
Vander Valduga

Federal University of Paraná

Maria Henriqueta Sperandio Garcia Gimenes Minasse

Anhembi Morumbi University

Hospitality and Tourism in the Slow Food Movement: An Analysis of Commensality in Everyday Life in Brazil

Slow food is an international movement, and the study analyzes its relationship with hospitality and tourism in southern Brazil. Thirteen convivias were surveyed from the following categories: proximity and contiguous area of hospitality, permanence, freedom, and sovereignty of the place, identities, and solidarity action. As a result, relations with places, commensality, and hospitality are more evident; on the other hand, the empowerment of members, the defense of products at risk of extinction, entrepreneurship, and the link with tourism are in the early stage of development.

Keywords: Hospitality, Commensality, Place, Slow Food, Tourism, Brazil

Vander Valduga

Department of Tourism

Federal University of Paraná

Av. Sete de Setembro, 2618, Rebouças, Curitiba

CEP: 80050-315

Brazil

Phone: [55] 41 98512 7550

Email: vandervalduga@gmail.com

Maria Henriqueta Sperandio Garcia Gimenes Minasse

School of Tourism and Hospitality

University Anhembi Morumbi

Rua Casa do Ator, 294 - 7º andar, Vila Olímpia, São Paulo

CEP: 04546-001

Brazil

Phone: [55] 11 99739 8757

Email: mariegimenes@gmail.com

Vander Valduga is a professor of tourism at the Federal University of Parana, Brazil. His research interests include the geography of food and beverages, wine tourism, and spatial relations in hospitality and tourism.

Maria Henriqueta is a professor of Gastronomy and Hospitality at University Anhembi Morumbi University, São Paulo, Brazil. His research interests include gastronomy, food and beverage services, tourism, and cultural heritage.

Introduction

Acceleration of time and immediacy refers to an unprecedented period in history. The contemporary period is marked by fluid social relations resulting from information technology. This led to wide aesthetic changes, consumer relations, and new mobilities of people and capital (Lyotard 1998; Anderson, 1999; Bauman, 2001; Harvey, 2005; Lipovetsky & Charles, 2004; Lipovetsky, 2007).

In the context of everyday domestic or commercial experiences, several changes have occurred at a greater or lesser speed. These social changes also affected the food context but, far from radical, changes have been occurring over the past 50 years with large-scale impacts, from production and industrialization to the rituals of commensality. These changes include the emergence of 'prêt-à-porter' or the 'MacDonaldization' of experience with important meanings for economic and social fabric (Fischler, 1998, p. 841; Ritzer, 2015).

Commensality is a word derived from the Latin 'comensale' and refers to the act of eating together, sharing the same time and place at meals (Poulain, 2004). As Fischler (2011) notes, it involves not only the act of eating food, but also ways of eating, involving cultural habits, symbolic acts, rules of social organization, and sharing experiences and values. In this way, commensality encompasses eating habits and food systems and consists of an interpretation of the everyday structure of social organization where sociability manifests itself by sharing food, that is, eating together assumes a wider ritual and symbolic meaning that is by far greater than the simple satisfaction of the need for nourishment (Boutaud, 2011), becoming an important socialization strategy (Carneiro, 2003).

The context of this research, and the very heart of the Slow Food movement, emerges precisely from this clash between new temporal relations and spatial pressures. Therefore, it is necessary to re-enchant the everyday, in its ordinary aspects: the house, the street, the square, the work (Relph, 2012; Yazigi, 2013). Slow Food and commensality, therefore, are

inseparable realities for this research, since they refer to broad social problems, social behaviors, nutritional changes in food and sociability or, as Morrison (1996, p. 649) points out, "this includes the 'decline' of family life, particularly as a symbol and seedbed for social solidarity and morality."

A preliminary survey of the existing international literature on Slow Food identified an important gap for the analysis of the relationship between the movement and its daily spatial implications, especially related to hospitality and tourism. At the same time, the relationship between hospitality and its spaces is a topic that deserves greater attention and should be part of the hospitality research agenda, as Lynch et al. (2011) indicate. The study of the Slow Food movement in Brazil was prompted by its significant presence throughout the country, with 62 *convivia*, which are the local chapters of the movement. The analysis was limited to Southern Brazil, specifically to the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. This study's main objective was to identify and analyze the relationship between Slow Food, hospitality, and tourism in the southern region of Brazil.

Hospitality and the slow food movement

Hospitality as a relationship between people leads us to the idea of borders or margins, which, according to Raffestin (1997, p. 166), are doors that can close or open as a symbol of separation or communication between one world and another. In terms of territory, hospitality is a dimension of the rights and restrictions imposed on foreigners and immigrants, in the process of transition from interiority to exteriority. In keeping with Raffestin (1997), hospitality is a ritual that allows the transgression of limits without resorting to violence. The idea of transgressing the limits and boundaries is well expressed in Mauss's concept of the gift (2003) and by Montandon (2011) when he states that the expected guest physically and psychically occupies space and time. Thus, hospitality is a privileged mode of

interpersonal encounter marked by the welcoming attitude toward the other (Baptista, 2002, p. 157). For those who receive it, hospitality becomes a responsibility, an obligation, which is the centerpiece of hospitality. However, hospitality occurs in the interstices, small intervals of space and time, of the dominant inhospitality (Gotman, 2001; 2013).

Commensality is among the possibilities of hospitality, expressed in the quality of 'how one eats' and 'with whom one eats' (Carneiro, 2003; Poulain, 2004). Regardless of the specific norms of social behavior and belief systems of each group, commensality is perceived as a foundational element of human civilization in its creation process and constitutes a complex symbolic system of social, sexual, political, religious, ethical, and aesthetic meanings that puts in place behaviors, values, images, and identities, and is both product and producer of social relationships (Flandrin & Montanari, 1998; Carneiro, 2003, Boutaud, 2011; Fischler, 2011).

Commensality is a symbolic gesture of hospitality in the rituals of social groups, of an intimate nature, a reflection of values and which, from the geographical perspective, constitutes places, a key category in the analysis of hospitality. In this sense, places, to withstand the pressure and acceleration of hypermodern times, are subjected to re-enchantment processes to fight against the world's harshness (Relph, 2012; Yazigi, 2013).

The category 'place' has different meanings depending on the approach taken. In the Anglophone literature, the concept of multi-territoriality is similar to the Latin American idea of place; however, the perspective is that of a lived space, a symbiosis of technified times and spaces, a relation of representation of past space, its symbolic connotations, and the future space, constructed by social, political, and economic actors. The lived space is the microcosm where each individual relates to the world (Frémont, 1999; Relph, 2012), and it is also an extension of the solidary happening (Santos, 1994). The place can refer to the locality, region, nation-state, an entity such as the European Union or any other such geographical entity

(Massey & Keynes, 2004; Massey, 2008). Therefore, the notion of scale is fundamental in the analysis since, when space is entirely familiar, it becomes a place (Massey & Keynes, 2004; Tuan, 1983).

Baptista (2005, 2008) writes about the 'geography of human proximity' made possible by two factors: proximity and freedom, in a threshold space, contiguous, but never actually carried out. According to the author, proximity implies movement and restlessness. The author's understanding of freedom refers to hospitality, in line with Raffestin (1997), because the geography of human proximity implies openness and hospitality insofar as it implies the openness of conscience to receive a movement from the outside to the inside. This movement is completed by the sovereignty of the subject vis-à-vis space, their space. The virtues of the geography of human proximity regarding hospitality and place should be emphasized, being, therefore, a relationship of a dialectical/communicational nature between subjects and places, a fraction of space with limits and established by its permanence, tangibility, and intangibility. Germov, Williams, and Frej (2010) investigated the role played by print media in reproducing and creating public understandings of the Slow Food movement. They identified broad categories in articles on the movement, such as conviviality, localism, and romanticism, based on secondary data. Although from a different perspective, these categories refer to the place, the space of proximity mentioned by Baptista (2005), which could be defined as a 'contiguous area of hospitality,' with the necessary proximity and distance between subjects in the place for hospitality to occur.

In this regard, Yazigi (2001) treats the enduring elements of space as the soul of the place, and that, of course, does not exist without a body, i.e., the soul of the place is made of people and their things. Places have personality and hence the need for material referents, so as not to sterilize everyday life. We can say that Baptista (2005, 2008), Bauman (2001), Massey (2005), Tuan (1983), and Yazigi (2001) do not differ much in the interpretation of

the geographical place, allowing to establish the following analytical categories: proximity (contiguous area of hospitality - CAH), permanencies (set of techniques and knowledge), freedom (sovereignty of the place), identities, and solidarity action. Figure 1, drawn from the categories presented, represents the interstices of hospitality (Gotman, 2013), where the ritual occurs (Raffestin, 1997). It represents the agglutination of the relation space/time, and the idea of contiguity derives from the Latin *contiguus*, which means proximity, border, limit, but still touching, in reference to Mauss's gift (2003).

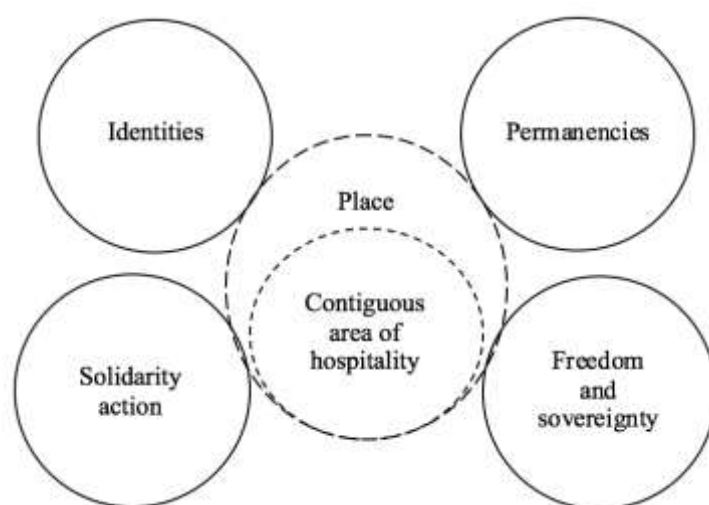


Figure 1: Interstices of hospitality

Source: Elaborated by the authors

The categories in Figure 1 allow the dialogue between space and time in hospitality, and they are the analytical categories used in field research methodology and analysis. In short, the categories allow us to understand and operationalize hospitality in a certain space. Identification and solidarity action are not dissociated in practice, although they are represented separately in figure 1. Mechanisms of identity precede the processes of valorization of territories and places and that within the Slow Food movement involve food ethics (Mayer e Knox; 2006; Sebastiani, Montagnini e Dalli, 2012; Bowen e De Master 2011; Lorenzini, Calzati e Giudici 2011; Gentile, 2016).

In this game of re-enchantment and re-functionalization of places, techniques, and knowledge, we find the Slow Food movement, which originated from left-wing political movements in Italy in the past three decades of the twentieth century. In the 1980s, Italy underwent social and economic changes influenced by neoliberal economics, individualist values, and the rise of consumption. This behavioral change was reflected in the food, with the establishment of large fast-food chains throughout the country. The new consumption practices came to be seen by many as damaging to traditions, alien to Italian culture, and eating habits.

In this context, a demonstration against the opening of a McDonald's fast-food restaurant in Rome marked the Slow Food movement's history. The protest against the restaurant was more than a matter of taste, but of lifestyle, where the leftist public opinion, traditionally little interested in the pleasures of the table, was at stake (Andrews, 2008; Tencati & Zsolnai, 2009; Marrone, 2011; Gentile, 2016).

The claiming environment and a period in Italy dubbed as 'era of superficiality,' especially influenced by the Italian television monopoly, was the background against which, on December 10th, 1989, the International Slow Food Association was launched in Paris, with 400 members of 18 countries (Petrini & Padovani, 2005; Andrews, 2008). Slow Food is organized into membership networks, primarily composed of academics, producers, and cooks who aim to establish a quality system focused on good, clean, and fair food principles.

Table 1 details the philosophy.

Good	Good food should give pleasure when consumed, according to the criteria of authenticity and naturalness, applied to a specific moment, place, and culture.
Clean	Clean food is produced according to the principles of sustainability and respecting the social and natural environment, creating well-being.
Fair	Refers to food that has respectful, fair, and dignified cultivation, production, and marketing.

Table 1: Slow Food philosophy

Source: Petrini & Padovani (2005)

The Slow Food movement has some specific organizational features: network organization, multiple approaches from the triad people, planet and place; engagement; long-term vision, and adaptation to the environment (Tencati & Zsolnai, 2012; Sebastiani, Montagnini & Dalli, 2012). The empowerment of people and social groups through the food experience is characteristic of the movement's action (Anthopoulou, 2010). From an experiential perspective, food is a key component of the human experience (Lee, Scott, & Packer, 2014), has a striking psychosocial context, and the non-institutional political consumerism perspective (Comroy, 2010; Fons & Fraile, 2014). Therefore, the movement creates social identification, and its actions are valued for promoting the construction of collective identities through food ethics and territory enhancement (Mayer & Knox; 2006; Sebastiani, Montagnini, & Dalli, 2012; Bowen & De Master 2011; Lorenzini, Calzati, & Giudici 2011; Gentile, 2016).

The literature on Slow Food remains scattered across various fields, as pointed out by Lynch et al. (2011), and the studies take different approaches. In addition to the issues mentioned above, Sassatelli and Davolio (2010) and Williams et al. (2015) address food politics and aesthetics. In a critical tone, West and Domingos (2012) examine food aestheticization and elitism of Slow Food, criticizing it for ignoring historical, social class issues in food. Seasonal food and adaptation to the consumption of Slow Food products were studied by Bingen, Sage, and Sirieix (2011); entrepreneurship in the context of Chinese rural tourism and producers sharing the views of movement was addressed by 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) gave an overview of Slow Tech, drawing a parallel with the good, clean and fair food principles, getting people to think on the pursuit of more ethical and clean information and communication technologies; and

Buchi (2013) also drew a parallel between the global scientific communication and the good, clean and fair principles, which, like Slow Food, is not yet a global reality. Rombach and Bitsch (2016) investigated the motivation to participate in food movements and the activities and knowledge regarding food waste of active food movement members in Germany. The research also involves two other movements focused on combating food waste, food sharing, and dumpster diving.

As shown, there are multiple perspectives on the movement; however, we direct our focus to spatial relationships and territory enhancement in this study. Several projects aimed at enhancing the territory are developed at different scales and grouped into five areas: Presidia; Arca do Gosto; Jardins na África; Mercados da Terra; and Aliança de Chefs (Slow Food International, 2017). The *convivia* carries out the regional and territorial actions, currently, 1,500 throughout the world (Slow Food Brazil, 2017).

Research method

A survey questionnaire (Richardson, 2014) was used to collect data. The study population was concentrated in three states in southern Brazil: Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. In these states, there are 18 active *convivia*, of which 13 agreed to participate in the study, representing 72% of the population, as shown in Figure 2. The participants were the *convivia* leaders, to whom the questionnaire was given. The questionnaire was developed from a theoretical base on hospitality and commensality, place as a spatial category, and everyday life as a temporal category. The specific categories are shown in Figure 1 that contemplate the contiguous hospitality area: permanencies (set of techniques and knowledge), freedom (sovereignty of place), identification, and solidarity action. The questionnaire included 30 questions divided into three parts—the first ten questions related to *convivia*'s characteristics and scope of activity. The next ten related to the activities carried

out by the convivias and their relationship with places, communities, and regional networks. The third part was composed of 10 questions on safeguarding knowledge and techniques and the social role of convivias, gender issues, economic issues, and convivias's role in tour itineraries. Questions 10 to 30 were open-ended questions, so respondents could more fully express their views. We performed qualitative data analysis, i.e., following the categories defined a priori and content analysis (Bardin, 2009), highlighting the most important elements. The analysis was also based on secondary data, convivias's online activity records, and information provided by Slow Food Brazil. The survey was conducted between August and October 2017.

Results

Brazil has 62 active Slow Food convivias, and only 36% are in the state capitals. Southern Brazil, where the study took place, has 18 convivias, 29% of the country's total. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the 13 convivias participating in the research.

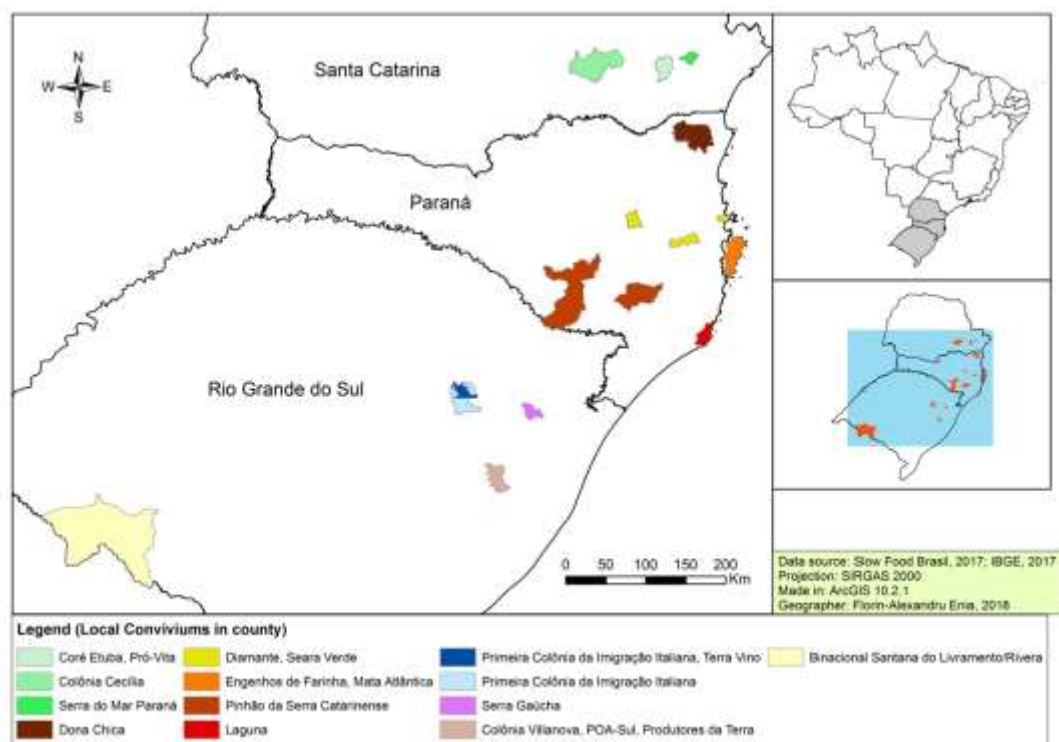
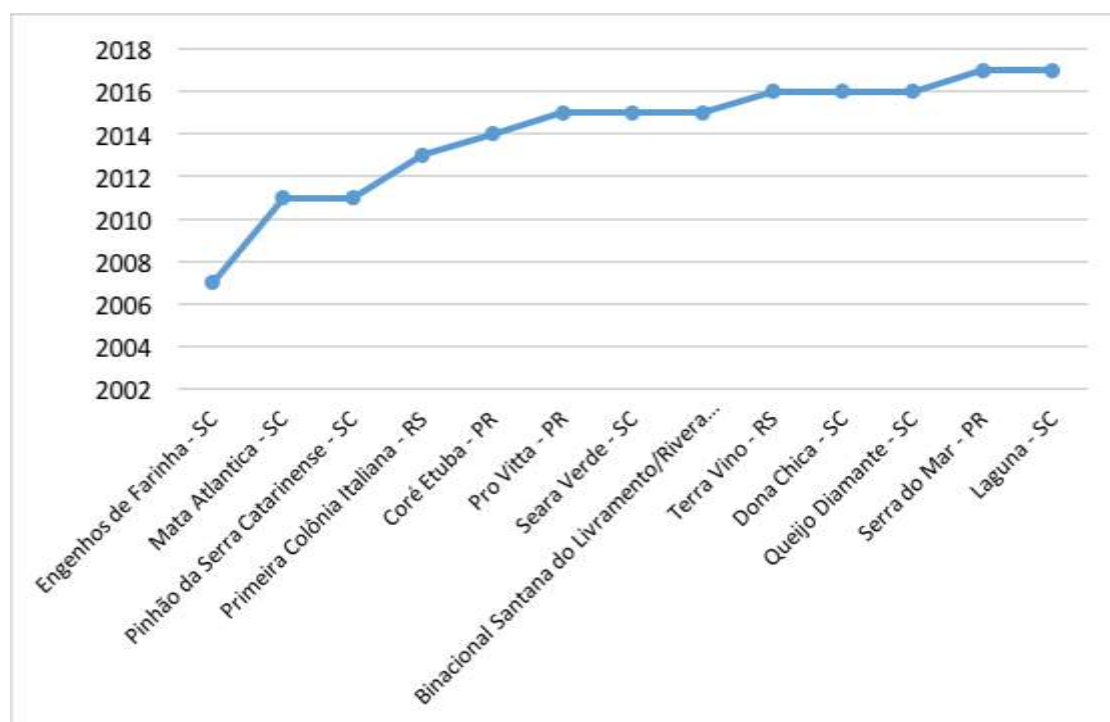


Figure 2: The Area of the Study - 13 convivias

Source: Adapted from Slow Food Brasil, 2017

Figure 2 shows a heterogeneous geographical distribution, but with a higher concentration of convivia in the three-state capitals. The convivia that covers a wider area is the Primeira Colônia Italiana, in Rio Grande do Sul, which operates in 5 municipalities. Graphic 1 shows the creation and evolution of the convivia.



Graphic 1: creation and evolution of convivia

Source: Elaborated by the authors

Graphic 1 shows that the oldest convivia are located in the state of Santa Catarina and that they have increased in number since 2008. At the same time, Paraná and Santa Catarina have the most recent convivia, Serra do Mar and Laguna. The area of influence of convivia, in general, is the municipality itself, except for Diamante, Seara Verde and Pinhão da Serra Catarinense, in Santa Catarina, and Primeira Colônia Italiana, in Rio Grande do Sul, with regional influence. The Binacional Santana do Livramento, located in Rio Grande, is a unique case in Brazil, working together with Rivera's municipality, on the border with Uruguay.

The South region has a total of 282 convivia members. On average, the convivia have 21 members; however, the number of members varies considerably. The biggest convivium is

the Primeira Colônia Italiana, with 100 members. The Pinhão da Serra Catarinense convivium works through other organizations, such as the Rede Ecovida (Ecovida Network). This convivium also operates through cooperatives of family farmers such as Ecoserra. Its focus is on the pine nut, Araucaria seed, native to Brazil.

The convivia are composed of 4 categories. Professional and amateur cooks are the most numerous, followed by entrepreneurs, who are often the cooks, and in a small number, students. Data on members are difficult to provide by local chapters since membership is incumbent on the national structure, which concentrates data and resources. These data are not provided for research. The focus of 6 convivia is the safeguarding of products in danger of extinction, followed by the objective of bringing together cooks and foodies in 4 convivia. Two convivia focus their activities on tourism/hospitality: Primeira Colônia Italiana, in Rio Grande do Sul and Serra do Mar, in Paraná.

Among the endangered products, ingredients, and knowledge, the convivia have saved and included in new retail chains those presented in table 2.

Convivium	Product/ingredient/knowledge
Coré Etuba – PR	Panela from Vale da Ribeira; Honey of native bees
Pró-Vita – PR	Focus on food leftovers
Serra do Mar Paraná – PR	Honey of native bees; Yerba mate; Moura pig breed
Diamante - SC	Work to be started
Dona Chica - SC	Safeguarding of traditional immigrant cuisine recipes: Project “Saberes e Sabores da Imigração” (flavors and knowledge from immigration) - In evaluation process
Engenhos de Farinha - SC	Bijajica (cookie); Cassava flour; Beiju (cassava pancake); Couscous; Mané Pança (cake); Pirão (cassava gruel); Cassava cake; Nego deitado (bread)
Laguna- SC	Butia; Cassava; Rose pepper; Various fishes
Mata Atlântica- SC	Bijajica (cookie); Biju (cassava pancake); Mangarito (plant); Common cockles; Native oyster; Regional natural wine
Pinhão da Serra Catarinense- SC	Regional pine nuts in various forms of use.
Seara Verde - SC	Esfregolá (shortbread cookie); Sugos made with fruits and cooked in the polenta pot
Binacional Santana do Livramento/ Rivera - RS	Recipe of lemon juice concentrate; Butia juice; Cabotiá (squash) soup; Wormseed salad; Orange custard; Rice with Orejones (apricots)

Primeira Colônia Italiana - RS	Planting system of vegetable garden; Agroecological production; Crem; Pien, Capeletti
Terra Vino - RS	Project “Flavors of Gastronomy” under development. PANCS (unconventional edible plants), Knowledge of winemaking

Table 2: Products, Ingredients, and Knowledge Saved by the Convivia

Source: Elaborated by the authors

Table 2 highlights the regional nature of the activities of the convivias through the uses and knowledge saved, linked to traditional populations or not, but all in danger of extinction. The convivias activities are recorded in minutes and reports, and the members communicate via social media and mobile messaging applications. The records include several projects: 11 convivias carried out Disco Xepa (the use of leftover food that would be discarded to reduce food waste), Vegetable Gardens, and awareness initiatives. Ten convivias introduced products into the market, and eight carried out work with the public sector. Virtually all the projects have been carried out more than once, and we highlight the awareness initiatives, with more than 80 actions carried out by the convivias within their space of action.

Some questions referred to the most successful experience carried out by the convivias. In this specific experience, the convivias's local networks participated as product suppliers and participated in events outside their region of origin. The purpose of these events is to learn about different communities and promote their products. We should also mention the initiative promoted by the convivium Primeira Colônia Italiana in partnership with a network of organic producers called "Via Orgânica," a tour itinerary integrating their production and providing new sources of income.

The integration of products, ingredients, and knowledge can be done in different ways. The most successful experiences occurred by respecting traditional ways, followed by an aesthetic reinterpretation of plate presentation, using new recipes, or reconfiguring the product or knowledge using haute cuisine techniques. According to the respondents, some difficulties arose in the process of safeguarding and integrating products and knowledge. As

the convivias aim to rescue products and knowledge of which there are virtually no formal records, such as recipe books, seed banks, or even memories of older people, the greatest difficulties relate to legal issues and product packaging. Also, problems in supply and transportation were mentioned because business logic is different from domestic logic.

With the integration of products, ingredients, and knowledge, members felt motivated and valued, according to the convivias leaders. At the same time, the ingredients and knowledge became more valued by communities. They also reported the community was participative in rescuing and integrating into new retail chains, and, in most cases, the participation in the convivias did not change their consumption habits. However, the integration of a technique by a cook led to some changes. In general, preparation and routines did not undergo major changes after integrating the product, knowledge, or ingredient in Slow Food networks.

We only found signs of a direct relationship between the integration of products and knowledge and regional tourism in two convivias, Primeira Colônia Italiana and Terra Vino; both in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. These convivias operate in a tourist area, and their members are also linked to tourism, hence, this interaction. The former reported the creation of "Via Orgânica" route, and the latter rescued certain products such as pâtés and jellies and integrated them in regional tour routes.

On the other hand, indirect references were reported by other convivias as, for example, visits from schools and education tourism initiatives. Another question sought to identify if the place of production of these products/ingredients had become a tourist attraction after the inclusion in Slow Food. This relationship occurred in 6 of the 13 convivias surveyed. This is significant because almost 50% of them have developed some kind of relationship between production and tourism. Three convivias reported interest in tourism and that they were in the process of inclusion in the activity, as is the case of Dona Chica and

Queijo Diamante, both in the state of Santa Catarina. The convivium Engenhos de Farinha stated that it entered regional community-based tourism tour routes, ecotourism, cycle tourism, educational and cultural tourism.

In general, the convivia did not report product certification processes, such as the designation of origin. Geographical indication was mentioned only by a convivium. The organic certification was the most common, mentioned by five convivia, in a process that precedes the organization's existence since some convivia originated from agroecology.

Regarding the convivia members' family relationships and structures, the answers showed balanced participation of men and women and new working relationships established by the family unit. In all the convivia, new ventures were created by members in search of differentiation. Children's participation was mentioned in the safeguarding of food heritage, namely in the initiative "Grandma' Recipe Books." Reports from three convivia mentioned that the work promoted women's participation, with new female leaders emerging.

We sought to investigate convivia's less successful experiences and their main causes. Participants highlighted the producers/families' lack of knowledge about Slow Food, followed by low participation of producers, and technical infeasibilities, such as registration and legalization. Financial problems affect all the convivia. They have difficulties in finding sponsors for activities since no brand can be associated with Slow Food. Similarly, the convivia are not legal entities, and national and international Slow Food do not transfer financial resources. When commercial transactions occur, the convivium has to use some company's business identification for bureaucratic purposes. Three convivia reported a lack of support from both the national and international movement, with a lack of visits and little interactions. Another convivium reported poor organization between producers and retailers, which has affected the movement's activities.

The last question aimed to find out if the convivias generated hospitality. From the qualitative point of view, this question was significantly complex. Apart from a convivium that claimed to be very recent, the others believe they generate hospitality from the initiatives they develop. In table 3, we summarize the respondents' reports.

Report	Convivium
Three times we brought Regina Tchelly from the Favela Orgânica to cook and share experiences because we understand that socializing and Slow Food is not for the elite only, and we have these differences with some convivias that are too elitist and gourmet. We take non-waste experiences to public and private schools and universities. Food made is donated, not sold.	Pró Vita - Paraná
Lunches and food activities in Serra do Mar, far from the urban centers, are opportunities for people, who would not otherwise meet, to come together around good, clean, and fair food.	Serra do Mar - Paraná
The families involved became more hospitable.	Seara Verde - Santa Catarina
In a time where community, intergenerational, class, and work ties are undermined, the convivium is an opportunity to bring together a variety of social actors around a common ideal.	Engenhos de Farinha - Santa Catarina.
Yes, we are always hospitable, but the lack of new projects leads to disengagement of newcomers (...) participating only from afar.	Mata Atlântica - Santa Catarina
Yes, because since its opening, our convivium intends to integrate the Brazil - Uruguay border bringing the two peoples closer together.	Binacional Santana do Livramento/Rivera – Rio Grande do Sul
In addition to receiving tourists on the properties, we were the only Brazilian convivium (if not in the world, as someone said) to establish a 'gemellaggio' (brotherhood) with two convivias from Italy and setting up an exchange program for members.	Primeira Colônia Italiana- Rio Grande do Sul

Table 3: Reports of the Convivia Related to Hospitality

Source: Elaborated by the authors

Discussion

The results highlight the existence of relationships between place, hospitality, and tourism. The places play a relevant role as a space of solidarity action, they are refuge and resistance (Santos, 1994; Relph, 2012; Yazigi, 2013) and Slow Food has shown its reticular relation with places, by its regional actions and on a large scale, with international projects that are adapted to places. The discussion will be established from the categories of Figure 1:

proximity: contiguous area of hospitality (CAH) (Raffestin, 1997; Poulain, 2004; Baptista 2005, 2008; Gotman, 2013); permanencies (Massey & Keynes, 2004; Tuan, 1983); freedom and sovereignty of the place, (Bauman 2001; Baptista 2005, 2008; Massey 2005; Yazigi, 2001); identification and solidarity action (Boutaud, 2011; Carneiro, 2003; Flandrin & Montanari 1998; Fischler, 2011; Sebastiani, Montagnini e Dalli, 2012).

Proximity: contiguous area of hospitality

The performance of the *convivia* is, in general, in the places. Although the projects developed are part of international methodologies, the action is local and includes the aspects that compose and give life to places, cultures, knowledge, and practices. The aspects of proximity refer to commensality as sharing and hospitality as a broad category, explicitly mentioned in the reports in table 3. This idea is present in border relations, social proximity, urban-rural relations, and international networks with *convivia* brotherhoods. The focus of the *convivia* actions is on protecting products at risk of extinction, thus preserving memories and knowledge, since, because they are mostly non-commercial products, there are no formal records of them. According to Lee, Scott, and Packer (2014), food is the main component of human experience, and commensality involves an interpretation of the social organization's everyday structure in which sociability manifests itself in the food that is shared. By sharing food, knowledge is shared. Sharing takes on a broader ritual symbolic character in the Slow Food movement, given the voluntary nature of actions, and going beyond satisfying the basic need for food. Slow Food philosophy aims to strengthen social ties in communities by reconnecting consumers and food producers, creating a food community or developing initiatives to promote community gardens. Other associated elements such as conviviality, localism, and romanticism (Germov, Williams, & Frej, 2010) refer to hospitality traits in the movement's context.

Also, we identified a relationship between traditional aspects of tourism and the Slow Food movement. Although only two *convivia* made explicit their focus on tourism, others showed the integration of retail chain products. The literature shows that this relation is not direct in the movement, referring to only one case (Zhao, Ritchie, & Echtner, 2011). However, by addressing the characteristics of places, the *convivia* can offer communities important cultural contributions that can be used in tourism, giving new meanings to products, processes, and knowledge, features that will be further detailed in the other analytical categories.

Permanencies

The permanencies of Slow Food, as explained above, are the ingredients, knowledge, and products, especially those that are at risk of extinction and that gives meaning to the places, technifying the daily processes and endowing places with personality (Massey & Keynes, 2004; Tuan, 1983; Yazigi, 2001). These products were shown in Table 2, and the work intermediated by the projects developed, as Disco Xepa, vegetable gardens, and awareness initiatives, evoke and give those traditional knowledge new techniques and enable a more comprehensive perspective of these *convivia* (Sebastiani, Montagnini, & Dalli, 2012; Tencati & Zsolnai, 2012). The *convivia* includes cooks, professionals or not, business people, students, and interested parties that develop projects in the various networks, such as the promotion of products and their integration in chains. Tourism could be an opportunity to protect and structure these permanencies, such as the "Via Orgânica" route of Primeira Colônia Italiana, cycle tourism, and education tourism projects of Dona Chica and Queijo Diamante *convivia*. However, hospitality is not necessarily linked to tourism and relates to a priori processes, in a dialectical relationship with freedom and sovereignty of places. However, as expressed in the reports of *convivium* Engenhos de Farinha, in table 3, the

common ideal strengthens community ties, generating a sense of belonging, anchoring practices, and actions.

Freedom and sovereignty of place

Freedom and proximity are parallel themes in the geography of human proximity (Baptista, 2005, 2008) and present the idea of openness to the other or, as Raffestin (1997) put it, the openness of conscience to receive a movement from the outside to the inside. This complex game shows the duality between a place-centered approach in the performance of the convivia and the international linkage in its methodologies of action. This issue became more explicit when the convivia criticized the centralization of resources and information of both Slow Food Brazil and the international movement. Likewise, legal issues in food labeling and conservation interfere with activities and need to be aligned with the movement's political perspective (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010; Williams et al., 2015). If operating in a territory requires a certain degree of sovereignty, this can lead to individual convivium activity criticisms since the financial question requires a collective convivia engagement. On the other hand, volunteer participation is a key feature of the movement, and this has been reflected by motivations, new leaderships, work and gender relations (Wilbur, 2014), and entrepreneurship in southern Brazil. This empowerment of people and social groups provided by food experience is characteristic of the movement's action (Anthopoulou, 2010).

Identification and solidarity action

Processes of territorial identification derive from previous social identification in the constitution of places, and this is praised in the actions of the movement in order to foment the construction of collective identities through food ethics and territory enhancement (Mayer & Knox, 2006; Sebastiani, Montagnini, & Dalli, 2012; Bowen & De Master 2011; Lorenzini,

Calzati & Giudici 2011; Gentile, 2016). In this process, commensality, while this dimension of hospitality is a foundational element of human civilization, constitutes a complex symbolic system of social meanings (Flandrin & Montanari, 1998; Carneiro, 2003; Boutaud, 2011; Fischler, 2011). The integration of products, ingredients, and knowledge can be done in different ways as referred by the participants, especially in the case of the most successful experiences of the *convivia* that took place mainly by maintaining the original and traditional forms of presentation and later with aesthetic re-readings in the forms of presentation. Later in the insertion in new recipes, the product was reconfigured from new techniques related to haute cuisine. This reintegration process is part of the movement's solidarity action, has an intimate character, and reveals values of the place as an extension of the solidarity event (Santos, 1994). In the context of Slow Food, sharing associated with commensality extends to other aspects of the food system. For example, it happens in activities related to food waste reduction and distribution of prepared foods, in a process that strengthens solidarity and extends commensality practices.

Conclusion

This article's objective was to identify and analyze the relationships between Slow Food, hospitality, and tourism in the southern region of Brazil. The 13 *convivia* allowed the analysis of the relation place/world in the scope of the movement's action, with similar projects and methodologies, but adapted to local situations, products, ingredients, and knowledge. Relations with places, commensality, and hospitality were more evident from the participants' social perception, empowerment of members, defense of products at risk of extinction, and entrepreneurship. Regarding tourism, this relation is still a work in progress, with some direct experiences of integrating products in chains or the setting up of tour itineraries. The international literature itself does not present elements that associate Slow Food with tourism

activities in a more objective way. Perhaps, this results from a lack of empirical research and a lack of dissemination of practices and results on the part of the movement. There were significant consistency and agreement in participants' accounts, including criticism of the way management is carried out in the movement's policy. The centralism was evident at national and international levels, limiting actions, ignorance of network members' characteristics, and national and international centralization of resources. At the same time, Slow Food is explicitly an anarchist movement. Convivia expect higher levels of power to conduct many actions. Given the theoretical and methodological work undertaken, the analytical categories defined as proximity and contiguous area of hospitality, permanencies, freedom, and sovereignty of the place, identification and solidarity action allow the development of a complex view of hospitality and tourism and that Slow Food was configured as a territorial agent that mirrors the characteristics of places of action. Certainly, research opportunities derive from this, such as the specific analysis of projects developed by small-scale convivia; the possibility of focusing the analysis on the consumers of the products linked to the movement and from the tourism activity itself; the chains of distribution and networks made possible by the action.

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