neighborhood appropriated the city's rights by their agency and learned how to resist the shortage and deficiencies of their condition by combining work, leisure, and fun. In this way, in a first instance, putting in practice actions and interactions between members of the community, they enhanced an emancipatory force as a basis for their later development and cohesion. Regardless of the hegemonic powers intended to submit their cultural and political expressions, the Perseverancia managed to consolidate an identitarian shape.

²⁰⁰ Luis Carlos Colón Llamas and Germán Mejía Pavony, *Atlas histórico de Bogotá 1884-1954*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional, 2019.

3.3.2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In the early 20th century, The Perseverancia acquired a significant role in the consolidation of the popular field. In 1916 a Colombian workers Manifesto was born and since then, the following strikes in the beer factory, from 1919 to 1928 and in the 30's, were essential to the birth of the Workers Union. The neighborhood's inhabitants not only organized the demand for public services and basic conditions, but they also congregated to ask for better work conditions, a dignified treatment, job stability, fixed salaries, eight hours of working hours, benefits, and services.²⁰¹ In 1932 the Asociación Obrera Barrio Centro Perseverancia (The Perseverancia Workers Association) was born, the longest-standing association in the neighborhood that helped families in case of illness or death. Later, the *gaitanistas* movement enhanced the neighborhood organization and, after the leader's death and the following disarticulation of the movement, numerous groups flourished with the name of associations, based mainly in mutualism and sport. During the 40's, 50's and 60's the neighborhood worked for the improvement of the neighborhood schools and created a Central Committee in charge of the improvements of the zone and the promotion of the sports groups. These associations had a significant durability and were succeeded by the emergence of the Juventud Trabajadora de Colombia (1962), The Working Youth of Colombia, also known as La Jota. This organization with social aims and Christian inspiration, achieved to create over 16 groups of 10 people each, to whom it imparted training and education courses. It enhanced several activities also related to sports and youth that strengthened the already existent foundations of communitarian linkages in the neighborhood.²⁰² At this point it is important to recall that, even though the associations were independent, they channeled their activity through the Juntas de Acción Comunal – JAC (Community Action Boards), that were the epicenter for the organizations to permeate the public institutions and gain access to support. JAC, created in 1958, were the only neighborhood associative form recognized by the authorities and the only link of the residents with the State to achieve their demands.²⁰³ However, their

²⁰¹ Juan Manuel Martínez Fonseca, *Paternalismo y resistencia: los trabajadores de Bavaria; 1889-1930* (Bogotá: Rodríguez Quito Editores, 2007); Catherine Garzón Piedrahita, *La lucha contra las bebidas ancestrales y la campaña a favor de la cerveza en la clase obrera de Bogotá y Medellín 1920-1930*. Monografía para optar por el título de historiadora. Universidad de Antioquia, 2019.

²⁰² Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda*.

²⁰³ Torres Carrillo, "Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas."

institutional shape made them susceptible of patronage and political instrumentalization, having lost their neighborhood attachment and effectiveness still today.

In 1980 the Perseverancia Public Library was founded, which also represented a pivotal organization for the improvement of the neighborhood and the promotion of cultural initiatives. During this decade, around 30 independent and self-managed collectives of different nature existed and enhanced activities such as the decoration of each block for the festivities or Christmas gifts for the children.²⁰⁴ For instance, Gustavo Tavera recalls the “Broom Operation” in the 80’s which consisted in organizing the communal cleanliness of the neighborhood.²⁰⁵ Today, it is still possible to find leaders as Fernando Chaparro enacting this initiative.²⁰⁶

Due to partisan fervor and the politicization that aimed to instrumentalize the social and political capital of the associations, many of the existent groups disintegrated over the next years. Further, the stigmatization of the neighborhood acquired another discursive chase, and the organizations, although public, were linked to secrecy practices and to communist ideological pursuits, sometimes ending with tortures and disappearances of people through the government.²⁰⁷ As the conditions in the neighborhood did not improve, misery increased, as did insecurity and the sale of illegal drugs that deteriorated the neighborhood dynamics, until the point that there was a common saying about “The Perseverancia, the place where you go up the hill by foot and you get out by ambulance”.²⁰⁸ Plus, internal migrations in the country from rural areas to urban centers, particularly to Bogotá, due to the internal conflicts that aggravated in the 80s, led to the configuration of an heterogeneous social fabric in the neighborhood, where uprooted people coming from diverse

²⁰⁴ Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda*.

²⁰⁵ Gustavo Tavera (Merchant and communitarian leader), in discussion with the author, December 2020.

²⁰⁶ During the 80’s, groups such as 30 amigos, Club de los Independientes, La Amistad, El Comve, La Última Garganta, las Unidas (only women), La 33, Club Metaval, Expreso Rojo, Grupo 5, Grupo de los 10, Ahorradores Asociados, Perse Activa, Perse Star, Club Meta, San Lorenzo, Grupo Juvenil de la Iglesia, existed and worked for the common good of the neighborhood (Cruz and Ruiz; Luis Eduardo Ruiz).

²⁰⁷ The narrative of the “Internal Enemy” has been a political tool used by the state since the early 20th century to persecute and demonize the alterity when it does not suit its discourse. For instance, “communist” or “leftwing” has been the extended denigrating concept, still in vogue, to stigmatize. Nowadays, within the National Strike started on April 28, 2021, terms such as “vandals” resonate the former “Cold War script”. This article illuminates much of the conflict’s existence in Colombia from the 20th century that, in the current National Strike, appear as relevant: Hylton, Forrest. “Colombians Don’t Just Want a New Government — They Want an End to Neoliberalism.” In Jacobin magazine. Accessed on May 26th, 2021. Available at:

<https://jacobinmag.com/2021/05/colombia-protests-strike-2021-duque-uribismo-neoliberalism-police?fbclid=IwAR3BVtImuOYqSOy58mZLlebr9nTd5cOl50z89sab77EP3klYWuInfQ1wlr>

²⁰⁸ Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda*.

regions, did not have the same identitarian construction linked to the Perseverancia history.²⁰⁹ The city developed rapidly and although the living conditions were not excellent, the demand of basic public services was not anymore a common battle to gather around. Today, even though certain links prevails within the older generations of *Perseveranciunos* (second generation of the neighborhood founders), the fabric amalgamation has changed significantly. However, the Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos, born under the influence of La Jota and reunited in 1983, managed to launch the first version of The Festival in 1988, and still today it is a reference point for different cultural and social activities.²¹⁰

Following the above, social organizations in the Perseverancia represent a historical and cultural formation that, as stated by Torres Carrillo, are a scenery for sociability, associative experiences, and struggle of great significance to understand the popular sector in the city. This way, this popular neighborhood is a synthesis of the specific way in which its inhabitants, building their habitat, are appropriating, recreating, and contributing to the construction, structure, culture, and urban policies. Throug the historical experience and the common territorial ground, similar living conditions, and networks, multiple subjectivities recreate a collective identity that produces meaning and relates to a sense of belonging.²¹¹ Regarding resistance practices and the popular field, García Canclini's reflection on the hegemonic/subalternity interaction and how the social struggle prevails alive in a bilateral movement of forces is relevant.²¹² The popular field appeared as a substantial entity rooted in identitarian and territorial elements. Thus, identity and territory arouse as intrinsic forces that make a bottom-up agency and the capacity to change power structures from the grassroots possible (see Photo 20). However, the neighboring identity is grounded not only in territorial but mainly symbolical aspects. Lastly, it is significant to mention that these attributes of the collective identity (history, shared experiences, common goals) are not static but are a historical construction. Thus, collective identities must be re-thought and constantly renegotiates between the agents involved.²¹³

²⁰⁹ Gustavo Tavera in discussion with the author, December 2020; Luis Eduardo Ruiz in discussion with the author, December-February, 2020-2021.

²¹⁰ Other associations currently working in the Perseverancia that worth to mention as they represent the generational turn are Perse Obrera, Fundación Amigos Perseverantes, Casa Cultural Barrio La Perseverancia, Grupo de Emprendedores and Granja Mutualitos y Mutualitas.

²¹¹ Torres Carrillo, "Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas," 7.

²¹² García Canclini, "¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de lo popular?"

²¹³ Torres Carrillo, "Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas," 7.

3.3.3. PERFORMATIVE PRACTICES OF RESISTANCE

Interactions of local and global processes, industrialization and capitalism, neoliberalism and globalization, socioeconomic inequality, urban development, and social organization are fundamental for understanding social, political, and cultural actions and resistance practices. The paradoxes of Colombia manifested in its history of violence and lack of full citizenship enjoyment, parallel to its processes of deepening democracy, can help understand The Festival's purpose and emergence in the late '80s and its later development until today. In the late 20th century, Archila insistently repeated, citing Boaventura de Sousa Santos, that "democratizing democracy" was still pending.²¹⁴ However, within this context, during the '70s, the Perseverancia went through a thriving period of theatre representations, social organization, and resistance practices that resulted in the dismantling of significant urban projects promoted by the state.

For instance, the Avenida de Los Cerros project consisted of an urban plan promoted by the Bogotá Town Hall that affected 171 neighborhoods located in the Eastern hills. It was intended to appropriate this land through the massive displacement of the population towards the periphery to build modern multifamily housing and end with "the misery belt", as the area was commonly named.²¹⁵ Hence, in 1973, La Jota and the theatre group of the neighborhood directed by Enrique Vargas²¹⁶ joined forces and created the collective Piedras libres (Free Stones), which toured across the Eastern hills' neighborhoods with the theatre representation *Camarón que se duerme* (Shrimp that falls asleep)²¹⁷. This way, through aesthetic and political actions, the neighborhood constructed an emancipatory battle against the hegemonic power essential to build a cultural identity founded in resistance practices. Social organization was based on a community struggle where citizens, the theater group and La Jota played a significant role. There were committees for the defense of the eastern zone, the neighborhoods were informed about the situation, and the theatre presentations were intertwined with visits to the Mayor's Office to pressure the cancellation of the Avenida de

²¹⁴ Archila, "Los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos al inicio del siglo XXI."

²¹⁵ Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos, *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda*; Luis Eduardo Ruiz in discussion with the author, December-February, 2020-2021.

²¹⁶ Enrique Vargas was the director of the CUT Theatre -Unitarian Central of Workers (1966) and the Eastern neighborhoods (1973) against the Avenida de Los Cerros (Hills Avenue) with the Perseverancia neighbors. His work within the community was essential to build a cultural identity founded in aesthetic actions and resistances practices

²¹⁷ It refers to the Colombian proverb: "The shrimp that falls asleep is swept away by the current." It is used as a warning that if people are not aware, attentive, or alert, they can lose.

Los Cerros project and demonstrate against the evictions. Also, every time there was an eviction, people created a theatrical performance enacting older people, pregnant women, or vulnerable people, highlighting that the place for the representation was the same than the place for political action. This cultural resistance practice aimed to enhance a collective identity and organization, a cohesive mechanism where people of all ages could participate and fight for the common good of the neighborhood. For instance, Luis Ruiz (see Photo 10) remembers the way the theater group managed to express their needs through arts and inoculated a seed for unionism and popular activism. Effusively, he recalls how, throughout this period, the song *La Lora proletaria* (the proletarian parrot) of singer-songwriter Jorge Veloza²¹⁸ was repeatedly sang as a celebration during these gatherings.²¹⁹ He also evokes a suggestive verse of the theatre play *Camarón que se duerme*: The Mayor has already negotiated the Avenue / Believing that our people are almost defeated / Yeah, to the whole system, yeah / You must hit it hard. / That amount of silver will not be paid by Pastrana²²⁰ / But the people that even if they battle / In these things, they do not win.²²¹



Image 15

Fanzine *La Perse no está en venta* (The Perseverancia is not for sale), photo novel about gentrification in the Macarena and the Perseverancia neighborhoods, made in collaboration with the artistic collective Left-Hand Rotation within the framework of LaOtra Contemporary Art Biennial in 2013. Source: Left Hand Rotation: <https://www.lefthandrotation.com/gentrificacion/bogota/index.html>

Photo 20

"Above those from below" refers to a worker ideal. During La Otra Biennial, the collective CALDODECULTIVO + Todo por la Praxis, enhanced the discussion about gentrification and the transformative power of grassroots organizations in the Perseverancia. Source: CALDODECULTIVO: <http://caldodecultivo.com/ARRIBA-LOS-DE-ABAJO>

²¹⁸ Jorge Veloza, *La lora proletaria*, available in YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nTdJniLXVxU>

²¹⁹ Luis Eduardo Ruiz in discussion with the author, December-February, 2020-2021.

²²⁰ Misael Pastrana was President of Colombia during the period 1970-1974.

²²¹ Luis Eduardo Ruiz

3.4. GRASSROOTS ORIGINS OF THE FESTIVAL

In its early years, the Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos (1983) was integrated by over twelve people, within family and friends who were inhabitants of the Perseverancia.²²² They congregated to work for the improvement of the neighborhood, competing in the block decor for Christmas or Easter week, promoting civic culture, and cooperating with other organizations for the demand of a street, a traffic light, or the improvement in the garbage collection service. Their name referred to a Mexican music group and was a belligerent name with a low profile, contrary to others called “The revolutionaries”.²²³

In 1988, the association realized the neighborhood was not inscribed in any historical record and they decided to edit a document where they could tell the history of the Perseverancia. In accordance with Cruz and Ruiz, this interest on collective memory was enhanced by the Colombian context and its process of deepening democracy that resulted in the 91’ Constitution, which proclaimed the country as multi-ethnic and multicultural.²²⁴ They worked empirically as writers, journalists, chronicles, and photographers, and finally, after the refusal of public entities to help, due to private and international support²²⁵, they published the book *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda* (see Image 16). The memory of the neighborhood was essentially composed by its living founders, the reason why the association looked for them and found them in the neighborhood peripheries, usually gathered in secrecy chicherías (although this paper established that chicha was not “prohibited” anymore since 1979) (see Appendix 3).

During these meetings, older and younger generations of *Perseveranciunos* gathered around chicha and remembered the neighborhood history and chicha's persecution. Finally, when the book was launched, the association wanted to tribute the older generation and thank them for telling their stories about the Perseverancia. This way, even though chicha had a liminal existence, the first version of The Festival was inaugurated on October 9, 1988. The Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos, other organizations involved, the support of a private

²²² Half of the organization no longer live in the neighborhood. Some got married, they went to live abroad, or they have died. However, according to Luis Eduardo Ruiz, when he summoned them to a meeting, they came, and some still live in the Perseverancia neighborhood.

²²³ Casually, as Luis Eduardo Ruiz recalls, their logo, if turned around, transform the Viking helmet into a totumo, the recipient to drink chicha (Image 16).

²²⁴ Cruz and Ruiz, 52.

²²⁵ The Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation for Development.

enterprise called Doria, and the lead participation of the traditional *chicheras*, and the neighboring community were protagonist. The event, although very rudimentary, had the bazaar capacities already installed. Some tables were put outdoors, music was played, and chicha was sold and distributed in the public space, enacting the past, and opening a door of possibilities for the future. Most of the *chicheras* that participated, 25 to 30, Luis Ruiz recalls, had only produced and sold chicha underground since 1948.²²⁶ Hence, to participate in this public event to promote and exalt their culinary knowledge of ancestral origins and with popular grounds was a way to appropriate a physical and symbolic place and legitimate their role as inhabitants and active members of society. Also, through its participation, *chicheras* and neighbors not only managed to preserve chicha regardless of its persecution but to recuperate this culinary practice and to re-signify it in the public domain. To this extent, the first version of The Festival is considered an expression of resistance by the Perseverancia neighborhood. Moreover, as stated by Niño:

“The Festival represents the triumph of identity and symbolic resistance above collectivizers claims disguised as civility and health. Through the discourse of The Festival, the neighborhood was related to the Pre-Hispanic origins of the drink. Maybe that is why we see chicha as a living relic and The Festival as an ancient tradition and not as a relatively recent one, which in part shows the transformative power of the inhabitants of Perse and the ability to build heterogeneous, preserving the neighborhood space as a meeting place.”²²⁷

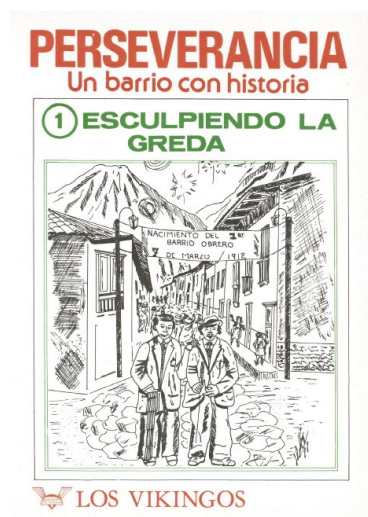


Image 16

Cover of the book *La Perseverancia, un barrio con historia: Esculpiendo la greda* (La Perseverancia, a neighborhood with history: Sculpting the clay) written by the Asociación Comunitaria los Vikingos in 1988.
Source: Personal archive of the author.

²²⁶ Luis Eduardo Ruiz in discussion with the author, December-February, 2020-2021.

²²⁷ Cruz and Ruiz, *La Perseverancia: barrio obrero de Bogotá*. English translation by the author.

3.4.1. CULTURAL POLITICS

At this point, the studies of Escobar et al. on social movements in Latin America and their reflections on culture, politics, and culture politics, appear as relevant. They encourage to understand everyday cultural practices as ground for, and a source of, political practices. Also, to read culture as a dimension of every economic, social, and political institution, that encompasses a collective and incessant process of meaning of production, that shapes social experiences and, in turn, shapes social relationships, values and subjectivities.²²⁸ Their definition of cultural politics refers to a process resulting when different political actors, embedded in different cultural practices and meanings, are in conflict. This definition assumes that these practices and meanings – particularly those theorized as marginals, opponents, minoritarian, residual, emergent, alternative, or dissident, among others, conceived in relation to a hegemonic²²⁹ –cultural order–, might be the source of processes that have to be accepted as political.²³⁰ Following the latter, cultural forces enhanced by grassroots movements, seek to redefine the social power, and propose different places for representation. In this same line, throughout The Festival's foundation, the Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos contributed to enriching social, organizational, and local culture; and they also generated new subjectivities and senses of belonging. In this way, their incidence as political subjects can be subscribed in a social transformation capacity of vital importance. As stated by Torres Carrillo, their principal sphere of action might be social, but they are important political actors since their actions and dynamics expand the meaning of politics and democracy, and they contribute to form critical citizenship.²³¹ Following his reflections on collective identities, organizations such as Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos would not have a political intention to "take power" but rather build power from every social space. The latter, understood as an alternative project of collective articulation, generates new schemes of participation and organization that strengthen the population.²³² The Festival was

²²⁸ Arturo Escobar, Evelina Dagnino and Sonia E. Alvarez, *Política cultural & cultura política: una nueva mirada sobre los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos* (Bogotá: Taurus – ICANH, 2001).

²²⁹ For instance, Canclini, "¿De qué estamos hablando cuando hablamos de lo popular?" 163, defines hegemony different from domination -which is exerts on adversaries and through violence, as a process of political and ideological direction in which a class or sector achieves preferential appropriation of the instances of power in alliance with other classes, admitting spaces where subordinate groups develop independent practices and not always functional for system reproduction.

²³⁰ Escobar et al., *Política cultural & cultura política*.

²³¹ Torres Carrillo, "Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas."

²³² Torres Carrillo, "Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas."

crystalized in an institution that enacts a common story and neighboring identity through collective memory and representation.²³³ However, continuity and perdurability of this event and resistance practice, as mentioned above are not static, can dissolve and lose their binding force. The initial purpose of The Festival has been established. What has been its communitarian significance from the first version in 1988 to today will be the next chapter's subject.

3.5. CONCLUSIONS OF THE CHAPTER

Through this chapter, the intertwined relationship between identity and territory was emphasized. Based on joint work and familiarity of its community members, the foundation of the Perseverancia and its development throughout the years consolidated an identity, based on class, politics, and cultural elements. The peasant origin of the neighbors and the faculties of chicha as a socializer component, relevant both in the private and public domain, found strong roots in the popular field that consolidated in the Perseverancia neighborhood.

The close relationship between urban development, spatial configuration, and collective identities was also highlighted. The strategic location of the Perseverancia converted this zone into a disputed place where different forces had a role to play. Urban planning and modern wills from the governments arouse many socio-economic complexities related to the city's improvement at the expense of the less favored classes. Colonial structures based on exclusion took the shape of urban transformation and cultural instrumentalization, and the development and growth of the city deepened the inequalities.

Appropriation and production are fundamental concepts to understand spatial configurations, social organization, and cultural building. Following the latter, political and social organizations arouse as a relevant aspect for social transformation. Regardless of the hegemonic powers intended to submit their cultural and political expressions, the Perseverancia neighbors found, throughout collective work, aesthetic and political

²³³ Events such as Carnaval Popular por la Vida (Popular Carnival for life) of Britalia neighborhood in Bogotá have similar sediments and results than The Festival. In the mentioned case study, Wilson Torres Puentes, "Territorio y resistencia cultural," *Revista Cambios y Permanencias Grupo de Investigación Historia, Archivística y Redes de Investigación* 9, no. 1 (2018): 766–89, analyses the origins of the neighborhood, the constitution and consolidation of the territory, and the development of this cultural manifestation as a resistance practice. He traces the building of a collective neighborhood identity through the neighborhood community's social struggles and how their way of organizing and their active participation in this event represented defiance of the State's hegemonic power. As a place that enacts a communal will, the Carnival is a political construction that gives meaning to the community. Thus, to this extent, this event echoes deeply The Festival in the Perseverancia.

performative actions, mechanisms for emancipatory practices of resistance. The popular field appeared as a substantial entity rooted in identitarian and territorial elements. Thus, identity and territory arouse as intrinsic forces that make possible a bottom-up agency possible as well as the capacity to change power structures from the grassroots.

Tracing the historical background of the Perseverancia permitted to set the grassroots origins of The Festival. The territorial aspect, summed to the cultural and political identification, the insurgent spirit, and the emancipatory will of the Perseverancia neighbors, drew the perfect landscape for this event to find its place in this neighborhood. The need to write the history from the grassroots and find a place for enunciating the popular field power produced the perfect setting for The Festival to happen. By establishing a common story and a space for representation, the Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos proposed to enact a cultural resistance practice.

CHAPTER 4:**FROM THE GRASSROOTS: FESTIVAL DE LA CHICHA, EL MAÍZ, LA VIDA Y LA DICHA,
BETWEEN ENJOYMENT AND RESISTANCE**

*Si hoy no necesitamos la chicha para los rituales puntuales
de la existencia como nacer, casarse, cosechar, etc., seguro
nos haría bien para soportar el aborto, el divorcio, el
desempleo y tantas otras tragedias hoy comunes frente a
las cuales no hemos encontrado aliciente alguno.*

If today we do not need chicha for the specific rituals of existence
such as being born, marrying, harvesting, etc.; it would surely do us
good to endure abortion, divorce, unemployment, and so many other
tragedies that are common today and to which we do have not found
any incentive yet.

Guillermo Linero Montes
English translation by the author

I would say that more broadly than fermentation, in the context of our
contemporary food system where we're really encouraged to just be
passive consumers and meet our needs at the supermarket, that any
direct involvement in the production of food is
subversive and is radical.

Sandor Katz, *Fermentation as metaphor*



Image 17

From left to right, top to bottom: Compilation of I, VI, IX, X, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII editions of The Festival's posters. Source: Luis Eduardo Ruiz's archive.

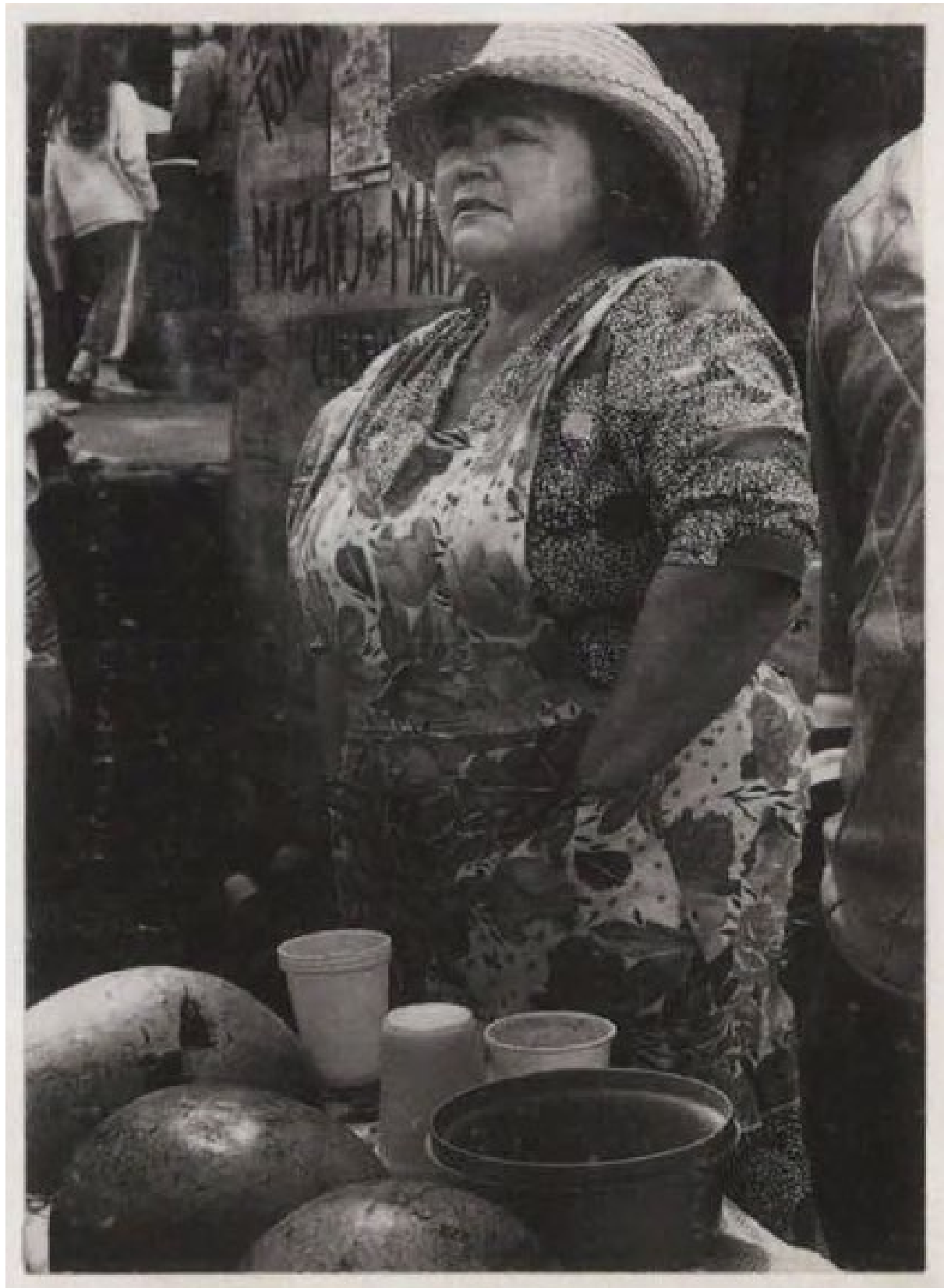


Photo 21

First version of The Festival in the Perseverancia neighborhood in 1988. Chichera in the streets, selling chicha and traditional food.

Source: Torres Mora, Martha Cecilia. *Por la calle 32: historia de un barrio*.

**Photos 22-24**

Third version of The Festival in the Perseverancia neighborhood in 1992. People enjoying in the streets, eating, drinking, and dancing. In the first photo, left and bottom, says: III Festival de la Chicha y el Maíz: In the 500 years of the invasion of America, a tribute to the indigenous.

Source: Campuzano and Llano, *Una bebida fermentada a través de la historia*, 147 and 153.

**Photos 25-26**

Top: II version of The Festival. Source: Alcaldía de Bogotá web page.

Bottom: XIV version of The Festival. Source: <http://bogotasocial.org/localidades-bogota/3-santa-fe/festival-chicha>

**Photos 27-28**

Top: Dance presentation at The Festival.

Source: <http://bogotasocial.org/localidades-bogota/3-santa-fe/festival-chicha>

Bottom: Young people drinking chicha in totumos. Source: Universidad Central web page:
<http://acn.ucentral.co/index.php/cultural/2467-el-festival-de-la-chicha-el-maiz-la-vida-y-la-dicha>

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is intended to shed light on The Festival and its development over the years. The overall objective is to answer how The Festival, a material and symbolic place that enacts the past in the present, renews conflicts and generates a broad new interpretative ground for discussion.

4.2. OVERVIEW OF THE FESTIVAL

4.2.1. PROGRAMMING AND STRUCTURE

The Festival de La Chicha, El Maíz, La Vida y La Dicha²³⁴ had its first version in 1988, and since then, its continuity over the years was difficult to assess. As stated by some interviewees, in the beginning, it was every two years, and later, it started to take place regularly every year. Initially, as the result of a democratic election promoted by the Perseverancia neighbors, The Festival was established to take place on the second weekend of October. Later, according to Agreement No. 121 of June 24, 2004, which declares The Festival as an Asset of Cultural Interest, it should coincide with October 12, “Day of race”, which celebrates the arrival of Cristopher Columbus to the Americas. However, dates have been changed on different occasions. As for the official program, The Festival takes place for two days on the Jorge Nova Park basketball court. Nonetheless, its symbolic and material preparation starts several days before, and it comprises different activities.

The days before:

- 1) Meetings: They take place between the neighborhood leaders, *chicheras*, and organizers to establish participation conditions, arrange the event programming, register, determine prices of the commercialized products, and raffle the exhibition tents in which each participant will exhibit their products.

²³⁴ Throughout the analysis of the material archive, which included the compilation of posters from different versions of The Festival from 1988 until 2019 (Image 17), it was possible to assess the discontinuity in its name. The words Chicha, Maíz (Corn), Vida (Life), and Dicha (Bliss) shape the event arbitrarily over the years. However, Luis Eduardo Ruiz explanation on the transformation of the name, adding layers of meaning, is relevant to mention. According to him, Chicha refers to the ancestral beverage, which is The Festival protagonist. Corn suggests the culinary showcase and the diverse traditional *cundiboyacese* dishes based on maize, a basic food product in the Colombian diet. Life was added as a tribute to Jaime Garzón, iconic pedagogue, journalist, lawyer, political humorist, and leader, a neighbor of the Perseverancia, assassinated in 1999, to recall that life is not respected in Colombia. Finally, Bliss reaffirmed the enjoyment of participating in The Festival.

- 2) Poster competition: it is organized to select the publicity image of The Festival.
- 3) Food handling course taken by the participants *chicheras*.
- 4) Cultural week: It consists of activities aiming to reinforce the significance of corn and produce cultural activities to strengthen links within the community.
- 5) Corn route: Chicha's preparation starts 15 to 20 days before The Festival, when the *chicheras* start producing their handcrafted product with their unique recipes. As part of the production, there is a ritual pilgrimage to Guatavita, a sacred lake to pray and offer their beverage to *Fo*, Muisca's deity, to give thanks to the ancestors and ask for good sales. Forty representatives, one of each participant *chicheras* family is invited to this ritual lead by a Muisca indigenous Chief.

During the two days Festival:

- 1) Artistic proposals: They change every year and consist of concerts, local dances, street theatre, and poetry, among others.
- 2) Food and beverage showcase: *Chicheras* and cooks prepare a feast of different chichas and traditional meals for sale.
- 3) *Chicheras* contest and traditional games
- 4) Other activities: On the inaugural day, The Festival begins with fireworks and a liturgical act at Cristo Obrero's (Jesus Christ The Worker) neighborhood church. Additionally, every year, neighbors organize and develop different traditional activities such as Fire of Fears Burning, the Night of Lanterns and Ancestral dances, Memories and Legends.

4.2.2. PARTICIPANTS AND VISITORS

From its first version, The Festival was founded mainly for the Perseverancia community's enjoyment to perform the neighborhood's chicha productive vocation. However, over the years, it has grown and summoned many people from other neighborhoods, cities, and countries. In its 12th version in 2006, The Festival became an international event. *Chicheras* from other cities and regions were invited to participate.

Initially, the *chicheras* who participated were from the neighborhood. Later, after its institutionalization and execution at the head of the Local Mayor of Santafé, the call extended to Santafé Locality inhabitants.

According to official data, over 6000 people participated, and the number of visitors increases year by year. Additionally, direct temporary jobs are being generated. On average 100 traditional families from the neighborhood are involved in the exhibition and sale of chicha, the gastronomic showcase, and the logistical support. Also, over 400 indirect jobs are being created.²³⁵

4.2.3. GOVERNANCE AND STAKEHOLDERS

At its first version in 1988, The Festival took place due to neighborhood organization and alliances with the private sector. The beginning of the involvement of public entities was not possible to assess. However, from the 6th version of The Festival (date unknown, approximately in 1998), it was possible to establish government participation (see Image 16). As stated by official sources, in general terms, the District entities committed to The Festival have been: The Santa Fé Local Development Fund, the Santa Fé Local Administrative Board, The Institute for Social Economy – IPES, the Secretary of Culture, Recreation and Sports - SCRD, the District Institute of Participation and Community Action –IDPAC, the District Institute of Cultural Heritage –IDPC, the District Institute of Tourism –IDT, among others; who have contributed with resources or administrative management.

²³⁵ Santa Fé Local Town Hall. "Radicado No. *RAD_S* - respuesta al número de radicado. 2021-531-001463-2 Solicitud información "Festival de la Chica" – Trabajo de investigación maestría," January 2, 2020.

4.2.4. THE FESTIVAL ASSESSMENT: ENACTING THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

The Festival serves as a vital place to enact the past in the present in a material and symbolic dimension since chicha, as embodied material culture crossed by a sum of socio-economic, cultural, and political forces, is the main element of celebration. Throughout its exaltation, it recovers its significance in the public domain and evokes its ancestral origin. Moreover, it speaks about its indigenous history and the changes in the society overcome during the colonial and republican periods. Its appearance recalls its cultural appropriation by a newly popular field that developed in tune with modern demands, and its survival, although defamed and persecuted, accounts for a long-standing culinary practice that, against all odds, resisted. *Chicheras*, the main protagonists of the event, emphasize the significance of a traditional practice that, transmitted generation by generation, has remained alive, both in its authentic form and in a myriad of innovative ways that are linked to its origins. Also, although the consumption and production of chicha were displaced from its indigenous ritual origins, the Muisca's cosmogony is embedded in the narrative proposed during the pilgrimage to Guatavita. Lastly, it is significant to remember that the indigenous rituals where chicha was drunk served as a cohesive place, where drunkenness and conviviality were mediums for building the society. During The Festival, chicha acquires a lively character, where eating and drinking are an expression of sociability. Moreover, taking place in the Perseverancia, it acquires a territorial reference linked to senses of belonging and identity and a communitarian habit that appears as a resistance practice of the popular field. In this public geographical space, its expression, during times of enjoyment and leisure, arises as a counter-hegemonic expression of freedom.

Following the reflections of Bennet et al. on festivals, The Festival communicates and transfers shared values, beliefs, and mythologies. It is a potential place for representing, encountering, integrating, and exploring aspects of cultural difference. It represents a crucial point that stimulates community, cultural critique, social progress, and transformation, and it operates as a politicized place of community-building, lifestyle history, and social protest. It permits access to cultural capital, performs identity, and negotiates and builds individual and collective meaning and belonging. Its pivotal duality is its liminality. Its critical function is to let a collective representation and celebration flourish. In sum, it enables to boost a collective

expression of an organized form of sociocultural identity, and it enacts as a cohesive agent that enriches human creativity and strengthens forms of cultural diversity.²³⁶

However, as a medium to re-signify the past in the present, The Festival also renews conflicts and generates a broad new interpretative ground for discussion. This event can be read due to subaltern communities' critical and autonomous processes or as a complex device for institutionalizing hegemonic powers. For instance, as discussed by Carreira, The Festival can be framed under the cultural expression and practice within the so-called "popular culture" (reverberating García Canclini's).²³⁷ In this way, friction and struggles related to popular culture and hegemonic powers (in a postcolonial context) are put in evidence as several obstacles overcome The Festival. Through the qualitative research, it was possible to find topics where divergent voices drew upon a kaleidoscopic view of the event that will be discussed below.

On this point it is relevant to mention that the major challenge for this research was to find enough documentation in texts, posters, photographs, and newspapers of The Festival. It was puzzling to trace its material history, since it is dispersed in different organizations and institutions. Moreover, the deficiencies of the public system, the lack of continuity in the processes, the difficulty of accessing digitized or physical files and official documentation, and the general ignorance of the officials who constantly change position, made it very difficult to assess the social and economic impact from the governmental perspective. For instance, Appendix 5 compiled information from different sources that draw an overall chart of information of The Festival timeline, governance, finance, and stakeholders. The sources of information to trace the history and organizational structure of the event were mainly the interviewees, The Festival posters, and the official reports of the Santafé Local Mayor. Nonetheless, the difficulties to obtain information from the public entity were significant. Information related to The Festival execution before 2013 was unable to be found, since it is not digitalized, and numerous difficulties were faced to access to a physical archive (including Covid-19 crisis restrictions and bureaucratic hurdles).

²³⁶ Andy Bennett, Jodie Taylor, and Ian Woodward, eds. *The Festivalization of Culture* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).

²³⁷ Carreira, "La redención de la chicha en La Perse;" García Canclini, ¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de lo popular?

4.2.4.1. PUBLIC INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The public institutionalization of The Festival appears as the most conflictive point for the interviewees, and the other sources consulted. The participation of governmental institutions enhances and, at the same time, hinders the potentialities of the event.

For instance, Luis Ruiz stated that the satisfactory development of The Festival relies on investments to support its production and logistics. Although the government involvement is a proper means to obtain resources for its development, the main problem lies in the bureaucratization of the event.²³⁸ The entity at the head of The Festival is the Santafé Local Mayor and the resources invested in The Festival are framed into a governmental development plan that must comply with missionary and legal requirements in terms of tenders and contracts. The latter means that The Festival is enclosed by fixed terms that limit its scope and condition the dynamic, not allowing it to adapt to changing circumstances or spontaneous ideas related to the event programming. Thus, as stated by Carreira, The Festival's performance is limited by the institutional device in charge of disseminating and supporting these types of activities. The formalization of the event does neither admit incorporating the values, knowledge, skills, and creative capacities of the community, nor the innovations that occur due to the transformations of the political, social, and economic scenarios, nor the own systematized and accumulated experience of the event.²³⁹ Following the latter, the institution exercises political and economic control over the conditions in which The Festival takes place without considering the Perseverancia own pace and historical needs.²⁴⁰ For instance, initially, the community proposed to create The Festival on a long weekend with a holiday Monday. Even though the official program lasted two days, Monday was an informal extension to sell the remaining products and give more space to other people to present their artistic work.²⁴¹ The Local Mayor's participation not only limited the possibility of this extension, but, because of the delays in the approval of permissions,

²³⁸ Gustavo Tavera in discussion with the author, December 2020; Jairo Camelo (Merchant and communitarian leader), in discussion with the author, December 2020 and Luis Eduardo Ruiz in discussion with the author, December-February, 2020-2021.

²³⁹ Carreira, "La redención de la chicha en La Perse"; Carreira, "Festival de la Chicha"; Romero Basallo, "Bogotá D.C: Destino para la chicha y la dicha; Luis Eduardo Ruiz

²⁴⁰ Carreira, "La redención de la chicha en La Perse"; Carreira, "Festival de la Chicha"; Romero Basallo, "Bogotá D.C: Destino para la chicha y la dicha;" Luis Eduardo Ruiz

²⁴¹ Luis Eduardo Ruiz

contracts, and budget, among others,²⁴² The Festival changed its original date several times to November, or even to the year after. The lack of continuity goes to the event's detriment, which has problems establishing and being acknowledged as a yearly event on a specific date (plus, competing with other cultural events). Another problem highlighted by the interviewees is related to the contracts aimed to coordinate, produce and execute The Festival.²⁴³ Usually, the contracts focus mainly on logistics and are directed to those with technical and managerial capacities to develop these festivals. Nonetheless, this presents several problems: firstly, the focus on logistics displaces the cultural significance of The Festival. The contract is given to the most efficient option (in terms of money and resources capacity), regardless of its acknowledgement of the event. Thus, the organizations in charge must have a great financial muscle irrespective of other significant criteria related to chicha or the Perseverancia community. For grassroots organizations with a popular character, complying with the requirements is very difficult. Moreover, on occasions, the conditions for hiring established by the Local Mayor's office have not only been directed to the development of The Festival, but they encompassed a package of activities with varied purposes and taking place in different places, extending the scope, and making it impossible to participate for the popular organizations.²⁴⁴ Further, there is no prevalence for the Perseverancia neighborhood organizations, which makes the competition even more difficult. Since The Festival is linked to the Santafé Local Mayor, resources, calls, and overall public investment must be balanced through the locality, encompassing over 30 different neighborhoods with different needs and particularities. This way, as stated by Romero Basallo, the institutionalization represents structural limitations of the event since the office aims to achieve operational objectives and to comply with indicators that obliterate the essence embedded in the original purpose of The Festival.²⁴⁵

Regarding the latter, as stated officially, the Santa Fé Local Development Fund, in compliance with the previous mandates, has always contemplated in its Culture, Art and Heritage projects, goals related to the realization of The Festival, for which it has allocated a

²⁴² According to Luis, the postponement is due to two reasons: because the budget did not come out; it cannot be executed because there is no money or because there were not all the permits and requirements of the secretariat that governs (Luis Eduardo Ruiz)

²⁴³ Luis Eduardo Ruiz; Gustavo Tavera.

²⁴⁴ Luis Eduardo Ruiz

²⁴⁵ Romero Basallo, "Bogotá D.C: Destino para la chicha y la dicha."

budget and management for its execution, and compared to other activities of the area, it raises significance as the most representative event in the locality.²⁴⁶ However, according to the neighborhood interviewees, there is very little support from the local and district institutions in planning and executing The Festival. The Local Mayor officer somewhat accepts this statement in relation to the pull of institutions mentioned above (see chapter 4.2.3) and their disconnection and partial support. Nonetheless, regarding their own participation and investment, they stated that The Festival receives over the half of the overall budget for cultural events available to the office. For instance, as shown in Appendix 5, between 2012-2017, The Festival budget was amid 9,000 and 12,000 euros, and in 2014 it rose over 15,000 euros. Moreover, in 2019, over 70,000 euros were destined for eight cultural events of the Santafé locality: The Festival receiving over 26,000 euros, more than a third part of the general budget. In 2021, the general budget was diminished to 62,000 euros to develop six cultural events. Despite that, The Festival will receive the same amount as in 2019, corresponding to almost half of the general budget. This way, even though the number of resources destined for cultural events might be discussed as precarious, the latter denotes a will for bringing financial sustainability to the event as a public policy. Regarding the terms of reference and the criteria established for contracting the logistics enterprises, the argument is mainly one: the structural national legal apparatus and the public hiring terms embedded in Law 80 of 1993, are obliged to demand for certain organizational and financial requirements regardless of the grassroots essence of the event and their internal needs.

As declared by Romero Basallo, the bureaucratization of the event mentioned above leads to a rigid project scheme where activities and decisions do not correspond to the spirit of The Festival and where members of the society lose their leading role, not only in decisions but also in material and symbolic organization, arising questions related to the extent of which the public institutionalization has altered the autonomy of The Festival.²⁴⁷ From a self-managed event that surged from the creativity and will of the Perseverancia neighborhood, and as a cohesive practice of empowerment and vindication of chicha as an ancestral and popular beverage, The Festival became recognized, organized, and promoted in alliance with the local government. Thus, currently, it began to have political, managerial, and participatory

²⁴⁶ Santa Fé Local Town Hall. "Radicado No. *RAD_S* - respuesta al número de radicado. 2021-531-001463-2 Solicitud información "Festival de la Chica" – Trabajo de investigación maestría," January 2, 2020.

²⁴⁷ Romero Basallo, "Bogotá D.C: Destino para la chicha y la dicha."

transformations, where the community participation begun to be limited.²⁴⁸ Regarding this point, is relevant to recall Torres Carrillo studies on popular organization when he states that urban democratization that only contemplates the expansion of spaces for representation of individual citizens, ignoring collective identities, subjectivities and social subjects it is doomed to failure or, at most, it will contribute to the legitimization of the modern political institutions of domination that create a democratic fiction from a controlled use of citizen and community participation.²⁴⁹ For instance, until 2019, the chosen organization to carry out The Festival, established a superficial contact with members of the community and *chicheras* to follow up the execution of the event. For some, such as Gustavo Tavera and Jairo Camelo, the community participation in The Festival is decreasing due to the politization of the event and the lack of decision-making from the Perseverancia inhabitants. For the former, this is also due to the neighborhood demographic transformations and the sense of belonging that is no longer a binding point.²⁵⁰ Besides, most of the traditional neighbors, most of them who gave their testimonies for The Perseverancia book, have died, thus losing relevant presences related to the event. For others, such as Luis Ruiz, The Festival's founder and communitarian leader who has remained active in his role as main consultant, the event has undoubtedly left a mark since there is already a generational transmission and a legacy. For instance, the children from the first *chicheras* are involved and continue participating in this event, almost arriving to the third generational turn. For him, even though there are not many people from the community involved, there is a seed already planted. His hope relies on the youth, their rebel spirit, and their will to identify themselves with their origins.

Following the latter, the interviewees raised two problems related to the community's involvement: firstly, The Festival organization is not properly linked to the Perseverancia community; secondly, the budget invested is not circular and it does not impact the neighborhood economically. Regarding the first point: In 2019, the Local Mayor's Office of Santafé and the Local Administrative Board of Santa Fé adopted the Local Agreement 101 of 2019 through which the Organizing Committee of The Festival is created.²⁵¹ This document establishes that the Perseverancia community must be involved in all instances of the project,

²⁴⁸ Romero Basallo, "Bogotá D.C: Destino para la chicha y la dicha."

²⁴⁹ Torres Carrillo, "Barrios Populares e Identidades Colectivas."

²⁵⁰ Gustavo Tavera; Jairo Camelo.

²⁵¹ Santa Fé Local Town Hall. "Radicado No. *RAD_S* - respuesta al número de radicado. 2021-531-001463-2 Solicitud información "Festival de la Chica" – Trabajo de investigación maestría," January 2, 2020.

encompassing structuration, foundation, and execution of the event. As for the second point: usually, the logistics contracts have not been submitted necessarily to the Perseverancia inhabitants, in detriment of the community investment and economic impact. However, over the years, the neighborhood has tried to reform some terms. For example, in the current year it is planned that, rather than hiring external food enterprises to feed the logistics team, the organization will provide some vouchers that might be spent in the food and beverages showcase of The Festival, encouraging the local consumption and impacting income generation. Other significant changes achieved over the years are the regulation regarding cultural events and alcohol consumption in the public space, and the *chicheras'* organization and involvement in the different production stages of the event.²⁵²

Lastly, it is relevant to mention a relevant paradox embedded in the public institutionalization of The Festival. October 12, the “Day of race”, although is intended to celebrate cultural diversity, has rooted colonial and postcolonial discourses on it. For instance, for Luis Ruiz, it is very problematic to celebrate the Hispanic arrival to the American territory, due to the outrageous genocide that occurred during this period. Hence, it is very ironic to celebrate The Festival, which recalls the Muisca’s inheritance, particularly the same day that the Spaniards arrived at – not discovered –, the American continent²⁵³. Related to this, Photo 22 shows the Third version of The Festival announcement, which is carried out “in the 500 years of the invasion of America as a tribute to the indigenous”. The latter shows how, from its first versions, The Festival clearly stood as a resistance cultural practice willing to enunciate from a different discursive shore.

4.2.4.2. SANITIZATION REQUIREMENTS

The food handling course is a pre-production vital activity to be fulfilled by the *chicheras* participating in The Festival. They must obtain a certificate and comply with the sanitary requirements established in Law 9 of 1979, Decree 3075 of 1997 regarding the preparation of fermented beverages. The use of plastic tools and hygiene products, as well as compliance with biosafety protocols is required. After the food handling course, the Health Secretary visits every *chichera* to take samples of their chicha production, to check if it is in good condition to participate. If they do not comply with the requirements, the chicha is thrown

²⁵² Maribel Torres (traditional cook), in discussion with the author, February, 2021.

²⁵³ Luis Eduardo Ruiz.

(recalling the *resguardo*, during the post 48's period). For some interviewees, the requirement of using certain tools is seen as an imposition that not necessarily benefits chicha production, as in the case of the plastic buckets rather than the mud vessels called *moyas*, which are more effective to the fermentation process and give a different taste to chicha.²⁵⁴ Besides, every time a requirement changes, every *chichera* needs to invest to comply with the new requisites. However, in general terms, *chicheras* do not disagree with the sanitary norms intended to guarantee a good quality. The problem, as stated by Yolanda García, is that the food handling course is not very well accomplished and many participants do not know how to prepare chicha, losing their preparations or lowering the quality during the beverage showcase.²⁵⁵ This point arises two fundamental questions: one the one hand, the public policies capabilities of enhancing or hindering the chicha culinary practice based on discourses of sanitization; and on the other hand, the difficulties of safeguarding the culinary knowledge of chicha, considering the loss of generational transmission.

Regarding the first point, the sanitization discourses, as seen in chapter 2, are a device of power that can be used to legitimize hegemonic forces. Although the present requirements are intended to promote a healthier and better quality of chicha, the assumption of aseptic parameters might be problematic regarding artisanal production of food and beverages. The discussion is not new in the contemporary food system that is directed towards the standardization of processes and products on behalf of productivity.²⁵⁶ Thus, the extent on which the sanitary measures benefit the culinary practice or hinder the socio-cultural construction and historical development of chicha is a conflictive ground of discussion. Photos 21-25 show the first versions of The Festival and the ubiquitous presence of *moyas*, contrary to Photo 26, during the Fourteenth version of the event, where glasses and plastic bottles are prevalent.

Concerning the second point, the lack of proper spaces for socialization and knowledge transmission, appear to put in difficulties to the culinary practice of chicha. As stated by Yolanda García, formerly they were about 60 *chicheras* in the neighborhood, but today they have almost all died. There is a significant second generation of *chicheras*,

²⁵⁴ Ruth Serrano.

²⁵⁵ Yolanda García; Jairo Camelo.

²⁵⁶ Sandor Ellix Katz, *Fermentation as metaphor* (London: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2020).

however, the next generational turn is not guaranteed.²⁵⁷ In this way, the food handling course serves as a technical imposition focused on hygiene but lacks pedagogical insights on chicha as a culinary practice and embodied material culture. Therefore, if sanitation discourses are still forcing chicha into a threat of extinction is a valid question for further research.

4.2.4.3. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPACT

The *chicheras* interviewed agreed in the economic benefit resulting from The Festival, as they generate an alternative income during these days. Allegedly, over 10'000 liters of chicha are sold during this event, and they sell everything that they produce. It is relevant to mention that prices are standardized and previously arranged with the organization. The prime products prices oscillate and thus, the adjustment is necessary to obtain positive revenue.²⁵⁸ For instance, Ana Teresa Torres prepares chicha and traditional meals with her daughters and their husbands. The organization gives her a tent to put up in front of her house, an apron, and an identification. She prepares over 3 buckets of 25 gallons –about 200 bottles of chicha–, which she usually sells completely to account for over 330 euros, compared to her daily sales totaling, on a good day, 8,8 euros. Hence, in one day she gets profits equivalent to over a monthly income.²⁵⁹

Besides the sale of chicha and traditional meals, the neighborhood has a productive dynamization since shops, stores, and businesses also host this event. Regarding economic impact, Luis Ruiz states that

“The heart of The Festival is the *chicheras*, mothers, heads of the family, over 50 women, each with four relatives helping them. That generates a total movement in the neighborhood, the bakery, poultry, everyone sells more, people who benefit in one way or another, the truck driver, the carrier... There is a monetary movement within the sector for the benefit of the sector.”²⁶⁰

A negative impact amplified during The Festival can be described in relation to urban growth, inequality, and access to basic conditions. A common problem mentioned by Yolanda García, and the sisters Maribel and Beatriz Torres is related to the weather conditions and the

²⁵⁷ Yolanda García.

²⁵⁸ Maribel Torres.

²⁵⁹ Ana Teresa Torres. It is relevant to note that the Colombian minimum wage in 2021 is approximate 200 euros.

²⁶⁰ Luis Eduardo Ruiz.

neighborhood steep characteristic. Weather conditions in Bogotá are very unpredictable and follow a rainy trend. The latter represents a major drawback for The Festival since it discourages the participation of visitors due to the public space infrastructure conditions. Moreover, the weather not only affects the proper development of the event but floods most of the residencies of the neighborhood, which happens along the year.²⁶¹ To this respect, there are neither measures taken to guarantee the proper development of The Festival, nor to provide good housing conditions to the neighbors.

Nevertheless, the transformation of The Festival throughout the years can be seen in the publicity, infrastructure, and resources involved. For instance, the stage, professional sound, exhibit tents and public bathrooms have let the scope of the event skyrocket and improved the conditions in which the people participate. Further, firefighters, police, and a full contingency plan guarantee are put in practice for the event's proper development. For instance, for Fredy Díaz (36 years old), the young communitarian leader of Perse Obrera, The Festival serves as a village bazaar where children, young and adults can participate freely. It represents a non-usual moment; a suspense activity focused on chicha, music, and dance. For him, the event symbolizes a place of encounter, as the moment to wear the best garment and gather.²⁶² Additionally, as stated by all the interviewees, the most relevant aspect to highlight regarding the social impact of The Festival is related to the Perseverancia stigmatization and the positive changes of perception over the years. For instance, even though the alternate presence of over two hundred police might be overwhelming, the common perspective is that the latter helps to provide a secure place for everyone.²⁶³ The Perseverancia, long stigmatized for its high levels of criminality –hand in hand with the discourses of power willing to evict its inhabitants on behalf of urban projects –, shaped a brutal image of the neighborhood, especially in the late 20th century. Hence, for Fredy Díaz, The Festival serves as a hospitality catalyst, a place to host the neighbor and the foreigner.²⁶⁴

Regarding the Guatavita pilgrimage, its overall perspective is very positive. The knowledge and emotional connection to the Muisca's cosmogony and history are very superficial and not very acknowledge by the participants, but the ideological narrative serves

²⁶¹ Yolanda García; Maribel Torres.

²⁶² Freddy Díaz (Communitarian Leader, Perse Obrera), in discussion with the author, February, 2021.

²⁶³ Ana Teresa Torres.

²⁶⁴ Fredy Díaz.

as an important place to promote a contemporary ritual towards chicha. For instance, *chicheras* appreciate this activity to gather, learn, and enjoy in a suitable place to recall the linkages with the indigenous past and pray for a good festival. Thus, they are invited to participate in this collective activity, to eat and drink in a moment that provides leisure and conviviality.

In this way, as stated by Carreira, the lively community moments that occur during the Festival are moments of affirmation of a collective identity that the Perseverancia inhabitants use to generate, in the short and medium-term, recognition and social inclusion. According to the author, The Perseverancia's tragic moments or criminal acts usually come into light, leaving festive moments and identity reaffirmation in the shadows. Hence, this way The Festival appears as a statement in the city from marginality, oblivion, and exclusion.²⁶⁵

The change of perspective and destigmatization positively shaped the identity of the Perseverancia and its cultural significance within the city. According to Luis Ruiz, the neighborhood is no longer known as a dangerous place, but as the place where people can go and find chicha, enjoy The Festival, visit its Market Place, which has also gone through an interesting process of revitalization, and to participate in different cultural activities that include ecological hikes, sportive events, and other traditional activities.²⁶⁶ Plus, The Festival arises as a unifying factor that has played an essential role in shaping neighborhood senses of belonging and notions of identity.²⁶⁷ Currently, chicha is associated to the Perseverancia and vice versa. Moreover, although the Chorro the Quevedo, a site in the historic centre, is appointed as a yearly tourist place for chicha consumption, according to Luis, the latter resulted from the long-standing impulse of The Festival since its first version.²⁶⁸

However, even though The Festival has served to promote chicha history and traditional culinary knowledge across the city, two problems were highlighted during the interviews. On the one side, although the event hosts several artists and musicians from the locality, the neighborhood, and the city, according to Gustavo Tavera, the music programming no longer represents the traditions of the Perseverancia.²⁶⁹ In turn, for Jairo Camelo, The Festivals visitors do not necessarily acknowledge the neighborhood traditions related to

²⁶⁵ Carreira, "La redención de la chicha en La Perse."

²⁶⁶ Luis Eduardo Ruiz.

²⁶⁷ Fredy Díaz (2021).

²⁶⁸ Luis Eduardo Ruiz.

²⁶⁹ Gustavo Tavera.

chicha production and consumption, nor the historical linkages. According to him, there is a commodification in The Festival, where the culinary practice is neglected to pursue money.²⁷⁰ The authenticity of chicha is also a problematic topic. For some, such as Ana Teresa Torres, there are people nowadays that does not know how to prepare a proper chicha. The fruit flavors and the chicha produced with other cereals, which are very trendy in The Festival, under her perspective, neither original nor good.²⁷¹ Here, it is significant to emphasize the relevant relationship between authenticity, sense of belonging, and origin stories. For instance, as seen in chapter 2, although chicha corn was the most common beverage during prehispanic times, everyday fermented beverages were prepared with different fruits and cereals. Nonetheless, for traditional chicheras such as Ana Teresa, the traditional chicha prepared at her house and in the neighborhood is made only with corn, with any other additives different from water and melao or honey. Hence, when referring to "origins," it appears to be a social construct shaped by individual subjectivities, thus problematizing the notion of authenticity.

Nevertheless, in general terms, The Festival has the potential for weaving social tissue, establishing, and consolidating solidarity networks, and working in the neighborhood image improvement. For Santiago Pinzón, further than opening the local economy, the event help flourishing the linkages, history, and traditions of the neighborhood. Due to this, people are willing to preserve their knowledge and to share it.²⁷² Beatriz and Maribel Torres mentioned the positive feeling of being in the neighborhood, to see its improvement and to participate in such a well-organized and beautiful event such as The Festival.²⁷³ Ana Teresa Torres recalls the neighborhood opening not only to local visitor but also to many foreigners as something positive since she has had the possibility to interact with different people. Ruth Serrano talks about the kindred and working spirit of the Perseverancia community and their relationship with food. Hence, The Festival is a perfect platform for this.²⁷⁴ To the questions about the future of The Festival and if they were willing to participate, all the interviewees showed interest in its continuity. They all hope that, even though the Covid-19 crisis has not ended, The Festival will find its place in the Perseverancia in October 2021. For Gustavo, Jairo and

²⁷⁰ Jairo Camelo.

²⁷¹ Ana Teresa Torres.

²⁷² Santiago Pinzón (Communitarian Leader, Perse Obrera), in discussion with the author, February, 2021.

²⁷³ Beatriz and Maribel Torres.

²⁷⁴ Ruth Serrano.

Luis, the overall success of The Festival relies on the capabilities of the neighborhood to unite and work jointly. Contrary, the event will disappear, and the neighborhood might as well.²⁷⁵

Luis Ruiz effusively shared his thoughts to this respect:

“[The current panorama] is indirectly showing that if we want this to last, we must be united. If we are separated, if we disperse, indeed one of the things that will disappear before the neighborhood is The Festival... What happens to The Festival is like a thermometer that is saying how much longer we can remain here.”²⁷⁶

4.2.5. THE FESTIVAL AS AN ASSET OF CULTURAL INTEREST

4.2.5.1. NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Ahmad²⁷⁷ and Vecco²⁷⁸ analyzed the evolution of the 20th century's heritage concept to assess how it transformed its semantical meaning and scope over the years. They outlined the significant changes related to broadening the spectrum of its definition to tangible and intangible assets and how this transformation implied that heritage was no longer defined by its material aspect but by its meaning. In turn, this change meant broadening the entities in charge of the delimitation of what heritage should or should not be, democratizing the process, and empowering citizenship. However, either way, “heritage” conceptualization appears as a policymaking tool that has been primarily regulated and executed by directives, charters, and international resolutions intended to define a global framework of the meaning of heritage that is not just limited to a particular national perspective.²⁷⁹

According to the Special Management and Protection Plan Office (PEMP), the first milestone that inaugurated the issue of heritage in Colombia was Law 163 of 1959.²⁸⁰ Later, the country's entry to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO) on October 31, 1947, was followed by the signing of the Convention on World Heritage on May 24, 1983.²⁸¹ Subsequently, according to the compendium of cultural policies

²⁷⁵ Luis Eduardo Ruiz.

²⁷⁶ Luis Eduardo Ruiz.

²⁷⁷ Ahmad, “The Scope and Definitions of Heritage,” 292–300.

²⁷⁸ Marilena Vecco, “A Definition of Cultural Heritage: From the Tangible to the Intangible,” *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11 (2010): 321–24.

²⁷⁹ Vecco, “A Definition of Cultural Heritage: From the Tangible to the Intangible,” 321–24.

²⁸⁰ PEMP (Plan especial de Manejo y Protección). *Documento Técnico De Soporte - Análisis Y Diagnóstico. Estudio Técnico Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial. PEMP – Plan especial de Manejo y Protección. Centro Histórico de Bogotá* (Bogotá: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá/Instituto Distrital De Patrimonio Cultural, 2018).

²⁸¹ UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

of the Ministry of Culture, the legal bases to build upon The Intangible Cultural Heritage Policy main foundation is the 91' Colombian Political Constitution, in which the obligation of the State and individuals to protect the cultural and natural wealth of the nation, and respect and recognition of the ethnic and cultural diversity are treasured is established. Likewise, the 91' Constitution determines the equality of people before the law and the right of all to enjoy the same rights, freedoms, and opportunities without discrimination for sex, race, national or family origin, language, religion, political or philosophical opinion.²⁸² In its article 70, it establishes that culture and its different manifestations “are the foundation of nationality, that the State recognizes the equality and dignity of all those who live in the country and that it will promote research, science, development, and diffusion of the cultural values of the nation.”²⁸³ Later, Law 397 of 1997, or General Law of Culture, included the manifestations of intangible culture as part of the cultural heritage. At its 32nd meeting, held in Paris between September 29 and October 17, 2003, the UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage that was later ratified by Colombia, a State Party to the Convention, through Law 1037 of 2006. Overall, the convention acknowledges “the importance of the intangible cultural heritage as a mainspring of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development”. It recognizes how “the processes of globalization and social transformation” poses “grave threats of deterioration, disappearance, and destruction of the intangible cultural heritage, particularly due to a lack of resources for safeguarding such heritage”.²⁸⁴ In this way, it raises interest in creating a far-reaching multilateral mechanism to be adopted worldwide to preserve this heritage. Subsequently, Law 1185 of 2008 and Decree 2941 of 2009²⁸⁵ were enacted, which modified the General Law of Culture. It proposes the safeguarding, protection, recovery, conservation, sustainability, and dissemination of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, with the purpose that it serves as a testimony of the national cultural identity, both in the present and in the future.²⁸⁶ Moreover, in 2012, several diagnosis

²⁸² Ministry of Culture of Colombia. *Safeguarding Policy of the Intangible Cultural Heritage compendium*; Colombian Political Constitution (Const). “Colombian Political Constitution (Const).

²⁸³ Ministry of Culture of Colombia. *Safeguarding Policy of the Intangible Cultural Heritage compendium*.

²⁸⁴ UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

²⁸⁵ Colombian Political Constitution (Const), “Law 1185,” 2008 and Colombian Political Constitution (Const), “Decree 2941,” 2009. Following the norm (article 8 of Law 1185 of 2008 and Decree 2941 2009), intangible cultural heritage manifestations are understood to be all the practices, uses, representations, expressions, knowledge, techniques, and spaces that communities and groups recognize as an integral part of their identity and collective memory. It is, therefore, a dynamic and complex set of social processes, practices, values , and goods that society recreates enriches, and transmits as part of its identity.

²⁸⁶ Ministry of Culture of Colombia. *Safeguarding Policy of the Intangible Cultural Heritage compendium*.

elements were highlighted²⁸⁷ and the Policy for knowledge, safeguarding, and promoting food and traditional kitchens from Colombia was launched, which acknowledged food (and beverages) as an indelible mark of cultural identity, and traditional food as a complex system that includes history, values, narratives, techniques, creativity, and mainly, references of identity and belonging to a community. Moreover, it mentions the linkage between identity and culinary habits, as culinary practices and food consumption are the principal generators of spaces for socialization. Further, it states that culinary traditions, as heritage, are transmitted from generation to generation as legacy and part of collective memory.²⁸⁸

4.2.5.2. LOCAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

In 1994, the District Tourism Institute recognized The Festival as an element of the city.²⁸⁹ In 2004 the Bogotá Council adopted Agreement No. 121 of June 24, 2004, "Through which The Festival is established as an event of cultural interest in Bogotá D.C." In the declaration it is stated that the District Institute of Culture and Tourism and the Local Mayor Office oversee promoting neighbors' participation and involvement, helping to develop the stages of planning and execution, regulating the public space uses, following up with the certification, production, and commercialization process of chicha and traditional food according to sanitary regulations, and promoting the event.²⁹⁰ Lastly, the Local Mayor's Office of Santa Fé and the Local Administrative Board of Santa Fé adopted the Local Agreement 101 of 2019 "Through which, the Organizing Committee of The Festival of Chicha, la Vida y la Dicha is created." This document establishes that the Perseverancia community must be involved in all instances of the project, encompassing structuration, foundation, and execution of the event since they are the direct beneficiaries of The Festival.

Following the above, characteristics reunited in The Festival such as: 1) Simultaneously traditional, contemporary, and living 2) inclusive, 3) representative, and 4) community-based,

²⁸⁷ The diagnosis elements highlighted were: The ignorance of our traditional culinary heritage; The little appreciation of the culinary traditions of the country and its regions; The non-teaching of culinary traditions, and the interruption of the intergenerational chain that allows its transmission; Culinary heritage at risk; Deterioration and crisis of peasant economies; Environmental deterioration, and little use of food biodiversity; Lack of a system or mechanisms that encourage and promote traditional kitchens; Sanitation measures and formalization of artisan kitchens, even though are necessary, sometimes work to the detriment of culinary traditions.

²⁸⁸ Ministry of Culture of Colombia. *The Policy for the knowledge, safeguarding and promotion of food and traditional cuisines of Colombia*. 2012.

²⁸⁹ Romero Basallo, "Bogotá D.C: Destino para la chicha y la dicha."

²⁹⁰ Council of Bogotá. "Agreement No. 121 of June 24, 2004," 2004.

imply that, under the governmental institutional framework, the social, symbolic, and cultural value of The Festival is related to intangible heritage discourses and hence its promotion and safeguarding is imperative.

4.2.5.3. DISPUTED HERITAGE

At this point, questions about the heritage framework potentialities of enhancing or hindering the socio-cultural building of the event arise. Considering The Festival's legitimization within the rhetoric of heritage, the discussion about this concept and scope and the Council of Bogotá declaratory²⁹¹ implications appear as relevant. For instance, as appointed by an analysis and diagnosis document by PEMP²⁹², while discourses on heritage put in evidence that there is a broad international, national and district legal framework on what it is, how it can be valued, and what its safeguard mechanisms should be, the later only respond to the demands of the public administration. The analysis states that intangible cultural heritage in Bogotá and in the country has been densely regulated. Nonetheless, it has not generally been the subject of academic reflection or community mobilization as a counterpoint to what is stated in official documents. The document also states that intangible cultural heritage as a concept, even though it is directed to people's cultural expressions, is a social construct resulting from institutional and normative interests. Hence, even though the public policy and regulations have achieved to an autonomous and bureaucratized logic through definitions, lists, and financial mechanisms, throughout, they have not been able to promote a collective reflection about acknowledging heritage and its implications. This way, those who are not kin with the heritage and institutional rhetoric, are marginalized from these processes. However, the document reflects on the symbolic value, territorial inscription, and capabilities of enacting the past in the present embedded in heritage as a playground for dispute related to the meanings that are built over The Festival. It asserts in noting the problems associated with institutional interventions, pointing out that declarations can make patrimonial scenarios more complex, leading to the transition from a "disabled memory to a manipulated memory."

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At this point, Graham's statement about the relationship between heritage and the

²⁹¹ Council of Bogotá. "Agreement No. 121 of June 24, 2004," 2004.

²⁹² PEMP (Plan especial de Manejo y Protección). *Documento Técnico De Soporte*.

²⁹³ PEMP (Plan especial de Manejo y Protección). *Documento Técnico De Soporte*.

knowledge city, where there is a “powerful tension between the economic exploitation of an urban heritage and its social and political uses”,²⁹⁴ featuring heritage as a “contested subject,” with a dissonant definition and scope²⁹⁵ echoes The Festival. Graham’s thoughts resonate regarding the delicate balance between instrumentalization and sustainability. For instance, since its internationalization in 2006, it is elusive how this event, deeply rooted in its place and context, gain, or misses genuineness in favor of tourism and city branding. The question about inclusion arises. Within a power structure, this capitalization of culture, which is embedded in a setting with dynamics of poverty, stigmatization, and exclusion, benefits whom? The author highlights the paradoxes existent in enhancing places, tourism, sustainability, inclusion, and sense of belonging; while simultaneously, these places can be altered, and people excluded and dispossessed of their authenticity.²⁹⁶

In general terms, although the interviewees acknowledge The Festival recognition as an Asset of Cultural Interest as a positive aspect that sheds lights over the Perseverancia cultural expressions, they do not reflect much on heritage as a concept, nor they have it integrated in their common vocabulary. Besides, the extent in which the Council of Bogotá declaratory impacts the government involvement, the mechanism for financing or promoting are not known by them. This arises the need, as Giblin’ states, of “broadening our understanding of what heritage can be, space is created for alternative conceptions that are not defined by society’s most dominant groups but instead may include a diverse range of contemporary values as expert power is decentered and heritage is democratized”.²⁹⁷ On this point, the common aspect shared by the authors discussed in the theoretical framework is that civil society and communities should be considered as fundamental stakeholders of heritage, not only about its management and promotion but primarily in its definition. Thus, the need for different theoretical and methodological frameworks to understand and implement heritage discourses and practices emerges as necessary. Overall, the lexical field studied by the authors studied is very suggestive in this respect: new heritage paradigm, new emerging globalized heritage discourse, entanglement, from below, localization, pluralization, decentered power, democratization, and bottom-up. The authors mentioned agreed on the

²⁹⁴ Brian Graham, “Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?” *Urban Studies* 39, no. 5–6 (May 2002): 1003–17.

²⁹⁵ Graham, “Heritage as Knowledge”.

²⁹⁶ Graham, “Heritage as Knowledge”.

²⁹⁷ Giblin, “Critical Approaches to Post-Colonial (Post-Conflict) Heritage,” 317.

need to think on a people-centered methodology to empower the people regarding heritage rhetoric and evaluation. Considering the extent of this thesis, it is only possible to propose a suggestive title for further research: From the grassroots: a new theoretical framework of analysis for popular heritage discourses.

4.2.6. CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

The Festival assessment was done through a fourfold perspective: firstly, assessing the impact of public institutionalization; secondly, focusing on contemporary sanitization discourses; thirdly, balancing economic, social, and cultural impact and lastly, tracing the public policy institutional framework in which The Festival is embedded, discussing the disputed notion of heritage to which it is subject.

The public institutionalization and the sanitization discourses promoted by the government highlighted a conflictive arena where colonial and postcolonial relations are at play. As it was described in previous chapters, narratives of power disguised in regulations and strict parameters, might be intended to control popular expressions, and hinder their development. In this way, the historic and socio-cultural dimension of chicha and the Perseverancia neighborhood should not be obliterated when approaching an event such as The Festival. There are technicalities and logistics matters, but underneath the legal apparatus supported by the government, the discourses need to be dismantled. In this way, the only positive development of The Festival appears to be framed under the dialectical relationship between the community and the government. At a slow pace, the community has managed to win some places previously lost, and to change reference terms in the general scheme of the Festival, to improve its involvement. However, even though the general perception of the event is positive, throughout the years, along with transformations in the city and the complexities of the country national context, the bureaucratization and politization of the event have discouraged some of the older participants and do not necessarily promotes the identitarian binding of the new generations. The neighboring spirit is fragmented and the views on some aspects of the event diverge. Lastly, the patrimonialization of The Festival and its framework showed the difficulties when assessing intangible cultural heritage, regardless of the great number of regulations existing. The public policy remains elusive when questioning about to whom it is directed and who it benefits. In the same line, heritage definition and scope remain difficult to assess. The legal apparatus to support its

identification, promotion and safeguarding sheds lights on the pathway to comply with this aim. However, the mechanism to implement appear as insufficient. Moreover, the unfixed terrain of cultural practices, such as The Festival, permanently in conflict, add more layers of complexity to this matter.

CHAPTER 5: FINAL CONCLUSION

The axes of identity (through chicha), territory (through the Perseverancia neighborhood), and the entangled relationship between identity and territory that arises through The Festival, permitted to lay the foundations for answering the main research question: What was the initial purpose of The Festival de la Chicha, El Maíz, la Vida y la Dicha of the Perseverancia neighborhood, and what has been its communitarian significance from the first version in 1988 to today?

Chapter by chapter, the idea of chicha as “embodied material culture” and its place within a struggle between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces was set. On the one side, it was possible to describe how different discourses have played an essential role in building a particular way of producing and consuming the beverage throughout times, from the Prehispanic period until today. On the other side, the intertwined relationship between identitarian and territorial aspects was emphasized. It was possible to assess how the Perseverancia consolidated an identity, based on class, politics, and cultural practices related to the popular field. In this way, the neighborhood aroused as a territory in dispute where colonial structures based on exclusion took the shape of urban transformation and cultural instrumentalization, while the collective work, aesthetic, and political performative actions, emerged as mechanisms for emancipatory practices of resistance.

In this dialectical context, The Festival was born. Its purpose appears to be linked to a desire of re-legitimizing the culinary practice of chicha previously defamed by the colonial institutionalized power. It results from the perseverance of the community, that, echoing their neighborhood name, was able to govern its own popular forces, values, and cultural practices, regardless of the oppressive apparatus that stigmatized and persecute it. Overall, the original objective of The Festival was directed towards these goals:

- Legitimate chicha as a culinary practice
- Resignify the work of *chicheras*
- Value the productive role of women within society
- Amplify the voice of the marginalized: enhance a public space for identity and collective expression
- Enunciating from another shore: proposing a different narrative, not only of chicha as a culinary practice but also of the conquest and the colonial process
- Set-up The Festival as a platform for enjoyment and resistance.

Nonetheless, from 1988 until 2019, the event has had different transformations. First, it started as a self-managed initiative, and later, it integrated other assets and institutions into its organization. The latter, embedded into a pervasive Colombian context, defined new paths for the event. For instance, initially framed in the 91' Colombian Constitution, it was then supported by the peak of liberalization practices in the country and currently it is endangered by the neoliberal crisis. In this way, changes in the community, mainly due to demographic changes in the neighborhood, related to death of old generations and internal national migrations; and the public institutionalization of The Festival, along with the socio-economic, political, and cultural transformations in the country, have influenced its development. For instance, the public institutionalization of The Festival has a pendular tendency, with both positive and negative results. On the one side, the bureaucratization, and its promotion of decontextualized hygiene regulations, the politization and the top-down approach on heritage, disconnected from civil needs and lacking proper mechanism for implementation of public policies, have hindered The Festival. On the other side, the monetary and logistic investment, the institutional scope in cultural promotion and the crescent interest in safeguarding intangible heritage within public policies, have enhanced its development. Today, the objectives of The Festival might be summed as follows:

- Promotion and knowledge transmission of chicha as a culinary practice
- Value the productive role of women within society
- Enhance the local economy involving children, youth, and adults
- Destigmatize the neighborhood
- Build upon a sense of belonging and identity of the Perseverancia community
- Consolidate The Festival as a cultural platform.

In general terms, The Festival promotion and realization seem to affect the local development of the neighborhood positively. However, there is a reservation about the present of The Festival. Difficulties and challenges that might change its future are related to the capabilities to safeguard the knowledge of chicha preparation; to not disassociate the culinary practice from the identity senses linked to the territory; to be aware of the event commodification at the service of the government, to not lose the community involvement and to improve the Perseverancia inhabitant's participation even more.

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- Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango (Library): Newspaper Library, Photographic file.
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- Concejo de Bogotá (Council of Bogotá): laws and decrees
- Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos: private collection
- Santafé Town Hall: contracts and official documentation

Digital source collection

- Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia (National Library): Digital Library – 20th century newspaper collection
- University of Glasgow, Universitat de Barcelona, Erasmus University of Rotterdam, and Universidad Nacional de Colombia digital databases
- Academia, Jstor, Research gate, Routledge, Scielo databases

- The Basic Library of Traditional Kitchens of Colombia

Media and journals

Year	Date	Journal	Name of the article
1899	Mar-11	El Heraldo	
1907	Sep-29		
1909	Oct-01		
1913	Dec-29	El Tiempo	Contra el alcoholismo
1914	Jun-15		Una campaña salvadora los peligros de la chicha
1916	May-01		Contra el alcoholismo
1920	Oct-04		El mal de la raza
1920	Mar-05	El Tiempo	
1922	Jul-03	El Espectador	El cierre de las cantinas
1922	Julio 4	El Tiempo	Lucha antialcohólica
1922	Julio 11	El Tiempo	La gobernación de cundinamarca y la lucha antialcohólica
1922	Jul-14	El Tiempo	Contra el alcoholismo
1922	Jul-02	El Tiempo	
1923	May-31		La lucha contra la chicha
1923	Aug-25	El Nuevo Tiempo	Agitaciones populares / La cerveza pola de barril
1923	Aug-28	El Nuevo Tiempo	El problema de la chicha, la manifestación obrera de ayer al Gobernador del Depart
1923	Aug-23	El Tiempo	
1923	Aug-24	El Tiempo	Continúa el conflicto de la chicha / Los graves desórdenes de anoche / Ataques a las
1923	Nov-30		La lucha contra la chicha
1928	Nov-10		Lucha antialcohólica
1931	Aug-05		La lucha de la policía contra los expendios clandestinos de chicha
1936	May-15		Campaña contra la chicha
1937	May-17		Ideas de un salvaje
1948	Apr-13	El Espectador	
1952	Dec-29		Bejarano comentarios médicos
1985	May	El Espectador	
1985	January	El Espectador	
1988	Feb-21	El Tiempo	Cuando mandaba la chicha
1996	Aug-19	El Tiempo	Costosos servicios
2004	October	Horas	
2006	Jun-24	Revista Semana	La Chicha
2008	Apr-25	El Tiempo	La guerra contra la chicha. Una de las bebidas más autóctonas fue objeto de una per
2016	Dec-07	El Tiempo	Guardianes del maíz recibirán homenaje en Chía
2018	Oct-13	El Tiempo	La chicha: un licor indígena que también disfrutaban los 'millennials'
2018	Apr-08	El Tiempo	Así fue el asesinato de Gaitán, el magnicidio que cambió a Colombia
2018	Jan-03	El Tiempo	Bogotá le apuesta a la renovación de las plazas de mercado
2018	Jun-05	El Tiempo	Un plato: Chichería Demente
2018	May-04	El Tiempo	El museo de la chicha está en el corazón de Bogotá
2018	Aug-30	El Espectador	La chicha y la kombucha, más que una moda fermentada
2018	Nov-12	El Espectador	Así se celebraron los 30 años del festival de la chicha la vida y la chicha en Bogotá
2018	Nov-10	El Espectador	Este fin de semana será de la chicha en Bogotá
2018	Sep-08	El Espectador	La historia del barrio bogotano que se negó a serlo
2018	Aug-30	El Espectador	La chicha y la kombucha, más que una moda fermentada
2018	Oct-13	El Tiempo	La chicha: un licor indígena que también disfrutaban los 'millennials'
2019	Apr-09	El Tiempo	Así pasó la chicha de ser un 'veneno embrutecedor' a bebida turística
2019	Oct-01	El Tiempo	La renta del aguardiente: de estanco colonial a monopolio republicano
2019	Aug-06	El Tiempo	Chicha, ajíaco y ruana con más de 200 años
2019	Nov-08	El Espectador	Festival de la Chicha se realizará en el barrio La Perseverancia, en el centro de Bogotá
2020	May-14	El Tiempo	Los relatos de cuando en Bogotá los incendios se apagaban con chicha
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APPENDIX 1 - INTERVIEWS SUMMARY

Interviewees (11)

Luis Eduardo Ruíz	Member of the Asociación Comunitaria Los Vikingos
Yolanda García	Chichera (women who sell chicha) and cook
Ana Teresa Torres de Forero	Chichera and cook
Ruth Serrano hija "Míster Lilia"	Chichera and cook
Lilia "Míster Lilia" Ramírez	Chichera and cook
Beatriz Torres	Chichera
Maribel Torres	Traditional cook
Jairo Camelo	Communitarian leader, merchant
Gustavo Tavera	Communitarian leader, merchant
Freddy Díaz	Communitarian leader
Hernando González Atuesta	State official (Local Mayor of Santafé)

Guide topics

- Chicha's knowledge and transmission
- Chicha's significance
- Chicha's preparation
- Chicha and food
- Chicha's prohibition and aftermaths
- La Perseverancia history
- The Festival's participation
- The Festival's significance (social, cultural and economic value)
- The Festival's organization
- The Festival's sanitization regulations
- The Festival's ritual in Guatavita
- The Festival's and chicha's today

Pull of questions

1. Presentation

Can you please tell me your name and tell me what you currently do?

2. Chicha

What does chicha mean to you?

What has been its development in the neighborhood?

Why do you drink so much chicha in this neighborhood?

What is its history?

Why do you think she is persecuted, banned, stigmatized?

How did the alternative existence of chicha develop after '48?

How do you relate chicha to ancestral roots?

What are your thoughts about the relationship between chicha / beer?

What role has chicha played in the construction of your identity / in that of the neighborhood?

What are the rituals performed related to chicha production and consumption?

3. The Perseverancia neighborhood

What is the history of the neighborhood?

What is the neighborhood's relationship with politics?

What do you remember about the Bogotazo? What was the Perseverazo?

How is it organized? How do neighborhood links work? Who lives here?

How do you perceive the conditions in this neighborhood?

How would you define the identity of the neighborhood?

What does "popular" mean to you? And "resistance"?

4. The Festival

Why did the festival originate? How was its first version?

How has it been financed historically?

What does it consist of? What are your activities?

What does this space mean to you?

Since what year did local entities begin to get involved in its development and what does their support consist of? Who operates the festival? Who decides the programming and execution? Why and by whom is it declared as an Asset of Cultural Interest? What are the implications of this statement?

How has the community been involved in the festival over the years?

How has the festival developed in the last 15 years?

What do you think about the participation of agents who are not from the neighborhood?

How do you relate to The Festival in terms of identity, memory, and ritual?

What does the festival mean to you?

5. Recipe

Can you please share your chicha recipe with me?

6. Material

You have photos, videos, graphic material of the neighborhood and The Festival that you can show me?

APPENDIX 2 - TRADITIONAL CHICHA RECIPE

“For example, if you will prepare chicha, nobody else can put their hands on it... Only the person who oversees it... Since this person is in a good mood...”

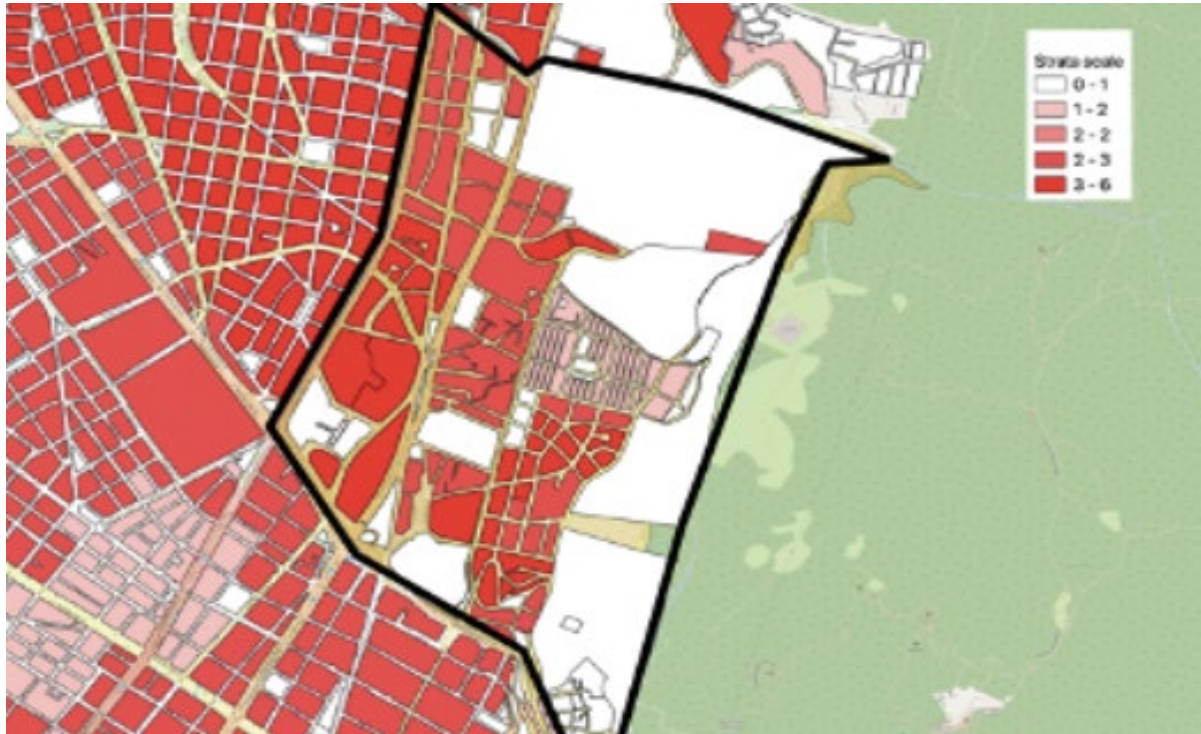
“That was what she (referring to Lilia) taught me. Yes, of course, it remains the same (referring to the preparation) because I saw her, and because I helped her to prepare it, I learnt how to prepare it. At one time we would mill the corn, we bought the porva corn and we pour into these moyas or into the bucket. Then, you would add melao to the broken corn. Hence, it was left there, and it is covered for 10, 15 days... Of course, the moyas conserve, but quickly... You put a cover on it, because otherwise there are mosquitoes; mosquitoes start revolting because it *enfuerta* and this (referring to the moya) makes it to enfuertar faster. I realized the latter and it was when I asked my mother why she did not prepare the chicha in the moyos, why she struggled, and she bought the buckets, and I thought it made any sense... But there were the people from sanitization who were inspecting and everything, and they said it was unhygienic, that the moyas brought larvae, among other things. I didn't say anything... So, I stuck with the idea and said, I am going to do it there, and I washed them, poured boiling water on them, and I took the corn and putted it in there, and in 8 days it was already fermented. Then, the content is taken and removed from there, and milled again to make it look like a dough. Before the dough was milled but today it is easier in the blender, it is liquefied and then it is strained, that's what the cedazo (sieves) was for, *cedazos* were used to sift it. Then the water was already boiled and poured into it... and a mazamorra is done (referring to a porridge). Then you go back and put that in there (referring to moyos), when it has boiled... it continues to enfuertar and to thicken, it thickens by itself, then you stir and stir every day and you look at it and you stir it, when it starts with its *ojitos*, or bubbling, then you can pass it to the bucket, because I already tried it and chicha was good, just like that. And you add some herbs that I cannot tell you because they are secret ingredients. This is for the people to do not get gastric looseness. And when chicha is already *enfuertada*, you taste it, and it is already good, it gets very thick, then you pour it into the bucket and then you continue to boil water, you let it cool, and you add water every time it continues to thicken, then you pour the melao that is required, because you are adding water then it loses its taste, then you have to pour water, to stir, and to look at it. Then, in 15 to 25 days it is ready... There are other people that use yeast to make bread, and then at the 4th or 5th chicha is *enfuertada*, but this is very bad, that is the reason why the people blows and that is where the ease come from, because they throw that into it”²⁹⁸

²⁹⁸ Ruth Serrano (traditional chichera and cook), in discussion with the author, February, 2021.

APPENDIX 3 – LAWS AND REGULATIONS

Period	Año	(Desired) Impact	Over	Regulation	By	Results	Reference
COLONIAL PERIOD	1576	Moralizing discourse (catholicism vs. paganism)	Festivities		Bishopric of Bogotá, Fray Luis de Zapata	Overall not very successful, but there were results regarding the power structure of indigenous and the chief status	Saldarriaga, 2012, p. 126, 213
	1582	Moralizing discourse (catholicism vs. paganism)	Indigenous drunkenness		Spaniards Ordor Guillén Chagano (Royal Auditor's judge)	ineffective	Saldarriaga, 2012, p. 127
	1591	Punishment	Festivities, drunkenness, paganism		Court bailiffs and the jail mayor	ineffective	Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 32 (article)
	1628	Prohibition Penalty fine / Punishment	chicha's production and consumption		Royal Audience, President Donato Pérez Montenegro de Lara	ineffective	Azate Echavarré, 2006, p. 170
	1650	Taxes Regulation	chicherías		Council of Santafé	ineffective	Azate Echavarré, 2006, p. 170
	1658			Autos (Spanish Crown regulation)	Royal Audience, President Donato Pérez Montenegro de Lara	ineffective	Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 37 Bogotá, 1990, p. 32-33 B-Tiempo, https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1339336
	1675	Reduction in the number of chicherías Taxes	chicherías chicha	Autos (Spanish Crown regulation) Cédula of January 26, 1675 (Spanish Crown regulation) Favorable (taxes)	President Ordóñez (Royal Auditor's judge)	ineffective	Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 33 (article) Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 37-39
	1687, 1697	Excommunication	Indigenous drunkenness chicha production	Edict	Archbishop Ignacio de Urbina	ineffective	Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 32 (article)
	1690	Penalty fine / punishment	People who drink chicha			ineffective	Azate Echavarré, 2006, p. 170
	1693	chicha		Edict	Archbishop Ignacio de Urbina	ineffective	B-Tiempo, https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1339336
	1717	Reduction in the number of chicherías Spatial segregation Licenses	chicherías chicha	Auto Cédula del 26 de enero 1675 Favorable (taxes) and prohibiciones (taxes)	Royal Audience Council of Santafé	ineffective	Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 33 (article) Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 37-39 Azate Echavarré, 2006, p. 171
	1747, 1767			Real Cédula	Archbishop Pedro Rello de Abia	ineffective	Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 60-61 B-Tiempo, https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1339336
	1752	Regulation	chicha's production and consumption	Real Cédula	King Fernando VI	ineffective	Azate Echavarré, 2006, p. 171
	1765	Regulation	chicherías		Moreno y Escandón	ineffective	Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 60-61
	1776-1782	Spatial segregation	chicherías		Vicrey Pérez	ineffective	Azate Echavarré, 2006, p. 171
	1785	Regulation	drunkenness chicherías		Ordinary Mayors of Santafé	ineffective	Azate Echavarré, 2006, p. 172
	1788	Regulation	chicherías	Auto	Eustaquio Galavís	ineffective	Bogotá, 1990, p. 27
	1792		Indigenous drunkenness		Comogdor de Pápa Fernando Pavón Osorio	ineffective	Bogotá, 1990, p. 25 Azate Echavarré, 2006, p. 172 <i>Revista del Art. del Novicio</i> , Bogotá, No. 15-16, mayo-junio, 1937, p. 38 Auto de Burgo de Amor y Borbon (1803-1810), Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Sección de Urbanismo y Construcción, Fondo Manuscritos, Bna 854, p. 22, ff. 135-136.
	1803-1810	Regulation	chicherías	Auto	Amor y Borbon		Martínez Carreño, 1982, 79 Bogotá, 1990, p. 27
REPUBLICAN PERIOD	1820	Regulation Spatial segregation (public vs. private) Penalty	chicherías		President Simón Bolívar Colombian Republic		Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 119
	1827	Spatial segregation	chicherías		President Simón Bolívar Colombian Republic		Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 119
	1877			Agreement 22 of 1877	Municipal Council of Bogotá		Meinero, 2019
	1882	Spatial segregation	chicherías	Agreement 9 of 1882	Eduardo Rodríguez Páez council Municipal Council of Bogotá	Antibuliant	Meinero, 2019, 17
	1891-1898	Media censorship Censorship over chicha	chicha chicherías		Media		Meinero, 2019, p.9
	around 1900	Spatial segregation Anti-alcoholic fight	chicherías		Town Hall of Bogotá		Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 120
	1911	Replacement	chicha	Municipal Registry, No. 1058, 1911	Ministry of Sanitation, at the head of Jorge Biquirano		Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 120-143
	1912	Spatial segregation Hygienic discourse	chicherías	Municipal Registry, editions 5, 8 and 9, 1912	Ministry of Sanitation, at the head of Jorge Biquirano		Meinero, 2019, p.20
	1916	Taxes Regulation Spatial segregation Hygienic discourse Anti-alcoholic fight	chicha's preparation and consumption chicherías	Agreement 14 of 1916 Agreement 30 of 1916	Municipal Council of Bogotá, at the head of Eduardo Rodríguez Páez council		Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 123-124-141-43 Meinero, 2019, p. 30
	1917	Regulation		Agreement 29 of 1916	Municipal Council of Bogotá		Meinero, 2019
	1919	Taxes	Chicherías	Ordinance 30 of 1919 Agreement 60 of 1919	Municipal Council of Bogotá		Meinero, 2019, p. 46
	1922	Taxes Spatial segregation Prohibition	Chicherías	Agreement 11 of 1922 Agreement 27 of 1922 Agreement 61 of 1922	Municipal Council of Bogotá		Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 121-141 B-Tiempo 2 de julio, 1922 B-Tiempo 14 de julio, 1922 Meinero, 2019, p. 45
	1923	Taxes Spatial segregation (public vs. private) Anti-alcoholic fight	Chicherías	Ordinance 14 of 1923 Law 12 of 1923 Law 88 of 1923	Municipal Council of Bogotá Assembly of Cardinals Colombian Republic	Significant space reduction Chicha's drink, social turbulence	Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 128 B-Tiempo, Central de Alcoholicos, año, p.138 Meinero, 2019, p. 36-37
	1925	Taxes Spatial segregation	Chicherías	Agreement 11 of 1925 Law 34 of 1925	Municipal Council of Bogotá Colombian Republic		Meinero, 2019, p. 30
	1927	Spatial segregation	Chicherías	Agreement 18 of 1927	Municipal Council of Bogotá		Meinero, 2019, p. 37
	1928	Regulation Spatial segregation	Chicha's production Chicherías	Agreement 42 of 1928 Law 88 of 1928	Municipal Council of Bogotá		Meinero, 2019, p.59-60
	1929	Taxes Spatial segregation Anti-alcoholic fight	chicherías	Law 88 of 1928	Colombian Republic	Strenuous prohibition	Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 143
	1930	Sanctions Anti-alcoholic fight	chicha's production and consumption	Law 47 of 1928	Colombian Republic	Permittees / Strenuous prohibition The legal presence of chicherías was considerably restricted, being relegated practically to peripheral areas of the city, where, its tax burden was very high for the meager earnings of the workers.	Meinero, 2019, p. 63
	1944	Regulation Spatial segregation	chicha's production and consumption Chicherías	Agreement 21 of 1944	Municipal Council of Bogotá	Strenuous prohibition	Meinero, 2019, p. 65
	1947	Regulation Spatial segregation	chicha's production and consumption Chicherías	Agreement 52 of 1947 Law 88 of 1928	Municipal Council of Bogotá Colombian Republic	Strenuous prohibition	Meinero, 2019, p. 65
	1948	Regulation, prohibition Spatial segregation	chicha and other fermented beverages coming from sugar cane, corn, rice, oats and any cereal and fruit.	Law 34 of 1948 Decree 1238 of 1948, from Law 34 of 1948 Decree 1239 of 1948, from Law 34 of 1948 Decree 1586, from Law 34 of 1948 Decree 4236 of 1948, from Law 34 of 1948	Ministry of Sanitation, at the head of Jorge Biquirano Colombian Republic	Very successful System of chicha persecution and prosecution Bribery	Bogotá, 1990 Camposano-Chamorro and Lino Restrepo, 1994, p. 141-144 Meinero, 2019, 66-68-71 2019 Derecho de periodon
	1948	Regulation		Law 163 of 1939	Colombian Republic		2019 Derecho de periodon
	1979	Regulation, derogation	chicha's production	Law 9 of 1979	Colombian Republic	Partially successful (There is not fully awareness of this policy change even though it represents a turning point from 2046)	2019 Derecho de periodon
	1991	Regulation	Multiculturalism, diversity, indigenous culture	91 Constitution	Colombian Republic		1991 Colombian Constitution
	1993	Regulation	chicha's production	Law 80 of 1993	Colombian Republic		1991 Colombian Constitution
	1997	Regulation	Intangible heritage	Law 397, or Law General de Cultura (General law of culture) of 1997	Colombian Republic		1991 Colombian Constitution
	2001	Policy instrument	Intangible heritage	Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage	UNESCO		UNESCO
	2004	Asset of Cultural Interest declaratory	The Festival De La Chicha, La Vida Y La Chicha	Agreement 121 of 2004	Council of Bogotá		1991 Colombian Constitution
	2006	Regulation	Intangible heritage	Law 1037 of 2006	Colombian Republic		1991 Colombian Constitution
	2008	Regulation	chicha's production	Law 1195 of 2008	Colombian Republic		1991 Colombian Constitution
	2009	Regulation	chicha's production	Decree 2946 of 2009	Colombian Republic		1991 Colombian Constitution
	2012	Regulation	chicha's production	Decree 1086 of 2012 (articles 417, 418 and 449 of the Law 94 of 1979) The Policy for the knowledge, safeguarding and promotion of food and traditional cuisines of Colombia	Colombian Republic, Ministry of Culture		1991 Colombian Constitution

APPENDIX 4 – HOUSING STRATA



Stratification un UP92-La Macarena.

Source: Elaborated by the author from data taken of District Open Data Platform
(<https://www.datos.gov.co/>)

APPENDIX 5 – INFORMATION OF THE FESTIVAL TIMELINE, GOVERNANCE, FINANCE, AND STAKEHOLDERS

Event	Period	Year	Date	Public institution number	Initiative	Value	Place	Initiator	Initiative / Project	Description	Notes
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2000	March 10		Política Económica: Desarrollo comunitario		Provincia surco	Redes de la Chibcha - Chiriquí	Asociación Comunitaria del Vichig en Cuenca de la Chibcha - Chiriquí	Vichig en Cuenca y en la provincia de la Chibcha, Mito y el Mito	F1. Mito y el Mito
		2001									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2001	March 11								
		2002									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2003	March 12								
		2004									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2005	March 13								
		2006									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2007	March 14								
		2008									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2009	March 15								
		2010									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2011	March 16								
		2012									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2013	March 17								
		2014									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2015	March 18								
		2016									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2017	March 19								
		2018									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2019	March 20								
		2020									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2021	March 21								
		2022									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2023	March 22								
		2024									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2025	March 23								
		2026									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2027	March 24								
		2028									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2029	March 25								
		2030									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2031	March 26								
		2032									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2033	March 27								
		2034									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2035	March 28								
		2036									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2037	March 29								
		2038									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2039	March 30								
		2040									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2041	March 31								
		2042									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2043	March 32								
		2044									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2045	March 33								
		2046									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2047	March 34								
		2048									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2049	March 35								
		2050									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2051	March 36								
		2052									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2053	March 37								
		2054									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2055	March 38								
		2056									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2057	March 39								
		2058									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2059	March 40								
		2060									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2061	March 41								
		2062									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2063	March 42								
		2064									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2065	March 43								
		2066									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2067	March 44								
		2068									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2069	March 45								
		2070									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2071	March 46								
		2072									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2073	March 47								
		2074									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2075	March 48								
		2076									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2077	March 49								
		2078									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2079	March 50								
		2080									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2081	March 51								
		2082									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2083	March 52								
		2084									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2085	March 53								
		2086									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2087	March 54								
		2088									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2089	March 55								
		2090									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2091	March 56								
		2092									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2093	March 57								
		2094									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2095	March 58								
		2096									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2097	March 59								
		2098									
Festival de la Chibcha y el Mito		2099	March 60								
		2100									