

# Gastronomy and Industrialized Food in the Aymara Communities of the Pilcuyo District, El Collao Province - Ilave -Puno-Peru

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## Abstract

The research addresses a topic of social interest that is gastronomy and industrialized foods in the Aymara context, which with its varied forms and styles, differs from other gastronomies. The aim of the research is to present the wisdom of preparing meals and consumption of the population they produce and extent of industrialized foods. For this, the qualitative method and the technique of ethnography have been used. As a result of exploration it is noticed that in the Andes the cuisine of each day is varied (breakfast, lunch and dinner), the preparation of meals of the peasant families are based on what is done by raising agrobiodiversity, on what nature offers such as: plants, wild animals and minerals. On the other hand, industrialized food that is easily obtained in the local market. The consumption is closely related to weather stations of the agricultural year, which are: "jallupacha or ch'uxñapacha" (rainy season) and "awtipacha" (dry season).

**Keywords:** food; agrobiodiversity; culture; gastronomy and food industrialized.

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## **1. Introduction**

This research work has been carried out with the purpose of understanding the particular form of food consumption of the peasant families of the Aymara zone of the Pilsucyo district of the province of El Collao Ilave -Puno-Peru, systematizing the data in 2015 and 2019. We are aware in the context the agribusinesses [1] produce for the local market greater percentages of their production and with the sale they buy industrialized products and in addition the young people give preference to industrialized foods; but even with these difficulties, the ways of preparing the food are valid according to the cyclicalitv of the time. For the peasant families, the bonanza months correspond to the harvest season that begins from mid-March with the collection of beans [2]. Easter (month of March or April) the potato harvest begins, and in May, with the oca, or olluco and izaño. In the month of June the selection of tubers such as potato and oca is made, because it is the month of heavy frosts where the chuño is made, the caya and the tunta, therefore there is more variety of food products; it is three months (April, May, June) where you can eat various dishes. From July until the time of potato planting (October) there is some austerity. In November, December, January and February there is a lack of some foods such as: potato, oca and beans. In these months, cereals such as quinoa, barley, wheat, combined with dried beans and chuño are eaten. Farmers live in tune with their "Pacha" (surrounding environment), always talking with nature and according to the time of the upbringing of life [3]. Likewise when the holidays arrive, the greater or lesser spirit of participation is due to the behavior and "blessing" of nature. All this has motivated us greatly to formulate and work on the issue of food consumption. The investigation reviews the literature of different authors who did work on this topic and other authors who realized that organic foods are very important for the flow of peasant life. However, so far some professionals who perform work in communities, very few have been able to invigorate prepared meals based on natural foods, this means, cultivated and wild, however they have devalued the farmer knowledge but despite this, the peasants continue with the habit of always, as a central objective describe and interpret the gastronomy of the Aymara population as of preparation of their food as the traditional Andean way, with local products and tinged with industrialized products.

## **2. Materials and Methods**

In the present investigation, the ethnographic method was applied together with the participant and performance observation technique, in order to carry out a qualitative and integral investigation to be able to understand the gastronomy based on diverse Andean and industrialized products of the population at different times of the daily life such as: in religious holidays, marriage, burial, in artisanal activity, etc. Culturalist theory was used and has an approach from the peasant view of food. This allows to understand in its wide dimension the importance of Aymara gastronomy. The research area is the Pilsucyo district, which is located geographically in the province of El Collao, department of Puno. The population is 10,672. In this work, 5% of the families have been taken into account as a sample. In the analysis dimension, the products and patterns of daily consumption in the family were prioritized, as well as in the patronals and religious holidays. It will also focus on preparation and beliefs about the consumption of some products. In the observation unit, cultivated and wild plants, industrialized foods used in food preparation and food preparation forms were taken into account.

### **3. Results and discussions**

#### **3.1. Gastronomy and Aymara worldview**

To understand gastronomy there are two ways to approach it: one from the Andean worldview and the other from the approach of science promoted by state institutions. Within this last approach, nutrition is defined as a feeding system that works just like a machine, exactly defined in proteins, calories, energies. Against the background of this conception, the organism takes the form of a machine and to feed is to supply what is necessary for its operation. "Here food is valued for the amount of protein, calories, minerals, fats. They are classified in growth and complementary energy foods" [4]. In the analysis, they start from the universal indicators through which they always find high levels of malnutrition associated with the concept of food poverty. In the document on food security one of the points says: in Peru there is a majority of the population of the rural area of the mountains range and jungle range and these have a very limited productive base with relatively lower levels of production and income compared to other regions or productive activities [5]. With the poverty approach, there are food support policies and plans to meet the needs of the population who are in situations of extreme poverty and improve their living standards, for this purpose entities that comply with this plan have been created, such as the Glass of Milk Program, Together Program, National Program - Wawa Wasi and the National School Feeding Program Qali Warma. In the Andean conception food is considered as a person and has its soul (spirit) that raises the Andean villager. For those [4], crops and food products are *kawsay*, which means: live, give life to others, it is life and source of life". In the Aymara communities the products are known as: "*qipa mamata*", which means mother and plot of life, and is also considered as the mother who raises the ayllu communities and also needs to be raised. In this sense, life is a weave and food the plot (*qipa*) of the weave" [6]. When it comes to food, not only the food of the human community should be understood, but also the food of all the components of ayllu, whether biotic and/or abiotic, that is why in the way of being of the Andean culture It says that the hills eat, the wells eat, etc. each member of the natural community has its food, in particular the deity "*Pachamama*" (Mother nature) the mother of everything that exists in nature. Ethnographic studies explain that peasant families store their crops with love and accompanying their "illas" to ensure and propitiate the abundance of food. It is also reported that food is not only what the farm produces but it is aliment, what nature provides as wild species and which are used in its season and according to the circumstances. Aymara families to ensure their food have their own strategies, knowledge and secrets to raise the farm and agro biodiversity.

#### **3.2. Eating habits and biodiversity in the Andean world**

The cultural groups in the world are located in different geographical areas for that reason "The eating habits of the populations are the expression of their beliefs and traditions, linked to the geographical environment and food availability" [7]. The same author argues that "the eating habits of the Western world are characterized, quantitatively, by excessive consumption of food, superior, in general terms, to the recommended intake in terms of energy and nutrients for the population as a whole and, qualitatively, for a type of diet rich in proteins and fats of animal origin ". In the current experience "eating habits are born in the family, can be reinforced in the school environment and are contrasted in the community in contact with the social environment. They suffer the pressures of marketing and advertising exerted by agrifood companies" [7]. This is the case in Peru, where

the company "Leche Gloria" that exerts a strong influence on eating habits for children. In the Aymara communities, daily food is varied (breakfast, lunch and dinner) that is why the preparation is in function of what is grown and what nature offers, as well as, its "consumption is very related to the climatic seasons of the agricultural year which are; "Jallupacha or chuxñawrasa" (rainy season) and "awtipacha" (dry season)" [8]. In the Andean vision, life is considered as a tissue, in which food becomes a part that is called the "qipa" (plot), that is, the one that shapes the body of each living being. These "qipás" provide the plants and animals that are raised for this purpose. Food in the Andean world, they are also the "mother" that raises the human community, they are sacred and deserve all love and respect. That is why they are not dropped on the ground by a single grain, nor can they trample on it, because food usually cry and are considered as people [9]. Also, the food is regarded as a living being that has attitudes to raise humans, while also being raised by them. The term "jata" (seed) in Aymara is sacred and is another person that encourages the regeneration of the life of "jaqis" (people). Basic foods such as potatoes, corn, quinoa and chuño are like the plot of the tissue (*qipa* in Aymara) that give it sustenance and strength; to this are added the accompaniments and condiments, which are like the drawings or ornaments. Traditional cuisine in the countryside is not monotonous if you know how to use all this diversity that mother earth gives.

### ***3.3. Peasant feeding seen from state institutions***

The way in which peasant families feed themselves differs greatly from the recommendations made by the health sector and the different State welfare programs. Thus, according to official data there is a deficit of protein consumption in the field that is why through food assistance programs attempts to strengthen nutrition. But, because of the quantities and frequencies with which they occur, it is difficult to cover the theoretical minimum requirements. For example, the Glass of Milk Program is directed only to children under age 6 and pregnant and nursing mothers, but when they receive their portions these are shared by the whole family. Regarding school breakfasts, there have been cases in which the cookies or enriched dairy products that are given to the students are rejected, sometimes they are fed up and stop eating them; In any case, the consumption of these foods is not permanent, for example they are not given during the holiday period [10]. It is known that organic and persistent pollutant products also act on our hormonal system and cause alterations in the endocrine, immune and reproductive systems. They can also cause delays in intellectual development and even cancer. Addition and exist 250 pesticides and industrial chemicals and suspected to alter the human endocrine system [11].

### ***3.4. Overfeeding and gastronomic heritage***

The social changes of the last decades (such as the increase in income, urban immigration and the emancipation of women) have caused changes in eating habits. The result has been the abandonment of the traditional diet, rich in vegetables and cereals, for another diet with many more fats and sugars. "Processed, packaged and quick-to-prepare low-nutritious foods have become the most common diet in many cities. The high calorie consumption and the sedentaryzations of most of the workers (offices, dispatch, etc.) have led to an overfeeding" [11]. In the Andean culture it is not about feeding a machine body at the service of an industrial order. Food in the Andes has little to do with filling the body with fat, protein and carbohydrates so that it functions properly

while fulfilling its tasks as a means of production. What feeds in the Andes, and that our grandmothers know well, is the affection, consideration and affection placed in the preparation as in serving the food [12]. Aymara gastronomy is undoubtedly part of our heritage, of that individual memory that is not erased; It is one of the inheritances that each one of us receives in our house, although today modern life with visions of homogeneous meals lead us to shortcuts that even affect our health and well-being. Each community, town, city has the particularity of the preparation and consumption of food, according to [13], "the gastronomic heritage is also what differentiates us from some towns from others, it is an important ingredient that contributes to forging an identity of your own This differentiation is marked, among others, by geographical, climatic, cultural factors; local productions form the basis of each kitchen". The Andes is characterized by being farmers and ranchers, that is, for the inhabitants that breed agrobiodiversity, their diet is based on what produces and cattle breeders will feed based on fresh meat or "*charki*" complemented with agricultural products to be carried out by exchange in the local markets of the region. The Aymara communities kitchen is sacred and is considered a person where convene the family meeting usually at the time of the breakfast and dinner, because there is the stove that is another member that allows cook food.

### **3.5. Worldview and Food Consumption**

The Aymara peasant settlers have as their main activity the breeding of agrobiodiversity, the raising of animals and complemented with fishing in Lake Titicaca and commerce, that is to say they have multiple activity [2]. To carry out the cultivation activities of the crops, they first perform the fallow in the month of March, is prepared and fertilized at the time of planting of the various crops, these activities are carried out with the participation of the whole family, including "Spiritual" relatives (compadres, godchildren and godparents). In raising animals, sheep, cows, chickens, pigs and guinea pigs are raised for basic livelihoods and donkeys for loading. Generally, the young population migrates to the cities of Tacna, Moquegua and Arequipa, some temporarily and others permanently, so in the locality under study the elderly population remains. Migrants return on occasion of patron and religious festivals and others at the time of planting crops in order to help relatives who are permanently in the locality. The population "It is true that it has a basically agricultural economy, but the Lake continues to be a very important support for subsistence thanks to its fishing resources and flora and fauna during times of drought and floods [14]. The foods in the Aymara world, are also the "mother" that raises the human community, are sacred and deserve all love and respect. That is why they are not dropped on the ground by a single grain, nor can they trample on it, because food usually cry, because they are also people. It is thought that when not treated with enough affection and respect, the food go to other places where they receive better treatment. This is why families "talk" with the harvested products, as we can see in the testimony of Mr. Anastacio Apaza. We have to talk to the potato when we are taking out of the bush, - you are going to fill my stomach; you're not going to make me hungry anymore - as the *ispalla* (ritual name of the potato) and *ch'oquepiña* (ritual name of the *ispi* are fish) are sisters. So when my grandmother cooked new potatoes with *ispi*, used to say that potato are equal to fish as well as potato varieties are equal with *ispi* of the lake. The Aymara villager to take their food, first takes off his hat and invokes the deities so that the food is beneficial to the body. Nor do they speak at the time of eating food, because they say that words can eat food spirits (that is, food spirits can evaporate). Food cry when they are dropped to the ground and do not pick them up or when they are trampled on, especially potatoes that have enough eyes. They are not allowed to be peeled

and exposed to frost for chuño without a prior permission ritual. On the other hand, cooked foods are still alive, which is why the Aymaras people often say that the fiambre cries when it spoils or is dropped to the ground. Mrs. Bacilia Ticona Quispe tells us: My grandmother used to say no to throw me to the ground the toasted (wheat or beans otherwise they will cry, rather quinoa and cañihua is destined to cry because it always falls to the ground anyway. In some years there was not “qala trigo” (barley without a spike) in that case we know how to toast barley and to consume it we have to rub a little, because the barley husk cleanses our stomach. Food for Aymaras villagers are males and females, are “qipas” (frames) are thin, thick, dry and fresh. The male foods are the grains and the females are the tubers, but inside the potato there are also males and females, in this case the potatoes “luk'is” (bitters) on the males and the “sayas or qhinis” (sweet potato) are the females. The qipas are thick grains (barley, cañihua, quinoa, corn) and the transformed products (chuño tunta and caya) and qipas thin are potatoes, oca, olluco and izaño, that is, all fresh products. Dry foods are all grains and processed products. Tubers, vegetables and plants that are used as condiments or aromatic are fresh. These are not stored for a long time. In the community the food is qipas and these are also considered as people and even more so as the “wakas” (deities) that raise us and whatever they are people, they also know how to eat, as the following illustrates testimony of Mr. Juan Crisóstomo Chino:

Before storing the fruits in the pantry we must always prepare a ritual tied and this must be placed before storing, when the products are finished there will be no preparation of the ritual, only the wool can only be found, so do the products eat or not? At the end of the “Sikhji” (storage form) there is no coca, or sayiri (llama fetus) or tables, then who can eat it or who can enter or perhaps the mouse has eaten it? Nothing comes in, so it is said that the products eat.

The pantry is a sacred room where food and seeds are stored, and other things that do not affect the seeds. The pantry is in charge of women, because they are thought to be the ones who get along and talk better with products, because both women and tubers are considered as sisters in the community from the worldview, that's why they say they understand better and take care of each other. Women by nature are more respectful and delicate, so they raise food with enough delicacy; while men are more restless and mischievous than they are not careful in the use of food, for this reason it is easily not allowed for men to be in charge of the products. In addition to the men they are not allowed to enter the pantry because they participate in the burials and in the arrangement of the corpses in the coffins, with those eyes that have looked at the souls, it is thought that they can look at the products and this it causes them to rot or spoil easily and especially the tubers. Now, the pantry is not only for storing food and seeds of the human community, it is also the place where the “errands” (wak'as<sup>12</sup> and sallqa meals) are kept and they have their place just like that the “kumana” (which is the ritual tying of the products) so that all products can be stored well and last the required time, which in itself indicates that the pantry is a sacred place. That's why everything is stored with coca, llamp'u (llama's tallow) and flowers. These errands maintain the abundance and harmony of the pantry, so it is said that the pantry is the one that accumulates the inheritance (accumulates products), but in the pantry there are things that should not be had, such is the case of the q'urawa (small rope made of wool to throw stones), because these can scare the products or make them end quickly. In the Andean vision, everything is conversation and food is not outside this conversation. That is why rural families have to be on both of the meals prepared for different reasons, whether for travel, for marriage, for various rituals, for the holidays, etc., for meals one go saying if the trip for example

will be satisfactory or in the marriage the couple will do well or in the ritual of the animal's mating the food according to the quantity will tell them if they will succeed or not in the fertilization of the alpacas, in the achievement of the colors, among others. In respect we have the following testimonials:

Mr. Maximum Apaza tells:

The k'ispiño has enough meaning; although washed well quinoa still bitter, that means we will not be good or listen oars some gossips, when the time to make it falls to the ground, that has meant that the trip may have problems, losing money or others

Mrs. Victoria Cervantes in this regard adds:

When the k'ispiño does not cook well or is bitter, it is so that on the trip something will go wrong; when the k'ispiño we throw it from the pot to the unkuña (tablecloth made with llama or alpaca wool) appear stuck with "ichus" (straw) that means there will be "llaki" (sorrow). So also, quinoa tortillas taste good, when fried it turns out golden brown that means for the day to be fine. So, the preparation of meals taste good. In the communal world, food also has its party. This is done at the feast of the Spirit (Pentecost). In this party ch'uwa and ch'alla (rituals) are made to all the products that are in the warehouse and especially to the *mamalas* (fascinated products) and products of exceptional sizes (large). In some communities in this party acostum seeds bra do (*ch'alla and ch'uwa* blood of guinea pig, because it means transmi tir energy greater reproductivity and others make the "*wilancha*" (Sprinkle clothe with blood). With the best llamas or alpacas. In the Aymara it is observed that in the months of August to November, the consumption is mostly based on chuño, *kaya* (*waña kaya*), tunta, *tuntilla*, dry grains (beans, peas, corn, quinoa, cañihua, barley, wheat), chalona, *ch'arkhi* (processed meat) and other products complemented with fruits that come from the jungle, which conjun to foods are high both medicinal and nutritional value. Likewise see and n the population aymara the eating habits of the fami lias peasant somehow changed by the presence of produc cough industrialized , without however, by high costs and the nutritional content short of these products families are trying to recover their eating habits and hence it is that some families assert these facts in the following sense:

Mr. Juan Crisóstomo Chino states:

Before people knew no sugar or noodles, these products are from now, before they only prepared food with "ch'iwas" (tender leaves of some plants used as vegetables), fish, beans, olluco, quinoa, barley, ajara, mustard, corn. From quinoa, mazamorra, k'ispiño and "thajti" (tortillas) were prepared, were for the most important moments such as burials and marriages. Now the people of this time just look for the easy way, they don't talk well with the Pachamama, so suddenly the worms (weevil of the Andes) take advantage and affects our farms. In part the school is to blame because since they are children they are taught that they must be engineers, but they forget to talk with the Pachamama and the Achachilas, so they will say: times change. It is necessary to highlight that for the different institutions, whether state or private, the population of the rural environment is always malnourished, which is why they carry out diagnoses to justify their work. However, we must indicate that the parameters that the institutions handle to determine the degree of nutrition of the peasant families, do

not work, because the results obtained in advance were already predetermined, therefore they do not come close to reality, these at the same time they are carried out in a single moment, then the results obtained will always be negative (high malnutrition), but this happens because they do not know how the peasant lifestyle is, that is to say they ignore the way the families of the community feed themselves. Not only do the "qipas" provide plants and animals, but so are the other elements of nature that are very important, such is the case of frost and spring water (living water). With regard to frost, we must state that this element is of the utmost importance in the life of the human community and of the "sallqa", since it is involved in the maturation of grains and tubers. It is proven that with frost the products set or mature well and at the same time they become more nutritious, pleasant and appetizing and in these conditions the products are already complete to nourish the human community and animals. The water is another element of nature is involved in the daily feeding of the human community, in breeding plants and animals. It also participates in restoring imbalances in the body of people (cure disease), but water for medicinal, must come from the springs where life flows and manifests party clearly (living water) and not be dead water (boiled), or contaminated. In addition it is thought that for water to be a food and medicine for a series of diseases of diverse origin, it must be made "calm" (exposed to water all night) and at the same time drink very early in the morning (from one to four in the morning) and in the worst case before sunrise.

### **3.6. Food safety**

The discourse on food security began to be revalued, after the Rome conference, sponsored by the United Nations, is a sign of renewed interest in food security. After months of work in the participating countries, concluded process or November 1996, when Peru, along with the other participants signed the " Rome Declaration on World Food Security " in its Plan of actions of the World Summit on food ", with seven basic commitments or guidelines for the design and implementation of national food security policies:

FIRST. - Ensure a favorable political, social and economic environment, aimed at creating the best possible conditions for the eradication of poverty and for lasting peace, on the basis of full participation and equitable peace of women and men, which favors maximizing the consequence of sustainable food security for everything;

SECOND.- Apply policies that aim to eradicate poverty and inequality and improve the physical and economic access of all at all times to sufficient, nutritionally adequate and safe food and its effective use.

THIRD.- make efforts to adopt participatory and sustainable policies and practices of food, agricultural, fisheries, forestry and rural development, in areas of high and low potential, which are essential to ensure a sufficient and reliable supply of food at family, national level , regional and global and that fight pests, drought and desertification, considering the multifunctional nature of agriculture.

FOUR.- Ensure that food and agricultural trade and trade policies in general contribute to promoting food security for all through a loyal and market- oriented world trade system .

FIFTH.- to prevent and be prepared to face natural disasters and emergencies of human origin, and to



understand the transitory and urgent needs of food in ways that foster recovery, rehabilitation, development and the capacity to meet future needs.

SIX.- Promote the optimal allocation and use of public and private investments to boost human resources, sustainable food, agriculture, fisheries and forestry systems and rural development in areas of high and low potential.

SEVENTH.- apply, monitor and give security to this action plan at all levels , in cooperation with the international community [15].

These were the commitments assumed by Peru in signing the Declaration of Rome, forcing itself to carry out a set of actions that allow the ambitious central objective to be achieved. "Achieving food security for all and to an ongoing effort to eradicate hunger in all countries" As a result of the commitments made by Peru, it was created the technical committee of nutrition policy coordination (RSN ° 136-97-PCM, 31,03,97), whose objective was to propose plans and policies in nutritional and food matters, especially to support the population in critical poverty, this had a multisectoral character, since it was made up of representatives of the ministries of Education, Health, Agriculture, Production , Women and Vulnerable Populations and the President of the ministerial council, as well as the Cooperation Fund for Social Development (FONCODES). Foods that arrive through school breakfast such as: cookies, soy milk; through the Ministry of Health as porridge for children; and, the food support of government institutions, are subject to these support policies. These supports do not contribute to the autonomous development of the peasant communities, but instead become welfare and, on the other hand, the peasant families accustom them to the consumption of industrialized food. These food support policies contribute to detract from cultivated products such as: potato, quinoa, cañihua, beans, goose and other products that are grown with local knowledge. Another factor that contributes to the devaluation of Andean food is the market. These are located near the communities and the community members attend the fair days. In these spaces urban products are sold for consumption and families acquire them, this also contributes to devalue local products. This reality does not escape the family stores that exhibit industrialized foods such as: rice, sugar, canned milk, noodles and others. Canned, packaged bread, dressings, snacks, etc., are some of the provisions present in all cupboards. Today's life makes the short time for homework lead us to resort to food that, while relieving the day to day, negatively alter the body [16, 17]. Changes in eating habits in the context promote the industrialized food market, artificially altered to preserve its conservation. The consequence is the significant alteration of food quality and therefore, the health of people. According to a report that appears:

The industrial processing affects substantially the main foods (grains, oil, salt, sugar, etc.), depriving them of essential nutrients and contaminating them with undesirable substances such as sugars, sweeteners, salts, preservatives, antibiotics, dyes and a variety of chemicals. It is a modern industrialized food style that dictates the rhythm of the food market in the world and that generates the basis of a systematic disorder that seriously affects our metabolic function and the whole organism in general [16]. Also is added that diseases such as cancer, diabetes, kidney and liver conditions, among others, are caused by poor diet and sedentary lifestyle, which produce overweight and obesity. The commercialization of industrialized products has very expensive and in many cases deceptive marketing strategies, and against the health of people or at least without due control

[17]. In order to preserve its flavor and texture, almost all canned foods contain high concentrations of salt as a preservative, which makes them not recommended options, especially for hypertensive patients. The same goes for processed vegetables such as purees or creams of vegetables in sachets. In the same publication it is added that mayonnaise and similar products contain many additives. Ketchup does not replace tomato sauce, in fact it is a version that contains salt, additives and preservative and little nutritional value, snacks (chips, salty sticks, etc.) contain a lot of sodium and generate addictive behavior.

#### **4. Conclusions**

The Aymara residents of the Pilcuyo district of the province of El Collao-Ilave -Puno, consume various foods such as: agro-livestock and industrialized products at three times during the ordinary day: breakfast, snack and dinner. These foods are prepared according to the cyclicity of the year and in extraordinary moments such as: rituals, religious holidays, social events, periods of communal life and children have a different diet and the way of preparation is not the same as for an adult. Meals from the peasant vision are considered as a "person" who has the power to accompany, live, cry, retire and apologize. Because of this particular way of understanding and perceiving families, they have enough affection and respect for meals. Women are thought to be directly related to food. In the community a system of generalized beliefs is shared in relation to the consumption of calostro (first cow milk) and parts of lamb meat that are transmitted from parents to children. These belief systems are part of the Aymara food culture. The food consumption system in the community is changing. Peasant families not only feed themselves on local products, but also consume industrialized products and these are part of their diet. These products reach the community through private, governmental institutions and through the presence of the market.

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