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Abstract (English)

This ethnographic study focuses on a society with a historical context of ‘warrior culture’ that due to experienced political instability resulted in indifference and a certain resistance towards change and novelty. Conducted between 2021 and 2022 in the ‘Dinaric-Tribal’ Central Montenegro area, it focuses on culinary memories and food practices as a means to achieve socio-economic processes and dynamics as regards identity-establishing local food practices in a globalized context, which is central to anthropology. The research aims to uncover the processes of identity-establishing local food practices in a globalized context, including current developments such as support programs, food distribution, and food representations that display the diversity of local-global food patterns.

The first part of this work is focused on theories that underpin key elements of anthropological approaches that emerged as important in the process of coding the biographical interviews, creating the main body of the thesis. These concepts cover topics such as food, work, and hunger in 'tribal' areas, food, identity, and memories, as well as the concept of invented traditions, and nationality. Additionally, it addressed the lack of anthropological literature on Montenegro and the development of science in the Mediterranean region.

A subsequent section emphasizes the importance of gaining a comprehensive understanding of the historical, geographical, political, and social contexts that shaped Montenegrin food system. This includes a detailed exploration of the major economic trends, political orientations toward integration with the European Union, and the establishment of a national identity of the newly independent country. This contextual information is crucial in providing the necessary context for the forthcoming claims about the past and present, allowing readers to gain a sense of understanding of the periods and events that will emerge during the analyses of biographical interviewees in the second part of the thesis.

The second part focuses on observations and biographical interviews with citizens of Montenegro, coming from the Dinaric areas of 'Old Montenegro'. This region represents a strong segment to understand the identity-establishing aspects of both the public and private sectors of Montenegrin society. Therefore, by using an inductive approach and analyzing memories, the study aims to

bring visibility to the respondents and the nutrition system. The synopsis of literature and empirical data makes it possible to answer the research questions. Furthermore, it becomes possible to understand the Montenegrin society through the eating habits and their analysis. The study shows which of the currently still existing patriarchal domestic ideologies (male=public/female=domestic) in the 'tribal' region influence the food patterns in the everyday life of the inhabitants of 'Old Montenegro' and especially Podgorica (capital of both the country and Central region).

Finally, the study proceeds to discuss additional aspects as e.g., global flows of macro-economic factors and the impacts of global dynamics on the local food system. Therefore, the third part is dedicated to analyzing the narratives of institutions and the urban-public domain regarding food representations and culinary heritage, as part of a coherent cultural identity.

In this context, the concept of 'invented traditions' is of special importance and helps to understand how specific anxieties resulting from historical developments and associated memories may have influenced the current developments of food systems in Central Montenegro.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Die vorliegende ethnographische Studie konzentriert sich auf aktuelle gesellschaftliche Zusammenhänge in Montenegro vor dem historischen Hintergrund einer sogenannten ‘Kriegerkultur’. Die damit verbundene politische Instabilität führte in breiten Bevölkerungsgruppen zu Gleichgültigkeit und einer gewissen Widerstandsfähigkeit gegenüber Veränderungen und Neuheiten. Die Studie wurde von 2021 bis 2022 im zentralmontenegrinischen, ‘dinarisch-tribalen’ Gebiet des Landes durchgeführt. ‘Kulinarische Erinnerungen’ und Konsumpraktiken werden in den Blick genommen, um sozioökonomische Prozesse und Dynamiken im Hinblick auf identitätsstiftende lokale Lebensmittelpraktiken in einem globalisierten Kontext zu diskutieren, was als ein zentrales Anliegen der Anthropologie gelten kann. Ziel der Studie ist es, identitätsstiftende Prozesse rund um die lokalen Lebensmittelpraktiken in einem globalisierten Kontext aufzudecken, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung aktueller Entwicklungen wie u.a. staatliche Unterstützungsprogramme, Lebensmittelverteilung oder auch Repräsentationen der Konsumkultur, welche insgesamt die Vielfalt lokaler und globaler Ernährungsmuster zeigen.

Der erste Teil dieser Arbeit konzentriert sich auf Theorien, welche wichtige Elemente anthropologischer Ansätze untermauern. Diese wurden im Prozess der Codierung der (biografischen) Interviews sowie in Gesprächen mit Expert*innen wichtig und bilden damit den Kern der vorliegenden Masterthese. Unter Zuhilfenahme theoretischer Ansätze werden in dieser Arbeit empirisch erhobene Datenmaterialien analysiert und Themen behandelt wie u.a. die Produktion, Distribution und Konsumption von Nahrungsmitteln, der spezifische Gebrauch von Produkten, Arbeitsbedingungen und das Erleben von Hunger und Mangel in Gebieten mit sogenannten ‘stammesähnlichen’ Sozialstrukturen. Identitätszuschreibungen und die Auseinandersetzung mit Erinnerungen der Informant*innen, die Diskussion des Begriffs der ‘erfundenen Traditionen’ sowie Fragen der nationalen Zugehörigkeit sind wichtige Elemente dieser Arbeit. Dabei spielt auch das Fehlen anthropologischer Literatur über Montenegro und die Entwicklung der Wissenschaft in der Mittelmeerregion eine nicht unwesentliche Rolle.

Ein weiterer Abschnitt versucht die immense Bedeutung der historischen, geographischen, politischen und sozialen Rahmenbedingungen in der erforschten Region zu erklären, ohne die das

montenegrinische Ernährungssystem nicht ethnographisch erfasst werden kann. Dies beinhaltet auch die detaillierte Erkundung der wichtigsten wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungen der letzten Jahrzehnte, der politischen Dynamiken rund um die Annäherung des Landes in die Europäische Union und die Analyse der historischen Entwicklung einer nationalen Identität des kürzlich erst unabhängig gewordenen Landes. Diese Informationen sind entscheidend, um den notwendigen Kontext für das Verständnis der Geschichte und Gegenwart des anthropologischen Feldes zu liefern. Das Ziel ist es, den Leser*innen ein historisch eingebettetes Verständnis der dinarisch-montenegrinischen Konsumkultur zu ermöglichen, was durch die Analysen der biografischen Interviews im zweiten Teil der Arbeit unterstützt wird.

Ein weiterer Teil der Arbeit konzentriert sich auf Daten, die auf Basis teilnehmender Beobachtungen und biografisch-themenzentrierter Interviews mit Bürgerinnen Montenegros aus den dinarischen Gebieten des 'Alten Montenegros' erhoben wurden. Diese Region stellt ein wichtiges Segment für die Konstituierung des nationalen Selbstbewusstseins dar. Diese Tatsache ist entscheidend, um die identitätsstiftenden Aspekte sowohl des öffentlichen als auch des privaten Sektors der montenegrinischen Gesellschaft zu verstehen. Daher soll die Studie durch die Verwendung eines induktiven Ansatzes und die Analyse von 'Konsum-Erinnerungen' Menschen in ihren Lebenszusammenhängen sichtbar und das Ernährungssystem auf Grundlage biographischer Erfahrungen verständlich machen. Die Zusammenschau von Literatur und empirischen Daten ermöglicht es, die Forschungsfragen zu beantworten. Darüber hinaus wird es möglich, die montenegrinische Gesellschaft durch die Essgewohnheiten und deren Analyse zu verstehen. Die Studie zeigt u.a. auch, welche der noch immer bestehenden patriarchalen Strukturen (Mann = öffentlich / Frau = häuslich) in der 'stammesähnlichen' strukturierten Region die Essgewohnheiten im Alltag der Bewohnerinnen des 'Alten Montenegros' und insbesondere in der Hauptstadt Podgorica beeinflussen.

Schließlich diskutiert die Studie zusätzliche Aspekte wie z.B. die Auswirkungen globaler Dynamiken sowie makroökonomischer Faktoren auf das lokale Ernährungssystem. Daher widmet sich der dritte Teil der Analyse den Expert*innen-Interviews, die mit Vertreter*innen von montenegrinischen Institutionen geführt wurden. Darüber hinaus wird gezeigt, wie sich im aktuellen global-lokalen Ernährungssystem der urbanen Räume historische als auch rezente sozio-ökonomische Entwicklungen spiegeln und damit als Teil der montenegrinischen Identität gelten

können. In diesem Zusammenhang ist das Konzept der ‘erfundenen Traditionen’ von besonderer Bedeutung und hilft dabei, zu verstehen, wie spezifische Ängste, die sich auf historische Entwicklungen und damit verbundene Erinnerungen gründen, die aktuellen Entwicklungen der Ernährungssysteme in Zentralmontenegro beeinflusst haben.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Why study food systems in Montenegro? - Some personal comments

In my family, likewise in many households of the Balkan region cooking and eating are highly valued activities, occupying a significant place in everyday narrative, and sparking questions about why emotions are conveyed through eating and given importance in the pursuit of satiety. This practice can be observed in many cultures, but it was the starting point that inspired me to investigate the deeper characteristics of the food system in Central Montenegro. The obsession with food and cooking has been passed down through generations, from my grandmother to her mother-in-law in the patriarchal regime of Montenegro, and now the relay baton has reached the hands of my father. I attempted to deconstruct his passion for cooking to understand to what extent socio-cultural circumstances have governed it. This led me to trace my family's eating habits and the trajectory of the foods they have used. However, anthropology and the path to my choice of master's degree is a winding line, influenced by many family beliefs and expectations in which I grew up. After completing my undergraduate studies in economics majoring in tourism in Belgrade, I went to Vienna with the primary goal of learning languages. However, I was open to enrolling in a master's program if the opportunity for financial gain and a scholarship presented itself. Again, my choice of tourism as my primary degree was not unintentional. I was born in 1991, in Montenegro, at the peak of the war and dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia. The economies of these regions were fundamentally shaken and degraded, with continuity of overall development setbacks. After the collapse of socialist values, the shift towards opposing neo-nationalistic capitalist values took place. Privatization, led by the same political party for more than twenty years, resulted in the development of the Montenegrin economy and its transformation into an 'elite' tourist destination that will be explained in detail in the following chapters. This value system was deeply ingrained in generations born in the 1990s, who were exclusively oriented toward economic and business fields as the ultimate possible source of prosperity. Meanwhile, values of culture, science, and art were deemed a mere illusion and immaturity for those who were disobedient or lacked direction. As a woman, I was additionally categorized as a potential candidate for a 'popular' career in tourism. However, attending undergraduate studies in Belgrade gave me a sense of immaturity in terms of spiritual and personal growth which fueled my desire for further education and prompted me to travel to Europe. The description of 'MA CREOLE-

Transnational Processes and Cultural Differences in Social and Cultural Anthropology' sounded like an explanation of all my doubts, both regarding my origins and worldwide. After successfully convincing the faculty that my competencies were suitable for this program, the rectorate stipulated that I learn German as a prerequisite for my studies. Subsequently, I enrolled for Bachelor's in Social and Cultural Anthropology to fulfill the required 60 ECTS credits, therefore establishing a solid foundation in anthropology, and ultimately qualifying for the Creole master's program. However, due to the limitations of my student visa, I had to work in several unreliable jobs to support my studying abroad. This brings the topics of food and its symbolic and holistic meaning. While my roommate's preference for organic shops and cosmetics reflected a conscious consumption of goods, my shopping habits at Hofer and use of commercial brands were influenced by price and convenience. As my roommate spent time in the kitchen preparing fresh daily vegan salads, my comfort food of simple beef soup cooked on weekends had a nostalgic quality, reminiscent of my grandmother's cooking, providing nourishing meals to recuperate after a long week. I found it fascinating to interpret and observe the differences in food habits between myself and my Danish roommate in Vienna. Therefore, the questions that often came back to me in the understanding of socio-economic circumstances as an important influence on the food systems, sparked my desire to further explore the meaning of food as an economic and social symbol. My observations especially came to the fore when I got acquainted with world cuisines in Vienna, I have come to recognize the 'practical simplicity' of Montenegrin cuisine: boiled dishes eaten with a spoon, with very few refinements or variations, emphasizing satiety and large portions. These processes differ from other regions of the Mediterranean, however, find some overlap within the Dinaric regions. This piqued my curiosity to shed light on the current food systems of the Montenegrin Central region. Where to achieve this, my instincts were guided by the fieldwork interview conversations and the necessity to first establish a detailed understanding of the historical, geographical, political, and social frameworks that have shaped Montenegrin cuisine. This will provide the necessary context for the forthcoming claims about the past and present, allowing readers to gain a sense of understanding of the periods and events that will emerge during the biographical interviews with participants. In this research work, I begin by explaining the theories and will be linking them to selected important segments of Montenegrin cuisine. I will then chronologically outline key events that have shaped the food system in Montenegro, including major economic trends, political intentions toward integration with the European Union, and the

construction of an identity for the newly independent state. These processes find some similarity to those found in surrounding countries yet defined by different times and places where efforts to maintain ‘tradition’¹ are paralleled by an attempt to stay ‘up to date’ with Western intentions and ideas.

1.2. Research questions and main arguments

‘The dishes that were prepared were simply called “hand-pick”, a woman would pick up what was available at that moment in the garden or around the house, which could be chard, “raštan”², nettle, all kinds of onions, dandelion if there are potatoes or carrots and cooked them together like a stew. Grandma would light a fire in the morning, put “čapure”³ on it, and go to work in the field. On her way back around 2 pm, the food would be ready. Although the fire had already been extinguished, she would reheat it a little more, and the family would have their lunch’ (Interview Mrs. Janica Ćupić / fieldnotes Ćupić, Podgorica, March 2021).

Stated are my grandmother's memories on her mother in law (called grandma) that provide examples that help explain the food practices related to one of the intrinsic dishes called ‘raštan’. This dish reflects the position of women in Central Montenegrin society, the historical context, the geographical characteristics of the region, and the creativity of people living there. ‘Raštan’ mentioned by each interviewee, could be explained as the so-called ‘Madelein’ (Belasco 2008), representing the personal and collective identity of the region, but also a symbol of survival in times of hardship (Belasco 2008, p 26). Having considered my own domestic sphere, I now turn my attention to the broader Montenegrin context, exploring eating habits in both rural and urban areas. The ethnographic fieldwork commenced in December 2021, with the most intensive period taking place from March to June 2022. Therefore, I initiated this study by answering main research question: How do food practices (meals, recipes, cooking practices, consumption habits, etc.) of the inhabitants of the region of Old Montenegro serve as markers of difference for them to express socio-cultural identity establishing aspects like group belonging or regional characteristics?

The focus will primarily be on the citizens of Montenegro, coming from the Dinaric areas of ‘Old Montenegro’. The historical ‘Old Montenegro’ of Dinaric region represents a strong segment in the

¹ See chapters 3.4.; 5.2.10.; and 5.3.3.

² Eng. translation is collard green, a dish named after the plant.

³ ‘Čapur’ (singular) is local word for a tree root, it burns slowly and for a long time on a small fire.

identity-establishing aspect of both the public and private sectors of Montenegrin society. Therefore, by analyzing memories, the study aims to bring visibility to the respondents and the nutrition system, using a bottom-up approach. Key terms are identified and organized chronologically to establish connections to other events described in both the fieldwork and literature to respond to the question of food practices that serves as markers of difference for them to express socio-cultural identity establishing importance. These explanations are followed by a secondary question:

How do structures of the currently still existing patriarchal domestic ideologies (male=public/female=domestic) in the ‘tribal’ region influence food patterns in the everyday life of the inhabitants of ‘Old Montenegro’ and Podgorica (capital of both the country and Central region)? This is why the importance of history while studying Montenegrin repasts emerged, recognizing the term ‘tribe’ as a part of the identity-establishing aspect, following the quote:

‘One can hear echoes of it even today and even in the cities of the most progressive region—the Adriatic coast—where people ask, “Whom do you belong to?” (A čiji si ti?)⁴ When a younger person appears in a gathering’ (Ehrlich 2015, p 31).

Although the work of Vera Ehrlich was initially published in 1966, it was proven even today in the fieldwork that this question is still asked in everyday life. This fact will be discussed in detail in one of the following chapter⁵ (yet both with informants from the cities and villages) following the question whom do you belong (A čiji si ti?) and alluding to the certain historical concept of ‘tribes’ as administrative units of the Montenegrin hinterland.

‘Perhaps more so than in other parts of Europe, here the past takes on a life of its own as if it were a constituent part of the present. Events of generations ago are recounted as if they happened only yesterday’ (Simić 1997, p 115).

Therefore ‘[...] history is a popular art in Montenegro’ (Sedlenieks 2013, p 53), part of the everyday debate within the local groups, that date back to the historical events of the arrival of

⁴The phrase is explained by Vera Ehrlich ‘the wording of the question expresses the supposition that this boy or girl must be a member of a certain (and to all, known) extended family or clan. Single, “unattached” persons, severed from kin, seem to be unknown’ (Ehrlich 2015, p 31).

⁵Author and her work explained in detail in the chapter 5.2.6. Food and the Dinaric feeling of belonging.

Slavs in the Balkan. Hence often regarded as impossible to discuss Montenegro without acknowledging its past. In a following section, the study highlights the significance of obtaining a thorough understanding of the historical, geographical, political, and social contexts that have shaped the Montenegrin food system. This involves a detailed examination of significant economic trends, political attitudes towards European Union integration, and the establishment of a national identity for the recently independent country. This contextual information is essential in providing a framework for the forthcoming claims about the past and present, enabling readers to grasp the significance of the periods and events that will be analyzed through the biographical interviews with participants. The upcoming historical background section of chapter four will provide a detailed account of the main historical events. Additionally, the concepts related to these events will be discussed in chapter five, which focuses on rural-urban food practices and the socio-cultural importance of memories. These concepts, in the first rank, include those introduced by Crowther (2013), Belasco (2008), Fotiadis et al. (2009), Douglas (1982), and Holtzman (2006) etc. Considering a multi-generational viewpoint, memories range from those of respondents who recall the period between the two World Wars and after the Second World War, to their migration from rural to urban areas during the process of creating a socialist state, up to the present context and conversations with generation of their children and descendants born in the city of Podgorica. This ethnographic study also encompasses the current context of people still living in rural areas of investigated region, which field interviews were conducted in 2022. In addition to exploring the ambiguity of memories through the lens of invented identity, this study will highlight the ways in which local memory define the 'constructed' aspects of today's food system and current developments. The regional principle of reviewing Montenegro will trace the old base that reveals colorful differences between invented 'traditional', 'authentic' cuisine and the 'up to date' 'modern' one, I will revise assumptions about the past in relation to the present. This will help me answering the third research question:

How does the food currently offered in the public/touristic sphere of Montenegrin capital (which is close to the Dinaric area) reflect the historically grown, local-global diversity of food patterns of Central Montenegro?

Following the 'traditional empirical research', it is understood that any definition provided should be based on a solid foundation that has been thoroughly investigated prior to my inquiry (Miller

and Deutsch 2009, p 13). However, the theses was also guided by the situation of the lack of theoretical framework on food systems in Central Montenegro. However, food studies require ‘utilizing wider range of methods to enhance knowledge in this new field’ (Miller and Deutsch 2009, p 12). Therefore my starting point to respond to the research questions was to find a connection between the phenomena extracted from anthropological literature on Montenegro, which mostly dealt with historical and political theories, in compilation with terms emerging in the practice of fieldwork bottom-up methodological approach. Therefore, the overall objective of my work is initiating the topic on Dinaric-Tribal Montenegro through the prism of culinary memories and identity establishing food practices.

2. Research process and methods

2.1. Describing the field: Montenegro as a place of anthropological research

To comprehend the place of the ethnological and anthropological framework in Montenegro, one must delve into the historical, political, and sociological areas that have shaped a society influenced by both internal and external forces. Montenegrin anthropologist Milica Nikolić highlights the lack of visibility of ethnological and anthropological expertise in Montenegro, which can be traced back to the country's historical and educational development (2021, p 93). It is deemed necessary to allocate a section of the work to examining Montenegro's history to elucidate the factors that have hindered the advancement of science and education, owing to the persistent challenge of poverty. According to Nikolić the history of higher education has not yet noted fifty years of existence. The marginalized role of the humanities is confirmed by the absence of a chair for anthropology or related sciences (Nikolić 2021, p 94). There are currently twenty-four ethnologists and anthropologists working, of which fourteen work at the state level and twelve at the local level, therefore Nikolić argues that it is a critical point for academia to encourage the shifting of the boundaries of science in Montenegro (Nikolić 2021, p 94). Partly for this reason, there is a lack of sources for studying the food system in parallel to many other equally important fields of non-diagnosed knowledge about Montenegro. As argued by Montenegrin anthropologist Čarna Brković, ‘Montenegro here stands in stark contrast to other former Yugoslav republics that

have attracted much attention from many social science and humanities'⁶ (Brković 2021, p 9). It can be stated that the fields of food systems in Montenegro have not been extensively studied, and there is a need to investigate the reasons behind this. Furthermore, the pursuit of anthropological research in Montenegro seems to be influenced by internal processes and external factors. The chapter on Anthropology and the discovery of Mediterranean societies will explore these factors in more detail. Therefore, in order to examine a diverse range of sources related to food and anthropology, concepts developed in the broader Balkan and Mediterranean regions will be examined, beyond the literature specific to Montenegro. On one hand, this is a responsible task of initiating an academic topic on the food system in Montenegro, which required careful selection of literature to support the terms and events that appeared during the fieldwork conversations. Therefore, the methods of approaching research and the discovery of the scientific topic are explained below.

2.2. Entering the field

‘It is the circumstances which defined the method rather than method defining the circumstances’ (Amit 1999, p 11).

The start of my cultural and social anthropology master's studies occurred during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2019. The circumstances created by the pandemic prompted my return to Montenegro with the desire to re-establish a sense of belonging and convenience. However, drawing on the Creole scholarship mobility program, I made the decision to apply for enrollment at a partner university in Ljubljana, as a means of pursuing academic growth while also securing financial support. The courses offered at the partner universities and a particular attraction were found to the faculty in Ljubljana. Due to their expertise in the Anthropology of Food and Nutrition, Mediterranean Studies, Material Culture, Epistemology of Everyday Life, Anthropology of Space and Place, and other related subjects. Given that the professors' research interests were focused on the territories of the former Yugoslavia, and that I hail from a former member country, enrolling in the partner university in Ljubljana seemed like a relevant and meaningful choice. During the return from Vienna, a period of three months was spent in quarantine in the village of origin. This duration coincided with the formulation of the proposal for the master's thesis and consequently,

⁶ According to Brković, so far studies have been devoted to the following fields: ‘ethnonational belonging, identity, and nationalism; political history and economy; political anthropology and anthropology of the state; religion; relatedness; morality’ (Brković 2021, p 10).

became a central point for conducting fieldwork within the geographical region of research. As part of fulfilling the requirements for my master's program, I completed the 'Qualitative Research Methods' course with Professor Dr. Tijo Salverda and engaged in a small-scale research project in collaboration with colleagues in Austria. Our research focused on the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the agricultural industry within the same region of interest as my study of nutrition. Furthermore, my studies at the University in Ljubljana required fieldwork for many of the subjects, which provided a favorable circumstances to expand upon my prior experiences in Montenegro and develop a network of contacts and valuable fieldwork experience in my area of interest. During my stay in the village, I had the opportunity to engage in the consumption of locally sourced food procured from nearby villagers and experiment with cooking alongside my father. The online format of the lectures and the extended duration of the pandemic allowed me to conduct research and collect interviews in Montenegro more effectively, contributing to the timely completion of my fieldwork. However, the important topic and problem of immersion when it comes to the anthropologist at home, are offered in 'Constructing the Field. Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World' by Vered Amit. Where in chapter two in the same volume Virginia Caputo argues that this kind of work 'requires a constant shifting of positionings between situations, people, identities and perspectives' (Amit 1999, p 11). Whether conducting fieldwork 'away' or 'at home,' both involve fluid and episodic activities that are equally important for the research process. Thus, it is recognized that the research methods and pace of work were heavily influenced by a range of circumstances, including online studies, the time spent in the village of origin while exploring the father's cooking passion. However, what was particularly beneficial for me was the opportunity to select relevant subjects at the University in Ljubljana, which allowed me to approach fieldwork with a strong foundation and literature review on a topic. As it is stated in the book 'Food Studies an Introduction to Research Methods', 'all research has, as its basis, a footing on what other researchers have already contributed' (Miller and Deutsch 2009, p 51). These factors ultimately shaped the methods, while also providing guidance with literature throughout the process. Therefore, understanding study design in qualitative research is almost as having no study design, discussed by Becker et al. (1961, cited in Flick 2007, p 2): '[...] we had no well-worked-out set of hypotheses to be tested, no data-gathering instruments, purposely designed to secure information relevant to these hypotheses'. Consequently, as stated by Becker et al. (1961, cited in Flick 2007, p 2): '[...] idea of design in a broader and looser sense, using it to identify those

elements of order, system, and consistency that our procedures demonstrated, our study had a design'. By this, strictly and reliably, not deviating from the topics that surfaced in the conversation with my interview partners, connecting the insights of given situations both through historical facts and with the theory found. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, cited in Flick 2007, p 3): '[...] the design of research should involve a reflexive approach that is applied at every stage of a project. Therefore, must be a plan created for gathering anthropological data which enables the researcher to effectively address the questions they have raised.

2.3. Fieldwork process, participant observation, and relationships

As it is suggested by Miller and Deutsch 'some of the most widely used methods in food studies research fall under the rubric of observational research' (2009, p 137). Two of the most common types of tools in the field of food studies used in qualitative observational research are ethnography and narrative (Miller and Deutsch 2009, p 137). Particularly useful in exploring stories related to context of the distribution, preparation, and sharing of food. Therefore my participant observation began on the first day of fieldwork when my father and I drove through the region, covering as much ground as possible in one day. This enabled me to orient myself temporally and spatially for subsequent visits. As my research was mostly grounded on the participant observation conducted in various visits primarily to households in the villages, respondents in their apartments in city of Podgorica, restaurants, and expert interviews with institutions. At the beginning of my research, I only had about 20% of the planned contacts for meetings, which was in line with the snowball principle of gathering collaborators, although I had a potential network of acquaintances in the all planned areas. However, the place of the interview took place spontaneously, giving the example of my two interviewees, Mrs. Anka Janković and Mr. Periša Djurović. The first respondent lives in the village during the warmer days of the year, but during the winter days, she lives with her son and his children in an apartment in Podgorica. On the other hand, P. Djurović lives alone in an apartment in Podgorica, but he lived in the village for the first two decades of his life until his studies, however, his son and grandson regularly visit their village family house. Therefore, visits to the villages were organized according to circumstances that suited the interviewees. I was fortunate enough to be able to borrow my parents' car or rely on friends for transportation for these activities, while visits within the city were simpler since it was already my place of residence. The fieldwork was planned for December 2021 and January 2022, but due to COVID safety circumstances and warmer weather, it was postponed until March and lasted until July 2022.

Initially, conversations were initiated with respondents about private spheres, and then from April until July, interviews were held upon the members of institutions. Therefore, The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development allowed a meeting in their offices. The National Tourist Organization (NTO) suggested online meetings. In addition to the two interviews with the NTO, only two more interviews were held online: one due to my trip to Vienna for consultations, and one due to Covid circumstances. Through participant observation, I visited places in order to be able to experience and photograph the landscapes and geographical features that describe the areas. Therefore, my observation was followed by visual documentation. Documenting meals, practices, consumption, ingredients, crops, setting of the dining table, and all the unforeseen details in the field for better-monitored data for later analysis and evaluation of the fieldwork. However, the role of the participant was most evident when I was a guest both in the city and in rural households. Here, I had the opportunity to observe and participate in culinary practices in the action of everyday life. The interviewees were able to point out to me the technological changes as well as the adaptation of old houses to the architecture of ‘modern’ conditions. Therefore participant observation was combined with everyday life talks and narratives to gain an anthropological understanding of the place (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2006, p 16). Where I will try in the following to enclose, as suggested by Miller and Deutsch ‘[...] reflexive piece of my ethnographic report [...]’ (2009, p 137). Providing the insights felt during my participant observation.

2.4. Informants and interviewees

At the outset, a significant portion of the interviews was devoted to the generations who were born and have been living in the rural regions of Central Montenegro⁷. Due to political and economic influences or improved living conditions in the cities, they were compelled to continue their lives in the then-capital, industrial socialist city of Podgorica. This could indicate traditional anthropological work as argued by Sedleneiks ‘[...] closely bound to particular small geographic areas or closed groups of people’ (2013, p 45). However, during the fieldwork, where younger generations spontaneously joined the conversation (often present in the house). I realized the importance of speaking with individuals from different generations, including those who were born and raised in the city as well as their children, in order to compare their experiences. A similar methodology as used by Vera Stein Ehrlich explaining the key to studying norms and changes in

⁷ More information about the geographical framework conditions can be found in chapter 4.

the South Slav family was a comparison between villages (2015, p 26). Villages were chosen as the primary unit of analysis instead of families or individuals due to the impracticality of obtaining enough researchers. Nonetheless, collecting data on villages as a collective entity was deemed feasible (Ehrlich 2015, p 26). That's how the boundaries were created that enabled me to narrow my scientific focus to old Montenegro. However, my approach was not initiated by the principles and connections between the geographic region and specific social groups, as Sedleneiks highlights 'methodological nationalism' referring to the '[...] assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world' (2013, p 45). Instead, I was guided by the concept of a geographical entity that falls under the Dinaric mountain region, which has a significant influence on both sentimental and dietary habits due to its agricultural patterns and characteristics. But most importantly this region is the place of origin for most of the inhabitants of the capital city of Podgorica. The objective was not to solely focus on past dietary habits but rather to analyze them in order to understand the present-day food practices in the central region of Montenegro. Two groups of respondents were established. Based on willingness to discuss their private domains and eating habits during the biographical conversation, the first group consisted of 12 respondents. Three reside in the city apartments and the five of them reside all year round in the village. The remaining interviewees commute between the village and the city. The commuting distances between the village and the city are relatively short, around 15-30 km, which has resulted in a practice of frequent travel back and forth, resembling the concept of weekend houses. My investigation began in my ancestral village, and from there, I followed recommendations through the snowball method. Therefore, the research participants in this study were diverse and included individuals from various professions such as school teachers, professors, housewives, tavern owners, fishermen, electrical engineers, traders, start-up business owners, and beekeeper. The second group of respondents was selected to provide information on the public domain and were asked a set of semi-structured questions aimed at answering the research question, already mentioned in the introduction: 'How does the food offered in the public/touristic sphere in Montenegrin cities (which are close to the Dinaric areas) reflect the local-global diversity of food patterns of Montenegro?'. In relation to this sector, I conducted interviews with two owners of catering establishments, one located in the city and the other in the village. Furthermore, I had a discussion with the owner of a start-up business that offers a more contemporary approach to a 'healthy breakfast'. Additionally, I held talks with state institutions

related to food and agriculture. I noticed a difference in the dynamics of conversations that took place between private and public domains, given my own background. In private settings, I had to be conscious of the advice to avoid ‘going native’ finding a balance between being enough of an insider to obtain information and being enough of an outsider to maintain objectivity (Miller and Deutsch 2009, p 147). However, in the following, I want to introduce my informants and interviewees, who allowed me to better understand their living conditions and food systems.

Mrs. Anka Janković is an 87 year old woman, born in Grahovo in Katunska ‘nahiyah’⁸. Anka was born in the village of Grahovo and later got married and moved to another village Zagarač, which is located in a different part of the same ‘nahiyah’. Despite being short distances away, the two villages have different living habits due to their different geographic locations. Anka completed her studies in the Serbo-Croatian language in Belgrade, Serbia, and did a practicum in Bosnia. She then worked as a teacher in a village school in Zagarače until her retirement. After her husband's death, she mostly lives in the city of Podgorica with her son and his family in an apartment, but she constantly moves between the city and her village house as her family enjoys spending time with her. I conducted a twofold interview with Anka, once via video call and once in person at her apartment in Podgorica. Additionally, I visited her briefly at her village house and had the opportunity to see the school where she worked (Interview Ms. Anka Janković / fieldnotes Ćupić, January and March 2022).

⁸ More information on the ‘nahiyah’ system in Montenegro see chapter 4.2.



Figure 1: View on the school in lower Zagarač (© Ćupić, March 2022).⁹

⁹ Photos marked with the © sign -The Copyright Act, indicate that pictures are protected and made by the author Itana Ćupić.



Figure 2: In front of the elementary school in village Zagarač, Anka is the fourth person on the right in a black dress with a white collar, no information about the year (© Čupić, March 2022).

Mr. Rajko Raičević comes from Gradac, a village belonging to Lješanska ‘nahiyah’. During the interview, the country house of the 71-year-old interlocutor, who is the brother of my friend's grandfather, was the setting. He has been a widower for around 15 years, and his gentle nature made the conversation comfortable and facilitated the questioning process. As an electrical engineer, he has noticeable attention to detail in his memories and observations. Although the house does not have the traditional appearance of a Montenegrin house on the surface, the basement has been preserved from the old house, which was formerly used as a cowshed, and has been incorporated into the new house. The village of Gradac is situated approximately half an hour away from the city of Podgorica. During my visit, I was struck by the abundance of stones in the area. Along the way to Gradac, I passed through an uninhabited region known as ‘Kamenica’. However, as I approached the village, signs of civilization began to emerge. I noticed stone fences, known as ‘medje’, which marked the narrow and densely defined boundaries of villagers' properties, indicating an active lifestyle and a history of agriculture in the area (Interview Mr. Rajko Raičević / fieldnotes Ćupić, March 2022).



Figure 3: ‘Medja’ or stone fences, made by ‘suvomedja’ limestone technic, village Gradac (© Ćupić, March 2022).

Mr. Djurović Periša comes from the village named Markovina, which belongs to the Katunska ‘nahiyah’. The interlocutor is 84 years old, and the interview took place in his apartment in Podgorica. I was able to access this interlocutor through my family friend. The conversation occurred the day after I visited the village of Markovina and most of the Katunska ‘nahiyah’ with the guidance of his son. I visited his house which kept the authentic look of the Montenegrin old house. During my visit, I also had the opportunity to explore the surrounding meadows where his parents had been engaged in agriculture. Mr. Djurović was a professor and teacher of the then Serbo-Croatian language and Russian, with completed additional specializations in linguistics. Drawing from my previous experience and my conversation with Ms. Janković, also a teacher, I was able to engage in a rich and detailed conversation with Mr. Djurović (Interview Mr. Djurović Periša / fieldnotes Ćupić, March 2022).



Figure 4: A stone well or pool that was filled with rainwater to water the cattle, the village of Makovina on the property of the interlocutor (© Ćupić, March 2022).



Figure 5: On the way to visit the village of Markovina, Katunska ‘nahiyah’ (© Ćupić, March 2022).

Mrs. Otašević Radinka is 52 years old, got married in the village of Zagarač, Katunska ‘nahiyah’. We held the interview in front of their summer house which is a former old Montenegrin house where everyone lived together at the beginning of her married life. Today, they still keep the rooms where food is cooked and stored. If it is a nice day, they sit in front of the house with the guests. While in the newly built house next door they mostly sleep. She has only a primary education and she and her husband have spent their entire lives in Zagarač engaged in agriculture, and selling certain foods such as juice, wine, brandy, prosciutto, bacon, cheese, cream, and some fruits and vegetables. I came to visit followed by my father and his friend who is also from Zagarač that connected us with the Otašević family (Interview Ms. Otašević Radinka / fieldnotes Ćupić, March 2022).



Figure 6: On the left is the interlocutor Radinka trying to host guests, sitting are her husband Miki, my father, and the friend that brought us (© Ćupić, Zagarač, March 2022).

Mrs. Djina Gazivoda is an 84-year-old housewife with a primary education. She originates from the village of Dodoši on Lake Skadar, which belongs to the Riječka ‘nahiyah’. However, she is married in the nearby village of Rvaši. She spent her whole life in this region engaged in agricultural activities together with her husband. I was brought to visit by my close friend, whose grandmother is the respondent's sister. The conversation revolved around the living conditions of her birthplace, which used to be much more difficult due to the proximity of lake water. The land there is difficult to cultivate because of swamps and stones, in contrast to the village of Rvaši, which is a few kilometers inland and has more arable land. After about half an hour of conversation, her daughter unexpectedly arrived. She visits her mother several times a week and brings her food and groceries. The daughter lives with her family and works in the city of Podgorica. Hence, the conversation was later supplemented with the daughter's responses to my interview questions (Interview Ms. Djina Gazivoda / fieldnotes Ćupić, March 2022).



Figure 7: ‘Gumno’¹⁰ placed near the house of the family Gazivoda, with a view of the Skadar lake (© Ćupić, Rvaši, March 2022).

¹⁰ ‘Gumno’ is a surface fenced with stone used as threshing floor when rye or wheat grain is harvested. In some villages, used as place where people meet and socialize (fieldnotes Ćupić, March 2022).

Expert Interviews - Under institutions, I made approaches with the Ministry of Rural Development and Agriculture, who offered me a contact and a conversation with the Head of the Directorate for Food Quality Policy at the Ministry of Agriculture, while the National Tourism Organization offered conversations with two deputies, Manager Strategic Planning and Product Development and Manager International and Branch Office Cooperation. The conversation with the interviewees had a different dynamic than those in private settings, primarily because these were more formal conversations related to the activities of the institutions themselves. My feeling was like that of a journalist who needs to make a report about their accomplishments, so it was harder to establish the balance to position myself as if I were part of the group regarding their trust and confidentiality of the information, they gave me. Therefore, I had to interpret the objectivity of the information regarding the embellishment of information on institutional activities in the domain of my interest. The conversations lasted from half an hour to an hour, and my goal was to extract as much information as possible about past and future activities in support of the food and eating systems in central Montenegro. Here, they gave me information on interesting culinary publications, brochures, websites, project partners, and further contacts that could be useful in my work (Fieldnotes Ćupić, June 2022).

Restaurants - In the public domain, I had the opportunity to talk to two restaurateurs and a startup owner. The first interview took place at the 'Stefan' restaurant in Podgorica, which specializes in 'traditional' Montenegrin cuisine, with the son of the restaurant owner and manager, Mr. Stefan Martinović. The interview was mostly semi-structured with a leaning towards structured due to time constraints, as we only had 20-30 minutes. The second interview was with Radonjić Vlatko, the owner of the local tavern 'kafana' in the village upper Zagarač. It was a spontaneous and unplanned visit arranged on the spot to take advantage of more options on site. We sat around a round coffee table in tavern, with my father and the son of the mentioned Mrs. Anka Janković, who brought us there and established the access. This conversation turned out to be very useful as we had time to relax and enjoy refreshments. The only dynamic in treatment in this part was me as a female interlocutor, where the two interview partners were men, so there was felt a slight distance in objectivity in the data provided in relation to the female interviewee. The third interview on the public domain was with Mrs. Milica Janković and was conducted online. She is the owner of a startup business in Podgorica that offers a more contemporary approach to a 'healthy breakfast'. Here, however, my role was that of an insider and someone who can contribute and

give visibility to the significant problems she faces. I felt the trust and the desire to answer all my questions in detail (Fieldnotes Ćupić, May 2022).



Figure 8: Refreshments offered during the interview with Mr. Radonjić Vlatko, the owner of the local tavern 'kafana' in the village of Upper Zagrač (© Ćupić, March 2022).



Figure 9: Interior of the local tavern 'kafana' in the village of Upper Zagrač and the table where the interview took place (© Čupić, March 2022).

2.5. Interviews, coding, analysis, and methodological challenges

In the following I want to describe interviews, coding and challenges confronted as part of my qualitative observational research processes. This section begins with a description of the interview guides. They were specially designed intended for individuals in the context of biographical interviews on the topic of food in a private domain, then separately for institutions and for the public sphere of the restaurants. However, for citizens and villagers, groups of questions were created to cover my three main research questions. The interviews themselves were biographical and semistructured, considering that I mostly planned to interview a person once. These in-depth interviews involved conducting it as it suggested by Boyce and Palena: '[...] intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation' (2006, p 3). This created a more comfortable atmosphere for conversation, then just filling out the survey (Boyce and Palena, 2006, p 3). Expert interviews with members of

institutions, restaurant owners, and distributors, however, had a set of questions that were exclusively related to the public/touristic domain in central Montenegro, reflecting the local-global diversity of food patterns and systems. In this way, my attempt was to describe and analyze the narratives of the institutions and the public domain regarding food presentations and culinary heritage, as part of a coherent cultural identity. I will attempt to identify the negotiation between local and state, public and private actors in the later analysis, particularly in comparison to local narratives about food. I will also examine how local people question and challenge this national project and if it was challenged. By providing a 'thick description' of the natural setting, this creates a context for the analyses that will follow (Miller and Deutsch 2009, p 139). Therefore through historical ethnography recognized in the biographical interview, Smith et al. suggested the following definition 'Biographies are ways of writing the story of someone's life through changing historical circumstances' (2015, p 20). These stories about life and times differ from 'life history' or 'narratives' that [...] focus more on a particular point of view on world and processes' (Smith et al. 2015, p 20). Consequently, to bring visibility to the respondents and the nutrition system in the region using a bottom-up approach, I identified key terms and topics that emerged from the interviews and used them to develop the central body of my text. With this main body I needed to determine chronology, as narrative and biographical methods are '[...] holistic form of research...to make connections to other events being described' (Miller and Deutsch 2009, p 151). Coding itself was a process that lasted several months. Seeing that I had up to 20 interviews lasting from 30 to 1:30 minutes. Therefore 'inductive coding' allowed me to discover the themes in my data, that later was combined with '[...] deductive codes...that come from theoretical literature' (Miller and Deutsch 2009, p 151). The interviews were all held in Montenegrin. After transcribing the interviews, I translated most of them into English while being aware of the need for a sensitive translation process. This process necessarily involves the interpretive biases of the researcher. From these versions, I then extracted the key data with short biographies of the interviewees and photographs that further evoked the atmosphere and strengthened my memories. The interview would begin with an explanation of my profession and research intentions, how long it will take, whether I get consent for the given information and confirmation for audio recording. Although it was often pre-arranged by e-mail or call, here I would explain it to them further. Through my research, I quickly realized that certain conversation topics, particularly eating habits, tended to be repeated across different interviews. To take advantage of this, I used the 'phased assertion' or

'baiting' method (Bernard 2011, p 165), which allowed me to confirm information received from one informant by checking if it was repeated by others. This not only helped me to gain a deeper understanding of the topic but also helped to establish a sense of familiarity and approval with my informants (Bernard 2011, p 165). However, considering that there was no predetermined type of collaborator in the research design itself, it was sometimes possible to have a conversation in which age, but also personal affinities and interest in the research topic guided how rich the content of the conversation would be. During most of the interviews with older generations, I made a conscious effort to be sensitive and avoid tiring them with too many questions. To achieve this, I would often begin the conversation by straight asking about the food, and then give them space to share their experiences and stories. Besides I take care to avoid intimidating my interlocutors with my expertise, especially when they are not familiar with data collection through interviews. This is because they may feel pressured to exaggerate or embellish their memories, which can limit the authenticity of our conversation. In the worst case, they may even retreat or lose trust. Where, at the very beginning, I felt a withdrawal from one of the interviewees, because she was convinced that she could not answer my questions adequately, considering that she had only completed elementary education. For example, during one interview with a female participant, I followed her around the house as she prepared food for her guests because her husband and other visitors were sitting outside. Although I had been announced as an interviewer, the guests took priority, and this was the only way we could conduct the interview. The topics we discussed were relevant and useful for my work, but the participant did not want her husband to hear the details of our conversation. Additionally, since this relationship was built on a recommendation, I felt it was important to make a good impression and not jeopardize my status as a contact person. In this situation, my professional duties as a researcher were somewhat neglected, but they saw me more as someone they could help in this way. Here, especially with older people, I had to show a level of empathy and understanding of their life stories, explained in the literature under the term 'emotional work' of the researcher (Akram 2021, p 2).

One of the challenges considered during the fieldwork was in the segment related to hospitality¹¹. Knowing the customs, I would always have some of the presents (juice, sugar cubes, coffee, fruit, or chocolate) prepared to give upon arrival at the informers' home. Also, I would try to make the

¹¹ See also chapter 5.2.8.

time of the interview outside the time of the main meals, not too early or too late, because in Montenegro the frequent answer to scheduling a meeting is 'come by anytime during the day'. It would also impose an obligation on the hosts to prepare and cook solemn meals for me. This is the part where my knowledge of anthropologist at home helped in creating trust among the respondents and perhaps some advantages. It was often older people for whom it would be a drudgery, to expect any servings as they themselves mostly needed help. But during the interview, and especially after an hour of talking about food, they would offer to visit them again so to prepare something for me, or they would show me their current lunch. This necessity of well-set dining offering is a very intimate indicator of personal and family wealth (Jansen 1997, 94 p). Therefore I did not want to expose the family to feelings of discomfort in situations of poor economic conditions. With the presented methods, I can now begin my introductory deductive theoretical approach, which will further help me explain the anthropological terms that emerged as important in the process of coding the interviews.

3. Anthropology of food (in the Mediterranean context)

3.1 On anthropology and the discovery of Mediterranean societies

The absence of literature on food and anthropology in Montenegro prompted the study to look at the broader picture and explore the development of anthropology in the Mediterranean region. It is also necessary to understand the similarities of the region that are related to the Mediterranean. For example, one component that makes countries in these regions similar, and which will be described in this study in detailed explanation, is the 'climate of hot, dry summers and humid, cool winters, as well as a generally hilly landscape' (European Commission 2023, online). Therefore the study draws on the work of key authors to help interpret and build on ideas on the region such as Giordano Christian, Blok Anton, Bromberger Christian, and Albera Dionigi. According to Swiss anthropologist and sociologist Giordano, the origins of the discovery of the Mediterranean societies as an anthropological subject was carried out in the late 1940s and 1950s, after colonial empires started disintegrating (Giordano 2012, p 13). He suggests that in the newly emerged political atmosphere after formerly colonized places, studying the allegedly untouched traditions

of 'savage societies'¹² was 'nearly unthinkable' (Giordano 2012, p 14). After this experience, scientists were considered 'personae non-gratae, as being agents of the former colonial power' (Giordano 2012, p 14). However, dynamics and similarities can be identified in the treatment of the Mediterranean 'peasant societies' in contrast with the previous object of study, so academics started giving these areas certain scientific attention. French anthropologist at the 'French National Center for Scientific Research' Albera Dionigi and Dutch Anthropologist Blok Anton offer another stance on the Mediterranean as an object of study. They suggest that 'the Mediterranean should be seen as a field of "difference", as a [...] texture of difference that is constantly reshaped' (Albera and Block 2001, p 41). Therefore, it is essential to observe the multiple standpoints of the question of 'the other' while studying Mediterranean societies. French professor of anthropology Christian Bromberger offers models of contradictory images of the Mediterranean. Three scientific models where this part of Europe is analyzed are: a) from the side-by-side point of view (presented with a family resemblance), b) face-to-face point of view (the Mediterranean of conflicts and hatred), and c) the point of view of underlying cultural complicities¹³ (Bromberger 2007, p 296). On the other hand, this seems like an attempt to observe society from a backward, poor, or antagonistic point of view, transferring the values that are interpreted out of their own standards of the culture studied. The important question suggested by Bromberger 'Which one recognizes one's self?' points to several anthropologists,¹⁴ which radically questioned the relevance of the Mediterranean world as an area of study. The ethnological Mediterranean from the Eurocentric point of view is presented as an artificial object used to offer an 'exotic' region 'that is too close and thus objectify the distance necessary for the exercise of our discipline' (Bromberger 2007, p 298). American cultural anthropologist Christopher Boehm (1987), one of the first authors of this kind of literature on Montenegro, suggests an opposite view on the antagonistic Mediterranean. Following the concept of 'the other' in his book 'Blood Revenge' about nineteenth-century Balkan warriors, society is not interpreted as only following the cultural rules and obediently killing in revenge '[...]rather, they understood their own feuding behavior quite well, from certain

¹²Here the author is alluding to studies by Bronisław Malinowski and Alfred Reginald Radcliffe Brown at the beginning of the 20th century (Giordano 2012, p 14).

¹³ Complications are explained as 'totemic figures of ostentatious hospitality, honor, and shame attached to blood and to names, of the republic of the cousin, and the cult of saints' (Bromberger 2007, p 296).

¹⁴ Regrading this we have to mention Michael Herzfeld (1980) and João de Pina-Cabral (1989) 'who have radically called into question the pertinence of the Mediterranean world as a field of study' (Bromberger 2007, p 298).

perspectives that were very important to them' (Boehm, 1987, p xi). However, in addition to the concept of 'othering,' the Mediterranean context in anthropology has prompted me to explore the issue of the lack of literature in the field of Montenegro, particularly in anthropology of food. I am interested in understanding how both internal and external factors have contributed to this dearth. Consequently, I am curious about the criteria that guide the academia in decisions and interests to extensively examine certain segments, while completely omitting others. Therefore the acceptance of these practices and understanding the stipulations could provide valuable insight and incentive for further observations.

3.2 Food, identity, and memories

Anthropologists Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (2013) explain several reasons why food studies exploded. The first consideration is that women's studies followed by feminism legitimized the sphere where women's existence has been recognized as the main place of action throughout history and across cultures. Second is that with time food became additionally politicized through movements and increased awareness between consumption and production. The third argument proposes that the reason why this area of research is particularly important is due to the growth of the abundance of literature available. This allows us to understand the meaning that food conveys, and connect various aspects of human life, such as the physical and spiritual, individual and societal, and material and symbolic, from 'being local and known, to being global and unknown' (Counihan and Van Esterik 2013, p 2). One of the vital theoretical supports that will be used and was of great help in setting the structure of the thesis is the book 'Food — The Key Concept' by American anthropologist Warren Belasco (2008). The author cites several examples of world global trends, such as the 19th-century social reforms that tried to act against the near disappearance of food, whereas progressiveness shifted 'traditional food production to automated manufacturing' (Belasco 2008, p 4). Therefore examples of 'meal in a pill', which come to the corner of feminist utopians and McDonald's automated meals, actually forced humanity to distance itself from 'traditional rituals, sensibilities, and practices for our health and environment' (Belasco 2008, p 4). These practices are further discussed by Belasco in the name of 'progressiveness'. Which are in some cases unfortunate for our health and the environment and further help mystify the processes previously known from the farm to our dining table. Therefore, the importance of studying food, as suggested by the author, lies in its power to clarify our identity, and raise awareness of the fact that our daily meals are a journey around the world when we look at our

plates (Belasco 2008, p 4). For these reasons, one could find the issues of demystifying processes that distance us from body and soul, self and others, quite desperate.

[...]industrial eater who does not know that eating is an agricultural act, who no longer knows or imagines the connections between eating and land and therefore is necessarily passive and uncritical (Berry 1989, p 126)¹⁵.

Various experts from the fields of business, agriculture, and health issues additionally encourage the processes that Belasco calls 'forgetfulness'. In order to move away from confusion, the author finds importance in dealing with questions that come from the point of 'generalists', that ask fundamental questions through a holistic approach. Generalist stance suggested as 'why certain food tastes good at a particular time and to a particular group of people' (Belasco 2008, p 7). As a starting point in the discussion on how food resonates with the history of the formation of human values, I choose the questions that ring a bell: What did I eat today? When was the last time I invited guests over for a meal? Or who decided what to eat on that occasion? (Belasco 2008, p 17). In this manner, concepts of food identity and memories are being introduced as key standpoints of my work. Food explained through the identity lens serves 'to symbolize how we define ourselves in terms of religion, ethnicity, social class and so on' (Fox 2003, cited in Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 12). The next object that is necessary for the reconstruction of the identity woven through memories is food 'madeleine'¹⁶, carried out in Marcel Proust's 'Remembrance of Things Past' (Belasco 2008, p 25). In this way, the theory confirms that eating reveals who we are, or who made our 'madeleines', the food that is especially laden with 'emotional, autobiographical and symbolic meaning' (Belasco 2008, p 26). In this way, it is possible to facilitate the understanding of one's own situation from the point of view of not observing the circumstances as better or worse, but from a self-aware and self-emotional position. On the one side food identity includes memories, personal preferences, pleasure, and creativity while on the other, brought up by Sutton's book 'Remembrance of Repast' is a 'boundary marker', where more current terminology suggests that 'food is about identity creation and maintenance, whether that identity is national, ethnic, class, or gender-based (2001, p 5). As explained further by another important anthropologist dealing with the topic of memories, Jon Holtzman, food, and memories are highly cross disciplinary fields that

¹⁵ Explained by Belasco as 'The ideal corporate customer today' (Belasco 2008, p 5).

¹⁶ Concept explained by Belasco, as 'what we eat has enormous significance as medium for personal and collective recollections and collective identity' (Belasco 2008, p 26).

demand holistic approaches. Food can be considered part of sociology, culinary science and literature, and memories that are mostly related to history and to some extent psychology (Holtzman 2006, p 262). Therefore to understand how food is remembered introduced is approach given by Sutton, to look deeply into the historical consciousness, 'the play of repetition and change in structuring the memorable and the forgettable' (Sutton 2001, p. 103). Here the author indicates the structural interrelationship between meals and more precisely how one meal recalls another. Using the theory developed by Mary Douglas which discusses structural relationships due to distinguishing how the meals fit together as an event, 'the smallest meanest meal, figures the structure of the grandest meal, and each unit of the grand meal figures again the whole meal, or the meanest meal' (Douglas 1971, p 67).

Functionalism and structuralism¹⁷ anthropologists pay attention to forgetting and remembering, as explained in the book 'Brotherhood and Unity at the Kitchen Table: Food in Socialist Yugoslavia'. In this book it is pointed out that 'remembering and forgetting is always connected with particular social and cultural dynamics and that they are essentially social in character' (Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 241). Furthermore, it seems that during the late 1980s, a new field of anthropology emerged that focused on the study of memories. This field of study evolved to address issues related to the cultural construction of memory, its social and historical context, its partial and fragmented nature, and its inherent uncertainty (Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 241). Memories are reconstructed over meal systems as repetition of learned and inherited through details we choose to remember in collaboration with novelty as Sutton argues in 'influx of new' (Sutton 2001, p 103). As further discussed in Kapralski et al.:

'When re-analyzing the previously collected interviews, we experienced a particular mixture of remembering and forgetting, mythology and psychoanalytic transfer, indifference, and obsession' (2021, p 10)¹⁸.

According to Kapralski et al. (2021), memories are shaped as distorted images of the past, 'present in the imperfect and faded remnants of intergenerational transmission' and, they permeate

¹⁷Ambiguity of memories can be explained as 'structural amnesia' through 'selective forgetting', written by Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, Edmund Leach, Laura Bohannon (Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 241).

¹⁸ Polish Anthropologists that developed the concept of 'non-memory' in work 'Reflexive ethnography of Poland's non-memory about Jews and the Holocaust: Revisiting fieldwork, revising assumptions' (2021).

everyday life as ‘imperatives of the present in which we asked the respondents about the past’ (2021, p 10). In this way, one learns more about the present than the past, about themselves as a researcher and as a human being. Even though we believe anthropology and history point to some practices as timeless, Belasco discloses that they are actually ‘highly variable and only recently constructed’ (2008, p 19).

3.3. Food, work, and hunger in ‘tribal’ areas

‘No one can study the history of the formation of human values, the development of cooperation and labor, and the early forms of capital and exchange, without coming up against the theory of nutrition’ (Malinowski preface 1932, in Richards 1932, p xxiii).

Discussing the tribal community as one of the observable and fundamental concepts of social and cultural anthropology requires additional clarification. An overview of this disputable term, which in the 1960s and 1970s passed through the hands of many critics, can be found in the book ‘Islamische Stammesgesellschaften’ (2004) by Austrian anthropologist Wolfgang Kraus. The term ‘tribe’ articulated in its essence indicates less complex and non-state forms of social organization based on communal origin and kinship (Kraus 2004, p 28). ‘Tribe’ as a term arose in the 17th and 18th centuries because of the expansion of colonialism. For the purpose of colonial ruling domination local groups were addressed as ‘backward’, justifying the mission of the colonies as emancipators of society (Smelser and Baltes 2001, p 15907). Therefore this term ceased to be used as such for the purposes of categorization in comparative general studies. As suggested by Dole, in this sense ‘tribe’ is an analytical construct – a social unit assuming a specific unified culture and therefore could be used for the reason of manipulations and of comparison applied in universally non-state or ‘primitive’ societies (Dole 1968, cited in Kraus 2004, p 38). As a result, the term acquired negative and pejorative meaning in many parts of the world, so in the following text, it is replaced by other terms such as ‘indigenous’ or ‘ethnic’ people (Smelser and Baltes 2001, p 15907).

It is worth noting that in some areas, especially in parts with Islamic influences, the term is used locally with dignity and notions of pride and honor, attaining independence from local states or colonies, so today anthropologists decide to use it as equivalent to certain ‘vernacular terms referring to certain local conceptions of collective sociopolitical identity’ (Smelser and Baltes 2001, p 15906).

To further explain the importance of the concept of 'tribal' in the Montenegrin context, the contributions of Audrey Richards, Vera Stein Ehrlich, Klavs Sedlenieks, and Branko Banović will be discussed. Selected authors are coming from very different backgrounds, but their perspectives clarify the case study about everyday life, dealing deeply with the context of the society investigated. The fundamentals of economic organization in a pastoral community will be explained using the work of Audrey Richards, an English social anthropologist who dealt with the 'social psychology, food culture, nutrition, agriculture, land use, and economic organization' (Britannica 2022, online). She was a precedent in explaining the subject as 'the fundamental urge for food as shaping human institutions' (Strathern 1984, pp 11-12). In her research 'Hunger and work in a savage tribe: a functional study of nutrition among the Southern Bantu', created in 1932, she uses the problematic terms and labeling from which science wants to be redirected. However, the topics covered in the aforementioned book, such as food and sentiment, human relationships and nutritional needs, agricultural activities, hospitality, food shortage, and kinship groups, complemented the processes that emerged in my fieldwork which will be further elaborated on. Considering that the memories of my interviewees date back to the period of the beginning of the 20th century and can be considered as remnants of the tribal community in the Central part of Montenegro. Parallels have been found between her research and the society being examined, regarding the role of food as a shaping aspect of human institutions and the social and cultural functions of nutritive processes. The aim is not to reproduce the theory of society as 'backwardness' but to be guided by the tools that the author offers, which can help in explaining the 'nutritive sentiments'¹⁹ and 'how the production, preparation, and uses of food constitute first and foremost economic processes of mankind both as regard their genetic sequence and their importance' (Malinowski's preface, in Richards 1932, p xxiii). Such living conditions will not be shown as backwardness, but rather as a sequence of circumstances in which due to processes of adaptation certain values in human institutions were placed. Here food is partly interpreted as created by factors of adaptation to geographical conditions. The article complementing Richards is given by a Slovenian anthropologist, Bojan Baskar, about food prohibitions and taboos explaining anthropological functionalism, where 'every cultural trait, therefore, has one that is seemingly irrational - its function, its rational reason for existence' (Baskar 2004, p 2). Rationality

¹⁹ As 'nutrition itself is a subject which above all falls into the province of the economist' (Malinowski preface 1932, in Richards 1932, p xxiii).

is explained in the human adaptive value. The customs which govern the manners of eating in any community are exceedingly important details sociologically if we are to understand the formation of the family group (Richards 1932, p 29). According to Richards, in regions where there is scarcity, due to the impossibility of regular transportation of foodstuffs or any other reasons of unsustainability 'there need to exist certain ties of reciprocity between members of the family due to prevent starvation' (Richards 1932, p 29). This further extends to the practices shown in placing an accent on hospitality within the group as one of the key anthropological terms explained in the work of Pitt-Rivers 'The Law of Hospitality' (2012) in 1974. This explains the 'tribe' as an institution in the period of the non-existence of centralized power in Montenegro, as a system of support of certain isolated units. Explained in more detail in a later chapter concerning social structures, kinship issues, and the importance of 'Dinaric tribes' regarding the Montenegrin context, 'pleme' or 'plemena' (plural of 'pleme') translated into English as 'tribes' comprise of sets of 'bratstva' (kin groups) that used to reside in a particular territory. 'Bratstva' are translated as either 'clans', 'lineages' or 'brotherhoods' (Sedlenieks 2013, p 95). The importance of using the above-mentioned explanation of Sedlenieks, as well as other scholars who were engaged in scientific work in Montenegro is in recognizing the exceptional necessity of interpreting the term 'plemena' in an anthropological study, especially their interrelation with state and sociocultural dimensions around them. 'Pleme' as the explained concept of extended family to a more distant group of relatives is formed as a mutual self-care system called by Malinowski's 'principle of social insurance'²⁰ (Richards 1932, p 30). Further explained as the continuation or outgrowth of the family that defines inheritance and succession and helps in the realization of the roles of agriculture and the military (Richards 1932, p 140). For this reason and due to the functioning of the entire nutritional system, 'tribe' and its members are created. Richard claims that therefore this source of food centralization due to shortage of food supplies finds these societies out of most accurate proof.

'Food is actually a different object to the hungry and to the full man, as Sorokin puts it, the greater the shortage of supplies the greater the proportion of the human budget of time spent on nutritional activities' (Sorokin 1928, p 631).

Additionally, Sorokin points to the greater obstacles in overcoming and obtaining food. This is an instinct that occurs regularly in short intervals and according to Richards, its value varies primarily

²⁰ B. Malinowski, 'Kinship', in the 'Encyclopedia Britannica' 14th ed. (Richards 1932, p 30).

with our physiological needs (Richards 1932, p 14). This thesis will examine a society that despite its food shortage could possibly contradict this analogy of food centralization. The definition of ‘work’, by the German ethnologist Gerd Spittler, deriving it from the system with economic reductionism will be used²¹. In the author’s words ‘the ecological reductionism that is widespread in ethnology does not start from the economic, but from the ecological condition (Spittler 2016, p 18). An equally important aspect according to Spittler is the technical aspect, the types of tools and machines that are used. The tool itself does not dictate the type of work, but the more important hypothesis about behavior, knowledge of nature, environment, and endurance (Spittler 2016, p 18). According to Marx’s book ‘Economic-philosophical Manuscripts’ from the year 1844, we understand the embodiment of physical and mental abilities that exist in the living personality of man and which he activates as soon as he produces use value, by labor power or labor capacity (Marx 1844, cited in Spittler 2016, p 19). Here, the term labor force is of a certain sociocultural dimension, when a knowledgeable individual dies, the skills that were necessary for survival in the given conditions disappear. The concept of endurance that Spittler uses is conditioned by the harshness of the climate, ‘farmers and shepherds are fully exposed to the harshness of the climate in their work: they have to endure heat and cold, wind and weather’ (Spittler 2016, p 20). Therefore, they are exposed to loneliness, endurance and additional difficulties and dangers. Various forms of social values that define forms and roles in work appear. According to Spittler, work should be seen not as passive manipulation of the environment over which we have control, but as interaction:

‘The farmer takes care of his plants, and the shepherd is at the service of his flock. However, we should not overlook the fact that parts of the farmer’s work are more of a struggle than care. This applies e.g. for clearing or weeding. The trees, the bushes, and the “weeds” are enemies here that need to be fought. For the Bemba, trimming trees is a life-or-death struggle’ (Spittler 2016, p 287).

The pragmatic definition is that ‘material things have self-reliance, animals have self-will and people have self-will’ (Spittler 2016, p 287). It explains the anthropological necessity of observing the conditions of this interaction, and thus the variation according to the mentioned ‘actors’ from one to another local context. With that, agriculture reshaped the world of the inhabitants’ both

²¹ Spittler is giving an example of reaching a certain goal in a manner if a person is hungry, there is the necessity to work due to getting a food (Spittler 2016, p 18).

physically and culturally, transforming landscapes and geography, subsidizing soldiers and poets, politicians, and priests' (Diamond 1999, p 236).

3.4. Food, invented traditions, and nationality

The important starting point regarding the concept 'invention of traditions' emerging of the industrial capitalism, socialism and nationalism was suggested by the British historian Eric Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger. He suggests that the emphasis on 'tradition' occurs precisely as response to novel situations (1983, p 2). Current traditions are references to past situations as a result of 'constant change and innovation of modern world and attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant' (Hobsbawm 1983, p 2). In these innovations for the purpose of creation of a nation, food acts as a channel for expressing identity, argued by Holtzman 'Cookbooks are one important avenue for this process' (2006, p 368). In the famous publication 'How to Make a National Cuisine' (1988), Indian anthropologist Arjun Appadurai explores cookbooks in contemporary India. He offers an explanation of how 'cookbooks [sic!] appear to belong to the literature of exile, of nostalgia and loss' (Appadurai 1988, p 18). Hence how it can indicate and evoke a period of realized old glory of empires. Despite the specialized ethnic and regional cuisines, contemporary chefs of the concept of national cuisine still use certain general standards stated by the author 'simply to inflate and reify a historically special tradition and make it serve metonymously, for the whole' (Appadurai 1988, p 18). The author's notion is that despite regional and local traditions national cuisine is not only built from them but that this is a 'repertoire' that enables more general classifications. Thus 'The idea of "Indian" cuisine arose because of, not in spite of, the increasing articulation of regional and ethnic cuisines' (Appadurai 1988, p 21). Furthermore, the concept brought by Herzfeld (2006) refers to those 'unchangeable' aspects of a community, brought closer as 'disemia'²² in the book 'Cultural Intimacy' (2005). The author indicates identity aspects that are 'considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality' (Herzfeld 2005, p 3). Demonstrating coexistence between citizens and nation-states, in the examples of how a government can manipulate the elements of 'cultural intimacy' in order to create loyalty and establish its utilitarian strategies. This is how certain systems of 'defensive domesticity' are realized, especially now in the face of globalization when platitudes attempt to make it

²² Term used by Herzfeld Indicating peculiar inventions of state and local identity negotiations (Herzfeld 2005, p 3).

‘palatable both at home and abroad’ (Herzfeld 2005, p 4). With his theory, Herzfeld offers a model for observing and interpreting these mutual engagements between the state and people. He explains the appearance and acceptance of the past of the ‘tribes’ by stratifying these aspects to justify nationalism given by stories taken as national pride (2005, p 6). These representations are imposed by the elite and institutions, yet certainly, come from recycled local representations. So as Herzfeld notes, the characteristics of nationalism, if recognized, can serve as a key marker of cultural intimacy, a ‘generous measure of embarrassment’ (Herzfeld 2005, p 6). Likewise, the family imposes its principles of selfhood, to a similar extent that nationalism imposes on its citizens. That is how Eric Hobsbawm explains that anthropology can help in elucidating the difference between old and invented traditions. These are the symptoms that indicate the problems in development, as evidence of these inventions that otherwise if understudied can end up being missed and not recognized. Hobsbawm further suggests the argument ‘for all invented traditions, so far as possible, use history as a legitimator of action and cement of the group cohesion’ (Hobsbawm 1983, p 12). Therefore, the national phenomenon cannot be explored without paying attention to these inventions. Herzfeld offers the concept of ‘cultural intimacy’ as an antidote to cultural nationalism, through the notion of ‘disemia’ explained as ‘the formal or coded tension between official self-presentation and what goes on the privacy of collective introspection’ (Herzfeld 2005, p 14). As already noted, one of the anthropological works that will support the description of the socio-cultural local context of Montenegro comes from the author Klavs Sedlenieks, in his 2013 dissertation ‘And Burn Today Whom Yesterday They Fed’ anthropological study of relationships between the citizens and the state in Montenegro. Moreover, literature on how nationality defines food identities literature that depicts the situation after the breakup of Yugoslavia in the Balkans is Fotiadis’s 2019 book titled ‘Brotherhood and Unity at the Kitchen Table: Food in Socialist Yugoslavia’. The author argues that ‘nationality suddenly became the major principle of (self)defining and started to figure prominently in giving names to people, food, streets, and cities’ and that today, in the Balkans, culinary wars are being waged in demarcating common products, such as coffee, ‘burek’, ‘ćevap’ and many others (Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 16). Another example of such practices is introduced in the article of commodifying ‘Slow food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity’ (2003) by author Alison Leitch who argues that local practices of national gastronomic projects are being reinvented into ‘exotic’ gastronomic products, suggesting that these inventions are ‘[...]associated with a distinct social history and corporeal

memory is now privately patented by a group of people who may be entitled to sell the recipe' (Leitch 2003, p 448). Leitch explains that despite the introduced concept of 'invention of tradition', this intertwines and leans more on the meaning of 'commodifying of nostalgia'. Thus, the order in which I listed the literature in the 'Anthropology of Food' section will further help me clarify the concepts that emerged within interlocutors, culminating in a comparison of how local and collective ideas of national identity actually coincide in the representation of food in the public/touristic sphere. Insights about invented traditions will be particularly highlighted in the chapter on 5.3. 'Local-globalized food practices and the rural-urban linkages in Central Montenegro' covering current developments, where support programs, distribution, and food presentations display the local-global diversity of food patterns.

4. Montenegro – On historical, geographical, political, and social framework conditions

4.1. Geographical circumstances of Montenegro

At the time of writing, Montenegro's territory is 13,883 square kilometers, with a population of 619,100 (Britannica 2023, online). It could approximately be compared with a number of several Viennese districts. Most of the territory is Limestone Mountains, which throughout history proved difficult to conquer and pass through. Its name Montenegro or 'Black Mountain' is a translation of the original Slavic name 'Crna Gora'²³, depicting dense evergreen pine forests that if viewed from an airplane, give hints of blackness within mostly white karst regions (Sedlenieks 2015, p 15). Montenegro is located in Southeastern Europe with an opening to the Adriatic Sea in the south and a coastline of 293.5 km (MONSTAT 2008a). It borders Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia to the West, Serbia to the North, and Albania and Kosovo to the East. Montenegro is divided into three regions: southern, northern, and central. The central part consists of four cities: Podgorica, Nikšić, Danilovgrad, and Cetinje. Key research locations are the capital Podgorica with a population of 189 260 (2019) with surrounding rural region (Glavni grad Podgorica 2023, online). The remaining cities barely mentioned by interlocutors will be used marginally, to explain the

²³ These are the Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian speaking areas.

migrations that took place during industrialization in the second part of the 20th century. The definition of Montenegro's central part, offered in the following section on historical development, is fundamental as it represents the territory that used to be Old Montenegro, forerunning the expansion of the borders of mentioned cities and building of industrial zones in the 19th and early 20th century. The central part is separated from the coastal area by high Dinaric limestone mountain ranges Rumija, Sutorman, Orjen, and Lovćen with flora and fauna explained as 'patches of fertile land can be found in karst depressions called 'polja' (Economic Commission for Europe, 2007, p 5). Explained by Serbian geographer and ethnologist, Jovan Cvijić:

'People clear the limestone, break it with dynamite, gunpowder, pick and roll out the rocks and make small flats, only a few tens of square meters in size; when exceeding in size of a hundred square meters, these are considered large fields. They apply red, fertile karst soil on them; such fields with added soil must be terraced with land borders or sub-walls, so that they are not washed away during floods' (1931, p 131).

This process of terracing allowed people to cultivate crops in areas that would otherwise be unsuitable for agriculture due to the rocky terrain and Mediterranean climate dominated by the Mediterranean Sea. The only suitable for agriculture fertile regions stand out in the countries very interior, in Central Montenegrin depression. These are Zeta plain with the Zeta river valley and the Nikšić plain with the same river (Visit Montenegro 2023, online). This research is focused on the region that partly covers the mentioned territory, which is known as Old Montenegro, 'Stara Crna Gora' in the local language. This region consists of mostly abandoned villages and dwellings that are presently barely active in agriculture in addition to the area surrounding Lake Skadar forming the only fertile belt amidst an otherwise barren interior of karst terrain. In contrast to the arid karst region, the fertile plains are distinct from this area and not considered part of 'Old Montenegro' which will be explained in more detail below. Due to the constantly changing socio-cultural dimensions, the time from which my research respondents recollect contrasts with the present situation where the majority of the population lives in urban areas, which is explained in detail in chapter 4.6 on 'Food and agriculture – Economic and political developments'.

4.2. Historical development of Central Montenegro

The first recorded use of the name 'Montenegro' as a territorial designation dates back to the year 1400 (Erdeljanović 1978, p 30). Its history as a state can be traced back to the millennium of the commemoration of Prince Vladimir of Duklja. Referencing this historical mention, in 2016 Montenegro celebrated its thousandth year of statehood (Vukanović 2018, p 9). Throughout the

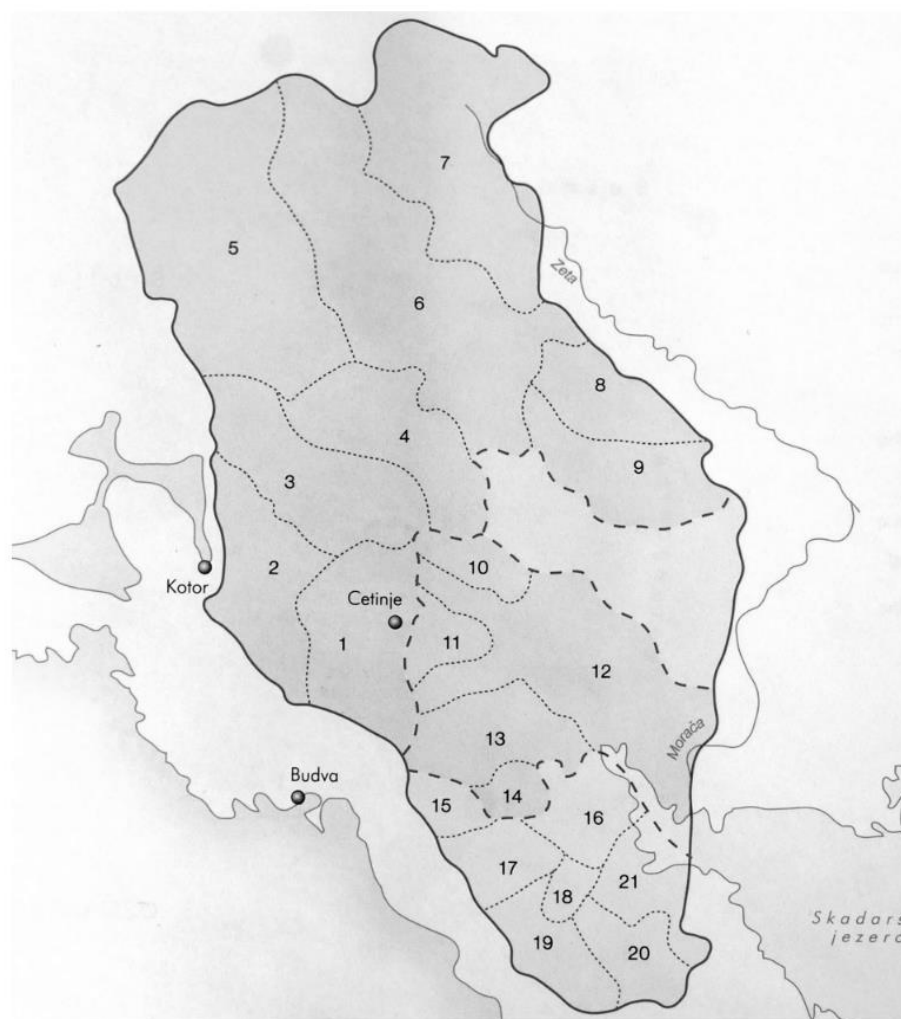
centuries, Montenegro has found itself on the border between several ruling powers and empires. Croatian social anthropologist Vera Ehrlich in her book 'Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages' argues that one can find signs of the following cultures which marked and shaped Montenegrin territory: Roman, Byzantine, Venetian, Ottoman, and Central-European-Austrian patterns (Ehrlich 2015, p 359). For the sake of making the very complex history of the Balkans approachable, Montenegrin historian Miloš Vukanović offers a historical overview through ruling Montenegrin dynasties: 'three of which are medieval – Vojislavljević, Balšić, and Crnojević – and one of which is modern, Petrović' (2018, p 9). According to the author, the last ten centuries of Montenegrin history were marked by significant challenges and powerful adversaries, which made it especially difficult for the ruling Petrović dynasty to maintain its position as the longest-ruling dynasty in the region. This dynasty ruled from 1697 to 1918 and succeeded in creating a modern Montenegrin state (Vukanović 2018, p 9). One that required the formation of its institutions from the ground up, facing impoverished conditions and battling constant riots of inter-tribal presence '[...]in the border region in which the greatest world powers of the new century were interested: the Republic of Venice, the Ottoman Empire, and the Habsburg Monarchy (Vukanović 2018, p 9). As a result, the area beneath Mount Lovćen, which preceded modern Montenegro and underwent several border expansions before the 20th century, was known as 'Old Montenegro'. This territory covered an area of approximately 1,500 square kilometers and was divided into four main 'nahiyahs': Katunska, Lješanska, Riječka, and Crmnica or Crmnička nahiyah (Erdeljanović 1978, p 57). The term 'nahiyah' as a word is of 'Turkish'²⁴ origin. It is used to identify a region that consists of several 'tribes' which then consist of several 'villages'. The four mentioned Nahiyahs counted 20 'tribes' within 'Old Montenegro'. The term nahiyah dates to the period of the Ottoman rule of Montenegro in the 17th century when Ottoman administrative divisions were created out of necessity to control the territory and their terms were used to name them. Later, after liberation, several terms were kept in use out of habit (Erdeljanović 1978, p 59). The use of the term we know today was first noted in 1753, during Petar I Petrović's rule. In the 18th and beginning of the 19th century 'Old Montenegro' the economic and social circumstances were similar to those of the previous age. The Republic of Venice to the south of 'Old Montenegro'

²⁴ The Montenegrin context commonly uses the term 'Ottoman' in a colloquial sense to refer to the historical period of Ottoman rule, as the term 'Turkey' did not yet exist during that time. The source is a formal expert talk with Montenegrin historian Miloš Vukanović (Fieldnotes Čupić, April 2022).

and the Ottoman Empire to the north, east, and west were making strides in stamping the urban zones, while ‘Old Montenegro’ with its nahiyahs ‘tribal areas maintained their structure’ (Vukanović 2018, p 53).



Figure 10: Historical map, Old Montenegro and its tribes, (© Udruženje crnogorskog pršuta. 2022).



Map of tribes in Montenegro

Katunska nahija:

1. Cetinje
2. Njegusi
3. Ceklici
4. Bjelice
5. Cuce
6. Ozrinici
7. Pjesivci
8. Zagarac

Rijecka nahija:

9. Kosjeri
10. Dobrsko Selo
11. Ceklin
12. Ljubotin
13. Gracani

Crmnicka nahija:

14. Podgor
15. Dupilo
16. Brceli
17. Sotonici
18. Gluhi Do
19. Limljani
20. Boljevici

Figure 11: Map of 'tribes' in Montenegro (Vukanović 2018, p 18)

The urban areas were mainly established trade zones and crossroads for agricultural and craft goods coming from hinterland wider areas. Although the rest of Europe at the end of the 18th century was characterized by an emerging industrial revolution, the Ottoman Empire territory resisted these developments. Since Montenegro was at the time under the Ottoman Empire, the effects of the industrial revolution did not resonate in the same manner in nahiyahs as in the rest of Europe (Vukanović 2018, p 56). Until the end of the 18th century, the region of Old Montenegro sustained itself predominately on cattle-breeding and small arable areas. Wooden plows were still in use and the appearance of steel alternatives was available only in the 19th century (Vukanović 2018, p 56). It is worth noting that in addition to the industrial developments arriving late to the region, unexpected natural and political crises, such as drought or natural disasters endangered the inhabitants of these parts from time to time. Only the 'Crmnicka nahiyah' of the existing four was able to feed itself with the resources available, '[...] while the other three were always on the verge of starvation' (Vukanović 2018, p 55). As the prominent Montenegrin historian Rade Raspopović illustrates in 'Historical records, year lxxiii', an example of this precarious way of living was numerous. One of them is Prince Bishop Petar II Petrovic Njegos's letters to the Russian Tsar, from Vienna on December 23, 1836/4., and 1837 (2010, p 16). The letters contained numerous requests, written in the form of an appeal for assistance to Montenegro. They were based on the assessment of the deplorable situation in the country, in which Montenegro was positioned due to its small area of arable land. In order to be able to develop and oppose the Ottoman enemy that surrounds it, the bishop considered it necessary to expand the borders of Montenegro, which would provide the necessary fertile land needed for the survival of the population (Raspopović 2010, p 16). At the time of his rule, bishop Peter II Petrovic Njegos invested in leading diplomatic efforts in establishing borders and preventing major conflicts, where in addition to four nahiyahs Montenegro included 'tribal areas bearing the name Brda: Bjelopavlici, Piperi, Rovca, Moraca and part of Kuci' (Vukanović 2018, p 111). With Prince Bishop's advocacy Montenegro reaches a significant increase in territory and the number of inhabitants from 80,000 (at the beginning of his rule) to 100,000. In addition, a foundation of permanent government through institutions was formed in Montenegro as well as 'exceptional efforts were invested in the establishment of the first schools in Montenegro' (Vukanović 2018, p 141). The expansion of borders was a key historical moment in the rise of sociocultural developments and the creation of institutions. This

historical background is worth mentioning in order to imagine the movements in relation to Ottoman subjugators and the expansion of borders into today's state. Other authors also mention similar processes and recognize these specificities. Sedlenieks argues that 'many parts have been popular as refugee areas' (Sedlenieks 2013, p 15). As a result of the population fleeing harsh stone landscapes both from 'blood revenge' and from the Ottoman occupiers forcing people to migrate deep into the rocky deserts to inhabit villages most often hidden in rugged regions with small amounts of arable land and often no water. According to already introduced anthropologist Boehm, the 'tribal' area that first became autonomous was Old Montenegro, near the Adriatic coast (1987, p 43). By 1820, in addition to nahiyahs freeing themselves from the Ottoman Empire, most of the 'tribes' of the Brda had also become independent. The plains and cities where the land was more fertile belonged to the Ottoman-controlled territories that surrounded the Montenegrins on three sides with Venice controlling the coastal strip (Boehm 1987, p 43).

Rugged mountains and deserts were marginalized in these ways but also provided special advantages for self-defense or flight (Boehm 1987, p 40). In these mountainous conditions, the individual could lead with better strategic positions for defense on the one hand great losses to the Ottoman Empire that conquered most of the Middle East and the Balkans. For the Ottoman Empire, such an area with uncultivated land in karst areas was not of great value. According to Boehm this position and the surviving persistence of the 'tribes' led to political success in defending the territory and maintaining local autonomy:

'Along with fierce neighbors living in the northern mountains of Albania, the Slavic speaking Montenegrins are among the few "tribal" peoples surviving today in Europe. The reason these Balkan segmentary "tribes" still exist is partly due to their geography, which locks them into isolated mountain valleys' (Boehm 1987, p 5).

Vukanović considered this either a 'historical mistake or a miracle' since the very survival and independence of Montenegro in its constant attempts and decades of struggle for freedom in diplomatic failures and military defeats paid in great bloodshed and suffering (2018, p 9). As the borders of the state of Montenegro expanded at the beginning of the 20th century, more fertile regions were annexed to it and the old villages in the stone regions started disappearing because people who aspired to a better life moved into the cities.

4.3. Social structures, kinship issues, and the importance of ‘Dinaric tribes’

The patriarchal regime in Montenegro is a socio-cultural dimension that historically resisted changes described both in conversations with interlocutors and in the literature. Additionally emphasized due to the large loss of the male population in the battles, special importance was attached to these systems. Social anthropologist Ehrlich argues that ‘In the Dinaric districts, with their fighting tradition, the Illyric past, and a pastoral economy, life was centered on the tribal set-up’ (Ehrlich 2015, p 34). Boehm further explains that the exact composition of the ‘tribes’ both in ‘Old Montenegro’ and in the surrounding hills were formed by groups that fled from the more fertile surrounding regions, such as the territory of today's Montenegro, Serbia, and Albania, due to blood feuds and Ottoman conquests, explained as ‘Refuge aria warrior adaptation’ (Boehm 1987, p 39). Boehm further suggests that ‘the keys to this stubborn independence were the very effective ‘tribal’ military and political organization and a code of values that placed merit upon maintaining the honor of a true warrior’ (Boehm 1987, p 5). As argued by Ehrlich ‘the tribes varied greatly in size; one of 4,000 "guns," that is to say 4,000 adult males, was a powerful tribe’ (Ehrlich 2015, p 35). ‘Tribal’ group is represented by Boehm in his book ‘Blood Revenge’ from 1987. The term known in local circles explains feuding that occurs mainly in societies where there is no centralized political control or where the ruling dominant structure fails to help these marginalized groups. At the time of Boehm's research, between 1963 and 1966, Montenegro belonged to socialist Yugoslavia, but his choice of the territory was a rare example of the existence of ‘tribes’ in Eastern Europe that survived quite independently in parallel to the nation-state. Moreover, Ehrlich argued that the center of the patriarchal regime governed by a hierarchical system was the extended family called ‘zadruga’²⁵. As aforementioned circumstances of instabilities and food shortages were present ‘the ownership of the chief resources of the environment must be regulated by legal rules’ (Richards 1932, p 85). ‘The tribes’ were actually an economic community that owned common property, namely: mountains, water, and pastures (Bulatović 2010, p 114). Under the ‘tribal’ community in the Dinaric areas there was a ‘zadruga’. It represented the main central administration in which each member had an equal share in them:

²⁵Association or community. ‘The basic principle of zadruga was that the male members never leave the common home. Sons and their descendants remain within it, and only the daughters leave it on marriage to become members of the zadrugas of their husbands. The zadruga was governed by a hierarchical system, every member having a definite rank within it’ (Ehrlich 1966, p 32).

‘[...]every member having a definite rank within that was determined by age and sex, the sex criterion being stronger than the age criterion; all males were superior to any of the women folk, particularly in regions with a fighting tradition’ (Ehrlich 2015, p 32).

The most dominant figure was ‘domaćin’²⁶ or ‘starešina’²⁷, ‘[...] represented the zadruga in dealings with the authorities [...] and in every respect was the final arbiter’ (Ehrlich 2015, p 33). For example, during the dry summers, the ‘tribe’ survived by going to the higher glades of karst regions in katuni²⁸ where goats, cattle, and sheep (in the case of the Brda region) would be pastured on high-altitude grass (Boehm 1987, p 40). Boehm introduced the summer period when the nights are ‘shorter’ and people used exhaustively every moment to provide wood, dairy, and meat products that will sustain them through the winter (Boehm 1987, p 40). The natural environment and the economic life this environment attain play an essential part in shaping the social and political life of people (Sahlins 1968, cited in Boehm 1987, p 40). Montenegrin ‘tribe’ is the starting point of the basic constituents of the ‘patriarchal’ structure and organization. Bulatović explains ‘the tribe’²⁹ as a higher form of the kinship system, which is an organization of several brotherhoods³⁰, a patrilineal system of brotherhoods (Bulatović 2010, p 112). Boehm explains that precisely in the basic meaning of the word brotherhood is a patrilineage, i.e., a lineage of descent where membership is inherited through the male line (Boehm 1987, p 40). According to Boehm, these groups still stick together because although they are no longer politically independent, in their own mind the tribesmen strongly feel the presence of their tribal social life and tribal identity (Boehm 1987, p 40). In the context of the writing of Cvijić's book, the existence of the ‘zadruga’ is mentioned in smaller traces, among which there is still an active existence in the central part of Montenegro, while most of them disappeared already in the 19th century. Even today, when visiting the numerous villages in the central part of Montenegro, one can recognize, next to the church and the school, fortifications that were once ‘zadruga’, often later transformed into a tavern, local shop, or local community center.

²⁶ ‘Domaćin’ derived from word ‘Dom’ meaning home.

²⁷ ‘Starešina’ term translated from ‘stari’, meaning the old one or senior.

²⁸ Term for temporary shepherd's summer shelter in the mountains.

²⁹ ‘The tribe’ is translation of Montenegrin vernacular term for ‘pleme’, plural ‘plemena’. Explained as terms: Populus, genus, gens, generatio, Tribus, Stamm, and even as ethnos and nation (Bulatović 2010, p 112).

³⁰ ‘Brotherhood’ refers to families with the same surname in a patriarchal structure of organization that, along with other brotherhoods, form a tribe. The source is a formal expert talk with Montenegrin historian Miloš Vukanović (Fieldnotes Čupić, April 2022).

4.4. Formation of statehood, recent politics, and regained independence

Historian Miloš Vukanović argues that despite the great efforts of prince bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš to modernize the country, tribal arbitrariness, and autonomy proved very hard to eradicate. Central authority was however achieved, overall ‘nahiyahs’ and ‘tribes’ although ‘[...] tribal distinctiveness was vanishing at a slow speed’ (Vukanović 2018, p 115). After the bishop's death, he was succeeded by his nephew Danilo II, who made major changes in governance introducing the hereditary office, and accordingly ‘[...] separated the leadership of state from the episcopal office’ (Britannica 2023a, online). Those significant changes took place in Montenegro after the Congress of Berlin in 1878, expanding its territory almost twofold.

Even though country borders were established for the first time they were ‘however vaguely, in an international treaty’ (Britannica 2023a, online). Montenegro got access to the sea at Antivare (today called Bar) which contributed to many improvements, in trade, the construction of motor roads, and the formation of a state bank.

When World War I and the following war hostilities ended in November 1918, the 'national assembly in Cetinje deposed the king and announced the union of the Serbian and Montenegrin states'. In December of the same year, Montenegro was annexed to the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Britannica 2023a, online). Sedlenieks notes that in spite of the 20th century's state-shifting structures, new ideologies, and regulations, and change of political systems, parties, and even ethnic identities Montenegrin individuals would stay and maintain loyalty to or her ‘tribal’ designation ‘belonging to a particular “pleme” and “bratstvo”, displaying such membership publicly by means of one's name’ (Sedlenieks 2013, p 67).



Montenegro in 1912

Figure 11: Montenegro in 1912 (Vukanović 2018, p 263)

In the continuation between the two wars, in the constant Serbo-Croatian political rivalry, Montenegro was highly neglected and marginalized due to the centralized Yugoslav policy, where the main industrial centers were Zagreb (Croatia) and Belgrade (Serbia). During World War II Montenegro fell under Italian occupation, which led to important national ‘spontaneous armed resistance’ between communists (and their sympathizers) and noncommunist ‘bjelaši’ (advocates of union with Serbia) (Britannica 2023a, online). As a result, ‘many Montenegrin nationalists “zelenashi”, disappointed by the experience of Yugoslav unification, supported the Italian administration’ (Britannica 2023a, online). The historical event of Montenegro's annexation to the Kingdom of Serbia remains highly relevant today, as issues of Montenegrin independence and autonomy continue to be debated in the country's parliament and shape the everyday lives of its citizens. The conflicts between the ‘Bjelaši’ and ‘Zelenaši’ factions, as well as the annexation itself, are frequently recalled by people as if they were present events, underscoring the strong emotional attachment and concern Montenegrins have towards their national identity and sense of belonging. This has created a certain over-resistance, obsession, or strong preoccupation among citizens with their nationality and identity. After World War II, Montenegro became a republic in Josip Broz Tito's Yugoslavia, and finally ‘became a regular recipient of the large sums of federal aid disbursed to less-developed regions, which enabled it to embark for the first time on a process of industrialization’ (Britannica 2023a, online). However, Montenegro remained the poorest of republics even with the building of the two airports, industrial developments in the largest cities, and population growth (Sedlenieks 2013, p 66). The 1980s marked a period of economic hardship in Montenegro, as the pillars of industrialization, which were based on the communist idea of development and heavily reliant on crucial state subsidies, were no longer sustainable. With the closure of many industries around 1988, thousands of workers lost their jobs, leading to a 25% unemployment rate and rising tensions 'mainly directed to the current local communist leadership’ (Sedlenieks 2013, p 66). Subsequently, in 1989, the breakup of Yugoslavia followed.

In 1992, Montenegro joined Serbia in fighting the separation of Slovenia and Croatia and became part of the then significantly reduced territory Yugoslavia under the leadership of Slobodan Milošević. During the war and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, war brutalities did not take place on the territory of Montenegro itself, although ‘NATO bombs in 1999 destroyed a military airfield in Podgorica’ (Britannica 2023a, online). Sadleneiks states that Montenegro had the status of a place for migration where large streams of Serb, Muslim, and Albanian refugees settled

(Sedlenieks 2013, p 20). Like most ex-socialist countries in Europe, Montenegro became constitutionally a democratic republic after the Yugoslavian war. However, the political upheavals represented one of the few countries where an exclusive break with the communist elite did not take place. Milo Đukanović 'the six times prime minister and ex-president' started his political advocacy as a young communist in the 80s and as argued by Sedlenieks 'ever since then he has been in power although the name of his party has changed and his official positions have alternated' (Sedlenieks 2013, p 20). As commonly happens in wartime circumstances, the 90s were a decade marked by various kinds of illegal activities in Montenegro, such as cigarette, petrol, and car smuggling. The assumption was that the illegal operations were supported by the top officials (Sedlenieks 2013, p 68). 'In a referendum held on May 21, 2006, 55.5 percent of Montenegrins voted to end the federation of Serbia and Montenegro, and Montenegro 'became an independent country (Britannica 2023b, online). However, the struggle continues. To sum up anthropologist Branko Banović's discussion, 'Montenegro was at great pains to create its state, which was then lost before being regained' (Banović 2016, p 28).

4.5. Economic and political developments (1990 - 2023)

After the break-up of Yugoslavia and the collapse of the communist system in the 1990s in Montenegro, the country was facing an undefined political situation. This led to a political and economic crisis where, as argued by Vujačić, 'the dominant identity markers that linked Montenegro closely to Serbia caused divisions evident in almost all spheres of public and private life' (Vujačić 2013, p 154). According to the author, these unresolved issues of state identity have triggered tensions that, like in the 1990s, are still the main issue on the basis of which political strategies aspire to make changes in a post-socialist country. It is challenging to build long-standing forms of democratic institutions, and a new economic system, as part of a very 'chaotic and difficult to comprehend entity' (Sedlenieks 2013, p 32). The referendum in 2006 pertaining to Montenegrin Independence was a new starting point for the country to position itself and determine issues of identity. The issue of undefined identity was conclusively reflected in the two divided pro- and anti-Serbian groups that were created, 'under the banners of the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) and of the recently formed Montenegrin Orthodox Church (MOC) (Forbes 2013, p 47). Forbes argues that leadership intersects with contemporary state processes affecting everyday politics, guided by the history of this orthodox country. 'Orthodox churches are led by monastic

elites whose charisma is often politicized owing to a conception of church-state relations that resists the separation of political and religious domains' (Forbess 2013, p 47).

In parallel to the Serbian Montenegrin contestation over power, negotiations related to the integration processes of the country as a future member of the European Union are opened. Additionally, Montenegro become a member of the NATO alliance in June 2017 in highly suspicious referendum circumstances and conflicted opposition, considering the recent wartime past (Britannica 2023b, online). Komar argued that his event represented a 'success story from the perspective of the Western international community' (Komar 2020, p 61). International agencies such as the World Bank put pressure on liberalizing these markets and 'strengthening the NGO sector' since the state was not functioning properly and the 'systems where the state was proven to be incapable, but also to stand for democracy' (Sedlenieks 2013, p 31).

Sedlenieks further discusses the ongoing processes of transition in complex historical and culture-specific experiences between the incentives of the Western donors and Eastern receivers rather than the simple transmission of ideas that never actually reaches the point of its mission (Sedlenieks 2013, p 36). The official website of the European Union notes that the EU is the largest provider of financial assistance to Montenegro in the fields of 'agriculture, environmental and climate action, EU integration, reforms as well as connectivity and green agenda' (European Commission 2021, online). Vujačić explains that Montenegro used culture and tourism to attract the attention of both domestic and international audiences as a 'valuable resource and field of communication, which, by means of public discourses affects and alters existing national paradigms and stereotypes' (Vujačić 2013, p 154). For this reason, in Montenegro, tourism is determined as the main development economy, which redefined and created new meanings for a modern and independent country. As explained by excessive literature in the academic narrative regarding identity politics, Montenegro displays the practice of 'commercial nationalism' the nation-branding strategy specific to many cultures and trends of countries takes place. This phenomenon is particularly expressed by Vujačić in 'all other entities into a mutually dependent and profitable relationship...for example, Slovenia, Lithuania, Estonia, Kosovo, etc' (Vujačić 2013, p 155). Both in tourism and in the food industries as part of the tourist offer, national pride and identity are used to communicate strategies that can attract both investors and traders, tourists, and other sources contributing to the development and income of a country. Despite all the efforts

and investment plans for the development of Montenegro, the complexity of the political situation related to the above-mentioned polarization is disclosed in the document created by the European Commission in the Montenegrin report (European Commission 2022, online). Several problems are listed here, among which the Serbian Orthodox Church made an impact on the political atmosphere, that raised tension, in parallel to the lack of state coordination in 'constructive engagement between political parties and the failure to build consensus on key matters of national interest' (European Commission 2022, online). The parliament failed to perform its promised duties in relation to EU integration reform, it failed to elect new members and all development programs of the state economy have stagnated. Komar argues that currently, Montenegro is at the same time considered both a success story as the leader of European integration in South-Eastern Europe and a country with severe democratic deficiencies' (Komar 2020, p 1).

4.6. Food and agriculture – Economic and political developments

According to the statistics office, the current standard is indicated by the economic power of the inhabitants of Montenegro in relation to the rest of Europe displaying the average gross income in the country amounting to 793 euros for the year 2021, while the net (without taxes and contributions) reaches 532 euros (MONSTAT 2022, p 17). Of the total personal consumption in 2021, 37.1% was spent on food and drinks, then housing, water, and electricity 15.1%, clothes, and shoes 9.8%, transport 9%, communication 6.1%, and health 4.9%. The remaining 20% is spent on furniture and apartment maintenance, alcoholic beverages and tobacco, restaurants and hotels, recreation and culture, education, and other goods and services (MONSTAT 2022, p 23). According to EUROSTAT gross domestic product per capita in Montenegro is only 47% of the EU average, making it in the list of the fifth poorest countries in Europe and the surrounding area (followed by Serbia, North Macedonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina and Albania) (MONSTAT 2022, p 2). As stated on the official website of the Montenegrin Ministry of Agriculture, 'food production, in the broadest sense, is one of the most humane forms of economic activity' (Vlada Crne Gore 2023, online). The geographical position, agricultural conditions, and natural resources offer very diverse possibilities in agricultural production. Therefore, the Ministry of Agriculture continuously stimulates development through defined models of advanced agriculture policy. According to the description on their website, becoming a member of the European Union depends not only on personal affinities and inherited models but also on the crucial role of institutions. This involves the rapid response of competent institutions, with the support of international cooperation,

agricultural producers, NGOs, professional services, and scientific communities (Vlada Crne Gore 2023, online). The official European Commission study 'Montenegro: Agricultural Policy Brief', indicates that agriculture is a very important segment and source of employment, especially for the inhabitants of the rural part of the country (Martinovic and Konjevic 2015, p 3). In addition to tourism and energy, agriculture is a major strategic branch since 37% of the population lives in rural areas and 70% of their income is dependent on agricultural activities (Martinovic and Konjevic 2015, p 3). Montenegro has a favorable climate for various plant production and a well-preserved land and natural environment due to the low use of fertilizers and pesticides which are the perfect preconditions for the development of organic agriculture (Rajovic and Bulatovic 2015, p 7). The country's territory is very small, only slightly larger than Andorra, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Vatican, Monaco, and San Marino (Rajovic and Bulatovic 2014a, p 6). The agricultural land in Montenegro covers a total area of 515,717 hectares, with meadows accounting for 126,726 hectares. The remaining land is divided into 45,809 hectares of fields and gardens, 12,028 hectares of orchards, 4,512 hectares of vineyards, and 2,644 hectares of ponds, reservoirs, and reed beds (Rajovic and Bulatovic 2014b, p 6). According to the European Commission, the total number of inhabitants in the country's agricultural sector amounts to 98,949 workers, which in percentage-wise comparison with other EU countries places Montenegro in an advantageous position (Martinovic and Konjevic 2015, p 4). The following description of Montenegrin regional units is provided in the 'Montenegro: Agricultural Policy Brief' study:

‘Coastal region olives, citruses, and other subtropical fruits are, in the central part fruit and vegetables are grown, along with a significant extent of meat, milk, and eggs production. Karst areas are represented by livestock, mainly goats, while in the northern part of the state, potato production, horticulture and extensive cattle breeding with cattle and sheep breeding are dominating’ (Martinović and Konjević 2015, p 3).

Results of the Census of Agriculture from 2010 suggested the number of agricultural households compared to the previous situation in the 19th century drastically decreased, especially after the Second World War under the influence of industrialization and urbanization, from about 75% to around 6%, in most of the municipalities (Rajović and Bulatović 2015, p 87). Montenegrin agricultural households currently count 98.949 people, and the age structure shows that of the total 23,204 people, are older than 65 years implying that 55% of the total number of households is older than 55 years, and 7% of the workforce in the Montenegrin households younger than 24 years (Rajović and Bulatović 2015, p 87). This indicates a high percentage of aging villages that

are affecting all spheres of agricultural development. The low development of the agricultural economy is also attributed to the official statistics (Monstat 2016, p 2). The last census from 2016, points to the following figures for cultivated areas:

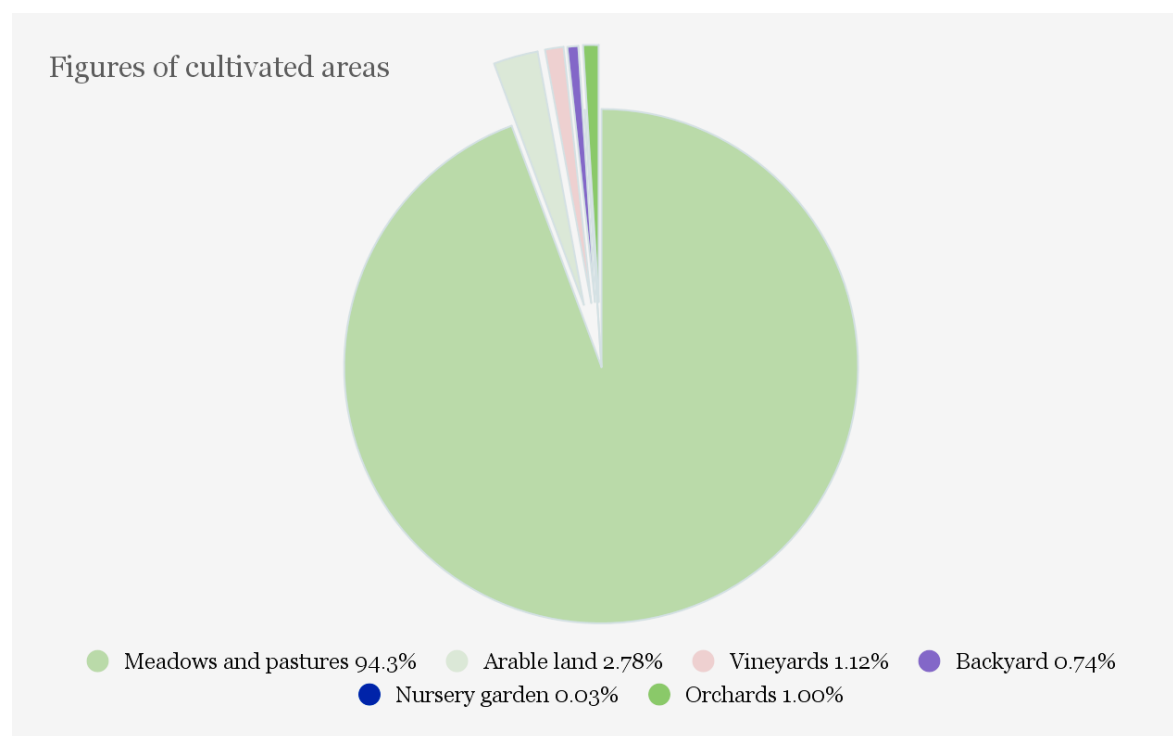


Figure 12: Cultivated areas (Visual presentation coming from author Ćupić, 2022)

Among them, it is stated in geographical aspects of sustainable development that these plantings are mainly engaged in production for meeting the private needs of households while a smaller amount is intended for the market (Rajović and Bulatović 2015, p 88). In addition, Gaddini states that ‘livestock breeding makes 50% of the total value of the agricultural sector and employs 24.4% of the domestic workforce’ (Gaddini 2022, p 1). Further research analysis will be provided on the fact that Montenegro's imports are six times higher than its exports (Monstat data 2005-2016). However, going back to the period of Old Montenegro, a prominent Yugoslav ethnologist from the 19th century offers considerations on the theme of the ethnic past of the central region and brings back the period of memories that can relate to descriptions of the former pre-war economic

situation. Erdeljanović describes the concept and origin of 'Katun'³¹ and therefore the 'Katun's nahiyah' as one of the largest areas of the region focus on this study (Erdeljanović 1987, p 5). Livestock breeding dates back as an essential economy, within the territory intended for cattle grazing, described as seasonal movements explained by interlocutors in later food and memory segments. These movements represented survival strategies, precisely because of the type of land that did not provide enough shade for feeding the animal husbandry, so the population had to move to areas where the sources of food for livestock were more extensive. Katuni (plural from katun) are now largely abandoned and serve as tourist facilities during the summer days. Gaddini argues that due to the milk coming from grazing animals, the dairy products produced in those areas are of 'the particular organoleptic characteristics, similar to alpine 'malghe'³² (Gaddini 2022, p 1). Therefore, one of the most important foods consumed by residents of this region are precisely these dairy products 'cheeses, cream (clotted cream), "skorup" a product with intermediate characteristics between cheese and butter, and sour milk (thick yogurt)' (Gaddini 2022, p 1). Montenegro as a coastal country, especially in the southern part of the central region, is characterized by a mild climate suitable for the cultivation of vines and olives, in addition to wheat and corn flour bread, oil, and wine are counted as a foundation of nutrition. Cvijić offers a more detailed description of foodstuffs listing vegetables that are more varied than on the continental block of Balkan. Counted are various types of cabbage, kale, cauliflower, salad (growing in abundance throughout the whole year), then southern fruits such as olives, grapes, figs, almonds, then cherries and sour cherries (Cvijić 1931, p 131). Fruits additionally mentioned as important in the interviews are pomegranates, cornelian cherries, and walnuts. Dairy, brandy, wine, and meat products are the most valuable when it comes to trade. The region surrounding Skadar Lake is the habitat for the following types of fish: common bleak, eel, and carp. They are the main source of income for the inhabitants, whether in fresh, marinated, or smoked form. The plant that holds the most special importance for the population, especially in the 18th century, was the potato. Pavicević suggested that the potato seed was brought to Montenegro by prince Bishop Petar I Petrović Njegoš from South America, which significantly improved economic and agricultural life

³¹ Summer livestock settlements, in the immediate vicinity of a permanent place of residence, situate in mountain where the climate is harsher, 'because for a century with cattle, during the summer, one leaves the lower and warmer areas for the higher and colder areas' (Erdeljanović 1987, p 5), in this way the cattle are fed with fresh grass, due to frequent droughts and lack of grass at the lower parts of the valleys.

³² Huts in high mountain pastures.

and therefore reduced hunger (Pavićević 1977, p 93). Very rare valleys, fields, or small karst depressions, which are short, narrow, and deeply cut, were suitable for agriculture (Cvijić 1931, p 59). The Environmental Performance reviews Montenegro as one of the rainiest regions in Europe, ‘but the porous, easily draining limestone prevents surface water build up’ (Economic Commission for Europe 2007, p 5). For this reason, regardless of heavy rainfall, the land is dry and karst, so it requires a lot of preparation in order to be able to plant. These lying down valleys explained by Cvijić, among the people were called ‘vrtače’³³.

‘On these hills, some arable land, which has been cleared by spreading stones, who knows at what age. People cleared it because they did not have arable land, this is not plain like “Bjelopavlicka” or “Zeta”, but people remove the stone, then dig and burn the forest and create arable land, that's how it was cleared. And then they build these supports, which are called dry meadows that is “Bregovi”³⁴ ‘(Interview Mr. Raičković, March 2022, Gradac)³⁵.

According to Cvijić, the existing soil is full of sun and light, called ‘crvenica’³⁶, which produces delicious fruits and vegetables, especially grapes and olives (Cvijić 1931, p 59). There are slight differences in the names of these systems, however, ‘vrtača’ were made out of the construction of limestone called ‘Suvomedja’³⁷ a type of building design present throughout the entire territory of Montenegro, which was a method of adapting to the environment and conditioning the region with an abundance of stone. In these villages, houses were built in close proximity to each other in the Mediterranean style, so the closeness of people helped build a sharp mentality (Cvijić 1931, p 59). This limestone architecture indicated the agricultural culture of the inhabitants and ‘the landscape provides the metaphor that is an expressive, evocative device transmitting memory, morality, and emotion’ (Low and Zuniga 2003, p 4). The description of landscapes and characteristic Montenegrin architecture is an important aspect of observations during visits, especially in rural areas. Respondents described the land and cultivable surfaces using the aforementioned terms,

³³ Local term, where stones were moved away to create small arable lands called ‘Vrtače’.

³⁴ ‘Bregovi’ are artificially made hills.

³⁵ All interviews were conducted in Montenegrin language. Subsequently, transcribed and translated into English while care was taken to ensure a sensitive approach that considered the researcher’s interpretive biases.

³⁶ ‘Crvenica’ or soil called ‘Terra rosa’.

³⁷ ‘Suvomedja’ is the construction of limestone used to build: roads, waterfronts, and mules, forts, buildings with irregular arches, houses, barns, floors, wells, bridges, tombstones, monuments, hearths, chapels (Portal Arhitekture 2020, online).

which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter on rural and urban Montenegrin food practices.

5. Rural and urban Montenegrin food practices and the socio-cultural importance of memories

5.1. The food supply of inhabitants of Central Montenegro

Montenegro Development Directions for 2018-2021, published by the Ministry of Finance in cooperation with the relevant state institutions, stated that ‘the local population prefers domestic products’ (Montenegro, Ministry of Finance 2017, p 45). Because of the ‘increased’ standards, the nation raised its inclination towards labeled and organic products (Montenegro, Ministry of Finance 2017, p 45). The focus is indicated as encouraging the ‘uniqueness of the Montenegrin tradition’ by labeling products of origin such as “Njegusi prosciutto”, “Pljevlja cheese” and “Kolasin cheese” (Montenegro, Ministry of Finance 2017, p 45). The list of imported foodstuffs in 2015 states that the highest import of agricultural products is fresh, chilled, and frozen meat with 21.38% (73.2% of which relates to fresh pork imports), ‘fresh pork is mainly imported from the EU countries (Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Romania) and Serbia’ (Martinovic and Konjevic 2015, p 7). In addition, beef is imported (from The Netherlands, Austria, and Serbia) as well as fresh poultry meat (imported from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Germany, and Brazil). Along with meat products, a significant emphasis is put on the percentage of ‘cereals, products of the milling industry such are flours, starches, and other cereal preparations’ (Martinovic and Konjevic 2015, p 8). This makes up only 6.53% of the total import from the EU countries (Croatia, Italy, Germany, Greece, Poland). In fourth place are fruits which make up 4.3%. Regarding exporting trends, the most significant groups of products are fresh, chilled, or frozen meat (41.96%), wine (14.13%), and tobacco (5.94%) (Martinovic and Konjevic 2015, p 8). There is a shift towards increasing the production of milk and dairy products. Currently, according to the Montenegro Statistical Office, the minimal consumer basket in Montenegro for November 2022 amounts to 799.7 EUR, ‘the expenditure on food and non-alcoholic beverages was 375.5 EUR, while the expenditure on non-food products and services was 424.2 EUR (MONSTAT 2022b, p 3). Further breakdown of the amount (375.5) is Bread and

cereals 37.8; Meat 74.8; Fish 4.7; Milk, cheese, and eggs 105.4; Oils and fats 10.8; fruit 36.6; vegetables 64.4; sugar, jam, honey and other 16.4 and other food products 7.6 (MONSTAT 2022b, p 2). The largest share of funds invested in nutrition refers primarily to meat and dairy products, followed by fruits and vegetables, bread, and cereals. When interviewed, the residents' complaint mostly refers to their frequent incapability to buy domestic products due to the competitive prices of imported foods. In order to form a picture of the current processes in the food system, it was necessary to present facts that indicate exporting and importing trends, as well as current local habits, preferences, and financial capabilities. Additionally, a topic is planned to be covered in chapter 5.3.1., dealing with local impacts of the globalized food system.

5.2. Food memories and the identity-establishing importance for Central Montenegrin people

In this chapter starting point is the rural Central Montenegrin food system that will be broken down chronologically, with a trajectory from the earliest memories to the present, facilitating the understanding of current processes in nutrition and both urban and rural local level. As explained in the book 'Brotherhood and Unity at the Kitchen Table: Food in Socialist Yugoslavia', '[...] delving further into the past, we discover a deeper meaning of our own identity, since food reminds us of who we are and where we came from' (Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 12). The quest of this research will be to delve into Old Montenegro as part of today's central region based on the interviews and linked with the anthropological theory previously presented. Excerpts from the interview will point to people living now both in rural and urban areas but looking back to their memories on life in rural parts. Starting with earlier memories from interlocutors born between the late 1940s and late 1980s, the research will cover a period of important shifts that took place in socialist Yugoslavia, with memories of both life in the countryside as well as moving to the cities. Ildiko Erdei³⁸ contains major alterations in food systems as regards production, consumption, and distribution by arguing how it relates to childhood memories in regards to 'material and social circumstances within which children were brought up' (Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 242).

³⁸ 'Bitter and sweet: remembering food and childhood in socialist Yugoslavia' (Erdei 2019, pp 239-257). Chapter in the book 'Brotherhood and Unity at the Kitchen Table: Food in Socialist Yugoslavia exploring the memories of food and childhood in socialist Yugoslavia, which reveal the changing values, desires, and tastes of different generations amidst the challenging context of the Yugoslav socialist modernization project.

In the book 'Eating Culture – An Anthropological Guide to Food' (2013), Crowther's work offers a range of methods and segments that align with the themes uncovered during the fieldwork, including 'Exchanging Ingredients and Flavors' (2013, pp 58-65), as well as 'Cooking Techniques and Cooking and Food-Getting Strategies' (2013, pp 102-107), in addition to various other segments that are considered inherent components of food systems. As argued by Holtzman, in defining food and memories, one should consider some of the relationships between them as parts of anthropological studies. In a similar manner, the following chapters will discuss:

'[...] food as a locus for historically constructed identity, ethnic or nationality; the role of food in various forms of "nostalgia"; dietary change as a socially charged marker of epochal shifts; gender as the agents of memory; and contexts of remembering and forgetting' (Holtzman 2006, p 364).

These insights will be discussed in the following chapters, based on my fieldwork data as a starting point for biographical interviews on childhood memories during times of hardship.

5.2.1. Childhood memories of times of hardship

'Five or six of us grandchildren sit down at a table and she (grandmother) puts a big spoon in a bowl, crumbles bread, puts a little sugar and coffee, and then we wait for the milk to boil, put it on the fire and pour it with milk, all in one ladle, and we eat out of it together. So, the one who manages to grab the fastest is the one who stays full' (Interview Mr. Čupić, March 2022, Upper Zagarac in Kafana).

The respondent in the example is a person born in 1964, during the period of gradual stabilization in Socialist Yugoslavia (Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 243). Considering the continued scarcity of food mentioned above, the slight marginalization of Montenegro is detectable in relation to the rest of the country. The example was told with joy and warmth in the eyes of the interviewee, pointing to the memories that caused the so-called 'comfort food' of adulthood. Old bread crumbled with a little sugar and coffee and poured with hot milk is a captured emotion that will remind him of a moment with brothers and sisters in the warmth of the home, but which offers us material for a deeper breakdown as in the segment of 'distinguishing meals as an event' (Douglas 1982, p 109). In material collected in the fieldwork, a few such examples surfaced, often connected with bread consumption which was the most important and most necessary dish in this region (Erdeljanović 1908, p 12). As confirmed both by the fieldwork interviews and the author, bread is mostly made from corn flour as the rugged region did not provide large arable areas necessary for the cultivation

of wheat flour. Therefore, wheat flour was consumed only on festive days (for wealthier strata on ordinary days).

‘[...] as children, we looked forward to freshly baked bread and would sneak some crust, quickly run down to the basement where the ‘skorup’ stored, carefully open it, and spread it. We had to be careful not to be seen, as hot bread was not allowed to be eaten. Then, it was tempting to eat a lot of it [...]’ (Interview Mr. Janković, March 2022, Upper Zagarac Kafana).

Here we have an example of shared memory of the interviewee (born in the 60s) who would secretly steal a piece of bread. Explaining that bread was not allowed to be eaten on the same day it is baked as while soft it could be eaten much more and quicker. It was a necessity to save and economize for the whole week, therefore bread used to be eaten only when hardens and gets older. Hence, regardless of the level of tastefulness of the meal, nutritional value for the purpose of satiety refers to suggested by Belasco on how omnivores use memories to differentiate ‘harmful from the wholesome’ (Belasco 2008, p 30). Therefore, even the most distasteful food may obtain some ‘survival’ value (Belasco 2008, p 30). The state of possible hunger in the regions of Montenegro dates back to the period of the first half of the 20th century. The generation of the older respondents indicates that neglect of children was normalized, while the head of the house and the occasional passerby guests would be instead prioritized.

‘[...] only children were hungry, and foodstuffs were saved for the guests, clearly. When a woman was cooking, she ate it as preparing it, while we were all hungry [...]’ (Interview Mr. Janković, March 2022, Upper Zagarac Kafana).

Belasco argues that children are subjected to moralistic nutritional policing, as evidenced by the practices of the state in response to memories of past living conditions. According to Belasco, stable family meals are a relatively recent construct, and modernity itself is often viewed nostalgically (Belasco 2008, p 29). Therefore the hardships and given conditions upon the consequences of WWII explained by Eedei ‘left their mark on the physical, emotional and psychological state of the nation and its youth’ (Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 249).

5.2.2. Cooking techniques, ingredients, and the preparation of dishes

Cooking is a highly social activity, therefore discussed will be culinary rules that express society’s standards. As stated by Crowther ‘[...] cooking includes all preparation: the processing of ingredients to transform them into the recognized food of the culinary tradition’ (Crowther 2013, p 102). Elisabeth Rosin has elaborated on three broad categories that can aid in defining cooking

techniques: physical change (processing food and preparing it to resemble known foods of a given culture), water content change (marinating, soaking, adding flavored liquids, reducing water content through air drying or freezing, with a focus on adding or reducing liquids), and chemical change (using heat and fermentation) (Rosin 1983, p xii–xiii). The key dishes that stand out in the conversation with the interviewees will be listed here, and their methods of preparation will be unfolded. The cuisine flavors specific to the region under study will also be highlighted, in addition to the discussion of the preparation method. As noted by Belasco, the beauty of food studies lies in the distinctness of cooking techniques across cultures, and how humans have been creative in various ways of preparing and transforming food, from raw to cooked (Belasco 2008, p 18).

One important aspect of preparing dishes that are characteristic of the Balkans, dating back to the late 19th century, is the practice of fasting in accordance with religious values. This involves abstaining from meat, milk products, and eggs, which are not allowed during the period of restraint (Erdeljanović 1908, p 12). In central Montenegro, the Orthodox Church played a significant role in the food culture, with meals being prepared to comply with the church's fasting periods. However, the influence of religious activities waned with the shift towards the rise of Socialist Yugoslavia, which deemed religion as an ideological threat to the communist government. Some of the main components of the fasting food, counted in the ethnographic anthology of these areas are beans (boiled and milled), potato (cooked and milled), onion (black, leek, garlic, etc.), sauerkraut (uncooked and cooked), paprika (dry, fresh and sour), fish, fruit (fresh, dried and cooked), rice, greens, green beans, seed pods (pounded pumpkin seeds), 'kačamak', starch, mushrooms (mushrooms) and pumpkins (Erdeljanović 1908, p 12). In contrast to unfastening foods that count all the mentioned vegetables, but with the addition of meat eggs, and dairy products. Controlling one needs with feasting is the constraint often practiced in societies 'under poor economic or ecological circumstances' (Jansen 1997, p 95). It was considered inevitable as a tactic of a surviving strategy. This aspect of defining food argued by de Garine is that humans want to believe that they are symbolically what they eat, explained as '[...] use of food domain to demonstrate their identity and ethnicity and this differentiation by expressing positive or negative view' (2001, p 487).

The main cooking principles in Old Montenegro were centered on water, fire, and drying methods such as smoking and air drying, with ingredients sourced from nature or the garden, as well as

domestic animals that were slaughtered for meat. In the following discussion, the flavors and combinations that are typical of the region under study will be elaborated on. As noted by Belasco, cuisines are often distinguished by their unique flavor principles (2008, p 18). Therefore, as the combination of garlic, olive oil, and tomatoes indicate the flavors from the south of Italy, displayed will be symbolic variation in central Montenegro. For that reason, in the interlocutor's memories, everyday life could not be imagined without 'raštan'³⁹, potatoes, and onions. In addition to fruits that grew semi-wild, such as pomegranate, cornelian cherry, and fig. The region was suitable for viticulture, ensuring that 'rakija' (brandy) and wine were always available and never lacking. In old Montenegro, intrinsic dishes mostly revolved around these ingredients in addition to dairy, meat, eggs, and flour.

'God, let me tell you, people didn't make a food selection like now, like what it should be easier to eat for breakfast and heavier for lunch and snacks. Then it was only how much you could afford and had to eat. It was customary to eat cheese, bread, and cream, pieces of prosciutto, meat, and bacon [...]. Well then, people drank wine and drank brandy, well, you have all kinds of meat and pork and sheep and beef, and chicken all offered in the diet. Corn was the basic source of life, not only bread and flour for human use but also to feed pigs and horses. Corn was a priority, then potatoes, NOT potatoes may have been a priority, then wheat, rye, oats, beans, and green beans' (Interview Mr. Raičković, March 2022, Gradac).

'[...] the diet was more dairy products, "raštan", meat, potatoes, green beans, and there were a lot of vegetables. They even grew some types of cabbage, which can withstand that type of climate, but mostly "raštan". Porridge was made for dinner, I don't know if you know what porridge is, something like "kačamak", only not so thick, and sour milk. Or potatoes were baked, like the baker's, in the hearth, I'm talking about the beginning when I came. There was also a "patišpanj"⁴⁰, it was a cake' (Interview Mrs. Anka Janković, January 2022, Zagarač).

[...]Potatoes were obligatory for everyone, every house had potatoes. For breakfast, "popara" was made, and old bread would be crushed, with milk, water, and cheese until it became porridge. You know what the Montenegrin specialty was, boiled sausage and potatoes, every housewife thinks that she needs a lot of water for cooking it, boils, she needs a little water so that it cooks in her own juice. There were no sweets, people ate fruit and dried fruit, but the main juices were also pomegranate and Cornelian cherry (Interview Mrs. Radinka Otašević, March 2022, Zagarač).

³⁹ Translation: engl. collard greens.

⁴⁰ 'Patišpanj: transl. engl. simple sponge cakes, out of lots of eggs.

However, the vegetable that particularly stands out in the memories as omnipresent was the potato, so the main dishes that were listed as 'traditional' and 'authentic' when asking respondents about the region studied, are roasted meat under the 'sač', 'kačamak' and 'raštan' (recipes explained in accordance) and where potatoes are indispensable. As in many other European countries, potatoes represented salvation in suppressing hunger. It was brought from South America to Europe by the Spanish conquerors (first to Spain) in the 16th century and from there it spread to other European countries (Jovović et al. 2016, p 211). However, the cultivation of potatoes in Montenegro only started after the end of the 18th century. In 1786, two boxes of tubers were acquired by Montenegrin bishop Petar I Petrović Njegoš during a trip from Russia to Trieste, and he brought them to the capital. Due to its origin, the tuber was named a 'Russian tuber' by the locals, and it is still known by that name in Montenegro. Over the following years, the bishop continued to spread the tuber by distributing its seeds to the residents on the condition that they plant some of the seeds in their gardens and pass the remaining seeds to their neighbors (Jovović et al. 2016, p 212). Due to the suitable climate and soil, this plant spread well, so it became a leading agricultural crop (Jovović et al. 2016, p 211).

5.2.3. Cooking on the hearth

‘Everything that was cooked on the hearth was cooked completely differently than on the stove. The cooking process is different, because a lot of water had to be added, and it was mostly stewy food, with a spoon. At the beginning when I came, it was a long time ago in 1955, then it was cooked on the hearth, and then let me tell you, the food was so delicious, whether that Mediterranean climate, whether that way of cooking in the hearth, was so beautiful. Afterward when cooking becomes more modern, when I cooked on the stove it was less tasty than on the hearth. There was also “Pepeljak”⁴¹ or “Sač”⁴² bread made in a pot there, there was a Pepeljak in every corner of the house, although now Zagarač has gone far (thinking of the progress)’ (Interview Mrs. Anka Janković, January 2022, Zagarač).

The significance of emphasizing hearts in cooking techniques as part of the household routines in Montenegro is already noted by Richards, as fire is considered a symbol that ‘initiates domestic life in a new community’ (Richards 1932, p 198). Land cultivation and horticulturalists’ lifestyle,

⁴¹ Pepeljak is placed in the corner of the house, where dishes were baked under the metal lid called ‘sač’.

⁴² Sač is large metal or ceramic lid used in baking techniques for bread, meat, and vegetables, to cover the foodstuffs, and over which ashes and live coals are placed.

as stated by Crowther 'has created the conditions for more elaborate cooking technique', this is how a system of techniques and use of earth ovens appeared (2013, p 106). Cooking on fire can be recognized in many cultures around the world, from North America, the Caribbean, Polynesia, Melanesia, and Australia (Crowther 2013, p 106). There are examples of holes dug in the ground or more on the surface, but the technique is similar to those mentioned. Explained as giving an indirect form of heat, 'generated by hot ash or heated stones, bakes and steams a collection of foods placed in a hole in the ground' (Crowther 2013, p. 106).



Figure 13: Hearth in village Gradac in Lješanska Nahiyah (© Ćupić, March 2022)



Figure 14: 'Sač' in village Lješnje in Lješanska Nahiyah (© Ćupić, March 2022)

In the Montenegrin example, there was a hearth on which stewy cooked dishes were prepared in cauldrons, while in addition, there were dishes under the 'sač' usually placed in the corner of a house near the hearth with earthen floor called 'pepeljak'. In the corner, in a slight recess, food was placed on a clay platter called 'crepulja', which was covered with the mentioned metal lid or plate called 'sač'. Presenting a cooking experience for meats, vegetables especially potatoes and bread. Therefore, as mentioned, the traditional village house in Montenegro is still a character in sight, especially in the inner central part of the country. It usually consisted of two rooms, one that was intended for sleeping, and one that represented the kitchen. The interior consisted of a very simple apartment, where the main room or sitting-kitchen area 'had a heath, pepeljak (for baking bread), chairs, table, dishes for preparing food and dishes for keeping raw food' (Vujović 1997, p 57).

'The houses were quite primitive under a thatched roof, built without plaster. Quite modestly furnished' (Interview Mrs. Anka Janković, January 2022, Zagarač).

The principle of cooking on hearths is identified through all the interviews, and even today in rural areas, hearths exist in numerous households. Although separate rooms or smoking houses are built for the purpose of drying meat and fish products, these are located outside the living quarters.

Nowadays, wood ovens are used in current kitchens. However, restaurants serving domestic cuisine maintain the traditional method of preparing food under 'sač', as explained in the interviews. Cooking dishes on fire or coal did not require constant supervision, enabling housewives to perform other household and gardening activities while the meal was cooking. Besides cooking, the hearths were also used for heating the house, as well as drying and smoking products that hung on the beams above the hearth, such as smoked fish, brisket, or sausages. Before the existence of electricity, rather than depending on wild sources 'hearths indicate that people actively transferred or initiated fire when they needed it' (Jones 2007, p 77-78). The hearth in the Montenegrin kitchen, in addition to the stated purpose, is also according to fieldwork findings based on the concept of commensalism, where the guests would gather in the evenings.

5.2.4. Everyday meals and feast - On 'raštan', white cabbage and 'Kačamak'



Figure 15: Leafs of 'Raštan' plant, transl. engl. collard green (© Ćupić, village Zagarač, March 2021).

Dishes that were repeated, as representations of various generations, both younger and older, in conversations with the interviewees are 'raštan and kačamak'. Therefore, the prominent dish is locally called 'raštan'. Collard green has been widely grown in North American and European countries. The plant dates back to prehistoric times and is one of the oldest members of the cabbage family (Xiao et al. 2014, p 1). The origin of the species cannot be discovered with certainty as they have been cultivated by prehistoric traders and migrating 'tribes', debates are that cabbage is native either to the eastern Mediterranean or to Asia Minor (Greeks and Romans Grew Kale and Collards, 2023). Accordingly, collard green is available all year round, and this is one of the main reasons for the severe use of the plant that can survive both cold and dry Mediterranean climates. Cabbage was made also for fasting days, it would be chopped with an axe, and then the larger parts would be placed in a pot and fill with water to boil on the hearth fire. During the fieldwork, it was explained that while cooking, salt and onions, leeks, and a pod of peppers are added, and when the dish is cooked, 'zentin' (sunflower oil) is added if available. Non-fasting cabbage is prepared in the same manner, only that bacon, dry ribs, or raw meat (beef, mutton, and pork) is additional added. Cabbage is also fried in a pan or in a pot, pork fat is heated in one of those vessels, then finely chopped cabbage is placed, salted, and fried until it is soft enough to eat. Ordinary fresh cabbage was also eaten as a salad (Erdeljanović 1908, p 16).

'It is still my favorite dish today, 'raštan'! My daughter would say to me: 'You want raštan, you started to order what you want' (daughter started teasing her as she became demanding) (Interview Mrs. Djina Gazivoda, March 2022, Rvaši).

'It's an honor. I say you don't need me to put any delicacies in the cabbage dish, I like cabbage with potato and meat, and it is a real 'national dish'. And that you are now adding and mixing some parsley and chard in it, up to me, nonsense' (Interview Mr. Raičković, March 2022, Gradac).

'And as far as food is concerned, we used to fish more in Grahovo, and here in Zagarač we used more 'raštan' and dried meat, especially during the winter period, which was always green in winter and summer, so it was a food that was constantly in use' (Interview Mrs. Anka Janković, January 2022, Zagarač)

'White cabbage is cut in autumn, fermented, it was buried in the ground, there will get white, so it survived to be eaten until spring, because you didn't have greenhouses, to have cabbage in January. Sauerkraut was obligatory. White cabbage, first the meat is cooked, then those cabbage heads are cut into four. White cabbage with meat and bread, if there were any, if not, it was replaced with potatoes, there was nothing other than that' (Interview Mr. Đurović, March 2022, Markovina).



Figure 16: Wood stove, where ‘raštan’ cooks, (© Ćupić, village Zagarač, March 2022).



Figure 17: “Raštan” with pork meat, in the pot (© Ćupić, village Zagarač, March 2022).

All forms of preparation of cabbage, in cooked, fried, and pickled form, are listed here as they are related to the chemical change of ingredients in the stated cooking techniques. As mentioned in the interview excerpts, cabbage and 'raštan' represented everyday food in this region. 'Raštan' grew throughout the whole year, and in addition to its high nutritional value, families could feed themselves in this way even in conditions when there was an absence or lack of meat, oil, and flour.

In addition, when exploring feasts, an attempt was made to find existing literature on 'kačamak'. While there were examples of dishes called by that name, the descriptions often referred to polenta or porridge made by cooking corn flour with water, which can be eaten with sweet milk. The interviewees in this region referred to a dish called 'kačamak', which requires water and flour, as well as locally made cheese and 'kajmak' (cream) to give it a unique flavor. As stated by Belasco, 'these unique flavoring combinations serve as important group markers' (Belasco 2008, p 18). Flour is cooked in a large saucepan, then potatoes are added and cheese and cream until everything is combined into a well-cooked porridge. To prevent it from burning, the pot would often be taken off the stove. In the case of my family, the men would use a wooden tool that resembles a pestle to 'beat' the dish. This process involved stronger blows than those used to make a puree, and it required physical strength. 'Kačamak' is consumed either on special occasions or when one of the family members expresses their will to cook it. Here my memories date back to moments of gathering and exaggerated joy in the household when preparing the dish. Or in the winter days when visiting the mountainous region in some restaurants are known for their excellent preparation. This dish has a high caloric value, so it is not recommended to be consumed on summer days. The dish indicates a period when people needed a high-calorie meal that would bring them strength to pull through hard work in the fields. The reason for including the personal experience with Kačamak is that this dish has become a powerful food memory with acquired emotional symbolism and has become known as 'Comfort food' or 'Grandma Madeleine'. As a child, it was not understood why this dish was considered festive, where the family would gather around mashed potatoes, cheese, and flour while drinking sour milk for lunch (this type of thick yogurt was normally consumed for breakfast or dinner) (Fieldnotes Ćupić, April 2022).



Figure 18: 'Kačamak' dish tasted in 'Lovačko' tavern in Trebaljevo (© Čupić, April 2022)

'[...] When the lust occurred to us to eat 'kačamak', we made it. We even had our own corn in the field, there is still corn from the field from last year's harvest, but I have not yet had time to clean and carry it. The joy was when 'kačamak' was made. Served in deep plates, who wants with sour milk, who wants to be soaked, who wants without anything (followed with a detailed description of how it was prepared)' (Interview Otašević, March 2022, Zagarač).

Thus, as explained by Belasco, when filtered through the lens of nostalgia, these memories despite the practicality of the moment, in which this dish no longer use nutritional purposes of giving strength due to great physical efforts. Therefore, preserving this particular dish serve to sustain identity, which is endangered because of modernity and migration from mass culture (Belasco 2008, p 18). In most of the interviews, the dish 'kačamak' was mentioned and described with similar particularity.

5.2.5. Food and notion of healthy versus industrial-imported products

‘Food is never medically or morally neutral’ (Appadurai 1988, p 10).

In this chapter, excerpts from interviews that highlight the importance of food and health will be presented and discussed. As is common in conversations with the interviewees, this topic emerged as important also through a bottom-up approach. The respondents expressed their resistance to imported and industrially made foodstuffs, repeatedly emphasizing their preference for domestic and homemade alternatives. This general attitude about ‘healthy’ versus ‘industrial-imported’ as something bad was mostly expressed by older respondents. Reflecting on the previously mentioned ‘traditional’ dish of Montenegro, ‘Kačamak’, which mainly consists of starchy foodstuff and dairy, it may not meet current health standards in terms of its nutrient content. However, ‘healthy food configurations’ are the result of realms of practices, a set of knowledge, and many other parameters constructed throughout the history of a given society. Healthy in today’s sense of the word is also a ‘dominant discourse surrounding food in contemporary Western food cultures’ (Beagan and Chapman 2012, pp 32–44.).

‘I remember when she cuts the prosciutto, the whole yard smells. And that yellow “skorup”⁴³ of hers (mother) like a ducat! Simply medicinal. No one wants to approve of something old-fashioned, let it go now! So how did they live so long? They ate healthily, and even if they had nothing, only this clean air was enough.

The mutton was golden, not black, we did not import it from Argentina, but from here, it was born and slaughtered here. There were fewer heart attacks, strokes, and almost no other sicknesses (thinking about diseases). These are domestic things, not artificial creations’ (Interview Mr. Raičković, March 2022, Gradac)

‘[...] here when I came in the village, but also in my born family, we NEVER bought cans or chokes or industrial slices or any of that’ (Interview Mrs. Radinka Otašević, March 2022, Zagarac)

Along with the construct of ‘healthy’, the terms ‘clean’ and ‘rakija’ stand out as being responsible for the longevity of the residents of the given region. ‘Pure’ drinks and food in the context of a given society are those produced without imposed industrial additives and prepared with inherited older technologies. The idea of ‘pure’ could be partially identified with the one of ‘organic’ production. However, as shown in several critical food studies organic food is associated with

⁴³ Young ‘skorup’ on a piece of bread instead of butter was a typical breakfast for many Montenegrins, it is a creamy dairy product composed of the higher-fat layer skimmed from the top of milk.

'elitist consumerism, as a class-based marker of identity and morality' (Durocher and Knezevic 2022, p 12). Ideological differences arise in discussions about nutrition, particularly in the context of certain foods being promoted as healthier than others. Such advice often stems from hegemonic power relations and may not be evenly distributed, particularly in marginalized societies. As a result, there may be little resonance for the idea of organic foods as being inherently healthier in such contexts (Durocher and Knezevic 2022, p 12). But if food is studied from the point of agricultural land that is not treated with chemicals, it could be considered organically produced, and as such contains several times more 'nutrients than non-organic commercial food, the nutritional value is higher, our body and cells need less quantity to be better fed' (Durocher and Knezevic 2022, p 9). Accordingly, the anxiety we have towards the concept of 'pure' comes from the context of the mass media, which prepares us for an ecological 'catastrophe', as stated by Mintz 'much of our yearning for what is pure water, air, vegetables, the fruit looks like nostalgia for a past ever more rapidly receding' (1996, p 85). According to his perspective, the concepts of 'pure' as natural and 'pure' as chemically purified ingredients without parasites are fundamentally different. Therefore, the definitions of terms such as 'clean' and 'healthy' in food systems are shaped by the societal standards of the specific context under scrutiny. When it comes to 'rakija'⁴⁴ it is a particularly deeply woven element of the food system and everyday life in Montenegro.

'Our wine, and "rakija", it is our tradition to have excellent drinks. Our drink is a pure drink, we do not produce it with chemicals. Rakija (brandy) was both a medicine and anything else. And then it was well known in the village that we have a pure drink. Father-in-law was 101, he was straight as a candle, and mother-in-law was 87 years old. She was really hunchbacked; she was in war camps and everywhere. Which means healthy food' (Interview Mrs. Radinka Otašević, March 2022, Zagarac).

'When I came, we came to Zagarač in 1968, 15 centenarians lived then, I remember, people lived in Zagarače for long lives. They ate healthily. They had pomegranates (mostly wild sort) throughout the year' (Interview Mrs. Anka Janković, March 2022, Zagarac).

My earliest memories date back to when my grandfather urged me to dip my finger in his glass of brandy and try it, or during a fever when my grandmother or mother massaged me with brandy, cleaning the house with it, to the point that when a guest visits brandy is served first, in addition to its consumption during all the celebration and toasts. For men, it used to be an almost necessary indicator of masculinity, '[...] real man drinks often and heavily, and his ability to consume

⁴⁴ Popular fruit's brandy in Balkans.

copious amounts of liquor is a highly valued trait' (Simić 1969, p 96). Simić confirmed that alcohol is considered beneficial as a 'remedy for various desires that in contrast 'abstinence or extreme moderation is considered female behavior' (Simić 1969, p 96). In the area of Old Montenegro, the characteristic 'Lozova'⁴⁵ rakija', is made from grapes. Therefore 'lozova' is a marker of the identity of central Montenegro, one is a 'real' representative of the given region if they 'know well' (tolerates) drinking 'rakija'. As discussed by Kerewsky-Halpern, people used several terms to describe this brandy, therefore weak 'rakija' denotes poor by village standards while 'brlja' can poison or leave consequences on the way of behavior. Besides in her work 'Rakija as a ritual' she explains that drinking rakija during celebrations or events of great joy or sorrow is an 'accepted norm'. Thus, often are used local quotes as 'pojela ga rakija' (rakija ates him) or 'vise voli rakiju nego rođenu majku' (he loves rakija more than his own mother) (Kerewsky-Halpern 1984, p 484). While the foundation of 'brandy' in society can be explained through a saying that 'with rakija, we are born, with rakija we merry, and with rakija we bury' (Kerewsky-Halpern 1984, p 481). In the examples of claims out of the interview of domestic as the only 'right' taste. Also, by consuming domestic food, the locals believed that the concept of 'healthy' does not necessarily mean the 'contemporary' version of establishing 'control over the body or imposing the dominance of knowledge about food' (Durocher and Knezevic 2022, p 2). Defining healthy in the world of rural residents meant that it primarily enabled physical dexterity, a strong organism, and longevity. Besides, as identity markers alcohol along with beef or pork meat represents the 'the triangle of differentiation between Jews, Moslems and Christians' (Bromberger 2007, p 299).

5.2.6. Food and the Dinaric feeling of belonging

This title considers with the historical aspects of warrior culture within the people of Dinaric regions. Therefore, the built characteristics of dominant male culture and collective responsibilities towards family as part of a 'tribal' organization. However, in the patriarchal regime, the family was built under the beliefs and principles of manliness and heroism, as stated by Vera Stein Ehrlich 'The reputation of family and ancestors was worth more than when a man died himself' (Ehrlich 1966, p 381). For that reason, status, and fame as one of the dictators of social dynamics, value, and existence, are confirmed as well in food activities. Thus, the focus on food production and emotions that arouse during the processes require a deeper discussion. Several examples that can

⁴⁵ Brandy made out of 'loza', vine breeding.

justify the above hypothesis can be found in Vera Ehrlich's book 'A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages' (1966), where she clarifies that among the Dinaric type of people, personal desires are modest and that the only desires worth mentioning were with a focus on prominence in battle and glory (1966, p 382).

In consideration of these mild indifferences of the Dynarian type towards the choice of food is given in the description from Vera Ehrlich's field situation, interpreting these attitudes in extreme opposition to the individualistic trends of Western sentiments. She is demonstrating an example of a camp during World War II in liberated southern Italy. Ehrlich observes the difference in the attitudes of the two groups of people. At the British soldiers' club, allied personnel were offered tea and refreshments. About five hundred soldiers of various allied units came to the camp twice a day for a snack. With weighty concentration, the British soldier would decide and when reached the counter, without hesitation, he would order 'two teas, three cakes, one sandwich' (Ehrlich 1966, p 384). The individual preferences of soldiers displayed certain food interests and diversity, indicating careful consideration of their nutritional preferences and choices. While the Yugoslav guerrillas would behave in a different manner from the British. Everyone, after being asked what they wanted to order, would throw a rather large amount of money on the counter, and say: 'Give! Give what you have!' (Ehrlich 1966, p 384). The explanation could be clarified by stating that the collective mentality at the time was built on indifference towards food choices, and asking about such choices would be considered annoying and equivalent to the behavior of a demanding and spoiled child, thus rendering it insignificant. Another example encountered by the same author:

'Men who seem to have scarcely the means of providing food for their families are always well-dressed when they appear in public. The village community has its own conventions with respect to clothing. The peasant feels very bad if he cannot dress well. He finds this harder to bear than if he cannot feed himself adequately, because no one can see what another has in his belly' (Ehrlich 1966, p 383).

The domain of nutrition was considered less important compared to the importance of public appearance and dressing. Moreover, the memories from post-war central Montenegro continue to depict this indifferent manner.

‘In my opinion, women didn't know how to cook soup before, they cooked meat, and after a certain time, she put in potatoes, then she poured that soup, then you eat potatoes and meat separately, that's how much she knew. Hardly any herbs and spices would be added, usually nothing [...]’ (Interview Mr. Đurović, March 2022, Markovina).

It appears that a certain neglect and lack of intrigue towards cooking is conveyed through the memories of the household in which the interlocutor grew up. The available ingredients were cooked without additional creative inputs that could enrich the dish. However, an additional example from a village relatively close to the respondent discussed above could provide a useful field description.

‘Lunch was quite late in Zagarač, people almost combined lunch and dinner, because they were in the fields, at work and then they didn't want to interrupt work’ (Interview Mrs. Anka Janković, January 2022, Zagarač).

It is important to note that the lack of emphasis on food choice does not necessarily indicate a lack of importance placed on eating practices in this cultural context. As Richards argues more than hundred years ago: ‘During manhood, the interests of the individual are not concentrated so directly on the food itself, but on the complicated forms of labor which its production entails’ (1932, p 84). Presuming that the time spent in the fields for the purpose of securing enough food to feed the family did not allow excessive elaboration on the creative inputs. Therefore it is necessary to consume food in well-predetermined conditions, by members assigned for the particular cooking task, strictly under the set of place and time. Accordingly, where ‘cooking and serving become the center of complex emotional associations in the setting of everyday affairs’ (Richards 1932, p 182). This leads to the text ‘Gender identity and the rituals of food in a Jordanian’ (Jansen 1997, 93 p). On how eating habits in these complex settings of everyday life activities are actually building a certain character. It is recognized in several social segments as an experience of food in the Montenegrin value system according to Dinaric 'tribal' sentiment, followed by a built virtue characteristic of 'restrained' and 'generosity' under the complex system of hospitality. However, it is most accurately demonstrated within gender relations, where high-calorie food is considered 'men's food,' and the person who restlessly eats such a heavy meal is given the attributes of 'manliness' with a strong and 'healthy organism'.

‘A specialty that I ate in Zagarač, people called “skorup”⁴⁶, was to put “skorup” in water, and when the water boils, then slowly pour corn flour. My mother-in-law cooked it, and the woman needed to be very experienced because it is very important that the fat floats up there on that mash. That was the rule, when it comes to you, a shameful guest or for the Slava (celebrations on Saint Days, Orthodox) and for Christmas. Then the cheese was added, so it flowed, the fat floated and the cheese stretched. Very tasty, I was a little surprised, “ljudi”⁴⁷ ate it like soup, that fat with a spoon [...] Then there was that story who could eat, drink, five spoons of that fat, that was a strong man’ (Interview Mr. Janković, March 2022, Upper Zagarac Kafana).

Therefore, the next title will deal with the topic of food and gender from the perspective of memories in former central Montenegro.

5.2.7. Food and gender related aspects or ‘who carried the ‘tain’?

The study of food and gender is a highly complex issue that demands significant attention and dedication as it is given in the book ‘Food and Gender: Identity and Power’ (2004) by Counihan. While this paper does not delve deeply into the topic, it is hoped that it may serve as an inspiration for future scholars to explore this area further. The previous chapter discussed the ideal of the history of society with aspects of ‘warrior culture’, which is now further elaborated upon. The unstable economic and political situations that frequently arose reinforced old stereotypes rooted in the long-held patriarchy in these regions. However, Montenegrin Anthropologist Brković cites in her work ‘In the Name of the Daughter – Anthropology of Gender in Montenegro’ that current processes are ‘simultaneously creating new spaces for action and change’ and that ‘women in the country are neither as oppressed nor as free as they might seem from a liberal feminist perspective’ (Brković, 2021 p 6). My attempt here is to go beyond the Balkans discourse and articulate anthropological criticism of patriarchy, misogyny, and gender inequality in Montenegro. Research addressing the position of contemporary men in Montenegro is found in the book ‘The Montenegrin warrior culture’, where the author Branko Banović attempted to determine the contemporary conceptualization of masculinity in Montenegro. The survey was conducted in 2009 in Podgorica and was divided into several spheres. The first group comprises around 50 young men from various educational levels and economic statuses, while the second research perspective focuses on examining the image of Montenegrin men in the future. It includes highly educated

⁴⁶ ‘Skorup’ is kind of a porridge some call it ‘cicvara’, made from corn flour and a lot of greasy young cheese and cream. Very strong dish that floats in buttery fat.

⁴⁷ Engl. transl. people, at older time referring to men.

younger groups (17-25 years old) in either politics or the NGO sector (Banović 2016, p 58). An example highlighted from the author's conversation (presented as a norm of investigation rather than an exception) is the statement, 'I am a traditional man, and we all know how men should behave and how a woman should behave, and I demand from a girl to comport herself in accordance with that' (Banović 2016, p 58). However, in the part that concerns the layers of young and highly educated men, with the premise that they will represent the near future, the standard statements were listed as:

'[...] childcare, cooking, and hygiene were still female tasks, but the men believed that they ought to take part in them and thus help the women [...] I will sometimes make a lunch' (Banović 2016, p 59).

With given social descriptions it is confirmed that here as well as in many other parts of the world, women mainly performed labor related to the household, where meals required both paid and unpaid work dedication. Thus work in the kitchen and home following the situations that indicate places of 'tradition and resistance' and 'joy and power' reminds us of the hierarchies reinforced in households that need to be undone before food politics can truly be changed' (Ludington et al. 2019, p 211). So under 'tradition', food habits of the patriarchal principle and the relationship of authority in the household are maintained and strengthened, conditioning the 'only model of what should be recaptured in the present' (Ludington et al. 2019, p 211). This attitude is presented as a criticism of contemporary foodways under the discourse that in this way civilization is moving away from 'true values' and thus from home cooking. The literature on the 'tribal' life of Montenegrins, including Christopher Boehm's book 'Blood Revenge', and anthropological research conducted in 1966, are used to provide better context for the fieldwork memories studied. Here, a significant polarization between male and female characteristics is present, and it is stated that when these 'traditional' norms are not fulfilled, a man's or a woman's reputation as a good person would be either maintained or lost (Boehm 1987, p 46). The intrinsic values in men from these regions were those embedded in continuation of the 'male line', tribal political autonomy (freedom) and heroism followed by 'virtues manifested in the form of hospitality, aggressiveness and bravery' (Boehm 1987, p 46). These characteristics are contrasting the female's merits expressed in the manner of 'industriousness and sexual virtue' (Boehm 1987, p 46). The distinction between innate sexual and learned gender identity is well exposed in the above-mentioned book 'Warrior culture'. Montenegrin masculinity was supported by a specific cultural context in which

males matured in a state of war, evoking the ‘emergence of extremely dominant male culture’ (Banović 2016, p 27). Thus heroic ‘tradition’ was strongly imprinted among Slavic people, under the long-term and persistent siege of five centuries of Ottoman rule. Stated by Simić even in the 60s⁴⁸ that ‘Yugoslav children are regaled from early childhood with tales of legendary heroes and partisans’ (Simić 1962, p 97). Being a product of the Montenegrin social matrix even generations of my parents born in the 60s could not break away from the principles of male and female ‘innate characteristics’ (Fieldnotes Ćupić, April 2022). Therefore, Montenegrin anthropologist Čarna Brković gives an approach, where she digresses from the terms ‘backwardness’, ‘modernity’, and the need for the country to ‘catch up’ with ‘European’ standards (Brković, 2021 p 6). These political views on how to treat a certain region either with ‘progressive or backward, modern or traditional, civilized or primitive’ is necessary to discuss through sincere consideration of the complicated ways in which ‘material and economic processes become intertwined with social and cultural logics’ (Brković, 2021 p 6). Although it is not my intention to emphasize examples from the interviews, in order to avoid the impression and essentialism of some Western attitudes, the necessity of staying truthful to my fieldwork materials and the dynamics of gender relations is still seen.

‘Women then plowed and dug and took everything on themselves and worked and carried “tain” (food)’ (Interview Mr. Đurović, March 2022, Markovina).

‘I was beaten when I didn't know how to milk a cow, and today when it happens, a girl immediately goes to the police to report it, and I didn't report it, but I suffered, my mother tells me I should suffer, she says, suffer whether we chose him for you or you yourself’ (Interview Mrs. Radinka Otašević, March 2022, Zagarač)

Thus, these examples reveal the gender dynamics present during the early memories, which are subject to change across different times and places. According to Crowther agriculture is created to tame and domesticate nature, in the same way, society has an inclination toward controlling people’s contribution, thus ‘gender and class became increasingly distinct, marked by different societal expectations, and women in particular were accorded less value’ (Crowther 2013, p 113). When participants were asked about the roles and division of labor within their households, they often responded with a silent smile or alluded that it was obvious which tasks were assigned to which gender. Therefore, according to Crowther, the term ‘naturalness’ should be carefully

⁴⁸ Up to 2000s.

managed, and as such it exists in various forms in all cultures, which often indicate a regime of hierarchy and claims created 'to justify their authority' (Crowther 2013, p 112). However, the position of women in the rural part of Montenegro that the interlocutors refer to, was not always the same. As explained in the article 'Machismo and Cryptomatriarchy: Power, Effect, and Authority in the Contemporary Yugoslav Family', life trajectories of male and female powers varied over time following that with aged women obtained increased authority (Simić 1983, p 76). Thus, old women, can go alone to the market, make jokes and be freer both in private and in the public sphere (Simić 1983, p 76). Also observed male-female attitudes and the peculiarity of the relationship between son and mother is explained by Simić that 'since daughters, especially in the countryside, marry into other households, son usually become a mother's primary focus' (Simić 1983, p 76). In this way, as the son becomes an adult, with the authorities established, the mother through him achieves prestige and power both within the family and in the public domain (Simić 1983, p 76). But more important aspects for discussion are these coming from the domain dealing with household and work in the kitchen. The examples, mentioned in the field on several occasions, are referring to the mannerism of the relationship between the daughter-in-law and mother-in-law.

'While there was a lot of food in the freezer, she (mother-in-law) cooked, but when the stock runs out, Vasojka (mother-in-law) gives me to cook. In that way, she was checking on me, and how I will manage if I want to know how to cook when there is a scarcity of foodstuffs. But that strictness means good to me today. It meant good to me, it's not that I was incompetent, it's not that I didn't know how, and that I wasn't pushed, but everything meant good to me today. But in the beginning, everything hurts, it was hurtful' (Interview Mrs. Radinka Otašević, March 2022, Zagarač)

In that sense female head of the home is called 'domaćica', she was a hostess to visitors, and as argued by Vera Ehrlich she administrated domestic matters conducting the other wives and unmarried women in the household (Ehrlich 1966, p 34). Therefore, in the above example, the behavior of the female head of the home towards the 'mlada'⁴⁹ is mentioned. On the one hand, the strictness of the mother-in-law, on the other hand, the approval of the 'mlada' and confirmation of the necessity and gratitude for the same. One aspect of the fieldwork involved observing individuals develop and improve their cooking skills in difficult circumstances, highlighting the challenges of cooking with limited resources. However, this emphasizes the importance of

⁴⁹ 'Mlada' is a term in Montenegrin which literally translates to 'young woman' in English. It is commonly used to refer to a bride or a woman who is newly married.

recognizing changes in eating habits and manners over time and in different contexts explained by Jansen ‘according to time and place’ (1997: 94 p).

5.2.8. Food, feasts, hospitality, and ‘stidni gost’

Both Crowther and Baskar listed the concept of the adaptive value of cooking, regarded as a central cultural activity suggesting that it ‘significantly shaped our physiological and social evolution’ (Crowther 2013, p 7). This adaptive strategy reflects on rules surrounding eating habits. The example of food in Montenegrin society during special days and holidays highlights the practice of feasting or fasting as a method of managing the distribution of meat or richer meals throughout the year. These principles reflect the anthropological functionalism approach ‘[...] in the interpretation of dietary prohibitions and commandments (Baskar 2004, p 2). For example, in Hinduism prohibition and sacralization of cows is the result of preserving long-term consequences and hunger, as slaughtering cattle in a period of drought and famine which plows a farmer's field, would bring disaster (Baskar 2004, p 3). Meat, which had to be consumed in limited quantities, was treated in a similar way during the famine in these areas. Following the interview descriptions, meat was an indispensable part of a meal cooked especially during celebrations and church holidays. Giving the interview example, for weddings instead of gifts, family, and friends would bring the so-called ‘peciva’⁵⁰.

‘There were good feasts, especially for the holidays, we celebrate “Sveta Petka”⁵¹, then the guests come, and there were rich meals. Food was saved and prepared in advance when your guests came so that there would be plenty of everything. At my mother's, there were always vegetables, old and young cream, cheese, sour milk, prosciutto, veal, and pork. When you sit down at the table, it's like a wedding, and all homemade’ (Interview Mr. Raičković, March 2022, Gradac).

‘There is one specialty that has remained to this day, it was baked in “pepeljak” It is the so-called “tepsija”, it is veal or most often lamb, potatoes, and onions, mixed with lard and, red pepper and put to bake. I often make it for grandchildren, like baked potatoes, but there is a big difference. There couldn't be a wedding, or Christmas without this dish’ (Interview Mrs. Anka Janković, January 2022, Zagarač).

⁵⁰ ‘Pecivo’ is roasted and baked meat, engl. transl. baking.

⁵¹ ‘Sveta Petka’, engl. transl. Saint Paraskeva of the Balkans.

As discussed by Crowther emphasized pastoralism and therefore meat meals as shown in the excerpts above, as the primary source of food, and therefore the identity was most often result practiced in semi-arid and mountainous areas (2013, p 45). Therefore, due to not suitable terrain and lack of water, agriculture has a limited range that is not able to fully develop (Crowther 2013, p 45). In this way by keeping livestock, the population was supplied with meat, fur, and dairy products.



Figure 19: Freshly cut bacon for sale, Zagarač (© Ćupić, March 2022)



Figure 20: Water that is stored extra in buckets, keeps clean, and uses carefully, Zagarač (© Ćupić, March 2022).

According to the interviews, recognized are recently constructed habits, where meat and products of meat are listed with the highest degree of respect among foods. Therefore, in the last half of the century, a meal was not considered worthwhile without meat and wheat-white bread. The resulting construct as such is a product of the time that preceded when meat was consumed in small quantities as food saved for special occasions.

‘[...] while in the old days, my father-in-law told me that there was very little meat. Vegetables and potatoes were eaten, especially with kajmak (cream) and cheese’ (Interview Mrs. Anka Janković, January 2022, Zagarač).

According to the interlocutors, meat was reserved for Orthodox holidays and weddings. During the period of communism (from 1945, following World War II, and lasted until 1992), which followed a prohibition on church activities, these meat slaughtering dates were taken over by national holidays. Additionally, neighboring family households would coordinate and slaughter animals simultaneously, so that they could help and share the meat between them. Part of the slaughtered meat would be consumed immediately during the period of its freshness, while the rest was preserved meat.



Figure 21: Drying room, with prosciutto and bacon, by the wind method. Gradac (© Ćupić, March 2022)

The upcoming chapter 'National projects on domestic flavors' will discuss how salted and smoked meat, such as 'prosciutto and sausages from village Njeguši', has become a recognizable Montenegrin delicacy and marker of identity. Additionally, hospitality emerged as an important concept during the fieldwork, reflecting the human need for intimacy and commensality. There is an extensive theoretical structure that deals with these issues, particularly in Mediterranean studies. Therefore, one of the prominent works on this topic comes from the author Pitt-Rivers under the

title 'Law of Hospitality' (1974). The primary objective of hospitality is to establish new ties of kinship or friendship through a system in which this ritual of inclusion 'creates order by invoking the sacred, makes what is unknown familiar, and replaces conflict with mutual respect' (Pitt-Rivers 2012, p. 513). Pitt-Rivers deals with the study of hospitality from the concepts of mythology and ancient cultures. However, the primary understanding is that he takes the law of hospitality as a study of the problem of how to deal with strangers. Defining it as 'The custom of hospitality invokes the sacred and involves the exchange of honor' (Pitt-Rivers 2012, p 513). One of the ways in which the custom of 'honor' is maintained in the household is for the purpose of public reputation, in order to 'get the word out' that the individual is a good host. Primarily 'The host requests the honor of the guest's company' following that 'the guest is honored by the invitation' (Pitt-Rivers 2012, p 513). This mutual relationship demands respect and consideration, however, as Pitt-Rivers explains, the roles always remain of the same description, namely that the host is the one who 'ordeal' and the guest who consents. Hospitality is considered a general virtue throughout the Mediterranean, although the prevailing notion is that the ritualization of hospitality is associated with a masculine connotation (Jansen 1997, p 109). In the example of my family's household, the grandmother, who originated from the rural central part of Montenegro, chose not to join the table during feasts, despite the family's insistence. This was due to her upbringing, which dictated that women should serve in the kitchen while guests dine, while the grandfather assumed the role of entertaining and conversing with the guests (Interview Mrs. Janica Ćupić / fieldnotes Ćupić, Podgorica, March 2021). The example coincides with the one given in the text 'Gender identity and the rituals of food in a Jordanian community'. Men are honored with accepting food extensively, while women are expected to express virtues of respect and self-esteem by refusing it. Even today, in situations where poverty is not a factor but the family, is living in abundance, women are still instilled with the habit of serving a better piece of meat or plate to guests and the head of the household (Jansen 1997, p 27). In the fieldwork, there were not many situations where both partners were present. However, when they were together, the head of the house would engage in conversation with the guests while the woman served and prepared the food. It should be noted that in urban environments, this dynamic significantly changes. This segment holds significant importance, as the hosts showed a strong desire to provide the best possible accommodations within their means. However, according to the memories of the interviewees, a more recent term for a guest was mentioned - 'stidni', which can be translated into

English as 'shameful'. This term suggests that the guest was regarded with great importance, and the hosts had to do their best to accommodate them within their capabilities. Therefore, 'shameful guest' has the meaning of a person in front of whom the family must not be publicly embarrassed by its poor hospitality.

‘The custom is that the hosts need to offer “rakija” (brandy), a large glass of brandy, and a soft-boiled egg to a guest. Despite all that, there was also a lot of meat. I ask my mother what a shameful guest⁵² is, and what these people ashamed are of. She would say: “Not my son, it means to have things saved, to cut it for the guest, not for the children to eat it”. They adhered to that domestic dignity, sublimity, to stand out. Up to me it wasn't really psychologically smart, there was prestige, as everywhere, to prove yourself a little, but still, it is more important to provide for your family, not for the village and how they will think of you’ (Interview Mr. Raičković, March 2022, Gradac).

Here, the antonym of how to serve the guest generously, is the practice of ‘self-restraint’ among the members of the household, a term that Jansen explains as closely related to generosity (Jansen 1997, 95 p).

‘Dad would think that at that moment there was no “rakija” in the house, that it had all been drunk. Still, he tells my mother: Janice takes out that brandy?! And if “special guest” on the threshold, she takes it out, and it's the same today. Grandma Zorka has no coffee, there are guests coming, we think there is no coffee, she brings coffee out of nowhere’ (Interview Ćupić, March 2022, Upper Zagarač Kafana).

Also, according to the respondents, there were situations where children were not allowed to approach the table or eat together with the guests, indicating that the practice of showing restraint in eating was believed to build certain character traits (Jansen 1997, 94 p). The fieldwork revealed that during visits, ‘Turkish’ coffee and water were always served, and sometimes additional items such as juice, brandy, cake, fruit, cheese, and prosciutto were also offered. As a result, ‘Turkish’ coffee, brandy, and prosciutto could be considered the primary symbols of Montenegrin hospitality.

⁵² ‘Shameful guest’ is important or appreciated guest.

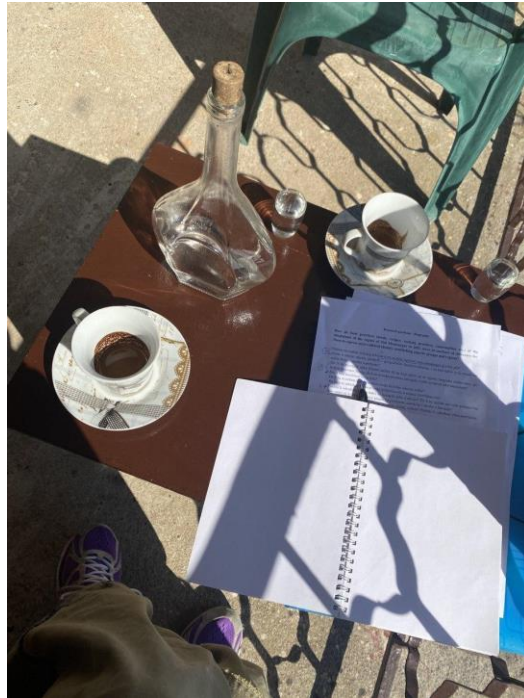


Figure 22: Serving at the table on the terrace where the interview was led, brandy and ‘Turkish’ coffee. Gradac (© Ćupić, March 2022)



Figure 23: Serving for me, homemade cheese, and sausage. Zagarač, (© Ćupić, March 2022)

5.2.9. Food in times of (socialist) industrialization

The patriarchal beliefs were constantly reinforced in Old Montenegro due to unstable political and economic circumstances, and movements were not a part of everyday life. Therefore, based on the example provided by the interlocutor, it can be inferred that there was little openness to the influence of nearby currents:

‘Little did other cultures breakthrough, to tell you the truth because people didn't move, they didn't even go to the market, because the markets were under Turkish occupation. So, there was no influence, if the girl was born in “Cuce”⁵³, for example, arrived there, married, lived for a hundred years, had never entered the city, never! Later when it was liberated, then they went to the market in Kotor, or Risan, and Herceg Novi’ (Interview Mr. Đurović, March 2022, Markovina).

Starting from the late 19th and persisting through the latter part of the 20 century, transformations took place due to a decrease in population within the rural area at the center. The process of industrialization was a driven force behind the migration of people from the central rural region to urban areas. Between the two world wars, only light industry was represented in Montenegro. According to historian Ivana Dobrivojević (2009), heavy industry only appeared after World War II when the communist party arrived with its revolutionary plan for modernization and the creation of a socialist state (Dobrivojević 2009, p 103). In the villages, families struggled to feed themselves after the war, and many peasants had to take on debt and work additional jobs. Furthermore, according to Dobrivojević, some industries were heavily impacted during the war, with ‘material damage to plants and buildings estimated at around 36.5% of the value of the entire industry of the former Yugoslavia’ (Dobrivojević 2009, p 104). Following the biographical interviews, the memories of rural life in the part of Old Montenegro changed drastically when these generations replaced their residence due to education or ‘trbuhom za kruhom’⁵⁴. The memories shared by the respondents reflect the conditions of those born between the World Wars or during World War II. One interviewee, a teacher from the village of Markovina, described how they lived in Katuni for safety during that time, rather than in their permanent residence in the village. Later, many were forced to move to the city out of necessity for survival.

⁵³ Cuce was one of the most numerous Montenegrin tribes in Katun ‘Nahiyah’.

⁵⁴ Translated as ‘belly for bread’, saying that indicates the migration for better life opportunities.

‘[...] it was necessary to escape from scarcity, it was a hard life. Let's talk about that, those occasions, that part of the northern Katun ‘nahiyah’, let's say it's the heart of the ‘nahiyah’ we mentioned. I will tell you what it was like there after the war because I also remember of World War II. We didn't live all the time in the village where our house is, during the war, but up there⁵⁵. There were straw, one-story houses. Those houses had no windows, only doors. It is interesting that it happened that the war years would be fruitful, and when the war ended, for ten years, every year would be dry and non-fertile, a few cattle were kept and people made a living from it’ (Interview Mr. Đurović, March 2022, Markovina).

And thus, a new regime was established, which initiated a program of industrialization from 1944 to 1955, inspired by the Soviet model. This led to the opening of many factories for heavy industry in Yugoslavia. Processes of ‘expropriation, nationalization, transition to a planned economy and entirely centralized management of the economy’ (Dobrivojević 2009, p 104). The new ideologies led to people from remote regions moving to cities throughout the entire territory of Yugoslav capitals at the time, including Podgorica. In the processes of collective expropriations, peasants were compelled to participate in industrial development alongside their agricultural activities. In the article “‘All into the Factory’! Instant Industrialization in Yugoslavia 1945-1955’, it is stated that individuals who refused to join the newly established economy were legally prosecuted (Dobrivojević 2009, p 108). Therefore, the technology of food production in which later mechanization ‘altered the landscape through the necessity of having fields large enough for the equipment to turn’ (Crowther 2013, p 68). This leads to a situation that undermines the livelihoods of rural people that were forced to immigrate for work to the cities in order to survive.

‘God, more than 30 years ago, feels village not to stagnate but to decline, everything we talk about. People left, it was conditioned by the industry, the electrical plant, the aluminum plant, how many people factories absorbed from the north, people from here and from the Zeta region. I got a job in the late 72's in the aluminum plant, and as a young electrician, I started working there as a propulsion engineer. I don't care, if it's the development of industry, agriculture was failing, livestock was failing, such a wrong governmental policy, not rational, catastrophic. If the government supported the north, which is passive, for example, these electricity dams that they are building now, then they would keep the population there, and they would keep life in villages. There wouldn't be like now on the green market imported potatoes for 1.5 euros, instead, it would be bio for 0.5 euros and these people would be saved and healthier. Everything was somehow concentrated in the city, “eating only pate”, (this is an expression that indicates a less thrilling way of living, where pate is eaten). Look at Itana, from here to school, it was all arable, it was plotted, cascading or flat, but it's all my darling [...] So when the wind is blowing, it's blowing

⁵⁵ Alluding to katun. Explained on the page 38.

wheat, clover, and vines, all on the horizon. Back in the day, we had 1000l of 'rakija' (brandy), and we poured 900L of wine, it was harder for us to organize the grape harvest than the whole work over the year' (Interview Mr. Raičković, March 2022, Gradac).

These changes in urban environments as a result of the economic ecology of capitalism, explained by Crowther, are characterized as this new way of life better than anything previously known in words 'traditional rural life-giving way to modern urban life' (Crowther 2013, p 69). Nonetheless, the residents of the newly settled socialist settlements enjoyed improved housing conditions with access to water and electricity, and a working schedule with the slogan of 8 hours of work, 8 hours of sleep, and 8 hours of rest. This was in stark contrast to the never-ending struggle for survival in the rural regions during the previous war times.

'When women moved to Podgorica for work in Titex (cotton mill), men then chased them from the village to the city. As soon as the girl was brought to the asphalt, and stepped on it, there was no such force that could bring her back to the rural way of living. And when the women leave, then your village starts to die out' (Interview Mr. Janković, Mr. Radonjić, March 2022, Upper Zagarac Kafana).

Soon after the younger population moved to cities, the new 'modern' way of living was characterized as superior and more sophisticated compared to the peasant way of life. As a result, inhabitants aspired to adopt different habits in terms of clothing, interests, and diet in order to keep up with the imposed trends. Likewise, agricultural work was perceived as something previously unskilled and depreciated therefore unpaid, as discussed by Crowther 'adding little to the social and economic value according to this important activities' (Crowther 2013, p 70). According to my grandmother's recollections, women in her surrounding would wake up at 5 a.m. to go to work in the first or second shift (6 a.m. to 2 p.m. or 2 p.m. to 10 p.m.) in factories. To start the day, they would prepare various types of breakfast pies, fried pies, baked pasta, rice pudding, and other dishes. During the working week, they would prepare stews and soups in advance, while on weekends, the whole family would gather to enjoy roast meat with potatoes. As stated by Thompson 'capitalism involved a new form of work-waged and reorganization of how time is used' (Thompson 1967, cited in Crowther 2013, p 69). The cooking methods previously used on hearths were adapted to the new conditions of households with electric stoves and working shifts. In the fridge, there was always homemade cheese, sour milk made from purchased domestic milk, eggs from free-range chickens, bacon, and homemade bread. During the autumn harvest, housewives would prepare jams, juices, and pickled vegetables such as sauerkraut, peppers,

carrots, and various other types. Rather than buying meat by kilogram from butchers, factories purchased meat from their workers at more favorable prices. A whole lamb or pig would be purchased in this way and then shared between friends or families. This practice was known as 'zimnica'⁵⁶. During the period of industrialization, staple foods such as fat, oil, flour, sugar, and salt were purchased in large quantities from the factory. As globalized industrialization progressed, new food products such as chicken patties, hot dogs, salami, and Zdenka cheese appeared on the market. While some people developed a taste for these new industrial foods, others continued to prefer traditional homemade foods such as cheese and prosciutto from remote villages. There was resistance among the older generations, which considered industrial food to be of poor quality, while the next generations were eager for 'new' industrial food. In the newly created conditions, the life habit changed, and industrial food became a symbol of the 'Yugoslav cuisine' of that time (History Fest 2022, 0:30). This includes kokta, vegeta, pates, and canned fish fillets. Industrial food was argued by Crowther as a new culinary creation (Crowther 2013, p 62).

‘[...] the situation with the ideological identity of the “Yugoslav pot” was quite clear, especially after 1948, and it showed the country’s openness to the West and acceptance of the Western culinary tradition, the question of national identity was much more complex. In the privacy of their home, on holidays, on excursions, in workers’ and students’ canteens and restaurants, people ate the food belonging to the Yugoslav national identity – čevapčići from Bosnia, pljeskavica from Serbia, sausages from the Slovenian town of Kranj, Bosnian burek, with or without šopska salad from Southeastern Serbia, more commonly with Macedonian ajvar. They drank locally produced Cockta, as well as Coca-Cola, Turkish coffee, Dalmatian wine, and Serbian šljivovica. Finally, for dessert, they chose Bosnian baklava, the famous kremšnite from Slovenian Bled, or Bajadera chocolate dessert produced in Croatia’ (Fotiadis et al. 2019, p 16).

At that time, the only fast food was burek followed by ‘čevabdžinice’⁵⁷, while only later in the 80s came burgers. During the 60s, there was an increase in the availability of various types of cuisine in Podgorica, including pizza, pasta, and fast food. Additionally, with Montenegro being a seaside country, seafood restaurants became popular, with dishes such as octopus, squid, clams, mussels, white fish, and hake being introduced to the local cuisine. However, prior to this, fish was not a common part of the local eating habits, especially among those from remote villages who did not

⁵⁶ ‘Zimnica’ is food intended and stored for the winter.

⁵⁷ ‘Čevabdžinica’ is a restaurant specializing in ‘čevapi’a grilled dish of minced meat found traditionally in the countries of southeast Europe.

have access to seafood. It was only when individuals from the coastal regions or international sources brought in culinary knowledge that the consumption of fish became more prevalent.

‘The first international restaurant was a pizzeria, I remember in Podgorica there was a man who was a sailor in the 80s and he opened a restaurant’ (Interview Ćupić, March 2022, Zagarač).

As argued by Rozin attachment to ‘traditional’ tastes is stronger than to staple ingredients itself, therefore if the dish is made to taste like something familiar, it may have bigger tendencies of quick appropriation, suggesting that ‘new ingredients can be domesticated if they can be made to taste (and look like) known food’ (Rozin and Rozin 1981, p 6). And so is the ‘burek’⁵⁸, a dish prepared by the Muslim communities, in this case, the residents of old Podgorica, whose origins date back to the period of Ottoman occupation, is today one of the ‘traditional’ fast food offers of the capital Podgorica, favorite within the locals. This dish befits the flavors embedded in the memories of several generations, due to its simplicity and convenience with ingredients and spices that differ from the ‘burek’ prepared in Sarajevo, Belgrade, and surrounding Balkan places that share a similar history. However, locals can distinctly recognize the differences and nuances in the preparation of the burek and will proudly argue about the superiority of both locally, and regionally, whether Podgorica's burek is better than those in the surrounding regions. Discussed Crowther that flavors ‘despite many having distant origins, become settled geographically and culturally, allowing cuisines to have a fixity that belies their assimilative nature’ (Crowther 2013, p 62). Therefore, the identity of food in the city of Podgorica was constructed by a combination of inherited memories of the food system from the former Old Montenegro, as well as the assimilated Ottoman heritage and subsequent global influences. In the 1960s, Yugoslavia began to shift away from the Soviet bloc and towards the West, as Vučetić notes ‘adopting American influences and American culture was an attempt to show how, and to what extent, the Yugoslav system was liberal, and that it was distancing itself from the Soviet model’ (Vučetić 2012, no pages available). So, the symbols of modernization, Coca-Cola, and many items of American alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, and canned food entered the Yugoslav market. As argued by Vučetić, the consumer society in Yugoslavia in the 50s and 60s becomes ‘part of American cultural imperialism’, serving as a means of manipulation during the rise of the Cold War, which, in addition to being aimed at Soviet enemies, was also aimed at the rest of the world (Vučetić 2012a, p 282). However, even in

⁵⁸ ‘Burek’ is a type of pie found in the Balkans, Middle East, and Central Asia.

the period of the Yugoslav republics, Montenegro was less exposed to development policies and mirroring the rural hinterland of the country, where centralized power was directed towards Belgrade as the capital.

5.2.10. Food and the invention of tradition versus ‘modern’

In the socialist buildings where people from different regions of Montenegro came together, they shared their culinary traditions and techniques, leading to the creation of new dishes or adaptations of existing ones as people experimented with different ingredients and cooking styles. These dishes have now been adopted and reshaped by people after changes in their environment and living conditions and are mostly served in restaurants specializing in ‘traditional’ or ‘domestic’ cuisine. The dishes that are commonly served are mostly of Ottoman origins, such as kebabs, moussaka, stuffed peppers, ‘sarma’⁵⁹, and various pies and ‘bureks’. Other dishes are often named after the region they come from or the birthplace of the person who brought the recipe, regardless of whether the dish is of that origin. Examples include ‘Bulgarian roses’, ‘Mađarica’⁶⁰, and Zetske priganice’⁶¹. One of the famous cakes that my grandmother used to bake was named ‘Pamučarka’⁶² by the neighbors themselves. According to Belasco's ideas about food systems, people make decisions about what to eat through a difficult negotiation process between the conflicting factors of identity and convenience, and to a lesser extent, responsibility towards it, within the complex food system triangle (Belasco 2008, p. 8) The acceptance of these new dishes upon arrival in urban environments is based on their ability to answer the questions of ‘Can I get it?’, ‘Can I afford it?’, and ‘Can I make it?’. The dishes which meet all standards regarding the ‘energy, time, labor, and skill’ (Belasco 2008, p 9) are typically the most successful. In the new kitchens of socialist neighborhoods, households were able to meet their needs for food, and some dishes could even taste better when reheated and eaten over several days. Therefore, factory workers create, according to Crowther, a kind of ‘proletarian diet’ that fits the circumstances of long working hours and ‘cheap, reliable, convenient energy foods’ (Crowther 2013, p 83). The combination of

⁵⁹ Sarma is a cabbage roll.

⁶⁰ Mađarica engl. transl. Hungarian women, although when searching on the internet cake does not exist under that name.

⁶¹ Zetske priganice is deep fired ‘traditional’ savory pastry From Zeta plain.

⁶² ‘Pamučarka’ cake, consisting of a generous quantity of walnuts, chocolate, and a crust soaked in rum, was invented by housewives residing in a building called ‘Pamučna’, which translates to ‘cotton’ in English, and where textile factory workers used to live.

convenience and identity means that these dishes offer familiar flavors, yet they are also 'new' enough to create an interesting experience for those who see themselves as 'modern' housewives. Examples of such dishes include stuffed peppers, puree, moussaka, 'rizi bizi', 'pilaf', and various pies. Flour, potatoes, and rice serve as staple foods and can be manipulated with the knowledge and experience of a 'real housewife' to disguise economic shortages or the lack of meat or more expensive ingredients. The dishes prepared in these conditions have become favorites for today's generations, especially grandchildren, who often list them as their favorite 'traditional', 'our', or 'home-made' dishes. Industrial products that have become objects of nostalgia partially make up national cuisines, as argued by Crowther, as an 'amalgamation of culinary traditions, ingredients, and flavors' (2013, p 87). Where certain dishes have become familiar due to historical circumstances, allowing citizens to imagine that they constitute the only acceptable 'tradition' 'shared by everyone' (Crowther 2013, p 87). When asked, the interlocutor Otašević from the village of Zagarač whether she likes to include some novelties in her kitchen. Her answer was that she prefers to stick to the 'traditional' way of cooking, as she does not like decorating or beautifying the existing dishes. For her, 'good taste' is characterized by homemade, clean, and fresh food. According to de Garine, the ability to appreciate good food is not something we are born with but rather something that needs to be acquired through learning (de Garine 2001, p 501). Taking after her, it is believed that purchasing even just five grams of healthy food is better than buying a kilogram of unhealthy 'industrial' food. Her daughter, who lives in the city, also exclusively cooks 'traditional' recipes. In numerous conversations conducted in the field, examples of industrial food emerged as a symbol of modernity.

'I do not prefer modern, and my daughter, nothing special, makes moussaka, puree' (Interview Mr. Raičković, March 2022, Gradac).

Therefore, the concepts of 'modern' and 'traditional' and their common usage often refer to a particular political or economic arrangement that is not necessarily characteristic of modern society by our current standards. In fact, the idea of modern society may have only emerged in the nineteenth century '[...] in response to the presence of "modern" conditions in the environment' (Hodgson 1974, p 51). Accordingly, the suggestion coming from Hobsbawm, and Ranger is that the 'invention of tradition' presents a fascinating contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world, and the attempt to maintain certain aspects of social life as unchanging and immutable (1983, p 2). Accordingly, with the identified key food markers, and

after the groundwork on understanding the origin of certain habits and expectations in local food system, examination will proceed with the discussion on the local-global practices. In addition to the national phenomenon, discussed by Hobsbawm and Ranger, that cannot be fully understood without careful consideration of the ‘invention of tradition’ (1983, p. 14). Therefore the subsequent chapters will elaborate on how specific anxieties resulting from historical events and associated memories may have influenced the current developments of food systems in Central Montenegro.

5.3. Local-globalized food practices in Central Montenegro and the rural-urban linkages in – On current developments

This chapter will address the third research question of the thesis, which examines the relationship between food served in the public/touristic sphere of the Montenegrin capital, situated near the Dinaric areas, and the diversity of local-global food patterns in Montenegro. The discussion will focus on the local impacts of a globalized food system, as well as an analysis of the tourism industry's growth and the key stakeholders involved. Through conversations with the National Tourism Organization and the Ministry of Agriculture, it has been revealed that they work together on various projects related to European integration, which includes initiatives focused on gastronomy and rural development in Montenegro as a tourist destination. These efforts are aimed at promoting the country globally. After examining the state sector, subsequent interviews will showcase examples of how the global food system is reflected in the local public sector of small businesses and restaurants, as well as the current eating habits of the residents in Podgorica, which serves as the capital and representative of the central region.

5.3.1. Local impacts of a globalized food system

As a developing country within the global market, Montenegro, like other Western Balkan countries, has a European integration perspective. This was previously introduced in the section on Economic and Political Developments. According to Crowther, the World Trade Organization and World Bank are aligned with market capitalism and often make decisions against states that seek to protect their own economic interests. Although they claim to address unfair trading practices, many of these decisions ultimately benefit corporations (Crowther 2013, p 75). The author suggests that these institutions together form a system of global governance that goes beyond individual states and aims to promote free trade and facilitate the import and export of goods. As a result, loans provided for the development of the world economy contribute to the

dependence of poor countries on global economies. Additionally, the author argues that these institutions often favor corporations over states, as they issue rulings against states that appear to protect their own economic interests. Crowther argues that due to the conditions mentioned earlier, states adapt their markets in a way that foreign investment can threaten existing national businesses, working practices, subsistence, various aspects of daily life, and the environment (Crowther 2013, p 75). In this way, the above-mentioned world organizations raise the conditions on new terms of adjustments that state governments fulfill by ‘weakening other funds in the sector of health care, education, and social program’ (Crowther 2013, p 75). According to the author, rich countries can more easily cope with these processes by exercising control due to more resources to handle certain processes, while poor countries most often lose their sovereignty, and therefore the gap between rich and poor countries widens. In Montenegro, such processes are depicted in the import of foodstuffs that is significantly higher than production and export, despite the favorable natural resources in relation to the small population, which undermines the competitiveness and price of domestic production. Martinovic and Konjevic explain that despite the trade deficit declining in the last years, the main reasons for this situation are caused by various problems based on mentioned fragmented farms, small arable lands, unskilled labor force, the age structure of the farmers, and in the general undeveloped sector (2015, p 5). One such example observed during fieldwork concerns potatoes, specifically French fries, which are a central side dish in most of the restaurants listed on Montenegrin menus. According to an interlocutor who will be introduced in the following chapter titled ‘Eating in and Out’, potatoes used to be bought from the north of Montenegro and then manually cut and freshly fried in former restaurants. However, now frozen and imported ones are consumed, and their taste cannot be compared with the domestic ones.

‘But it is more and more common in restaurants and bars, there are only a small number of people who make their own fries. For example, we buy locally, peel it, cut it, and fry it, so it’s all the same as before. While in many restaurants, these frozen ones are used. That taste cannot be replaced and that is a great pity that is a great shame [...] a lot of food is imported, and in that respect, locals are by it already prevented to market their products, yes, they cannot compete with price, they cannot sell the product. Following that we are also forced to, because of the price, in order to form a price that is ok for restaurant guests, we are forced to buy a lot of imported foodstuffs, instead from local peasants. So, a lot, a lot is changing here, unfortunately, there are not many old, quality, and beautiful cuisines left’ (Interview Mr. Stefan Martinović, both the manager and son of the owner of the ‘Stefan’ restaurant, April 2022, Podgorica).

So, this is a prime example of created difficulties for small-scale societies which are as stated by Crowther ‘trying to pursue their traditional food-getting strategies while becoming incorporated in nation-states and the global economic system’ (Crowther 2013, p 78). Furthermore, the pressure on developing countries to cultivate non-traditional crops and integrate them into established global food systems has been a growing concern. The World Bank and The International Monetary Fund are among the institutions that have been identified as key players in driving this trend. Therefore, local impacts are manifested as ‘underdeveloped rural and general infrastructure and relatively high cost of inputs (including the feed, which is mainly imported)’ (Martinovic and Konjevic 2015, p 5). Based on the official documentation of the study of the European Commission's Protocol on the accession of Montenegro to the Marrakesh Agreement establishing the World Trade Organization’ in 2012 (World Trade Organization 2018, no pages available), Montenegro had to reduce the rate of import of agricultural goods during the transition period (Martinovic and Konjevic 2015, p 5). The example is also found in the analysis of ‘Depopulation in Rural Areas of the Balkans’, where farmers in Montenegro stated that a large part of the agricultural products are from seasonal production and are non-competitive in price’ (Mickovic et al. 2020, p 11). Therefore, because of the high input prices in production, influences the final price due to a lack of organization and small and fragmented household units.

5.3.2. Food practices and the impact of the development of tourism

Agriculture, aluminum, and steel production, in addition to tourism, are the main pillars of the Montenegrin economy. As explained by Sedlenieks, since the 21st century the sustainability of heavy industries is quite questionable, therefore ‘hopes have been associated with tourism’ (Sedlenieks 2013, p 15). Recognizing tourism as valuable for the development of the economy is justified considering the truly diverse natural resources that this country has to offer, described on the website of the national tourist organization with the slogan of ‘Wild Beauty on Adriatic’ (Montenegro Travel 2023). In a few hours by car distance, tourists can experience several geographical landscapes in view of the mountain belt with an altitude of over 1000m, contrasting the coastal area with a mild Mediterranean climate and the rich history of the Balkan region.

‘[...] remnants of the civilizations starting from the Illyrian and Roman times can be found here as well as early Christian churches and monasteries in addition to some Ottoman inheritance’ (Sedlenieks 2013, p 16).

In view of the cultural heritage, tourist activities were particularly central to the coastal region, nonetheless the mentioned slogan 'Wild beauty' is now serving the new marketing image, especially contributed when Montenegro was publicly declared as an 'ecological state' (Vujacic 2013, p 161). Vujacic argues that a significant orientation towards the economy of tourism for political elites represented 'the well' of income, considering the potentials and that in this way newly independent Montenegro will attract tourists and hence position internationally (Vujacic 2013, p 153). However, as an important industry, especially after gaining independence, as argued by Vujacic 'significant effort and money are invested in rebranding Montenegro' (Vujacic 2013, p 153). These ways of marketing projects of 'traditional' and 'authentic' cultural aspects are above all reflected in gastronomy, where the accent is on tourist potentials of 'traditional' and 'local' food perspective. Similar processes took place in Slovenia, where after autocratic Yugoslavia, it was necessary to set the pillars of a democratic Slovenia in the late 1980s (Tivadar et al. 2010, p 395). This was reflected in the then programs of reviving 'traditional' and homemade dishes as the necessity of differentiation in relation to the previous regime. The similarity is clearly observed in the current national projects of rebranding in Montenegro. Therefore, governments emphasize the preservation of natural resources, development of unique sustainable products, diverse accommodation, and infrastructure (Economic Commission for Europe 2007, p 71). The ongoing development of rural areas in Montenegro, which has been further encouraged by the European Union since the beginning, suggests that political models and policies are likely to continue evolving, particularly in response to the growing force of globalization (Rajovic and Bulatovic 2015b, p 3). In Montenegro the development of institutional capacity is still very low, therefore rural policy and standards imposed by the European Union were hardly fulfilled. As discussed by Bulatovic and Rajovic, Montenegro failed to refer to positive experiences and lessons learned from the other countries in transition. Besides the inadequate institutional framework, this was mostly due to a lack of both the academic and administrative 'trained personnel on all levels' (Rajovic and Bulatovic 2015b, p 11). Hence, European institutions and their integration programs can be identified as bearer of changes and decision makers in the modernization processes of Montenegro. Account to the explanation from Taleb Rifai, UNWTO Secretary-General, '[...] gastronomy tourism offers enormous potential in stimulating, local, regional, and national economies' (World Tourism Organization 2017, p 10). Here will be identified a global or European narrative about advocated trends where, in the further explanation of the report, examples of how gastronomy

shapes memorable and ‘authentic’ experiences for a ‘modern’ tourist, and how ‘food is also an instrument of diplomacy that can promote intercultural understanding and positively influence foreigners’ image of the country’ (World Tourism Organization 2017, p 50). Therefore, partially Montenegro as a peripheral European country is trying to keep up with the trend of developing projects, explained by Gupta et al. with ‘novel engrossments and practices that are consequential from learning the values and ethnicities of a specific destination’ (Gupta et al. 2022). Therefore, due to the immense support of the European Union for the development of rural areas and environmental protection, authors are suggesting the necessity of putting a bigger focus on these processes and encouraging local communities, an especially individual initiative at the local level. In this way, Montenegrin villages can be encouraged to move away from 'disappearance' and more towards its survival. Therefore, one of the operational goals, found in the document for ‘Montenegro tourism development strategy 2022-2025’, is ‘[...] improved quality of diversified tourism product’ (Ministry of Economic Development and Tourism, Montenegro 2022, p 104). Under this, the authors state that Montenegro rural tourism represents the fastest growing segment, so tourists strive for a healthy lifestyle, which creates a sense of satisfaction in nature, hospitality of farms and rural households, and traditional cuisine followed by authentic experiences. According to the authors, rural tourism is currently the fastest-growing segment in Montenegro's tourism industry. This type of tourism appeals to visitors seeking a healthy lifestyle and a chance to experience nature, as well as traditional hospitality, cuisine, and authentic cultural experiences. In the following writing, the focus will be on how public institutions encourage the development of local tourist values, with a particular emphasis on gastronomy. The aim will be to examine the set of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that these initiatives reveal about the country's products and places (Terzić et al. 2022, p 5).

5.3.3. National projects on ‘domestic’ flavors

Collective memory can be studied in many ways, as one society contains many examples, these are complex processes explained by Banović that ‘involve many different people, practices, materials, and topics’ (Banović 2016, p 21). In this study, the focus will be on the concept and method introduced by Banović, which is relevant to the need for authenticity and the strengthening of Montenegro's newly achieved independence. Therefore, the detailed scrutiny of memories as bases for reproduction and continuation of identity through the ‘traditionalist model’ with a focus

on heritage and national character. To that end, the author introduces also the 'presentist' model, where the society examines the ways in which collective memories are distributed and how actually 'contemporary interest shapes images of past' (Banović 2016, p 16). Keeping in mind that collective memory is often an invention not something owned. So various forms of promotion of 'tradition', 'authentic', 'our own', 'domestic', and 'how the old people used to do it' as examples of local diets will be demonstrated. Accordingly in the discussion with the members of the National Tourism Organization in Montenegro, the following are some gastronomic examples of national projects on domestic flavors.

‘[...] “Roads of wine”, “Roads of honey”, “Roads of cheese”, it was all done through some international projects, through international organizations. A lot of the local population was also involved, but if I were to tell you if that is still acute on the field, I wouldn't really know. What we have been doing specifically for the last couple of years is the “domestic flavors” project. The project that we developed together with the then Ministry of Sustainable Development and Tourism, today's Ministry of Economic Development, then the Investment Development Fund, and the Chamber of Commerce of Montenegro. Now, the aim of the project is to promote and introduce our domestic production in catering facilities. For this reason, this was not the case until now. It is much easier for all larger hotels to import food than to communicate with small producers and follow that production chain. Ahm, our desire is to include them all, because it is very nice when you have domestic products on the table and something “autochthonous” and beautifully produced. In this way, you give an incentive to people in rural areas to stay in those areas and produce and contribute to the country's economy and in another to present to tourists all that our country has to offer’ (Interview Mrs. Biljana Bozović, NTO, April 2022).

The above-mentioned project 'Domestic flavors'⁶³ was initiated by the Government of Montenegro in cooperation with the Montenegrin Chamber of Commerce and stakeholders of the tourism sector. The goal of the project is to improve the placement of domestic products in tourist consumption. This represents the second phase of the ‘Buy Local’ program implemented by the Ministry of Sustainable Tourism, the National Tourism Organization of Montenegro, the Investment and Development Fund, and the Chamber of Commerce of Montenegro (National Tourism Organization of Montenegro 2019). The newly designed identity and slogan behind the project is 'Good, better, domestic' for the purpose of intensifying the placement of domestic products in hotels and restaurants. In this way, the authorities wanted to encourage the strengthening of partnerships and networking between the government, producers, and consumers.

⁶³ ‘Domaći ukusi’ translation can be local flavors, homemade or domestic.

Additionally interpreted with the words of the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development.

‘[...]the variety, quality, and uniqueness of the Montenegrin culinary offer, connected by “traditional” hospitality - that is, the Montenegrin food culture, represents a significant segment of our identity, and therefore a specialty of our tourist offers. Gastronomists recognize the echoes of history and the gifts of untouched nature in our food. Clearly, they recognize the value in our local and seasonal production’ (Nacionalna turistička organizacija 2019).

Coming to the video advertisement that was made for the promotion of this program, followed the slogan 'culinary trends change, some are good, some are worse, but one trend never passes, homemade is always the best, Good, Better, Domestic' (Montenegro 2019, 0:30). The study noted a comment that, in addition to the governments various programs and measures aimed at improving food quality and safety, there is also a concern for the preservation of endangered ‘local’ products. This issue will be examined further, with an excerpt from an interview conducted with the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development serving as a key source of information.

‘We personally try, as I have already told you, to preserve from oblivion what makes us “authentic” and different’ (Interview Mrs. Biljana Bozović, NTO, April 2022).

Noticing the similarity of the practices found in the text ‘The Memory of the Senses’ endangered food campaigns are actually are used here as a political tool for the purposes of ‘reorganization of public memory’ (Seremetakis 1994, p 3). However, Leitch in her text ‘Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity’ closely explains the narrative that marketed 'local' food as the best, through the words that the ‘disappearance of distinctive regional tastes may indeed, as I have argued, be linked to the generational political sensibilities of its founders’ (2003, p 458). The study identifies a connection between the disappearance of certain agricultural products and the current trend of retraditionalization. It is suggested that after the migration of people from rural areas to urban centers due to the emergence of modernization, there was a shift towards new ‘modern’ products, which led to a decline in the production and eventual oblivion of certain ‘traditional’ products in agriculture. Modernity represents the monitoring of innovations, both technological, socioeconomic, and governance, and accompanying certain ‘organizational and knowledge advances that make one’s immediate predecessors appear antiquated or, at least, surpassed’ (Snyder 2016, online). However, the treatment of domestic as 'the best' directly explains the concept of the ‘commodification of nostalgia’ according to the generations who, through the

institution, are now in power to create these campaigns. In addition to the above, salvation from 'oblivion' is a perfect approach for obtaining funds from the European Union, where the expectations of imagined European ideals and moral economy are met followed by 'current debates of the future of European identity' (Leitch 2003, p. 458). Several segments can be observed in the narrative campaign of the Montenegrin government that primarily cater to generations seeking nostalgia for former products as a representation of the former way of life, struggle for freedom, and heroism from these areas. These segments aim to satisfy personal expectations and promote patriotism by glorifying 'our' 'authentic' cultural heritage. This once again confirms the intensity of 'traditionalization' in a period of unstable political currents, where patriotism is the only tool for strengthening state autochthonous through national identity. The main aspect of this campaign is to simultaneously fulfill the expectations of the European Union in terms of maintaining the quality of technological progress, ensuring the accuracy of production, and preserving 'authenticity' as a part of the strategy for sustainable tourism. The Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development also clarifies why the emphasis is on the encouragement of 'local':

'In essence, everything here is traditional and local, we are talking about Montenegro, which is small, and every type of our production, if we are not talking about "13 July plantation", "Goranovica", "Franci" or "Neksan", we are talking about local ones, everything else is local. For the entire domain of small producers, there is a definition of the food safety requirements of small and medium enterprises, they are in the local category for us, it is understood as local, and these are mostly "traditional" products, we do not have large ones and we will do so in the future. We have a rather large lack of innovation in the market, so from that aspect, there is a positive wave in these terms locally. Because we have very weak technological development (Interview Mrs. Merisa Čekić, Head of the Directorate for Food Quality Policy at the Ministry of Agriculture, April 2022).

The Head of the Directorate for Food Quality Policy asserts that due to historical socio-political circumstances that have not been supportive of agricultural development so far, existing small producers in Montenegro are unable to compete with market prices. As a solution, the proposal of networking among small producers is deemed to be essential for success. In addition, the national importance of preserving from oblivion and emphasizing 'authentic'⁶⁴ dishes and foods.

⁶⁴ In the statement of the Vice-President of the Government and the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, listed are: Njeguš prosciutto, Crmnica wines, cheeses: Pljevlja cheese, Kolasin leafy cheese, Njeguš cheese, Kučki cheese, and many others. They recognize Bar and Ulcinj for olives and olive oil, wild orange jam, dried bleak and smoked Krap (both fish from Skadar lake), 'raštan' from Podgorica and 'japrak', Zeta cake, pie and 'priganice', Cetinje

Additionally, the official brochure representing the 'Ultimate guide through the gastronomic culture, aromas, and tastes of Montenegro, flavors to remember' issued by the National tourism agency, alleges that Montenegro is a country of strong contrasts, where these contrasts relate to the food and the differences in the offer in the north compared to the southern part of the country. Accordingly, it has not been observed that significant efforts have been made to improve the gastronomic offer in Montenegro. This observation is further supported by the interview, which revealed similar concerns.

‘In each of our brochures, we provide information about the diversity of Montenegrin food. The cuisine varies greatly depending on the region. In the south, Mediterranean specialties are dominant, while in the central part, we have “krap” lake fish, wine, and some Njegusi prosciutto. The north of Montenegro offers a completely different culinary experience. While gastronomy is an important and integral part of our tourist offer, it is not the sole focus of our brochures. We prioritize showcasing the diverse range of experiences Montenegro has to offer’ (Interview Mrs. Biljana Bozović, NTO Manager of International and Branch Office Cooperation, April 2022).

In addition to the aforementioned revitalization program, in discussions with representatives from the National Tourism Organization and the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, the following (more recent) projects were listed: 'Atlas of typical food from Montenegro' (FAO, 2021) project financed by the Food and Agricultural Organization from the United Nation and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in order to promote sustainable agrifood. Then 'Gastro Table - Catalog of Traditional Products from Family Farms' this project was created together with the publication 'Mountain Bounty - traditional dishes of the mountain regions of Montenegro' supported by the EU, Municipalities (of North of Montenegro) followed by FAO, and EBRD with main partners being NTO, Ministry of Development and Tourism and Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development of Montenegro (Regionalna razvojna agencija, Bjelasica, Komovi and Prokletije 2019, online). Accordingly, on the UN Montenegro website it is stated that 'as part of these project activities of agricultural development, 'A Montenegrin delegation of government officials and producers traveled to Austria to learn from the country's exemplary model of sustainable management of mountainous areas' (Montenegro UN 2018, online). It can be recognized here that a greater development emphasis was placed on the north of Montenegro, as

honey and 'Medovaca', Kolasin and Gusinje potatoes and kačamak (National Tourism Organization of Montenegro 2019).

well as the delegation's decision in following the Austrian example, in order to learn to connect traditional food with rural tourism, a concept that would be transferred to Montenegro. These processes of highlighting authentic dishes for a specific region as a type of gastronomic experience are not typical only for Montenegro, but can also be attributed to the entire Balkans, for example where Slovenia is stated as the 'future European Region of Gastronomy 2021' (Peštek et al. 2020, p 61). With an indication that Slovenia is at least a decade ahead of these development processes and at a much more enviable economic and political stage dating back to the period of Yugoslavia. While, for example, Bosnia and Herzegovina could find a parallel with Montenegro in terms of national development projects. Wherefore authors recognize that after the review of official development documents of gastro tourism in BH, there is no actual instruments defined to achieve collaborations in this sector and that 'touristic identity is lacking creative and innovative features' (Peštek et al. 2020, p 75). In the following, the author explains that in order to satisfy modern tourist needs, mere 'copying of others' is outdated. Therefore, it is necessary that stakeholders enrich their knowledge in addition to scientific and expert research in the field of gastro-tourism due to genuine contribution to sustainable tourism development. The last important segment where the practices of state institutions on shaping the identity of food products can be recognized, which are in accordance with the processes of Montenegrin and European integrations, is the indication for a 'protected geographical product' (Vlada Crne Gore 2016, online). The first product protected by this mark is 'Njegus prosciutto'⁶⁵, indicating that the national legislation has recognized and protected it as a high-quality product. This procedure was initiated between the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development together with the association of producers of 'Njegus specialties' from Cetinje. The goal of the project is to protect the name, as well as 'exploitation and imitation in the food production sector' (Vlada Crne Gore 2016, online). In the further explanation, it is stated that only the product with the name 'Njeguska prosciutto' will be able to be produced on the territory of Njegusi, considering its long regional and international reputation.

'Since the independence of Montenegro, efforts have been made to protect the product according to the current legislation harmonized with EU standards. Intensive work was done on the education of producers who quickly adopted new knowledge and prepared for a new form of product protection' (Vlada Crne Gore 2016, online).

⁶⁵Njeguši is a village in the Cetinje Municipality, located on the slopes of Mount Lovćen, within the Lovćen national park. It is part of the territory of Njeguši tribe belonging to Katunska Nahiyah.

Until recently, the prosciutto was often oversalted, overdried, and cut too thick. However, efforts are now being made to adapt to global trends in production technology, which is seen as the appropriate approach to keeping pace with modernization rather than opposing it. It is recognized that claiming domestic products as the best without meeting European market standards is not a viable option. This topic is certainly debatable, in this way Montenegro unifies itself with European safety standards and can possibly endanger its 'authentic taste', on the other hand, the food itself is substantially improved. Concluding words regarding the concept of nation branding is that this is an invention coming from 'entities that hold institutional and financial power in a state' (Vujacic 2013, p 164).

Significant conditioning of decisions by the hierarchy is observed. However, no major discrepancies have been identified with respect to local and national food images. As a result, the representation of the current food image from a civil perspective will be the focus of the following discussion.

5.3.4. Eating in and out

As authors of the book 'Dining Out: A Global History of Restaurants suggest that is almost innate for historians of everyday activities to search for the origin and explain where things began and how they generate present-day habits (Rawson and Shore 2019, p 9). Distinct histories of commensality systems date back to the time of Mesopotamia when people in the Copper Age produced ceramic vessels for food serving after they finished daily work, a place that resembles a military or school cafeteria (Rawson and Shore 2019, p 10).

'On the most basic level, commensality is about eating and drinking together, but it is far more than just a physical act: it also comprises the myriad social and political elements entailed in those occasions' (Rawson and Shore 2019, p 10).

Therefore, as suggested by Stowe, L. professor at the University of Calgary 'restaurants are important symbols of postmodern life itself' (2009, p 108). Explained as they have the power to carry the symbols of the 'ethos of the cities, regions, ethnic groups and nations' (2009, p 108). Due to the local representation of the central part of Montenegro, it was deemed appropriate to analyze the food offerings at an esteemed restaurant with prices accessible to the average citizen of

Podgorica. As a result, the restaurant specializing in national cuisine and renowned for its preparation of the most popular dish, 'Podgorica's popek'⁶⁶ was selected.

'We have classical cuisine, we have a lot of national dishes such as "Podgorica's Popek", "kačamak", "priganice", "cicvara", we have all the dishes from the grill, and fish, yet less of those "modern" dishes. So it is a kind of classic cuisine that we always had in our offer' (Interview Mr. Stefan Martinović, both the manager and son of the owner of the 'Stefan' restaurant, April 2022, Podgorica).

'Podgorica's Popek', is served to all school events, proms, weddings, and other events that take place in the territory and surrounding the city. Since I grew up and graduated my both primary and secondary school in Podgorica, I found it appropriate to testify it. The dish does not date further in the history from post-war Podgorica when it started to be served in hotels as predecessors of the first restaurants. A conversation about these practices was held with the owner's son, who is designated as the manager responsible for issues of innovation, handling customers, and overseeing operations.

'[...]simply put, we haven't noticed the guests' demand for something new, so we offer some standard dishes and it's always the guests who want to eat them, they simply talk about how good our cooked lamb is, how good the roasted veal is. Guests simply keep coming back to eat that food, because there is much less of it in the general food offered in Podgorica. Mostly now is the time, when there are many new dishes, "modern" dishes, the portions are also reduced, more work is done on the decoration of the dishes than on the taste [...] We didn't introduce many novelties, we insisted on good quality and large portions, that's what we've always done, and we held on with that, we worked a little on introducing novelties, yet experience has shown us that guests like to eat high quality and large portions' (Interview Mr. Stefan Martinović, both the manager and son of the owner of the 'Stefan' restaurant, April 2022, Podgorica).

The above descriptions indicate certain characteristics of the locals - they are not overly open to innovation and new dishes and prefer an assured taste that will not disappoint their expectations and appetite, especially considering the amount they spend. This is particularly important given that the average person cannot afford to dine at newly created 'haute cuisine' restaurants in Podgorica. However, the concept of opposition 'quality versus quantity' is explained by Bourdieu declaring it as 'abundant, nourishing, and not very imaginative of the working class and the luxury foods of the Establishment, where quality and rarity predominate over quantity' (Bourdieu 1979,

⁶⁶ It is a dish made of veal schnitzel, which is filled with cheese and prosciutto, then made into a roll that is deep-fried in flour and egg (French technique). It is served by decorating it with a sauce made of mayonnaise, lemon and parsley with French fries or steamed vegetables as a sidedish (Popeci in the Podgorica's style, IV grade in high school).

p 196-198). Class differentiation represents one of the ultimate factors in food selection, supremacy in food, and 'looking down at those who are not initiated' as 'the prerogative of the bourgeoisie' (de Garine 2001, p 500). De Garine further explains that the knowledge about good taste is not instinctive and that therefore expectations of learning proficiency in food coming from global food institutes and organizations, are 'magnificent examples of contemporary ethnocentrism' (2001, p 500).

However, when returning to the dish that is considered to be the most popular in the aforementioned restaurant, in addition to the eating habits of the residents, the issue of 'congestion' in the development of the offer seems to be more complex than just the factor of class deviations of residents of the city of Podgorica. An example of Turkey is encountered here, where the problems of culinary representation both locally and globally are being addressed regarding the preservation and control of cuisine in the global market. It has been suggested that in addition to the concerns raised by governments and organizations, festival organizers, food writers, cooks, chefs, and gourmets can also play a role in regulating and standardizing the cuisine of a country (Karaosmanoğlu 2007, p 428). As previously stated, in addition to development and historical processes, the incentive for culinary innovation can also be attributed to restaurant practices and ideas of culinary representation, with school institutions recognized as the foundation for shaping future chefs and culinary knowledge. This was the result of finding a credible source of an explanation of the mentioned dish 'Podgorica's Popek', where on the example of a secondary professional cooking school, noticed are quite outdated practices (JU ŠSVSO Sergije 2020, 0:40). Therefore, based on the aforementioned case study in Turkey, with the purpose of a progressive turn in culinary representation, critics have reviewed and expressed that Turkish cuisine is not competently defined 'chefs act as both destabilizing forces and agents of standardization as they work on the transformation and revision of dishes to create a modern cuisine' (Karaosmanoğlu 2007, p 430). Therefore, in order to make an upgrade, the author sees the necessity of training chefs in modernizing their techniques, considering that they are the ones who bring innovations in the culinary sphere. As such expert knowledge, the author suggested that the mere exclusion of 'tradition' for the sake of 'modernity' in cooking can be avoided if local food is adapted so that it becomes attractive to everyone and outside the local discourse (2007: p 432). This can be established by choosing 'which values should be preserved on the road to progress' (Savkay 1999, cited in Karaosmanoğlu 2007, p 432). Also, the author further concludes that in this way cooking

can still stay patriotic and maintain the distinctiveness of Turkish cuisine ‘without dramatizing the folkloric side’ (Karaosmanoğlu 2007, p 432). Therefore, the segment of innovation is directly conditioned in addition to narrowly educated chefs and ideas about how modernization can take place, also with the market prices. As the least ordered, interlocutor under the new ‘modern’ dishes counted 'Mexican chicken and beef Stroganov', which was removed from the menu due to low demand, in parallel with the local beef steak, which does not fit with its high price in consumer's pocket. However, the component that stands out in the involved interview, which assisted in shaping the formation of the given restaurant offer is the division of guests into two types of visitors, businesspeople (mostly mature men) and families (spouses with children). This division points to a certain hegemonic discourse regarding the type of food and gender equality, which will be elaborated further in the following sequence (Fieldnotes Ćupić, April 2022).

5.3.5. Meat eating and the heteronormative discourse about men and women

As mentioned above, the locally established restaurant is recognized for its large portions and quality. In addition to the best-selling main meat specialties primarily served to well-paid guests (visiting for business purposes), and lower-paying guests (families). The segment can be identified and the discourse of masculinity as a hegemonic ideal in the food systems of a given society can be acknowledged. Additionally, most respondents among the older generation confirm the principle of cooking as a female private domain activity, an aspect that to a certain extent, however, weakens among the younger generations. Therefore, in the example of central Montenegro, there is a certain concept of 'naturalness', which has already been treated by many authors when we talk about cooking in the private domain. Here, Crowther's explanation is alluded to, which highlights women's inclination to ‘[...] cook as part of their household or domestic responsibilities toward their families’ (Crowther 2013, p 111). In contrast, men's activities are identified as public cooking roles (predominantly meat barbecues) (2013, p 112). Following conflicting demands of women being at the same time mothers, lovers, and businesswomen.

‘Since I have small children, I don't visit restaurants often. Because I don't want to leave the impression of a mother who tortures their children who don't cook and so on and so forth (laughs)’ (Interview Mrs. Matea Matan, NTO Manager of Strategic Planning and Product Development, April 2022).

However, throughout history, strength and masculinity have been mutually associated (Peeters et al. 2022, p 1). Therefore, the importance of food division between genders in consumption is

recognized, as men in many cultures, including Montenegro, are stereotyped as the gender that predominantly eats meat in large quantities. It is observed that the specialty of the house in the aforementioned restaurant is 'veal roast', and the main dishes mainly consist of meat dishes, such as 'raštan and kačamak', where on average 300–500g of meat is served on the plate, indicating large portions. Businessmen order a pricey meat dish, while families, women, and children visit the public domain on a smaller scale, but also, they will often lean towards a meal in the form of snacks, pizza, and pasta.

‘[...] we have two types of guests, one is serious business people, who come here to make some meetings, business lunches, to eat quality food, to make it nice. And we have another type of guest, they are family people who come because we have a large yard for children, they come to drink coffee and for their children to play. So, there is always something for children, whether they will order “priganice” or have a snack, but we noticed that there is a demand from family people for children's food, they ask if we offer pizza or sandwiches’ (Interview Mr. Stefan Martinović, both the manager and son of the owner of the ‘Stefan’ restaurant, April 2022).

Yet this is not unusual, as it is stated in the text 'It's not just meat, mate! The importance of gender differences in meat consumption' (2022), as food in addition to its nutritional values, indicates identity, and as such 'link between meat and masculinity can be found in almost every human culture' (Peeters et al. 2022, p 2). Therefore, to the question of favorite food or restaurant on the example of interlocutors, the answers were:

‘I'm not a picky eater, but for God's sake I love lamb on the rump and “kastradina”⁶⁷, where are these national dishes, that I already counted? I don't know this Italian, if I went to Italy, I would starve to death (laughs). I wouldn't eat dough’ (Interview Mr. Radonjić, March 2022, Upper Zagarac Kafana).

In the example of Montenegro, this aspect, in addition to the above, relies on the generational divide, that the older generations consume and value meat in larger quantities than the younger generations (Hart 2018, cited in Peeters et al. 2022, p 3). This is the case of the history of Montenegro confirms once again the reality in which the principle of hegemonic masculinity ideals was established, through the necessity of constantly proving it. Although the patriarchal aspect is hopefully sufficiently explained in the previous chapters because of socio-political and historical intertwining.

⁶⁷ Dried, smoked meat of ram and goat mostly cooked with collard greens.

The concept of the 'omnivorous dilemma' presented in 1970 by Paul Rozin is encountered in relation to the psychology of food choices (Crowther 2013, p 8). Poul Rozin elaborated within this dilemma three principles in the interaction of which we decide to make certain choices in nutrition, namely: 'biological heritage' (ancestry and individual genes), 'unique individual experiences' (especially in terms of likes and dislikes) and third 'culture, mediated by gender, age, and social standing' (Crowther 2013, p 8). Especially the third segment is emphasized as an inherited source of information that has been passed on to the individual and society generationally. Crowther argues that therefore, we have the ability to learn certain tastes and classify them as safe, good, or bad and give them a certain value that therefore varies from society to society (Crowther 2013, p 8). The introduced dilemma is also used as a tool that can explain contemporary culinary processes taking place in the example of Montenegro. Primarily, omnivores are the human tendency to eat an endless amount of food and try different tastes. However, on the line of success of this dilemma, it is guided in one extreme by the term 'neophilia' (desire to try new food) and on the contrasting side neophobia (fear that the new food might be hurtful) (Crowther 2013, p 7). Therefore, a greater amount of reluctance to try new flavors during fieldwork was recognized in the scrutinized region. A conversation with a business owner was helpful in this regard. Her concept, which can be considered a novelty in Podgorica, involves the preparation of a healthy breakfast for businesspeople. The respondent is in her early 30s and started a private business that is operating for two years.

'[...] colleagues would ask me, what am I eating, what is an avocado? And how does it all go together? I would make hummus at home or buy and make something healthier, it's nothing special, but it caught the eye of so many people because most of them don't pay attention to what they eat, they buy something from the nearest bakery. Now when there are already some other interesting foods in stores. For example, a piece of meat at 9 in the morning. They bring goulash from the store, and the lady is all dolled up and eats goulash in the morning. And then people were simply amazed by my ideas for breakfast. It was nothing, it was possible for other people to afford it, but they didn't know what it was, they knew what was healthy, but they didn't know how to prepare it and which ingredients to combine, they didn't know' (Interview Mrs. Milica Janković, business owner of the company 'Have a healthy breakfast', May 2022).

The foodstuffs she started making (oatmeal and smoothies) were with the basic type of fruits strawberries, almonds, kiwis, and more recognizable fruits from this region, while occasionally chia seeds, mangos, and avocados (foods considered exotic and luxurious) were introduced. When

asked about the age and gender structure of the customers, the respondent answered that at the beginning they were businesswomen (30 plus years old) that could afford it, while now there are also men who are involved in the sporty lifestyle, but one-third of the customers are medical workers from clinics or health institutions. The concept of this business is that there are weekly menus, with fixed meals that include oatmeal and smoothies for breakfast, so the users cannot make an additional choice. Yet the criterion that played an important role in the phase of the formation of the offer was the necessity in high caloric meals:

‘It seems that people are afraid of leaving a restaurant still feeling hungry, as there is a psychological aspect related to paying for a meal. I have a couple of colleagues from work who have now become regular customers. The first time they tried my breakfast, they only did it to support my business, but with the idea that it would not fill them up. However, it turned out to be the opposite, as my breakfast is actually very caloric. That's why I made a compromise, making it a little more on the caloric side, but with healthy calories. I know that people in our region tend to eat a lot, to the point where they can't get up from their chairs due to overeating’ (Interview Mrs. Milica Janković, business owner of the company ‘Have a healthy breakfast’, May 2022).

Therefore, according to the respondent, about 80 percent of initial clients started with the thought and fear that such food, which goes beyond their habits, will not satisfy their satiety. This was predominantly pronounced with men, while women were more open to trends as a result of good and fit appearance. In the continuation of the interview, she mentions Podgorica’s restaurants with ‘modern’ cuisine that offer pizza, tortillas, and various low-priced dough (fast food), which she generally does not prefer to eat. While quality ‘modern’ restaurants are pricey. Giving an example of her friends who moved to Europe, and now upon arrival can afford and would prefer to eat in ‘luxury restaurants’. Accordingly, in response to the question of changes in the given society, the following is stated:

‘It's going slowly, I think if I had started with this business idea about 10 years ago, I don't think there would be any success. This is how change is going, Instagram and food blogs are available, and they are promoted from the trend towards healthy and organic food, so even though it is a trend, it is a good one, and people become more informed’ (Interview Mrs. Milica Janković, business owner of the company ‘Have a healthy breakfast’, May 2022).

According to the interviewee, she started having a tendency towards healthy eating even in primary school, from the beginning of her puberty when she became obsessed with fitness and body. She remembers that even then she stopped eating white bread and started researching healthier options.

While the biggest changes happened during her first trips abroad and when she became independent from her parents. Consequently, started preparing her own food 'because until then you eat what your mother serves you' (Online interview, Business owner of the company 'Have a healthy breakfast', May 2022). For that reason, 'dietary individualization is common in contemporary food culture and includes loss of traditional collective eating identities that are shared during regular commensal meals' (Sobal and Nelson 2003, p 182). Therefore, neophobia, which refers to a specific fear of new or unfamiliar foods being harmful to our health, was not indicated during the fieldwork. Instead, the observation was that people will eat food that is not of excessive nutritional quality due to the generationally transmitted information that one must not stay hungry. This certainly indicates anxiety and intolerance towards the possible feeling of hunger, it leads to excessive meals and the need for high-calorie food and satiation. Therefore, within the aspect of social stereotypes, prejudices towards the new changes in eating habits are primarily indicated as a social marker rather than as a cultural marker as they '[...] underline basic differences and even barriers between social classes' (de Garine 2001, p 497). Giving fundamental differences in the mentality 'food habits of the poor and rich' (de Garine 2001, p 499). However, certain consumptions are unquestionably declining such as bread and meat. Especially because of other food prices becoming affordable, on the example of the once 'exotic' and now normalized mango and avocado.

6. Conclusions

The focus was placed on stories about difficult life and history, as perceived by citizens in Central Montenegro. Consequently, the boundaries were successfully drawn and the dishes originating in Old Montenegro were interpreted by tracing the grassroots, in order to explore the extent to which they could inspire and redesign the regional cuisine. Therefore, the first research question 'How do food practices of the inhabitants of the region of Old Montenegro serve as markers of difference for them to express their socio-cultural identity?' is answered by using data of ethnographic fieldwork. As a result, by examining the memories of ordinary citizens in Central Montenegro, which are intertwined with both history and food literature, a cross-section of key historical events in this area was made. It was found that there was a certain universalization of dishes in the former Yugoslav territories and after World War II, which led to a deviation from the habits and food

patterns that existed in rural areas. As a result of the influence of Western standards, the region underwent changes in terms of innovation and culinary practices, exposing its people to new culinary developments. In the 1990s, the dissolution of Yugoslavia resulted not only in the deconstruction of developmental and emancipatory programs but also a significant shift in political trends. This shift was driven by the promotion of national identity in the newly independent state of Montenegro, which imposed new ideals. In such a condition of focusing on strengthening national identity, certain processes of re-traditionalization of former rural practices and habits occur, which I try to explain by using anthropologically relevant discourses and discussing several social scientific ideas, both in theory and practice. Although many successful restaurants among ordinary citizens in central Montenegro continue to offer dishes that are not necessarily 'indigenous', they still aim to satisfy basic satiety needs that are in line with 'traditional' eating habits. These habits reflect a historical period when meat was considered a luxury item, and thus, these dishes serve as a reminder of that period. I attempted to approach the understanding of a particular local social context through Brković's argument that it is crucial to engage in a genuine exploration of the 'not progressive' society (2021, p. 6). This society should not be viewed as with an anomaly, but it is necessary to comprehend the created resistance to change formed through a process of constant suppression and imposition of both political and socio-cultural regimes. I have arrived at an intriguing concept of a 'seemingly changing' culture, which remains grounded in the pillars of 'tradition' as a fundamentally correct value system. This idea is accompanied by a particular food 'indifference' mentality that appears to have developed a resistance to change. Sadlenieks suggests that this resistance is only 'seemingly changing' since very little in the social realm remains unchanged (Sedlenieks 2015, p 13). The author uses the concept of 'buffer culture' to explain Montenegrin society, further elaborated by Branko Banović's concept of a 'Warrior Culture.' According to Banović, Montenegrin masculinity was shaped by a cultural context in which males came of age amidst war, resulting in the emergence of an 'extremely dominant male culture' (Banović, 2016, p. 27). Therefore, it was necessary to elaborate on the history of Montenegrin society with aspects of a 'Warrior Culture', where recurrent economic and political instability in the region reinforced long-standing patriarchal stereotypes. The study on Montenegrin eating habits has revealed examples of hierarchies of power and preference that manifest in various ways. In the corresponding section, I have outlined examples and answered the question: 'How do the currently existing patriarchal domestic ideologies in the "tribal" region

influence food patterns in the everyday life of the inhabitants?' Therefore, the findings presented in chapter 5.2.6, which explore the relationship between food and the Dinaric sense of belonging, are based on Vera Ehrlich's field observations from the 1960s. Attitudes towards food choices are indifferent, which contrasts sharply with the individualistic tendencies prevalent in Western cultures. This can be seen as an example of the extreme opposition between the two, where 'traditionality' evaluates deviation from 'old' values as rejecting true systems of values. Therefore, asking about food preferences was considered bothersome and immature behavior, associated with high maintenance and infancy, and therefore deemed unimportant. This dismissive attitude towards food is connected to the maintenance of dominant masculinity principles in the Warrior culture. Which affect preferences and the tendency to discovering the new as a link characteristics features of weakness. Therefore, the discussed habits of eating meat and dairy product or aversions towards new ingredients are identified tendencies that make up today's food systems in Montenegro. These items of dislikes are not treated as isolated instead as it is argued by Maget Mead in her article about 'Changing food habits', these items are a 'total complex of behaviours which constitute the food habits' (Mead 2008, p 18). Moreover, Mead is suggesting that in consideration of changes or innovations in food patterns, the immense effect make learning habits of societies 'to learning or resistance which involve the body as directly as do habits connected with food' (Mead 2008, p 18). Here we can consider the analysis offered by Bourdieu between oppositions of the necessity foods - 'abundant, nourishing, and not very imaginative of the working class and the luxury foods of the Establishment, where quality and rarity predominate over quantity' (Bourdieu 1979, p 196). Still, in the case of Montenegro, luxury food products are poorly established, therefore the contrast could be depicted between villagers and the working class, only now with the emergence of tourism and newer global trends can we considered the mentioned category. Therefore, each group dictates its own criteria, which tend to clash and distinguish even more one from another, the 'criterion of distinction and supremacy' (Gariné 2015, p 501).

I attempted to further explore how identity is maintained and passed down through heritage and national character by conducting a detailed examination of memories using a 'traditionalist model.' This approach revealed that the promotion of 'local' food as superior was driven by political views held by the founders of the state apparatus, who believed that distinctive regional tastes were disappearing. However, the standards and views presented by both the government and citizens

are leaving room for further elaboration on the existing topic. The examples cited in the field of agricultural production demonstrate a situation where available natural resources are not used appropriately, as stated by Rajovic and Bulatovic: 'Incompatibility between the available potentials and modern plant production is determined by the global economic policy, tradition, demographic trends, economic structure, and market' (2014b, p 6). The reason for this is the state's lack of commitment to agriculture, which can be traced back through the history of development policies and events. The authors also argue that the cause of this is 'traditional' habits in the execution of small arable areas, resulting in a lack of networking in production structures that directly weaken stable agricultural development. Therefore, in order to achieve sustainable success in developmental processes in the future, in addition to the education of members in institutions and included expertise, it is necessary to establish progress:

'All social groups must partake, ranging from business interests, government parties, civil society stakeholders, and citizens—in a “grassroots” style approach to the creation of the new national identity' (Aronczyk 2009, p 293).

Here, the study is showcasing the ideals of state institutions and current activities related to the development of gastronomic offer in the central region. As it is already suggested by Sedlenieks efforts to implement reforms in a society that has previously experienced similar 'transition periods' and is now anticipating another short-lived revolution, are likely to be unsuccessful (2015, p 187). As the failure to recognize and utilize existing traditional building materials for a democratic (and capitalistic) society has made it difficult to construct structures from scratch. This has created a self-validating circularity in which problems or failures can be attributed to the lack of indigenous traditions, and planners can dismiss those that were present because they did not match preconceived models (Creed 2010, pp 5-6). This validates the Western model, as Creed's critique suggests '[...] remains unchallenged by the difficulties it encounters, which are always displaced to the lack or failings of the society in transition' (Creed 2010, pp 5-6). This is because the society is prepared to ignore new ideas that cannot be exploited, making it impossible to bring about the desired changes. Therefore, in the process of transition through European integration and development programs, I recognize the need to explain societies and human relationships differently, as Brkovic pointed out, from the perspective of the complex interplay between 'material and economic processes' and 'social and cultural logics,' rather than relying on simplistic political views that categorize regions as either 'progressive or backward, modern or traditional,

civilized or primitive' (Brković 2021, p 6). Therefore, food systems '[...] can be an effective channel to attaining the holism central to anthropology' (Counihan 1984, p 56). The direction in which the gastronomic offer or eating habits could be further developed lies in highlighting the agricultural and cultural potential, and preserving 'traditional' values while pursuing progress. As highlighted by Savkay (1999) and Karaosmanoğlu (2007), 'national' cuisine can maintain its patriotic character and distinctiveness without relying solely on folkloric 'old' elements. Progress could be made by well-educated chefs with innovative ideas, as well as by educating all the other social groups. However, considerations of anthropological food studies with its in-depth understanding of the complex interplay of social and cultural logics and the relationship between material and economic processes, can offer visibility to the grassroots of the problem discussed in this work.

7. Resources

7.1. Bibliography

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7.2. List of Interviews with people from four Nahiyahs in Cental Montenegro

Name	Occupation	Age	Date	Nahiyah	Place of origin and memories	Place
Anka Janković	Primary school teacher	87	17.12.2021& 09.01.2022;	Katunska Nahiyah	Grahovo, married in Lower Zagarač	Viber, Podgorica; Apartment in Podgorica
Olga Vukčević	Domaćica	84	02.03.2022	Lješanska Nahiyah	Lješnje	Podgorica
Filipović Vojka	Housewife	61	03.03.2022	Katunska Nahiyah	Lower Zagarač, Povrpoljina	Village Zagarač
Otašević Radinka	Housewife	52	03.03.2022	Katunska Nahiyah	Lower Zagarač	Village Zagarač
Radonjić Vlatko, Zoran Janković	the owner of the tavern,	63, 63	03.03.2022	Katunska Nahiyah	Upper Zagarač	Village Zagarač in Kafana
Zoran Vukićević	Trader	62	04.03.2022	Riječka Nahiyah	Rijeka Crnojevća	Skadar Lake
Radulović Vojislavka	Housewife		10.03.2022	Lješanska Nahiyah	Komani	In her house
Djina Gazivoda (and her daughter)	Housewife	84	15.03.2022	Riječka Nahiyah	Village Rvaši	Skadar Lake
Djurović Periša	Teacher and professor	84	17.03.2022	Katunska Nahiyah	Markovina	Podgorica, in his apartment
Rajko Raičković	Electrical engineer	71	20.03.2022	Lješanska Nahiyah	Gradac	In his house in Gradac
Mrs. M. Djurisić	Fisherman	Unkn own.	29.03.2022	Crminička Nahiyah	Crmnica koje selo	Skadar Lake

7.2.1. Interviews in public sector or institutions

Name	Date	Occupation	Institution	Place
Biljana Bozović	19.04.2022	Manager International and Branch Office Cooperation	National Tourism Organisation of Montenegro	Zoom meeting, offices in Podgorica
Stefan Martinović	21.04.2020	Son of the owner	‘Stefan’ Restaurant of ‘traditional’ local food	Podgorica
Matea Matan	21.04.2022	Manager Strategic Planning and Product Development	National Tourism Organisation of Montenegro	Zoom meeting, offices in Podgorica
Milica Janković	10.05.2022	Owner	Restaurant, cooking healthy breakfast, ‘Eat healthy’	Zoom meeting, Podgorica
Merisa Čekić Milena Kotlica	13.06.2022	Head of the Directorate for Food Quality Policy at the Ministry of Agriculture And Secretarie	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management	In place, Podgorica

7.2.2. Interview Protocols & Fieldnotes

Date	Occasion	Nahiyah	Place, Villages
03.03.2021	III Interviews and observation of the everyday living in two households and local traversa - kafana	Katunska Nahiyah	Lower and Upper Zagarač, Povrpoljina
04.03.2022	I interview and visit of the local restaurant	Crnička Nahiyah	Rijeka Crnojevića
10.0.2022	I Interviews and observation of the everyday life in the household	Lješanska Nahiyah	Village Komani
13.03.2022	Observation, tour through a couple of villages	Katunska Nahiyah	Čevo, Markovina, Cetinje
15.03.2022	I Interview and observation of the everyday life in the household	Riječka Nahiyah	Village Rvaši
20.03.2022	I Interview and observation of the everyday life in the household	Lješanska Nahiyah	Village Gradac
29.03.2022	I Interview and observation of the everyday life in the household	Crnička Nahiyah	Village Crmnica
21.04.2022	Visit of the local restaurant with traditional food	Capital	Podgorica

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