Article

"The Heroin of the Culinary Crowd". Mobilization of Meanings and Construction of Representations in Getsemaní (Cartagena de Indias, Colombia) at Bizarre Foods

JULIO MORALES-FONSECA[1]

0000-0001-9861-6564

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, España

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to interpret an episode of the television series "Bizarre Foods Americas" that took place in the Getsemaní neighborhood (Cartagena, Colombia). This interpretation involves describing the virtual space and assembling the semiotic repertoires explored there. Through this analysis, the representations created about this neighborhood are explained. The interpretation and explanation of the data take into account how spatial repertoires shape and are shaped by the spaces, considering historical and social contexts as well as the role of digital technologies. The results reveal a romanticized construction of Getsemaní that legitimizes colonialist discourses and gentrification processes.

Keywords: global south; local identities; gentrification; semiotic repertoires; colonialist discourses; local communities.

[1] Julio Armando Morales Fonseca – julio.morales@estudiante.uam.es

Resumen: *"The Heroin of the Culinary Crowd". Movilización de Significados y Construcción de Representaciones en Getsemaní (Cartagena de Indias, Colombia) en Bizarre Foods*

El objetivo de este artículo es interpretar un episodio de la serie de televisión «Bizarre Foods Americas» que tuvo lugar en el barrio de Getsemaní (Cartagena, Colombia). Esta interpretación implica describir el espacio virtual y ensamblar los repertorios semióticos allí explorados. A través de este análisis, se explican las representaciones creadas sobre este barrio. La interpretación y explicación de los datos tiene en cuenta cómo los repertorios espaciales conforman y son conformados por los espacios, considerando los contextos históricos y sociales, así como el papel de las tecnologías digitales. Los resultados revelan una construcción romantizada de Getsemaní que legitima los discursos colonialistas y los procesos de gentrificación.

Palabras clave: sur global; identidades locales; gentrificación; repertorios semióticos; discursos colonialistas; comunidades locales.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to interpret an episode of the television series "Bizarre Foods Americas" that took place in the Getsemaní neighborhood (Cartagena de Indias, Colombia). This interpretation involves describing the virtual space and assembling the various semiotic repertoires explored there, which allow us to explain the representations created about this neighborhood. My research questions are: How are the spatial resources and other semiotics perceived by the video's spokespersons, and how do they shape their communicative practices? And what representations of Getsemaní originate from this semiotic assemblage?

As inferred from the program's title "Bizarre Foods. Colombia: Jungle, Rats & Reptiles", the theme apparently revolves around bizarre foods in connection with the dynamism of communicative interactions that occur in a specific exotic place, in this case, the Getsemaní neighborhood. However, it emphasizes how the interplay between language, space, and other semiotic resources can come together to lead to the re-signification of a place. Hence, the use of the term "apparently" mentioned

earlier, as it is not the straightforward presentation of what is eaten in a certain place, but rather how that place is perceived and transformed through semiotic resources.

Getsemaní is a geographical, historical, and social space that shapes meanings, but at the same time, these meanings are shaped by actors, both those who inhabit or experience it permanently and those who perceive it "from the outside." The particularity in this study is that this space, first, is recontextualized in a video, meaning it is digitally recreated. Second, it is viewed from my perspective or standpoint as an occasional visitor and as an anthropologist, which allows me to "challenge" that digital production. Thus, the idea of semiotic assemblages becomes more complex because the video assembles various semiotic resources that create meanings associated with space: voices, actors, gestures, emotions, products, music, and the structure of the video itself as a multimodal text. All this in a place marked by its spatial location: a city located on the shores of the Caribbean Sea, plagued by poverty and racism, among other social problems and its historical past.

The current state of research on space, language, and assemblages is related, on one hand, to studies carried out from the perspective of multilingualism as a central theme in linguistic landscape studies (i.e., Gorter, Cenoz, and Van der Worp, 2022). On the other hand, it connects with various studies on metrolingualism and spatial repertories conducted in city markets (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014; Pennycook, 2014). My study shares with these the interest in examining the relationships between spaces and linguistic resources. However, my approach also takes into account other resources, including the privileged position of the participants in connection with a site of historical significance. Finally, a research topic closely related to this investigation is the one conducted by Tagg and Lyons (2021), but the difference with my study lies in that these authors are interested in a private digital space. Therefore, the contribution of my research lies in the fact that semiotic resources are managed in a virtual space, experienced by non-native actors, and referring to another space with unique geographical and socio-historical characteristics.

The theoretical foundation of my research takes into account my background as an anthropologist, drawing on some concepts from sociolinguistics to understand how various semiotic repertoires enable the interpretation of the creation of meanings

and/or representations of the social practices of a specific group in a specific space. Semiotic repertoires are:

> Complexes of resources people actually possess and deploy (...) Multilingualism, (...) [is] (...) a complex of specific semiotic resources" (Blommaert, 2010, p.102). These resources can be linguistic, visual, auditory, spatial, etc. In addition to language, one of these resources - spaces as repertoires - can be crucial in explaining their interaction with communicative practices: "social and cultural phenomena are situated, (...) to understand those means that we have to understand their situated-ness. (Blommaert, 2013, p.38)

In addition to this, my *locus of enunciation* as a local researcher from Cartagena allows me firsthand reflexivity about the unequal epistemological impositions from the Global North to the Global South. According to Diniz de Figuereido & Martinez, "Unmasking one's own locus of enunciation (and/or that of others) thus means being conscious of and explicit about the geographical, historical, bodily, and ideological context from which one is speaking" (2019, p.2). With this, I aim to generate situated knowledge of the issue. I agree with Diniz de Figuereido & Martinez when they assert that considering our locus of enunciation is important because it allows researchers to "present their theories not as global, all-encompassing knowledges, but as situated on local histories and epistemologies" (2019, p.4).

Thus, throughout the analysis, the presented data has the "advantage" of being correlated with my own field experience. This creates a reflective link in the sense that the researcher is capable of constructing (not just describing) the researched social reality alongside the investigation, thus becoming another social actor in the situation. These exchanges of social knowledge construction are expressed when I make assertions, comparisons, clarifications, or other analyses that refer to my own experience as a resident of Cartagena. Therefore, both the protagonists of the video and the researcher share the task of constructing and defining when describing the situation that occurred. Regarding this, Rosana Guber states:

> Admitting the reflexivity of the social world has various effects on social research. Firstly, the researcher's accounts are intentional communications that describe features of a situation, but these communications are not "mere"

> descriptions; rather, they produce the very situations they describe. (2001, p.18)

So, on one hand, space is seen as a social construct shaped by historical, geographical, and social elements. On the other hand, spatial repertoires function as linguistic resources derived from everyday usage linked to specific places (Canagarajah 2018; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014). This conceptual inclusion of spatial repertoires alongside historical and social aspects will be important to explain how the various semiotic resources mobilized in the video at hand shape and are shaped by the spaces. This inclusion also takes into account that digital technologies "have ceased to be a novel or disruptive influence but are instead experienced as an inherent part of being human (...) repertoires are structured and organized around the intersections between language and media choices, understanding online interactions within the context of their physical settings, as well as participants personal histories and language ideologies" (Tagg and Lyons 2021, p.248).

Methodology

The data for this article is the video "Bizarre Foods. Colombia: Jungle, Rats & Reptiles"[2], (42:30 mins.), focusing only on the sub-section that occurred in the Getsemaní neighborhood, which takes place between minutes 16:25 and 19:52. I have selected only the section related to Getsemaní because, first, as a researcher, I interpret that in this program, a place has been reconfigured through various semiotic resources. Second, I have ethnographic knowledge of this place due to my frequent visits as a resident of Cartagena. This allows me to understand the linguistic and spatial repertoires involved in the video, as well as to have practiced the most common multimodal resources and semiotic repertoires in that context. This first-hand knowledge is crucial because, as Canagarajah states, "semiotic repertoires have to be situated in communicative activities to understand the way they gain variable and unequal indexicality" (2021, p.208).

[2] Episode available at https://shorturl.at/5sSwk. *Bizarre Foods Americas* all rights reserved.

For data analysis, I employed audiovisual and virtual ethnography. Concerning the former, it is a method of analysis framed within audiovisual anthropology and defined by El Guindi as "the interaction between anthropological knowledge, ethnographic fieldwork, and audiovisual media" (2005, p.69, as cited in Grau, 2012, p.168). I turned to audiovisual anthropology because, as Grau (2012) suggests, it's imperative to "leverage pre-existing audiovisual texts as potential documents for research" (p.164).

On the other hand, virtual ethnography, which maintains the theoretical and methodological foundations of traditional ethnography, which focuses on describing and interpreting the social relationships that construct the social reality of a community or human group, allows for the interpretation of social relationships that occur in virtual spaces or digital media, such as videos, video games, online communities, etc. (Domínguez et al., 2007). In this way, research can be conducted in physically distant locations from the researcher or recorded over time (audio, video, etc.).

For the purpose of describing and interpreting the video, I have adapted the analytical phases proposed by Pauwels (2012) to uncover the potential meanings conveyed by multimodal resources in constructing representations on the web. The model proposed by Pauwels includes: Preservation of first impressions and reactions; Inventory of salient features and topics; In-depth analysis of content and stylistic features; analysis of the point of view and implied audiences; and an analysis of how information is organized, as well as a contextual analysis. This model is proposed for websites; therefore, its adaptation for this research involves focusing only on the phases of inventory of salient features and topics and in-depth analysis of content and stylistic (semiotic) features. Understanding this last aspect as the moments that were considered most significant by the researcher in relation to multilingual uses, the visibility of spatial repertoires, unequal epistemological impositions, the visibility of glocal languages, and the representations made of the local population to the program's audience were selected.

Before delving into the results of my research, I will provide the context of the study, beginning with the phenomenon of street foods and their portrayal in the program "Bizarre Foods". Next, a brief historical overview of Getsemaní.

Street Foods and the Recontextualization of "The Others"

In the current globalized context, street food is increasingly emerging as a significant aspect of a city's identity. For instance, in New York, enjoying a hot dog in Central Park or along the paths bordering the Hudson River is a ritual that visitors must experience. In Lisbon and other Portuguese cities, it's common to find the aroma of roasting chestnuts on street corners where the popular "castanhas assadas" are sold. In many Asian cities, a single street stall can attract hundreds of diners who savor their food without concern for the perceived drawbacks or inconveniences associated with such establishments: dining outdoors, standing, without a table or utensils, amidst a bustling crowd, and so forth. In Spain, in some squares and parks, especially in touristic cities, young people are supplied with beer by street vendors popularly known as "pakis" or "lateros" passing by during their typical outdoor meetings (known as "botellones") to gather and drink.

In the case of Colombia, the phenomenon of street stalls has established its own market based on informality, aimed at a clientele that seeks to satisfy hunger quickly and cheaply; one of these markets is made up of the street food stalls located in the Plaza de la Trinidad in the Getsemaní neighborhood, in Cartagena de Indias. Unlike food trucks, which must have all the health and food sales permits as a regular restaurant would do, the stalls in the Plaza de la Trinidad are characterized by a total or partial lack of adequate operating permits. This places them in the field of labor informality which, in turn, extracts them from the superstructure of tax payments and state control.

This type of events related to street food has given rise to a media phenomenon such the American TV series *Bizarre Foods Americas*, which records the visits of American chef Andrew Zimmern to different culinary contexts around the world. The chef focuses on the local traditional cuisines of the places he visits that are popularly perceived as disgusting, exotic or strange. One of these episodes took place in the city of Cartagena and its surroundings, including the Plaza de la Trinidad located in the Getsemaní neighborhood, which is the focus of this article.

Bizarre Foods has been the subject of previous studies, for example, Kelly (2014) identifies these chefs as culinary adventure characters whose representational and rhetorical dynamics contribute to "enhancing the privilege of whites". The author

points out that Zimmern, for example, by eating all kinds of foods considered exotic, blunts the "white identity crisis" by assimilating the exotic as part of the white's privileged repertoire. In turn, consuming the radically different culinary repertoire of Otherness contributes to exalting the "fame of the West in terms of tolerance and cultural appreciation, which transcends the inequality of global powers and validates the superiority of Western democratic values" (Kelly, 2014, p.4). Finally, Kelly says, Bizarre Foods reinforces the differences between "Us and Others"; allowing the "others" to exist as long as they please the western palate. On the other hand, Téwodros (2019) analyzes episodes of Bizarre Foods in Africa and concludes about their ways of establishing otherness: (1) mediated by the exotic as a stereotype in their cultural expressions and eating habits; (2) presented through the spectacle of poverty, so these food customs have no cultural value since they only serve daily sustenance; and (3) otherness is mediated by primitivism, in contrast to Western modernism.

What is observed in these and other studies is that Zimmern's gaze constitutes, in fact, a recontextualization of the "sought reality" or of the "sought" social practices: in the first gaze, (that of the chef), a "psychological relationship of power, in which the observer is superior to the object he observes" took place (Schroeder 1998, p.208). But, also, in that gaze and in that of the video analyst "What is observed (…) is related to the identity of the person who looks and the observed object" (Schroeder 1998, p.208).

The Plaza de la Trinidad and the Neighborhood of Getsemaní

It was in the Plaza de la Santísima Trinidad where, in mid-1810, the organization and popular uprising known in history as the Movement of the Getsemaní Lancers took place, which supported the creole insurrection against the royal government of Cartagena de Indias. This insurrection would lay the foundations for the subsequent Declaration of Independence of Cartagena from the Spanish Empire in November 1811 and would ultimately contribute to the independence of Colombia (Melo and Langebaek, 1986). Therefore, the historical significance of the Getsemaní neighborhood, especially the Plaza de la Trinidad, makes it an emblematic place in the social history of Cartagena and country. It is no coincidence that Bizarre Foods selected this square for its episode.

The emplacement of the Getsemaní neighborhood, where the square is located, like the rest of the old colonial city of Cartagena, occurred in the old territory occupied by the Calamarí cacique, a senior leader of the indigenous society of Caribe origin who inhabited the region (Anglería, 1944; Dussan, 1954; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1955, 1986; Pineda 1988). The Church of the Trinidad was erected on this site at the express request to the king, from the bishop of the time. However, the incipient reason may respond to a Spanish colonial strategy of political and symbolic domination over the autochthonous population, by establishing their own temples in places densely populated by ancient indigenous societies. In fact, the Getsemaní neighborhood was conceived as a suburb from colonial times. Located on the outskirts of the walled city, it was the place inhabited by enslaved blacks and indigenous people (Lemaitre 1983; Melo and Langebaek, 1986). The place, geographically speaking, was made up of a small island contiguous to the walled city, home of the Spanish colonist population.

From the republican era, Getsemaní continued to be considered a "peripheric" neighborhood, falling into lethargy and state oblivion. While the inauguration of the city's public market (erected in the bay of Arsenal Street in 1904) boosted its economy and strategic importance, it was not entirely beneficial to this sector. This fact brought some disadvantages, such as lack of hygiene in the surrounding streets, unhealthy urban agglomerations, smuggling, and prostitution, among others. These elements continued to impact social life and the collective consciousness of the city's inhabitants, even after the transfer of the Public Market to its current location (in the Bazurto sector) at the end of the 1970s.

After that, the importance of Getsemaní went downhill. This decline is reflected in the fact that its image inside the city became pejorative and marginal, standing out for being a kind of "tolerance zone", with drug selling and prostitution activities from the 1980s up to the early 2000s.

However, from the mid-2000s and in accordance with the great neoliberal economic opening of the rest of the country, Getsemaní experienced a new apogee and transformation inside its economic life, mostly due to tourism. However, the native essence of the neighborhood together with its economic accessibility attracted the local people of Cartagena who were excluded from the public and commercial spaces of the walled city. These elements allowed Getsemaní to attract a diverse but

specialized tourism, generally young and exemplified in the so-called "backpackers" (Posso, 2013).

Currently, the place is emerging as a model of a "modern", "cool", "bohemian" neighborhood based on sustainable tourism (Forbes Staff, 2020). However, these latest and accelerated transformations are driving the neighborhood to undergo an unprecedented gentrification process, like that suffered by the Historical Center of Cartagena during the 1990s (Agencia Efe, 2020; Redacción Arcadia Bogotá, 2013; Barragán, 2017).

On the other hand, and concerning the linguistic context of Getsemaní, before scientific studies on the Spanish language spoken in Colombia began, there were biased descriptions like the following, referring to the Spanish spoken in Cartagena and its surroundings:

> In these localities, as probably throughout the Caribbean coast of the country, people speak loudly, quite loudly compared to those from Bogotá, and very quickly as well. Partly because of this speed, many uneducated speakers often 'swallow' some consonants and modify others in a very noticeable way. Speech, even among educated individuals, is usually very nasal. The common people, in particular, seem to speak through their noses and articulate with great relaxation and obscurity. The accent constantly shifts in many expressions. The intonation has special turns. (Flórez, 1958, p.195)

It's noteworthy that this is the "impression" that still persists among many non-native speakers of the Atlantic coast.

In contrast, scientific studies on Colombian Spanish show that multilingualism is a prominent feature in the area of linguistic diversity. The dominant language is Spanish, but other languages such as Romani, creole languages like Palenquero and Creole, and various indigenous languages also appear (Trillos, 2020). Along the Caribbean coast of the country, where Cartagena and the Getsemaní neighborhood are located, Spanish predominates along with some subdialects originating from phonetic variations (such as the aspiration of the -s phoneme), forms of address where the use of "tú" predominates, and lexical differences. Sociolectal phenomena resulting from migrations of foreigners and nationals are also present.

Semiotic Landscape Context in Getsemaní

In the Getsemaní neighborhood, in particular, a gentrification phenomenon is occurring, leading to the development of multilingual discourses. This serves as a clear example of how spaces are influenced by and influence language and other semiotic resources. Strategic multilingualism refers to the way people modify, present or reconfigure language in their local contexts, using their linguistic repertoire, based on linguistic hierarchies, to achieve their tasks (Pietikäinen, 2018). That is, the way in which people take advantage of their multilingual skills and knowledge (whatever their level) to make communication with other potential actors more effectively. In this way, it is possible to provide resources and capital that might not be accessible through the use of traditional local language. Strategic multilingualism implies the "temporary inclusion of some languages and exclusion of others, as well as the establishment of clear limits that promise the redistribution of authority and resources" (Pietikäinen, 2018, p.188). This inclusion of languages is not only limited to semantic resources, but also to autochthonous identity elements, such as symbols or representations. In our case, most of the street food stalls in the Plaza de la Trinidad have some decoration related to Cartagena or the Colombian Caribbean: Cartagena's walls, palm trees, coconuts, or national symbols of the Caribbean region such as the Sombrero vueltiao[3]. Those symbols fulfill a double function: 1) they are recognized by foreign tourists who seek to claim the idea of consuming and visiting an "exotic" and autochthonous place and 2) they perpetuate and (re)present notions of exoticity that make up representation from Cartagena and the country.

In the same way, the names of the meals, the neighboring restaurants and the way the premises present these elements, respond to the intention of addressing a foreign audience, as they are fully or partially translated into English. Thus, for example, the menu of the stationary sale visited by the chef announces their names as follows: "patacón con todo (patacón with everything), hamburguesa doble carne (double meat hamburger), perro salvaje (wild dog), choriperro (choriperro), perro sencillo (simple dog)." In Cartagena it is customary to call the hot dog simply "dog"; probably

[3] Artisan manufactured hat with Zenú indigenous people's roots that in recent years has become a cultural identity icon of Colombia.

the vendors assume that the same happens in English, so the hot dog is simply called "dog". In another case, the Choriperro has no literal translation, so it keeps its name in Spanish; in the same way, the word "patacón" does not have a translation in Google translator, for example, so the dish is partially translated. In these cases, those names given to edibles are the result of an inter-relationship between everyday jobs, linguistic resources and the social space; it is about, then, "local language practices in relation to space and activity" (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014, p.62).

Targeting tourists to attract them is part of the seasonal multilingualism strategy. Pietikäinen points out that "seasonal multilingualism sites are characterized by economic and mobility changes (…) where new language requirements are necessary to cover the new tourist flows" (2018, p.186). Likewise, socioeconomic changes, mobility and new contemporary economic structures open up new social values that require not only developing multilingual skills but also market skills for native languages, which become indices of authenticity and differentiation (Pietikäinen, 2018). Thus, some places around the Plaza de la Trinidad adopt "autochthonous" or local slang names as a method to print originality, authenticity and distinction to their businesses. For example, Coroncoro Restaurant, Malagana Bar, Cabildo Gastromar, Maria Palenque, El Bololó: Caribbean bowls, Gelatería Ceiba, among others. In all these names, there are elements related to the local context: Coroncoro is a very popular type of fish in the Colombian Caribbean. It is also the name of a famous folk song in the same region; Malagana is a municipality south of Cartagena with a predominantly Afro-Colombian population. Similar to San Basilio de Palenque, maroon black slaves founded Malagana during colonial times; Cabildo is the administrative organization used by the Spanish during the colonial era to rule the indigenous peoples and territories under their control; Palenque refers to San Basilio de Palenque, a village south of Cartagena founded as a "palenque" by maroon slaves during colonial times. It is known as the first free population in colonial America and was declared a cultural and intangible heritage of humanity in 2005; Bololó is an expression in Cartagena slang that denotes a chaotic or disorganized situation; and Ceiba is a common tree in the Colombian Caribbean with sacred connotations for pre-Hispanic cultures.

In the Plaza de la Trinidad, dish names from street vendors are "recontextualized" so that they respond to the interests of the local people: their names are adapted to the

language and, especially, to the local idioms and slang. This responds to what Menezes de Sousa (2019) pointed out as "Localized Globalisms," which are local recontextualizations of elements originating in global hegemonic transnationality. It also happens with the restaurants around the square, where the meals and cocktails are named after a mixture of global and local hegemonic elements (Caribbean Martini, Cartagena's rum and coke, "Mula enamorada" and "Mula brincona" (based on Vodka), pizza "tablua[4]", among others). The preparation is done almost strictly with local ingredients, which distinguishes the foods as more indigenous, and what in turn could be considered as an additional element to the construction of these localized globalisms. This can be seen as a form of language.

Results: Process of Repertoire Assemblage in Getsemaní

Next, I describe the chef's encounter with Getsemaní, how he interacted with that space, and illustrate it with images taken from the video.

Venturing into Getsemaní: Semiotic Resources of the Participants

Figure 1: Andrew Zimmern and the "guide" Mr. Nelson Rainbow through the streets of Getsemaní.[5]

The two main participants in the video are Andrew Zimmern and Nelson Rainbow (Figure 1). The first is an American citizen, the protagonist of the program Bizarre Foods America, while Rainbow is a British resident in Cartagena. Perhaps it is for this

[4] A word from the local Cartagena slang that denotes something big or immense.

[5] All the figures are screenshots taken from the episode available at https://shorturl.at/5sSwk. Bizarre Foods Americas all rights reserved.

reason that he serves as the interpreter for all the semiotic assemblages that occur. In addition to these semiotic repertoires, we also notice others such as physical appearance: the chef is dressed as a tourist with a short-sleeved shirt, shorts, and sneakers. His appearance (a white, burly man), his shaved head, and especially his communication exclusively in English convey to those who see him that he is a foreigner, causing others to gather around him. Rainbow, on the other hand, prefers long pants, as if to convey that he is a local[6]. Other resources include freely walking in the evening without fear through crowded alleyways, with the chef stopping curiously at places that catch his attention and eating street food. With Rainbow, laughter is frequent in response to seemingly bizarre situations that the chef encounters.

Let's now look at how these and other resources, along with linguistic ones, come together to shape the space in which the Getsemaní episode unfolds in the video.

Spatial Semiotic Repertories. Getsemaní: "Upstart Little Brother" from Cartagena Historic Center

Figure 2: Plaza de la Trinidad during Chefs visit.

[6] Some residents of Cartagena view it negatively when tourists enter places like bookstores or churches wearing beach shorts

Figure 3: Street from Getsemaní.

Figure 4: Child on a mare. These people transport rubble as a means of livelihood. It's a kind of informal work.

Upon entering Getsemaní, the chef identified the spatial semiotic repertoires offered by the neighborhood in the following way: "If the historic Centro is Cartagena's classic tourist destination, Getsemaní is its upstart little brother. Still within the historic walls, it's the residential quarter of Old Town, home to an eclectic mix of artists and young professionals like Rainbow". In response to this observation, his companion clarified, "Yeah. I mean, this is a great *barrio* because it's still got a fantastic connection with the past because of families who've lived here five, six generations".

The interaction between the chef and Rainbow presents several representations of Getsemaní. With the expression "upstart little brother," perhaps the chef wants to highlight how Getsemaní has been gaining symbolic importance at the expense of the Historic Center of Cartagena, its "big brother". This gives an unusual, rare, heterodox, eccentric condition to the Getsemaní neighborhood. Why he makes this value judgment is not clear, when the most notable difference between the Historic Center and Getsemaní is the socioeconomic situation that separates them. For this reason, it is possible in Getsemaní, but not in the Historic Center, to see an image like that child, and perhaps the father, carrying things on a mare.

On the other hand, in response to the emphasis that the chef seems to place on the neighborhood being home to artists and professionals, Rainbow points out that there are local residents as well. In this sense, he draws from his own experiences to convey the situation. One of the semiotic repertoires that Rainbow, as a foreigner, may have grasped is the meaning of "barrio" in Spanish. It's not just a geographical space but communities and affiliations that shape and give meaning to social lives. Perhaps this is why, in explaining to the chef, he doesn't translate the word "barrio." It is unclear if the chef understood the intended effect of this choice, which might be to give a more "streetish," urban, and outlaw characterization to the place they are in, similar to the jargon used by Latino street gangs in the United States.

Transitional Place from Violent to Paradisiacal Spaces

Figure 5: Local people, tourists and police presence.

Figure 6: Getsemani inhabitants sitting outside their homes.

Much of the chef's discourse projects certain representations that shape his experience of the space he is entering; we can speculate that these representations are of both Colombia and Cartagena, including Getsemaní. These previous experiences are likely influenced by the discourses circulating about Colombia in the world, particularly those related to violence and drugs. However, for the chef, these problems were easily overcome in just a decade: "Less than a decade ago, this was one of Cartagena's toughest neighborhoods, riddled with drugs and gang violence. Today, thanks to increased policing and government programs, it's a place where folks stroll freely at night".

Part of the reasons why the chef identifies Getsemaní in that way were explained earlier in this work. However, the chef's statement does not allow for any speculation about why the "former" social problems (now, according to him, completely non-existent, which is contradicted by press reports and academic and government reports) occurred in the first place. It also doesn't acknowledge that government measures may have included a process of exclusion of its inhabitants in favor of tourism development. For example, in Colombia, a strong police presence often indicates underlying insecurity in an area.

Figure 7: The chef and companion's only interaction with a local resident.

Figure 8: The chef and companion's only interaction with a local resident.

Figure 9: The chef and companion's only interaction with a local resident.

During the chef's walk through the neighborhood, one interesting event occurred: the chef and his companions (including the cameraman) were spontaneously invited by a parishioner to enter the private space of their home and get to know their family and residence; according to the chef, it's an 18th-century colonial house where four generations of the same family live. The chef interpreted this as a sign of hospitality: "And you can experience Colombian hospitality firsthand. I was invited in after I was caught peeking through the windows. - May we? - Yeah. - Oh, my… We'd be honored". Faced with these signs of hospitality, the chef responds using modal verbs, forming a linguistic assemblage that allows him to respond politely to the situation created in that space.

That sign of hospitality, according to him, was facilitated by the new paradisiacal conditions of the neighborhood: "After decades needing to keep their doors shut, this neighborly warmth is a cathartic, even defiant sign that their neighborhood is truly theirs again". It's easy to observe how this entire statement is related to the interaction between spaces and their inhabitants: from the chef's perspective, it's a reclaimed and secure space.

Despite the chef walking through various parts of the neighborhood, this is the only interaction he had with a local, and it was facilitated by the space. Furthermore, the homeowner spoke to him in English: "You know that you have two houses here in Cartagena, this and the other. When you want, you can come here". Speaking in English, the lady attempts to move between the center and the periphery; she operates in a global space that evokes what Appadurai called "ideoscapes", in this case, recognizing English as the dominant language. Perhaps most interestingly, the lady offers the houses to the chef to the point of making him their owner: "you have two houses here in Cartagena".

In this interaction, it seems that the chef does not notice the privileged stereotypical position that he (re)presents: white male, obviously foreign (because of his way of dressing and speaking, for example), accompanied by another subject in the same conditions and, more important still, accompanied by a cameraman (unclear if he was a foreigner or local). These elements give him a series of characteristics that denote privileges and make him stand out from the rest of the pedestrians in the sector. This is how, for example, it is difficult to think that the woman who invites the chef to enter and discover the beauty of her 18th-century house would do the

same with a local inhabitant, from another sector of the city, a national tourist or even with a foreign tourist from the ones called backpackers, or simply with someone who is not accompanied by a cameraman. At least, it has never happened to me, nor anyone I know.

Street Foods: Meeting Spaces

Figure 10: the chef and Mr. Rainbow wait for the *Patacon con todo*.

Figure 11: The chef tries the dish in front of dozens of people.

Figure 12: people from the Plaza the la Trinidad spectates the show.

The chef concludes his tour of Getsemaní by revisiting the theme of his interaction with bizarre foods: "Out in the street, Getsemaní residents are reclaiming their neighborhood in other exciting ways. Where people come and eat, it's where people come and watch television, it's where people come and drink." It's around these practices referred to by the chef, historically situated, where the neighborhood's social relations are established.

On the other hand, the chef reinterprets the symbolic value of the Plaza de la Trinidad: "Built in 1643, the Plaza de la Trinidad is Cartagena's oldest public square. Today, it's a social space for local families, complete with its own unique take on late-night street food". On one hand, he assigns a new identity to the space, disregarding its historical past, which he might be unaware. He insists on its value as a reclaimed place for local families to meet. The chef also appears to be unaware of the gentrification processes taking place there. This is why we can affirm that, in the case of Bizarre Foods, new global elements are added to the context of the Plaza de la Trinidad, and, in turn, local elements from Getsemaní and Cartagena are exported to the "Global North" (as part of the public to whom the program is directed): their meals, their verbal repertoire.

Plaza de la Trinidad Where "The Heroin of the Culinary Crowd" is Sold

To illustrate the type of bizarre foods eaten in Getsemaní, the chef chose the "patacón con todo", which is the specialty of the food stalls.

> The patacón con todo combines fresh grilled plantains with literally as much junk as they can pile on it; ham, sausage, onions, chicken, cabbage, potato chips, sour cream, ketchup, you name it (...) I mean, it's addictive. I mean, it's all salt, salt and fat, baby. You know... it is the heroin of the culinary crowd.

After describing the ingredients of the dish, the chef couldn't help but qualify it by using one of the semiotic repertoires he has about the country: its portrayal as a producer of illicit drugs. Then, he reaffirms this with the final comment of the episode: "Come to Cartagena (...) for better or worse, tastes like this are quickly becoming part of the landscape".

The resources we have discussed can be seen in the following table:

Table 1:
Representations of the Getsemaní neighborhood in Bizarre Foods. Colombia: Jungle, Rats & Reptiles. Own elaboration.

Theme	**Representations of the Getsemaní neighborhood in** *Bizarre Foods. Colombia: Jungle, Rats & Reptiles*	
Interpretation and Explanation	• Pauwels, L. (2006). *A Multimodal Framework for Analyzing Websites as Cultural Expressions*. • Ethnographic knowledge of the place. **1. Inventory of Outstanding Traits and Topics:** - Semiotic Resources of the participants (chef and companion). - Spatial Semiotic Repertories: Transitional; hospitable; Meeting Spaces. **2. Depth analysis of content and stylistic (semiotic) features:** - Multilingual uses. - Unequal epistemological impositions. - Visibility of glocal languages.	**Reconstructed meanings of Getsemaní:** - Romanticization of poverty. - Consumption of ethnicity. - Colonialism.

	- Representations of the local population to the program's audience.	

In summary, the chef utilized various communication resources to explore the available semiotic repertoires in Getsemaní. These communication resources were related to his individual repertoires, which allowed him to interact with the specific resources found in Getsemaní. The chef's resources enabled him to engage in an interactional practice with the neighborhood constructed by temporary assemblages. This included his physical appearance, his privileged position, his preconceptions about the place he was visiting, and his profession as a taster of bizarre foods. This led to the construction of a representation of Getsemaní, as discussed below.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the previous section, I described how the chef perceives semiotic resources, particularly spatial ones, in Getsemaní, and how he negotiates his communicative practices based on them. Understanding that the chef is not a historian, semiotician, anthropologist, or something similar that would allow him to explain social reality, but he is indeed a creator of meanings and representations. He semiotically interacts with the signs of the place as he sees them -here and now- and transmits them through a device that he presents to the public scene; in doing so, he engages other viewers or consumers of this type of program. Furthermore, due to the nature of his television program, one could say that he assembles his semiotic elements based on that audience. This, I believe, is what distinguishes "natural" communicative interactions from those that, if not artificial, are conducted with the intention of being consumed.

Except for the woman in the house, and because she spoke to him in English, the chef never dares to engage linguistically with others; rather, most of his interaction was with spaces. After all, these spaces are not predetermined but acquire meaning at the moment they are experienced. The chef's only linguistic interaction is with his

companion, almost like a bodyguard with whom he dares to enter a territory that, despite his positive statements about it, could potentially be hostile.

The chef must negotiate his own positioning with the semiotic repertories he encounters. He brought his own perceptions of the place he was entering, but he assembles them to construct another version of the space, to represent that place differently: Getsemaní, the younger brother of Cartagena's Historic Center, is a paradisiacal place, free from drugs and violence, hospitable, family-oriented, where locals and strangers coexist harmoniously. It's worth noting the significance of the spatial metaphor here: it establishes familial relationships (in this case, brotherhood) between two public spaces. In other words, the chef offers a romanticized representation of the place.

Bizarre foods evidences some foreign colonialist epistemological models that historically and ideologically have been implanted in the local environment of Cartagena. These are part of a global, hegemonic and hierarchical strategy that produces and reproduces anachronistic, discriminating and prejudiced ideas about places in the Global South. According to these perspectives from the North, the exotic, insecurity, poverty, drugs, etc., permeate everything in the Global South. These elements are recontextualized through the linguistic repertoires exhibited by the chef to romanticize, exoticize and fetishize. The chef romanticizes the place by offering only positive representations of a location that was once violent and even today remains socially conflicted and precarious. Moreover, when he decides to visit it due to his profession, it's because he views it as exotic. This is evident in the way he announces his visit: "Bizarre Foods. Colombia: Jungle, Rats & Reptiles." Finally, he fetishizes the place by establishing a connection between visitors like him and a space (which he contributes to its touristificaction) where its history and current everyday life can be consumed.

In this investigation, I have describe and interpret the semiotic relationships established between the chef with the spaces and the rest of the social participants of the sub-section as a social narrative; that is, an event made up of participants, places, events and social outcomes. This is how these relationships were permeated by various elements that define them, including the local context and its linguistic landscape, the meanings proposed by the chef through his language (oral, body, etc.), the meta-discourses from the chef and the Bizarre Foods program itself. Also,

the uses of language by the "locals" to communicate something to the chef and the interpretation that he gives them (or that he receives from his interpreters). This diverse repertoire of semiotic resources establishes different local representation elements that contributes to establishment of unequal social relations of power and the perpetuation and legitimization of adverse social phenomena for the local population such as colonialist discourses and gentrification processes. Although the events analyzed occur around the Getsemaní neighborhood, the epistemological processes described, the historical significance, cultural importance and social preponderance that this emblematic neighborhood brings to Cartagena, mean that the social consequences are transferred to the rest of the city and the Caribbean region of Colombia.

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