

Papers

Slow Food practices in Brazil: analysis of the relations with the everyday spaces of hospitality and tourism in southern Brazil

As práticas do Slow Food no Brasil: uma análise das relações de hospitalidade e turismo no espaço cotidiano da região Sul do país

Prácticas de Slow Food en Brasil: un análisis de la hospitalidad y las relaciones turísticas en el cotidiano del sur de Brasil

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Keywords:

Slow Food;
Hospitality;
Commensality;
Tourism;
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Abstract

Slow Food is an international movement that advocates the enjoyment of food associated with socially and environmentally responsible food production. Brazil has 65 Slow Food convivia scattered across its territory. The main objective of this research is: to analyze Slow Food and its relationship with the everyday spaces of hospitality and tourism in Brazil. This is a qualitative study using structured questionnaires with 30 items organized from the analytical categories: place, contiguous area of hospitality, identity, solidarity action, permanencies, freedom, and sovereignty. The research object is 13 convivia located in the southern region. The main results are: the actions of the movement are based on networks, conviviality, and various solidarity actions, evidenced by the voluntary participation of members in various projects, denoting direct relations of hospitality. There has been centralization of resources and information by Slow Food International and little support for the local scale. Relationships with tourism were indirect, namely, through the inclusion of products in the distribution chains of convivia members, but there are actions and projects based on the retrieval of knowledge, strengthening of places, identity affirmation and enhancement in the social food space.

Palavras-chave:

Slow Food;
Hospitalidade;
Comensalidade;
Turismo;
Brasil.

Resumo

O Slow Food é um movimento internacional que defende o prazer da alimentação associado à produção social e ambientalmente responsável de alimentos. O Brasil possui 65 convívios Slow Food distribuídos em seu território. O objetivo central da pesquisa é: analisar o Slow Food e suas relações com o espaço cotidiano da hospitalidade e do turismo no Brasil. Trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa, com uso de questionários estruturados com 30 questões organizadas a partir das categorias analíticas: lugar, área contígua de hospitalidade, identidade, ação solidária, permanências, liberdade e soberania. O recorte analítico é a região sul, totalizando 13 convívios pesquisados. Como principais resultados, destacam-se: as ações do movimento ocorrem com base em redes, convivialidade e diversas ações

solidárias, manifestadas pelo voluntarismo das ações de seus membros em diversos projetos, denotando relações diretas de hospitalidade. Identificou-se uma centralização de recursos e informações pelo Slow Food internacional e pouco apoio aos convívios em escala local. As relações com turismo se mostraram indiretas, por intermédio das ações de inserção dos produtos nas cadeias de distribuição dos membros dos convívios, porém com ações e projetos com base no resgate de saberes, no fortalecimento dos lugares, na valorização e reafirmação de identidades no espaço social alimentar.

Resumen

Slow Food es un movimiento internacional que aboga por el disfrute de los alimentos asociados con la producción de alimentos social y ambientalmente responsable. Brasil tiene 65 reuniones de Slow Food distribuidas en su territorio. El objetivo principal de la investigación es: analizar Slow Food y sus relaciones con el espacio diario de hospitalidad y turismo en Brasil. Es una investigación cualitativa, que utiliza cuestionarios estructurados con 30 preguntas organizadas con las categorías analíticas: lugar, área contigua de hospitalidad, identidad, acción solidaria, permanencia, libertad y soberanía. El corte analítico es la región sur, totalizando 13 convivios investigados. Los principales resultados son: las acciones del movimiento ocurren en base a redes, amistad y diversas acciones de solidaridad, manifestadas por el voluntarismo de las acciones de sus miembros en diversos proyectos, que denotan relaciones directas de hospitalidad; Slow Food International ha centralizado los recursos y la información y hay poco apoyo para la escala local. Las relaciones con el turismo fueran indirectas, a través de acciones de inserción de productos em las cadenas de distribución de los miembros de la comunidad pero con acciones y proyectos basados en la recuperación de conocimiento, el fortalecimiento de lugares, la mejora y reafirmación de identidades en el espacio social alimentar.

Palabras clave:

Slow Food;
Hospitalidad;
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1 INTRODUCTION

The contemporary period is marked by speed and fluidity in everyday life activities. In general, these activities result from space and time interactions and the social relationships and activities that are established reveal the existing social power structure, i.e., whoever dominates the space, can control the politics of the place (Harvey, 2005). In this context, new moral, social, affective, and work relationships affect individuals and their social groups, being mediated by the technological landscape. We live in hypermodern times (Lipovetsky, 2007), fluid, or in a more radical formulation, the era of dilution of certainties in a liquid world (Bauman, 2001).

The food context is no exception and, especially in the last 50 years, it has undergone transformations in food production and marketing shaped by technological development (Fischler, 1998; Ritzer, 2015). These transformations were affected by new demands, new social, work, and demographic relationships, which gave rise to the idea of food modernity (Warde, 1997) that aims to evaluate the degree of stability-instability of contemporary food consumption.

Social relations in the context of current food practices imply commensality. Derived from the Latin word 'comensale', commensality refers to the act of eating together, sharing time and space at meals (Poulain, 2004). Due to the proximity it implies, identity bonds are interwoven and evoke images, behaviors, ethical, aesthetic, and sharing contexts. As such, commensality encompasses eating habits and food systems and consists of an interpretation of the everyday structure of social organization where sociability manifests itself in the shared food (Sobal & Nelson, 2003; Boutaud, 2011). Eating together takes on a broader ritual and symbolic meaning than simply satisfying physiological needs, being also an important socialization strategy (Carneiro, 2003; Sobal & Nelson, 2003; Boutaud, 2011).

The Brazilian context of this study emerges in the clash of new spatial relationships pressured by the acceleration of time, stemming from Italian political roots. The birthplace of new organizations and clusters of endogenous strengthening, and other forms of cooperation and competition is recognized as the

“third Italy” (Bagnasco, 1999; Barquero, 2001; Lemos 2005). From the 1960s to the 1980s, progressive discourses linked to the left, anarchist movements, among others, gained momentum in Italy, connecting themes such as freedom, interest in the arts, the use of free time, the right of all – and not only the bourgeois classes –

to culture, pleasures, and a good quality of life. Andrews (2008) points out that the 1980s in Italy were marked by social and economic changes with high representativeness. Against this background, after achieving the expected industrial and economic growth in the post-war period, the country started to be influenced by neoliberal discourses, individualistic values, and growing consumerism. This behavioral change was reflected in the diet, with the installation of fast food outlets across the country. The discussion over issues such as quality of life, including access to quality food and its appreciation, became a matter of democracy, therefore a matter of political nature and scope (Andrews, 2008; Gentile, 2016).

In the 1970s, Carlo Petrini, Azio Citi, and Giovanni Ravinale, young Italian left-wing activists, started to devote themselves to popular initiatives, among them the creation of a left-wing newspaper and the first independent radio station in Italy. In 1975, Carlo Petrini was elected councilor in Bra, in the Piedmont region, Northern Italy, energizing young activists at the time. Over the years, they became focused on cultural actions and regional identity, aiming to strengthen preservation and promote peasant traditions, food, and wine production (Andrews, 2008).

The work of Petrini, Citi, and Ravinale inspired several organizations and groups with the same goals, giving rise to an exchange network (Petrini & Padovani, 2005). Arcigola was one of the organizations created in the 1980s, which gained prominence and became a national movement committed to upholding and promoting the Italian cuisine, aimed at protecting the food bases and resisting the process of food standardization, influenced by the arrival of fast food outlets in the country (Tencati & Zsolnai, 2009).

In the claiming environment the country was immersed into, a demonstration against the opening of a McDonald’s fast-food restaurant in Rome marked the history of the Slow Food movement. According to Marrone (2011), the demonstration was not just a matter of taste, but of lifestyle, where the leftist public opinion, traditionally little interested in the pleasures of the table, was at stake. Carlo Petrini called on the union of other organizations and in that context, on December 10, 1989, the International Slow Food Association was launched in Paris, by four hundred members from eighteen countries (Petrini & Padovani, 2005; Andrews, 2008).

In reviewing the international literature on Slow Food, several gaps were identified namely in the analysis of the relationships between the movement and its everyday spatial relations with hospitality and tourism. Lynch (2011) showed that the relationships between hospitality and its spaces should be further researched, hence, the option for investigating the Slow Food movement in Brazil, present in all regions of the country through its 62 local chapters called “convivia”. The study took place in the southern region of Brazil, in the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. The main research question is: *how are Slow Food movement practices entering the everyday space of hospitality and tourism in Brazil?* The main objective was defined as follows: to analyze the relationships between Slow Food and the everyday space of hospitality and tourism in Brazil.

2 PLACE AND HOSPITALITY IN THE SLOW FOOD MOVEMENT

To approach place in the geographical context we must examine the structural understanding of space, its foundation. Each space has its narratives, its coexistences, and multiplicities, avoiding the globalization trap in some discourses that line up all places and peoples in a single row of history (Massey, 2008). This symbiosis between space and time allows us to look at the world as a historical entity having society as its starting point, taking shape in its materiality, forms, actions, and functions.

Technique is an operational reality, but also gives us an epistemological sense of social realization. “Techniques, on the one hand, give us the possibility of empiricizing time and, on the other, the possibility of a precise qualification of the materiality on which human societies work” (Santos, 2006, p. 33). Therefore, techniques will play a central role in the game of social intermediation between places and hospitality in this work, since, in each geographical place, in each period, a set of techniques finds correspondence and is the result of intentionality in a historical construction of the lived space (Frémont, 1999) or the place of life (Carlos, 2007).

Technique and lived spaces immediately lead to the concept of place, which consists of the extension of the homogeneous or solidary happening (Santos, 1994). The place represents a microcosm where each one relates to the world (Relph, 2012). Despite commonly referring to small fractions of geographic space, space becomes a place when it becomes entirely familiar (Tuan, 1983), resulting from affective bonds and feelings of belonging (Bartoly, 2011). Thus, place can refer to the locality, the region, the Nation-State, or another geographical entity represented by the subjects who belong to it (Massey & Keynes, 2004).

Belonging to a spatial fraction may be related to the city, the neighborhood, the country, the café on the corner, the familiar smells of a store on a street. When traveling, the affective bonds to place refer to different scales: the longing for food “from home”, the neighborhood, the square, the country. The personality of the place reflects its soul and is one of the essential references for life in the spheres of everyday life, work, affections, and ideals (Yázigi, 2001). Therefore, to avoid losses it is necessary to create continuities and resistances in space. For on-screen interpretation, what is most relevant is the core of the concept of place, or rather, what keeps its core – the continuities, such as affective bonds and hospitality.

It is precisely in this game of interpretation of similarities between the idea of place and some principles of hospitality that the difficulty in conceptualizing “place”, the “place of hospitality” emerges (Baptista, 2002, 2005, 2008; Salles, Bueno & Bastos, 2014; Stefanelli, 2015; Stefanelli & Bastos, 2016). However, before this debate, it is necessary to point out some interpretations in the field of hospitality.

Hospitality is the object of knowledge in multiple areas that, far from excluding, show the fabric of its complex approaches that contribute to the expansion of the interpretation of its domains. Spolon (2015) argues that, in recent decades, hospitality studies have been carried out in a disconnected way, without network-based research. This may be due to the stage of development of research both in the field of hospitality and tourism. However, the need to study the topic is renewed, especially in times of great tension in world geopolitics, with mass migrations, exacerbated nationalisms and xenophobia, new old ideals of society. Gotman (2001, p. 14-15) states that, from century to century, hospitality has become a personal activity, of individual choice. “Yesterday, a collective obligation, today it is left to personal initiative”, however, he adds that it is a change of meaning and not that hospitality would be in decline. This reinforces Montandon's thesis (2011, p. 31), for whom “(...) hospitality is a sign of civilization and humanity”.

Hospitality is an idea implied in its context of social insertion, which Mauss (2003) referred to as the object of gift giving – “to produce friendly feelings between the two people involved”. “The expected guest physically and psychically occupies space and time: he demands, from the recipient, a responsibility, an obligation, which is the very core of hospitality” (Montandon, 2011, p. 33). However, Camargo (2004, p. 20) explains that “not all gift giving is part of hospitality, but every hospitality action begins with a gift”. The guest, on the other hand, however well received, is not at home, which implies the performance of a ritual such as the acceptance of a certain discomfort in the sense of respecting the rules that “impose limits on their intrusion” (Montandon, 2011, p. 33).

From the point of view of borders or margins, in a territorial context as explained by Raffestin (1997, p. 166), hospitality is part of the dimension of the rights and restrictions imposed on foreigners and immigrants, in a process of passing from interiority to exteriority: “The passage from exteriority to interiority

presupposes an authorization or an invitation regulated by a ritual, that of hospitality". For the author, "hospitality is a ritual that allows the transgression of the limit without resorting to violence, it is a characteristic frontier mechanism, of all frontiers, whether material or not" (Raffestin, 1997, p. 166). In the same context, it reveals the urban dialectic between the sedentary life of the city and its counterpoint, nomadism, and a central function of hospitality as a bridge between two worlds, as a syntactic element of social life that articulates the known and the unknown, the located and wanderers. "Hospitality can be understood as knowledge of the practice that man maintains with the other through himself" (Raffestin, 1997, p. 167).

Among the approaches to hospitality, especially the host/guest relationship, Lashley's (2015) differentiates between hospitality and hospitableness. According to the author, hospitality can be understood as a fundamental characteristic, omnipresent in human life. Hospitableness, for him, would indicate the willingness of people to be genuinely hospitable, without any expectation of reward or reciprocity. In this proposal, hospitableness certainly comes close to Mauss's (2003) gift-exchange theory. At the same time, the author differentiates three hospitality domains: social, private, and commercial (Lashley, 2004). The social domain considers the social contexts where hospitality occurs, together with belief systems linked to the processes of production and consumption of food, drink, and accommodation. The private domain considers the set of issues related to the provision of food, drink, accommodation, and guest/host obligations at home. The commercial domain refers to hospitality as an economic activity that provides food, drink, and accommodation in exchange for payment.

Even though these ideas were published at the turn of the twentieth century in English and later in Portuguese, it would be naive to treat them equally after the advent of new technologies, a supposed collaborative economy, among other changes. It can be suggested that this separation of hospitality in domains as much as in social times and spaces, can/should be reviewed and analyzed from more fluid perspectives, where frontiers become more diffuse and the confluence of domains and spaces can say more than its separation, although it is often necessary to delimit boundaries more as a methodological device and effort of interpretation than by empirical evidence.

Especially in the last 10 years there has been an intensification of the debate on hospitality, hostility, some legal and moral principles arising from the immigration increase caused by political, religious, and economic crises in several countries, as well as, tourism increase in some European cities, generating significant movements of tourism-phobia as in Barcelona in Spain, Venice in Italy, among other cities, with cases of very serious terrorist attacks. Spain faces a complex scenario, while tourism demand breaks records occupying in 2018, the second place among tourist destinations worldwide, with 82 million visitors, just behind France, with 89 million tourists. One can reaffirm Gotman's assumption (2013) that hospitality occurs in the interstices, some small intervals of space and time in a universe of dominant hostility. Otherwise, acts of kindness, solidarity, and gift would not be an exception in everyday life.

Returning to the issue of "places of hospitality", it should be noted that they encompass affective memories and a set of symbolic values that build, reconstruct, and reinforce social identification processes. This construct was largely drawn from Baptista (2002; 2005; 2008). However, based on what was previously argued in relation to place, its constitution would be the very a priori foundation for hospitality relationships, which would make its adjectives redundant, a recurring problem to spatial approaches in tourism. The author clarifies that the need to create places of hospitality arises from the awareness of a common destiny and the sense of responsibility that motivates solidarity, therefore, places of hospitality would be places of belonging, possession, autochthony, and identity affirmation (Baptista, 2002; 2008). The author's perspective does not differ from the perspective of place in geography, as explained, especially from Santos (2006).

In another text, Baptista (2005) talks about a "geography of human proximity" made possible by two issues: proximity and freedom, in a threshold space, contiguous, however, never effectively accomplished". For her, "proximity means movement and restlessness" (p. 18). The author's idea of freedom

refers to hospitality: “It presupposes openness and hospitality insofar as it implies the availability of conscience to receive the movement from outside to inside” (Baptista, 2005, p. 13). This movement is completed by the subjects' sovereignty before a space, their space. It is worth mentioning the virtues of a geography of human proximity regarding hospitality and place, being, therefore, a dialogical/communicational relationship between subjects and a given place, a fraction of space not without limits and that is established by their continuities, materialities, and immaterialities. The proximity space referred to by Baptista (2005) could be defined as a contiguous area of hospitality, with the necessary proximity and distance between subjects in the place for hospitality to take place, as is the case with commensality.

Commensality is the dimension of hospitality linked to food and is expressed in the quality of “how one eats” (Carneiro, 2003; Poulain, 2004). Regardless of social behavior norms, conduct, and belief systems, commensality is perceived as one of the founding elements of human civilization (Flandrin & Montanari, 1998). It constitutes itself as a complex symbolic system of social, sexual, political, religious, ethical, aesthetic meanings, among others. It is, therefore, a marker of identity, or otherness, for individuals and groups and means putting their behavior, their image, their identity into play, created in this way in the relationship with the other and favored by the table and by the place and ritual of the meal (Carneiro 2003; Boutaud, 2011; Fischler 2011). The meal itself is a social act, therefore, it must be done in a group to be perceived as such (Woortmann, 1985).

Respect, coexistence, and tolerance are characteristics of commensality, as they refer directly to human familiarity and to the table, which is where the relationships that support the family are continually made and remade (Boff, 2006). Conviviality, in this case, is manifested, since in that place the group meets and individuals are welcome, they feel at ease, they belong to that group, as is the case of the family unit (Schechter, 2004). However, it should be noted, as Faltin and Gimenes-Minasse (2019) did, that moments of hospitality and conviviality alternate and coexist in various contexts and the process of admission and welcoming are described as hospitality rites, i.e., once admitted by the group, it can be said that a friendly relationship was established.

Symbolic eating, as unveiled by hospitality, uncovers an intimate character of the place indicator of social values. Therefore, everyday life and its spaces, especially in urban areas, can/should be re-enchanted in order to fight against the harshness of the world (Relph, 2012; Yazigi, 2013). Thus, the Slow Food movement emerges from this complex play of tensions, fluidity and pressure opposing the acceleration of time, trivialization of meals and daily life. Conviviality, localism, and romanticism are broad categories used to interpret the movement through print media (Germov, Williamns & Frej, 2010). These categories, although from different perspectives, endorse the reference to the place, to the space of proximity mentioned by Baptista (2005), and which could be defined as a 'contiguous area of hospitality', with the necessary proximity and distance between subjects in place for hospitality to occur.

In view of the foregoing, Table 1 summarizes the analytical categories proposed for the study, which was named here after Gotman (2013), as the interstices of hospitality.

Table 1- The interstices of hospitality

Place			
Contiguous Area of Hospitality			
Identity	Solidarity Action	Permanencies	Freedom and Sovereignty

Source: The authors

Table 1 represents the interstices of hospitality (Gotman, 2013), where the rite takes place (Raffestin, 1997). It represents the agglutination of the space/time relationship and the idea of contiguity derives from the Latin - *contiguus*, which means proximity, frontier, limit, but still touching, as in Mauss's (2003) gift exchange. This allows us to establish the following analytical categories: proximity (contiguous area of hospitality - CAH), permanencies (set of techniques and knowledge), freedom (sovereignty of the place), identity, and solidarity action. These categories are convergent, especially from classic authors

who addressed the idea of place (Tuan, 1983; Bauman, 2001; Yazigi, 2001; Baptista, 2005, 2008, and Massey, 2005) and was applied methodologically to the construction of the research field and analysis. In summary, they make it possible to understand and operationalize hospitality in a given space.

Slow Food is a network of members primarily composed of producers, cooks, and academics who aim to spread the movement's philosophy anchored in the principles of good, clean, and fair food. Good food refers to food capable of generating pleasure when consumed, meeting authenticity and naturalness criteria. Clean food follows precepts of sustainability and respect for the socioenvironmental environment and brings well-being, and the fair criteria refers to food that has respectful, fair, and dignified production, cultivation and trade for producers and other authors involved (Slow Food Brasil, 2019).

The movement is a network-like organization which empowers people and social groups through the food experience (Anthopoulou, 2010). It uses multiple approaches from the triad people/planet/place, with engagement, long-term vision, and adaptation to the environment (Tencati & Zsolnai, 2012; Sebastiani, Montagnini & Dalli, 2012). Food is the main component of the human experience (Lee, Scott & Packer, 2014), it has a striking psychosocial context, not to mention non-institutionalized political consumerism (Comroy, 2010; Fons & Fraile, 2014), therefore building social identification. The movement's actions are praised as promoting the construction of collective identities by food ethics from the enhancement of the territory (Mayer & Knox; 2006; Sebastiani, Montagnini & Dalli, 2012; Bowen & De Master 2011; Lorenzini, Calzati & Giudici 2011; Gentile, 2016).

The international literature on Slow Food shows a dispersed situation, as already pointed out by Lynch et al. (2011), and different approaches. Critically to the movement, West and Domingos (2012) analyze the aestheticization and 'elitization' of food provided by Slow Food, criticizing this process for not considering historical class issues in food. Political and aesthetic issues of food were addressed by Sassatelli and Davolio (2010) and Williams et al. (2015). Food seasonality and adaptations to consumption of Slow Food products were analyzed by Bingen, Sage and Sirieix (2011); entrepreneurship in the context of Chinese rural tourism in producers with the philosophy of the movement was addressed in Zhao, Ritchie and Echtner (2011); gender issues in the Italian countryside and the Slow Food movement were analyzed by Wilbur (2014); Patrignani and Whitehouse (2013) drew a parallel of the movement in its fundamentals of good, clean and fair food with the idea of slow tech, which allows people to reflect on the search for more ethical and clean information and communication technologies; and Buchi (2013) associated the global scientific communication that should be good, clean and fair and that, like Slow Food, is not a global reality.

The movement was examined from multiple perspectives, however, what is essential for the present study are the spatial relationships and place enhancement brought by the *convivia*, currently, 1500 across all continents (Slow Food Brasil, 2019).

3 METHOD

This study draws on a theoretical framework derived from the perspectives of hospitality and commensality, place as a spatial category, and everyday life as a temporal category. Questionnaires were used to collect data (Richardson, 2014). The specific categories mentioned in Table 1 were the basis for the 30 items, which were divided into three blocks: the first 10 items addressed *convivia* characteristics and their focus of action; the following 10 dealt with the activities of the *convivia* and their relationship with places, communities, and regional networks, and the last 10 items investigated the recovery of knowledge and techniques and the social role of the *convivia*, gender issues, economic issues, and their role in tourism routes. Between items 10 and 30, leaders could add additional information. The items were also based on Poulain's (2004) food social space – FSS, which summarizes a set of key dimensions, shown in Table 2.

Table 2 - Dimensions of the Food Social Space – FSS

Dimension	Characteristics
The “edible” space	The set of choices that a human group generates in the environment to select, acquire, store (from harvest to production) or preserving their food.
Food system	The series of technological and social structures which, from the fields to the kitchen, via the various stages of production and processing, enable the food to reach the consumer and to be recognizable as edible.
Culinary space	Cooking constitutes a series of symbolic operations and rituals which, centering on the technical activities that play a part in constructing the identity of a natural food, render it suitable for consumption.
Space of food habits	Set of rituals that surround the food consumption (commensality).
Eating and the rhythm of time	Food stages and cycles, babies, adults, particular style of food in each stage, rites of passage; rotation of diet defined by the seasons of the year and agricultural work; times of hunger, periods of plenty and everyday life cycles: work, rest and the different meals throughout the day
The social differentiation space	Food marks social groups. Eating draws the boundaries of identity between human groups from one culture to another and within the same culture.

Source: Adapted from Poulain (2004, p. 250-258).

The research universe was concentrated in the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. In the three states, there are 18 active convivias, of which 13 agreed to participate in the study, representing 72%. Table 3 shows the participating convivias.

Respondents were convivias leaders who received a questionnaire using the SurveyMonkey software. The analysis followed the qualitative standard, considering the context of the a priori categories and developed following the principles of content analysis proposed by Bardin (2009), highlighting the most important elements. The analysis was also supported by secondary data, convivias’s activity reports and information provided by Slow Food Brasil. The survey was conducted in August and December 2017.

Table 3 - Participant Slow Food Convivia

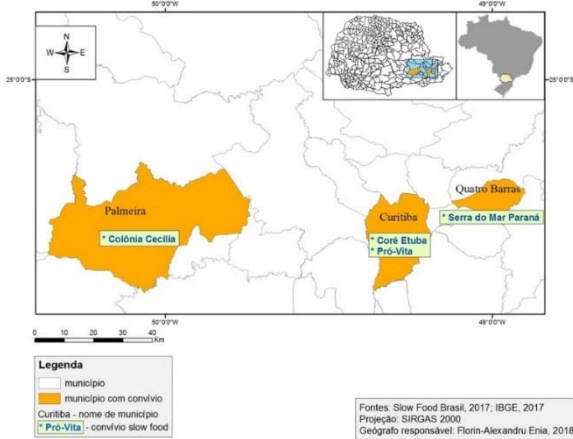
	Name of the convivium	State	Municipality
1	Coré Etuba	Paraná	Curitiba
2	Pró-Vita	Paraná	Curitiba
3	Serra do Mar Paraná	Paraná	Quatro Barras
4	Diamante	Santa Catarina	Major Gercino, Rio do Sul, Porto Belo
5	Dona Chica	Santa Catarina	Joinville
6	Engenhos de Farinha	Santa Catarina	Florianópolis
7	Laguna	Santa Catarina	Laguna
8	Mata Atlântica	Santa Catarina	Florianópolis
9	Pinhão da Serra Catarinense	Santa Catarina	Lajes e Urubici
10	Seara Verde	Santa Catarina	Major Gercino, Rio do Sul, Porto Belo
11	Binacional Santana do Livramento/ Rivera	Rio Grande do Sul	Santana do Livramento
12	Primeira Colônia da Imigração Italiana	Rio Grande do Sul	Bento Gonçalves, Garibaldi, Monte Belo do Sul, Pinto Bandeira, Carlos Barbosa
13	Terra Vino	Rio Grande do Sul	Bento Gonçalves

Source: the authors

4 PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

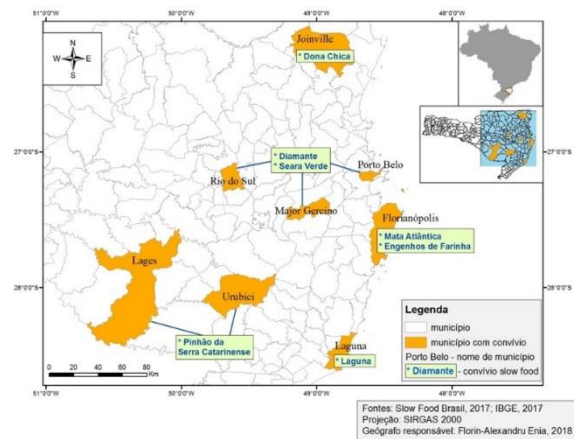
Brazil has 62 active Slow Food convivias and only 36% of them are in state capitals. The southern region – the study area –, has 18 convivias, 29% of the country total. Maps 1, 2, and 3 show the distribution of these convivias.

Map 1 - Slow Food convivia of the state of Paraná



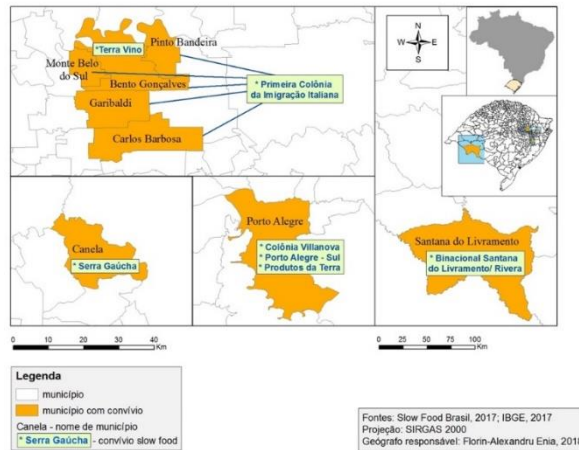
Source: Enia (2018)

Map 2 - Slow Food convivia of the state of Santa Catarina



Source: Enia (2018)

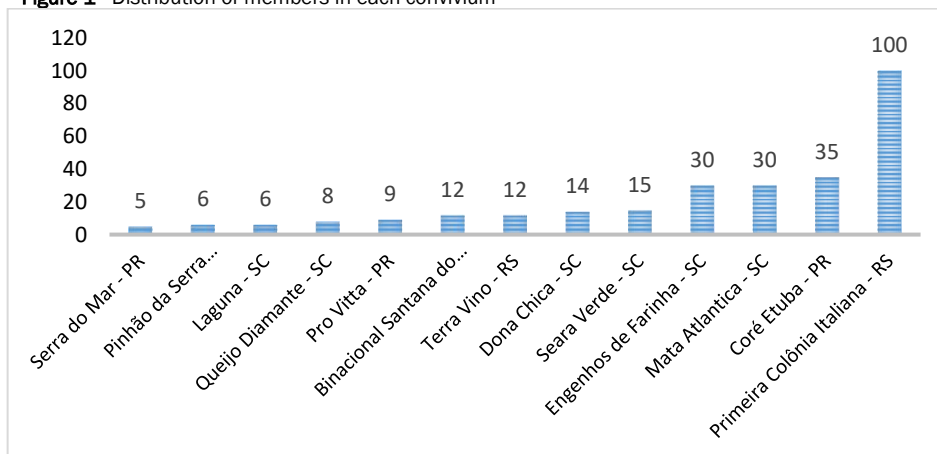
Map 3 - Slow Food convivia of the state of Rio Grande do Sul



Source: Enia (2018)

Maps 1, 2, and 3 show a heterogeneous geographic distribution, but with a greater concentration of convivia in the capitals. The first convivia established in the region was Engenhos de Farinha, SC, in 2006, and the last one the Laguna, SC in 2017. Figure 1 shows the distribution of members in each convivia:

Figure 1 - Distribution of members in each convivia



Source: The authors

The largest convivium is the Primeira Colônia Italiana, with 100 members and the smallest, Serra do Mar, PR, with only 5. The South region has a total of 282 convivium members. On average, the convivium have 21 members, but this is not very significant data, given the quantitative variation. The region of coverage of the convivium, in general, is the municipality itself, except for Diamante, Seara Verde, and Pinhão da Serra Catarinense convivium, in Santa Catarina, and the Primeira Colônia Italiana in Rio Grande do Sul, operating at a regional level. A unique case in Brazil is the Binacional Santana do Livramento, also in Rio Grande do Sul, operating jointly with the municipality of Rivera, on the border with Uruguay.

The profile of convivium members fall mainly into 4 categories: 33% are cooks, amateurs or professionals; 28% are entrepreneurs, owners of restaurants, emporiums and stores; 24% are rural producers and 15% students, however, many participants fall into more than one category, such as restaurants where the owner is usually the chef himself. It was difficult to collect data on the members. The affiliation to Slow Food is not made at the convivium level, but at the national one, which centralizes data and resources, thus, these data are not available for research. As for gender, 50% of leaders are men and 50% women.

The primary focus of the studied convivium is the recovery of products at risk of extinction (6 convivium), followed by the interest in bringing together cooks and foodies (4 convivium), and emphasis on food waste (1 convivium). Acting with a focus on tourism/ hospitality was the response option of 2 convivium – Primeira Colônia Italiana, RS and Serra do Mar, PR. At least 150 products/knowledge/ingredients were included in a list of items recovered by the convivium and most of the items entered or reentered regional commercial networks, mostly from convivium members themselves. The following convivium and items stand out: 1) Engenhos de Farinha, SC, with *Bijajica* (cookie); Cassava flour; *Beiju* (cassava pancake); Cuscus; *Mané Pança* (cake); *Pirão* (cassava gruel); Cassava cake; *Nego deitado* (cake); 2) Mata Atlântica, SC: *Bijajica* (cookie); *Biju* (cassava pancake); *Mangarito* (plant); cockles; native oyster; regional natural wines; 3) Seara Verde, SC: *Esfregolá* (shortbread cookie); *Sugos* (candy) made with fruits and cooked in a polenta pot; 4) Binacional Santana do Livramento/Rivera, RS: Recipe for concentrated lemon juice; *Butiá* juice; *Cabotiá* (squash) soup; wormseed salad; Orange custard; Rice with *Orejones* (apricots); 5) Primeira Colônia da Imigração Italiana, RS: Planting system of vegetable garden; agroecological production; Crem; Pien, Capeletti.

The convivium activities are recorded in minutes and reports and the members communicate via social media and mobile messaging applications. The records include several projects: 11 convivium carried out Disco Xepa¹, community vegetable gardens, and awareness initiatives. The introduction of products into the market was made by 10 convivium and 8 of them carried out work with the public sector. Virtually all the projects have been carried out more than once and the emphasis is on awareness initiatives, with more than 80 actions carried out by the convivium within their area of operation.

Some questions referred to the most successful experience carried out by the convivium, among which two have stood out: the Pró-Vita, PR which focusses on food waste and have provided meals for 60,000 people made from leftovers that would be discarded over the course of a year; and the Dona Chica, SC, which held a workshop in the rural community of Joinville, with immigrant families, presenting their stories and the relationships established from their cooking. Also noteworthy is the Laguna, SC that created a central purchasing group that has mobilized trade in organic, colonial, and artisanal fisheries in the region; in addition to the Primeira Colônia da Imigração Italiana, with the roundtable discussion “*Eu sou orgânico, você pode confiar*” (“It’s organic, you can trust”), an experience that resulted in a tourism route integrating organic producers, called Via Orgânica².

¹The use of leftover food that would be discarded, to reduce food waste.

² From the creation of the Comunidade do Alimento dos Produtores Ecológicos (Food Community of Ecological Producers) of Serra Gaúcha along with the national director of Slow Food, the idea of implementing a second route from the existing “Estrada do Sabor” emerged. The second route was called Via Orgânica. Initially 20 producers participated, but 10 remained on the itinerary and some producers became part of the two routes, both on Via Orgânica and Estrada do Sabor, which also involves part of another important regional route, Vale dos Vinhedos, among the municipalities of Garibaldi, Bento Gonçalves, and Monte Belo do Sul.

The context of the successful experiences was also aimed at analyzing how the local network of each community participated in the actions and how they included their products. In general, they participated as suppliers of products/knowledge and participation in events outside the region of origin of the convivium, organized by both the public and private sectors. The inclusion of products, ingredients, and knowledge can occur in several ways. In the case of the most successful experience, it was mainly due to the maintenance of original and traditional forms, followed by aesthetic reinterpretations in the form of presentation, inclusion in new recipes or, the product or knowledge was reconfigured from haute cuisine related techniques.

According to respondents, difficulties were encountered in the process of recovering and including products and knowledge. Generally, the recovering work of the convivia refers to products and knowledge that have practically no formal records such as recipe books, seed banks, or even the memory of older people, which makes access to information difficult. Legal issues and product packaging were other problems encountered and emphasized by participants. Also, problems in supply and transportation were highlighted because business requirements are different from domestic ones.

Asked about changes in their routines as a result of joining the Slow Food movement, the convivia reported some changes resulting from the inclusion of techniques learned from professional cooks or other opportunities such as technical visits. They mentioned that what really changed was their motivations for participation, as they felt valued, as well as their products. This appreciation happened, even if in only 5 convivia products have gone through formal certification processes, such as geographical indication, designation of origin, or organic certification. In general, certifications preceded the existence of the convivia. For others, such as the Pro-Vita, PR, there was no specific certification, however, the convivium was responsible for the establishment of the organic pavilion at CEASA in the metropolitan region of Curitiba and the organic fair that takes place on Saturdays in that space. It is noteworthy that some convivia were created because of a greater concern with agri-food production, such as the Primeira Colônia da Imigração Italiana, RS, and the Engenhos de Farinha and Pinhão da Serra Catarinense, from Santa Catarina, where production cooperatives preceded the appearance of the convivia.

Two items were specifically related to tourism. For 38% (5 convivia) there was the inclusion of some product in tourism and for 62% (8) that did not occur. The item regarding the focus of each convivium must be put in perspective. Although only two convivia initially stated the focus on tourism and hospitality, the answers showed that there is a broader relationship. The convivium Pro Vita, PR reported that, despite not focusing on tourism, it receives schools at CEASA where it operates and believes that its actions are related to tourism education. In turn, Terra Vino, RS mentioned that some of its members are part of tourism routes in the Serra Gaúcha and for that reason certain products such as pâtés and jams were recovered and introduced in these routes. The Primeira Colônia da Imigração Italiana, RS had as a result of its action the creation of the Via Orgânica route from the pre-existing production. For seven convivia, the place of production of products/ingredients of a member of the convivium became a tourist attraction. Other convivia reported that they are in the process of entering tourism and that they are interested in the activity, and should include tourism in the future, such as Dona Chica, SC and Queijo Diamante, SC. The convivium Engenhos de Farinha reported that it entered regional circuits of community-based tourism, ecotourism, cycle tourism, cultural, and educational tourism³.

³ The convivium is part of a wide cultural network called Rede Catarinense de Engenhos de Farinha, which operates on several fronts, especially in the maintenance of knowledge related to the artisanal production of cassava flour. The inclusion in tourism was due to the offer of products in local and regional trade in Florianópolis, an important tourist destination in the country, in addition to some engenhos working in tourism, such as Engenho Junkes, in Rancho Queimado and Engenho in Lagoa da Encantada in Garopaba, which offers a school-visitation program.

New ventures were created in all *convivia* by its members based on productive specialization made possible by group living, with specific reports from three *convivia* regarding greater female empowerment in the implementation of some new business and greater participation of children in activities, especially made possible by the “Grandma's Recipe books” project, a unanimous practice among the *convivia*.

Among the negative aspects of *convivia* performance, the most frequent comments were related to the lack of knowledge of what Slow Food is by many producers and their families, added to the low adhesion of producers, and the technical infeasibility from the point of view of company records and their legalization. However, this situation is still hampered by financial problems, another unanimous report from *convivia* members. There is a centralization of resources collected from members at the Brazilian headquarters, which, probably, are transferred to Italy, the movement's headquarters. There is no return or financial support to Brazilian *convivia*, neither from Slow Food Brasil, the movement's headquarters in the country, nor from Slow Food International. Also, there is no financial support for the promotion of regional events or funding of expenses, adding to the legal impossibility of obtaining sponsorship from any company, since no trademark association with Slow Food is allowed.

In general, the *convivia* consider themselves agents that generate hospitality and highlighted several situations that corroborate this assertion as: 1) voluntarist nature of their actions; even if it generates financial results; 2) acting in a network; 3) “transnational” hospitality, highlighted by the Binacional Santana do Livramento/Rivera convivium, on the border with Uruguay; 3) use of food waste, offering these foods free of charge to the population; 4) concern not to “gourmetize” food, making it accessible to the entire population; 5) establishment of a brotherhood between *convivia*, as in the case of the Primeira Colônia Italiana, which established “Gemellaggio” (twinning program) with an Italian convivium. Finally, we highlight the quote from the convivium Engenheiros de Farinha, SC: “In a time when community ties, between generations, classes and specialties are undermined, the convivium is an opportunity to bring together various social actors around a common ideal”.

5 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The discussion of research results was organized based on the categories in Table 1, as follows.

5.1 Place: proximity/contiguous area of hospitality

Places are microcosms where each individual relates to the world (Relph, 2012). Therefore, space becomes a place when it becomes familiar to the subjects (Bartoly, 2011), being endowed with personality (Yázigi, 2001), showing solidarity characteristics, transforming, in essence, into a space of solidarity happenings (Santos, 1996, 2006). Slow Food's link to places and their particularities has become evident, especially through the application of its international projects with the correspondence of local *convivia*, which operate in their designated space. Proximity, commensality, conviviality, and sharing were expressed on several issues such as acting in border regions, with twinning programs between *convivia*, and in the recovery of products and knowledge reconstructing memories, as was the case of the grandparents' recipes books project. For Lee, Scott and Packer (2014) food is the main component of human experience and commensality involves an interpretation of the daily structure of social organization in which sociability is manifested in the food that is shared. When sharing food, knowledge is shared, reinforcing characteristics essential to the practice of commensality expressed by Carneiro (2003), Sobal and Nelson (2003) and Boutaud (2011). Sharing at Slow Food has a broad symbolic character, given the voluntary nature of actions, which goes beyond the mere satisfaction of physiological needs and establishes social ties between the actors involved.

The strengthening of social ties through food proved to be a concern for socializing, reinforcing the characteristics of the movement presented by Germov, Williams and Frej (2010) and of conviviality,

localism, and romanticism. Some projects characterize this as community gardens or food awareness projects, carried out more than 80 times by the *convivia*.

The literature on Slow Food shows that tourism only touches the movement (Zhao, Ritchie & Echtner, 2011), however, the research showed, in addition to the two *convivia* that took center stage in the tourist activity, that several products were included in tourism distribution chains, either by geographical proximity, or by the emergence of new businesses from collective action. Tourism is not the focus of the *convivia*, still, they are concerned with cultural contributions, processes, and knowledge of this activity, as shown in detail below.

5.2 Identity, solidarity action and permanencies

Territorial identification stems from prior social identity in the constitution of places. This is highlighted in the *convivia* actions that foster the construction of identities through food ethics based on the enhancement of the territory and places (Mayer & Knox; 2006; Sebastiani, Montagnini & Dalli, 2012; Bowen & De Master 2011; Lorenzini, Calzati & Giudici 2011; Gentile, 2016). In this process, commensality as a dimension of hospitality asserts itself then as a founding element of human civilization, it constitutes a complex symbolic system of social meanings (Flandrin & Montanari, 1998; Carneiro, 2003; Boutaud, 2011; Fischler, 2011).

The inclusion of products, ingredients, and knowledge can occur in different ways, as expressed by the interlocutors, especially in the case of the most successful experiences of the *convivia* that occurred, mainly, with a view to maintaining the original and traditional forms of presentation and later with aesthetic reinterpretations in forms of presentation. Later, when included in new recipes, the product was reconfigured through the incorporation of new techniques related to haute cuisine. The insertion and reinsertion are reconfigured as permanencies, which aim to mitigate the losses of the place, since spaces are volatile and need to create their resistances (Yázigi, 2001). The permanencies to which Slow Food is dedicated are specifically the ingredients, knowledge, and products, especially those that are at risk of extinction and that give new meanings to places, endowing everyday processes with new techniques and giving personality to places (Yázigi, 2001; Tuan, 1983; Massey & Keynes, 2004).

The movement is, therefore, full of solidarity actions (Santos, 1994) represented by cooperation, exchanges, networks, (Tencati & Zsolnai, 2012; Sebastiani, Montagnini & Dalli, 2012), sharing (Poulain, 2004) of food and knowledge, contributing to group identity and allowing mutual and collective social recognition. The *convivia* made up of cooks, professionals or amateurs, businessmen, students, and stakeholders involved in various networks for the realization of projects, such as the promotion of products and their insertion in chains. Tourism could be an opportunity for setting and structuring of permanencies, such as the Via Orgânica tourism route from the *convivium* Primeira Colônia Italiana, cycle tourism, and educational tourism projects of Dona Chica and Queijo Diamante *convivia*, however, hospitality and commensality are not necessarily linked to tourism and relate to a priori processes, in dialectical relationship with freedom and sovereignty of places, although common ideals tend to reinforce community ties, creating a feeling of belonging.

5.3 Freedom and sovereignty

Freedom and sovereignty are among of the most cherished values of the Slow Food movement, they are present since the initial political clashes in Italy in the second half of the twentieth century (Petri & Padovani, 2005; Andrews, 2008; Gentile, 2016). In Baptista's (2005, 2008) geography of human proximity, freedom and proximity are parallel themes that show openness to the other or, in Raffestin's (1997) terms, the availability of consciousness to receive the movement from the outside. It was perceived, effectively, a double game essential for the operationalization of the movement and its *convivia*. If, on the one hand, there is an international link, with its precepts, values, rigidity in the use of the brand and in the proposals for actions, the operationalization and methodological application, on the other

hand, it occurs in places with its own values and rules. This tension was evident from the centralization of resources and information at other levels, without the due return to the *convivia*. Another point of tension affecting sovereignty and freedom aspects is the combination of knowledge and its marketing, with the need to follow municipal, state, and federal rules and laws, as was the case with food labeling and conservation. This alignment is likely to occur in the movement's political field, as pointed out by Sassatelli and Davolio (2010) and Williams et al. (2015).

Freedom and sovereignty are also characterized by voluntary participation in *convivia*. Voluntarism is a key feature of the movement that in practice awakens new leaderships, is reflected in motivation, work and gender relations (Wilbur, 2014), with the empowerment of people and social groups provided by the food experience (Anthopoulou, 2010), which was evident in the activities of the *convivia* that participated in the research.

In these hypermodern times (Bauman, 2001; Lipovetsky, 2007) when everyday experiences seem to be so accelerated and ephemeral, the space for social differentiation in food (Poulain, 2004) made possible by Slow Food through its *convivia* seems to create opportunities for reunions and sociability, from the refuge of the place to global opportunities through the paths of commensality and conviviality.

6 CONCLUSION

The work started from the following research question: *how are Slow Food movement practices entering the everyday space of hospitality and tourism in Brazil?* And its main objective was to analyze Slow Food and its relationships with the everyday space of hospitality and tourism in Brazil. The performance of the *convivia* with their local projects anchored in the international institutional structure of the movement showed that the most evident ways of acting in the everyday life of the places and the characteristics of commensality were: sharing, conviviality, exchanges, sociability, and the empowerment of social groups, translating in new business initiatives and insertion of products in commercial networks, either through tourism or through the commercial channels of the members of the *convivia*. There is a reinforcement in the action and in the idea of place, especially due to the centrality in the recovery of products and knowledge that are part of everyday life, often of a forgotten everyday life rescued by *convivia* members.

From the point of view of tourism practices, the research is consistent with the (scarce) international literature, i.e., there was no direct association in a broad way between tourism and Slow Food. Indirect relations and a process of approximation with the activity can be said to exist, however, still as an element that could trigger innovation processes in that field in Brazil. However, the topic requires more research.

The problems related to the centralization of resources and the lack of support and funding for the *convivia* were recurrent from the participants' perspective. Problems and a lack of legal support, product labeling, and the professionalization process of companies belonging to *convivia* members were also evidenced. At the same time, despite being a movement of an anarchist origin, it is clear that the *convivia* aspire to better guidance from other Slow Food power circuits, such as the national and international ones.

The analytical categories of work have shown promise for the analysis of hospitality in the food field. Opportunities to analyze this movement or others on larger or smaller scales can be considered opportune from the selection of new interlocutors. Likewise, the analysis of specific projects of the movement in greater depth can provide other perspectives on the actions and relationships between hospitality, commensality, tourism, and everyday spaces and times.

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