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# DEVELOPING GASTRONOMIC PRACTICES IN THE MINHO REGION OF PORTUGAL

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Alto Minho landscape.

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**Carlos Fernandes[1], Greg Richards[2]**

## Developing gastronomic practices in the Minho region of Portugal

ABSTRACT: We explore the role of restaurants and food events in promoting local and regional gastronomy in the Minho region in Northern Portugal. Interviews with restaurant owners and event organizers in this mainly rural region reveal that innovation is driven mainly by changing consumer tastes, but also constrained by consumer expectations of low prices. Restaurants maintain a family-run structure, also due to a lack of human resources. The main thrust of innovation lies in creating a convivial atmosphere, but there is less emphasis on locally produced food ingredients. In the long run this may undermine the regional food culture and its authenticity, despite the perceived importance of tradition.

KEY WORDS: sustainability, gastronomy, protection, conservation, food cultures

## Razvoj gastronomskih praks v regiji Minho, Portugalska

POVZETEK: V članku raziskujemo vlogo restavracij in kulinaričnih prireditev pri promociji lokalne in regionalne gastronomije v regiji Minho na severu Portugalske. Intervjuji z lastniki restavracij in organizatorji prireditev v tej pretežno podeželski regiji razkrivajo, da inovacije spodbuja predvsem spreminjanje okusa potrošnikov, hkrati pa jih omejujejo pričakovanja potrošnikov glede nizkih cen. Zaradi pomanjkanja človeških virov restavracije ohranjajo pretežno družinsko strukturo. Glavni namen inovacij je ustvarjanje prijetnega vzdušja, manj izrazit pa je poudarek na lokalno pridelanih sestavinah. Dolgoročno to lahko oslabi regionalno prehransko kulturo in njeno pristnost.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: trajnost, gastronomija, zaščita, ohranjanje, prehrambne kulture

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# 1 Introduction

There has been much discussion in the field of gastronomy and tourism on the nature of authentic gastronomic experiences (Richards 2012; Sormaz et al. 2016; Fernandes 2015; 2019). Gastronomy is a cultural and social practice subject to constant change, as local and global influences combine to shift the context of local foods, their ingredients, their consumption and their popularity (Buccini and Dahlstrom 2020). There is therefore much discussion about the need to conserve local gastronomy and the best means of doing this. For example, should we try and ensure that local foods remain unchanged and untouched by shifting technologies and consumer demand, or should we try and innovate gastronomy to appeal to modern tastes?

Such debates are particularly significant in rural regions, where gastronomy lies close to a rural way of life, a web of practices related to food production and cultures of food consumption. Changing rules about the way in which food is produced (such as regulations on the use of unpasteurized milk to make cheese) (Ren 2010) and consumed (such as rules relating to food preparation and hygiene) threaten to undermine the local basis of gastronomic culture. This is occurring at the same time as the gastronomic attractions of rural regions are increasingly being discovered by tourists and promoted by local and region authorities as a means of distinguishing themselves in an increasingly crowded global marketplace.

This paper seeks to examine the relationship between innovation and tradition in the sustainability of the local foods provided by restaurants and food events. We pay particular attention to the tension between deeply rooted practices that emphasize the links between food and the local environment and community (tradition) and the pressure to adapt foods to suit the preferences of visitors (innovation). We examine these issues in the context of a single region, the Minho area of northern Portugal, where deep-rooted food practices interact with a rapidly developing food tourism scene.

## 1.1 Case study: The Minho region of Portugal

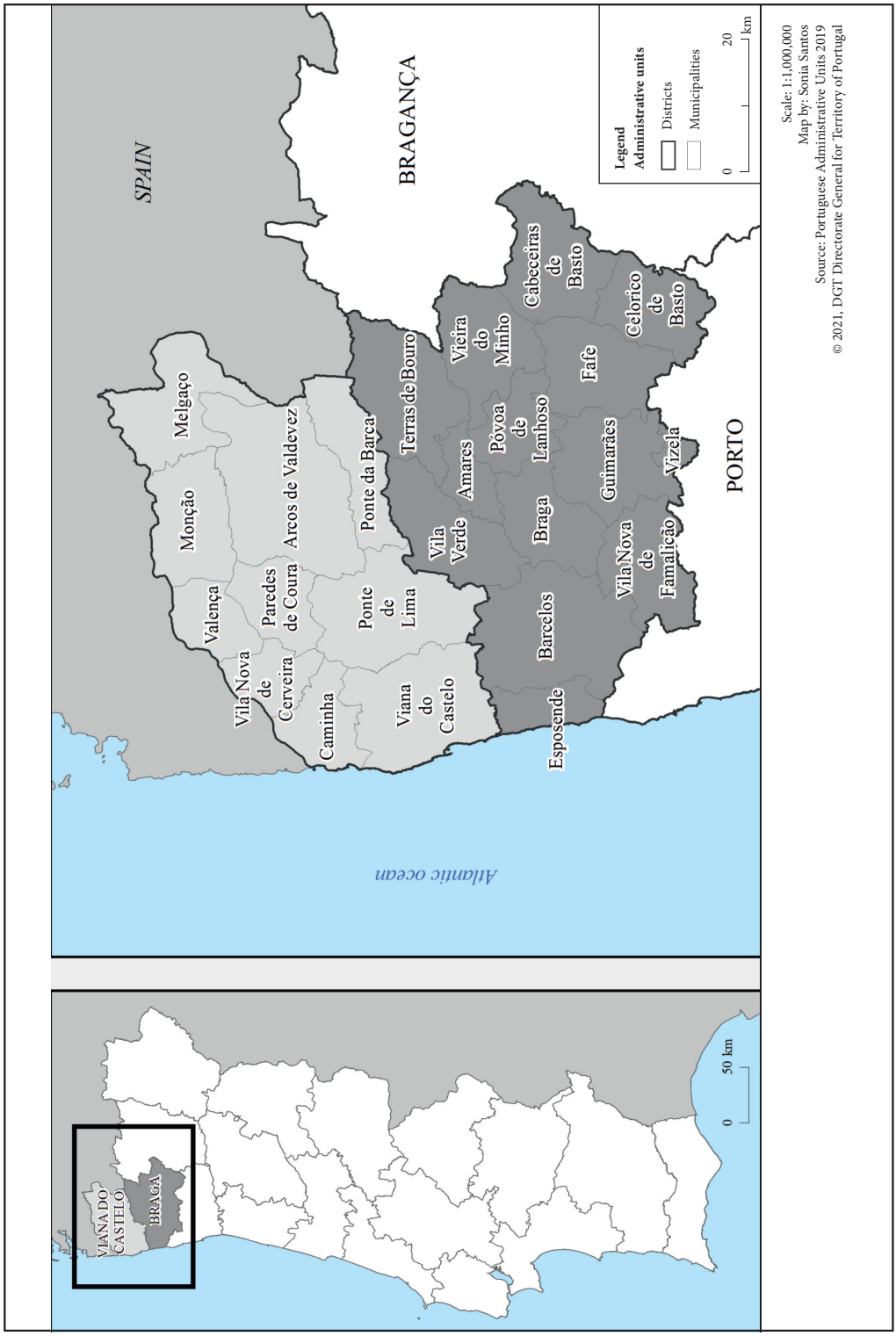
Situated in the north of Portugal, the Minho region comprises 24 municipalities, bordering on Galicia (Spain), in the north, and the Atlantic Ocean, in the west (see Figure 1). With a population of over 1.1 million inhabitants, the region is often associated with the green of its natural scenery, where water is in abundance. Minho is also typically characterized by a mountainous terrain of great beauty and biodiversity, which gradually becomes softer as one reaches the river valleys and the countless beaches along the coastline.

In Minho, land was often regarded as an »heirloom rather than as means of production« (Cabral 1978). Farmers cultivate what they need on small farms with low productivity, and they generally do not sell their agricultural products. This subsistence family farming is outdated, unspecialized and uncompetitive. Furthermore, the farms in Minho are too small to generate sufficient quantities to support an efficient regional supply chain.

Minho´s food culture is influenced by the region´s landform, soil and climate, the colonial past of Portugal and its geographic position as a bridge between Celtic and Mediterranean cultures, resulting in a diverse food culture of which the regional society is fiercely proud. Home cooking is important for the individual and for the community, and local people maintain a close relationship with nature and traditional cultural heritage. The landscape is mirror of their lifestyle and traditional food is the link between place and people. This sense of Minhoness means people see themselves as inheritors of an array of food traditions, which they also want to pass on to future generations (Fernandes 2015).

The Minho is often seen as a region in transition from tradition to modernity, and resistance to change often characterizes such transitional cultures. This also applies to food cultures. Local food production and consumption patterns and customs have become meaningful over time and are not quickly changed. Resistance to dietary changes may be traced to fear of losing the »culturally oriented significance« of food (Lowenberg 1979). Nielsen (1998) considers change and resistance as contemporary tendencies in relation to culinary novelties on the one hand and the preservation of local culinary traditions on the other hand, or as Richards (2002) poses it, the debate between gastronomic conservation and innovation. The question remains: can »old« ways of life offer »new« experiences for today´s demanding consumers? How

Figure 1: Case study context – the Minho region and its constituent districts and municipalities. ► p. 144


SPAIN
BRAGANÇA
PORTO
Atlantic ocean
Melgaço
Monção
Valença
Vila Nova de Cerveira
Caminha
Paredes de Coura
Arcos de Valdevez
Ponte de Lima
Ponte da Barca
Viana do Castelo
Terras de Bouro
Vila Verde
Amares
Barcelos
Esposende
Braga
Vieira do Minho
Póvoa de Lanhoso
Cabeceiras de Basto
Fafe
Celorico de Basto
Guimarães
Vizela
Vila Nova de Famalicão
Legend
Administrative units
Districts
Municipalities
0
20
km
VIANA DO CASTELO
BRAGA
0
50 km
Scale: 1:1,000,000
Map by: Sonia Santos
Source: Portuguese Administrative Units 2019
© 2021, DGT Directorate General for Territory of Portugal

can local gastronomic practices be sustained in a rapidly globalizing world? This paper explores the relationships between local foods and social practices, economic development strategies and consumer demand for gastronomic experiences, based on research carried out at restaurants and food events in the Minho region.

## 1.2 Literature review

Traditional food products are important elements of European identity and heritage, fostering the sustainability of rural areas (Guerrero et al. 2009). However, there is no common understanding regarding the concept of traditional food: »local food«, »original food«, »regional food«, »typical food« are all commonly used labels (Elss and Treu 2020). For Nummedal and Hall (2006), local food is not only about locally grown produce. It can also include food that requires raw material from outside the area, but which is processed locally and thereby given a local or regional identity. Vanhonacker et al. (2010, 472) suggest that traditional food »is a product frequently consumed or associated to specific celebrations and/or seasons, transmitted from one generation to another, made in a specific way according to the gastronomic heritage, naturally processed, and distinguished and known because of its sensory properties and associated to a certain local area, region or country.« It is a »representation of a group, it belongs to a defined space, and it is part of a culture that implies the cooperation of the individuals operating in that territory« (Bertozzi 1998, 15).

Poulain (2007) sees the act of eating as one of the essential parts of a journey, as an everyday act gives us first-hand contact with autochthonous culture and people. Cuisines where many different identities merge are a mirror of daily lifestyles, religious beliefs, habits, traditions and customs (Sormaz et al. 2015). Timothy and Ron (2013, 275) note that »food, cuisine and culinary traditions are among the most foundational elements of culture. While there is a long tradition of identifying many places with their traditional foods, cuisine is becoming an ever more important part of the contemporary cultural heritage of regions and countries«. The promotion of local food and local food traditions allows communities to develop the pride of their heritage and culture (Keeley 2007).

Traditional cuisine isn´t just made from recipes; it is born out of necessity, availability, and intuition, and it is codified not in books but in individual recollection or in common wisdom. Traditional cuisine is folklore, inspired by the world in which its creators live, imbued with lessons about that world, and passed down by a people among themselves, with infinite variation and frequent adaptation (Andrews 1996). It is a collection of social and cultural practices that are difficult to divorce from the society that sustains and is sustained by those practices, and the landscape of which it forms part. It is important to recognize that sustainable development of gastronomy is not just about preserving the past, but also about creating potential for the future.

Trends in food show an increasing importance of healthy food, local and fresh food, but also of authenticity related to tradition and the importance of production and sustainable agriculture (Schmitt et al. 2017; Ramankutty et al. 2018; Calicioglu et al. 2019; Liberato, Mendes and Liberato 2020). Thus, innovation in cuisine is not solely cognitive work but includes feelings, perceptions, emotions, aesthetic judgments, and the social position, history, and style of the chef (Gomez and Bouty 2009). Increasingly, destinations need to monitor what is it that consumers seek in regional gastronomy. Is it traditional food, the 'authentic', 'real' cuisine of a region, or is it the innovative aspects of food and gastronomy that draw the crowds? Though there are publications related to culinary innovation processes, these are still scarce and there are research gaps in relation to the drivers, barriers, sources, and diffusion of innovation in this sector (Albors-Garrigos et al. 2013).

The attractiveness of a destination is often related to its capacity to satisfy tourists' needs and expectations (Okumus and Cetin 2018). Food became a means to attract tourists (Smith and Costello 2009) searching for newness in food tastes and eating experiences (Gyimóthy and Mykletun 2009) but in the context of authenticity (Kauppinen-Räisänen et al. 2013) often explained by nostalgia, a feeling of insecurity in a quickly changing world and interest in heritage (Richards 2002).

Local cuisines are a major factor affecting destination selection and travel experience (Ab Karim and Chi 2010; Silkes et al. 2013) as food is eaten for enjoyment, for emotional release, for social prestige, and for attention, adverse or otherwise (Lowenberg et al. 1979). Tasting local food represents a core manifestation of a destination's intangible heritage, and through its consumption, tourists can gain a truly authentic

cultural experience (Hjalager and Richards 2002; Okumus, Okumus and McKercher 2007) making it a key contribution to the economy of tourist destinations (Kivela and Crotts 2006; Telfer and Wall 2000).

The linkages between food and tourism can contribute positively to rural and regional development as well as building social solidarity in protecting local culture (Bessière 2013; Polat and Aktas-Polat 2020). It is important to identify and encourage agricultural development through niche and regional products, which can stimulate both tourism and agriculture, engendering beneficial effects in terms of revenue and employment (Corigliano 2002). Restaurants and food events play a very important role in this. Restaurants are arenas where food culture is enacted. They are places where people can eat, talk, smell, taste, hear, socialise, drink, chop and fry food, hang around, generating feelings of belonging (Burstedt 2002). Food events are also intimately related with the maintenance and celebration of community values [including regional food] and are a celebration of something the local community wishes to share and which involves the wider public as participants in the experience (Hall and Sharples 2008; Blešić et al. 2014). Eating like the locals, or consuming food in the cultural contexts where it first originated, can be perceived by tourists as authentic experiences exclusively available at specific destinations (Özdemir and Seyitoğlu 2017). These gastronomic events are a way to learn about places' cultural identity (Björk and Kauppinen-Räisänen 2017) and local people's lifestyles (Özdemir and Seyitoğlu 2017). Thus, restaurants and food events are crucial sources for promoting the local cuisine as well as establishing collaborative relationships with local producers, providing unique experiences for customers, and making restaurants an important player in tourism (Dhora and Dionizi 2014).

The aim of this paper is therefore to examine the relationship between tradition and innovation in the context of restaurants and food events in the Minho region, examining factors promoting and inhibiting innovation in a predominantly traditional food culture.

# 2 Methods

This research is based on a literature review, field observations and interviews. The literature review sought to establish the relationship between cultural landscape, production of local food, gastronomy and tourism. This provided a context for the analysis of the data from the observations and interviews.

Unstructured ethnographic interviews and participant observations were made during a radio programme dedicated to examining the status of regional food providers and their role in disseminating gastronomy products. According to Silva et al. (2009), when seeking to understand cultural practices as located within the complexity of the everyday, a mixed method case study offers a robust means of exploration. The radio show aired every two weeks during Sunday lunch time, usually reserved for family gatherings. A researcher first joined and socialized with the people present in casual conversation to ascertain their attitudes toward local food as a complement to the interviews that followed by the program´s official host.

For the interviews with gastronomy stakeholders, 25 restaurants and 5 food related events were selected through a random route sampling method. Random route samples are widely used when no complete list of respondents is available, in order to ensure that all units have the same selection probability (Bauer 2014). Several restaurants approached turned down the invitation to interview, largely because of difficulties with scheduling.

Of the 25 responding restaurants, most were located mostly in urban areas (n=17). Generally, these are small businesses in which the husband works front-of-the-house and the wife is the cook. With the exception of three restaurants, all proprietors are originally from Minho. Seven of these restaurants had been run by the same family for over 30 years, with an ageing staff (mostly over 60 years), and were resistant to changing the daily operations of the restaurant to the convenience of customers. The other 10 urban restaurants were established less than 30 years ago, of which half in the last 15 years. There were eight rural restaurants in the sample. Except for one restaurant, all the proprietors are over 50 years old and all originally from Minho. Of the events, two were in rural areas and three in urban areas. The rural based events were all run by volunteers and the urban events were organized by restaurants or the municipality to showcase restaurants and regional foods and cultural entertainment.

Interviews with restaurant operators took place between November 2018 and March 2020, and event organizer interviews between January and May 2019. All interviews were recorded in audio and video. The interview questions were developed based on the literature review and the objectives of the study and

included questions on the food products their customers usually ordered and the customers´ gastronomic experiences. Results of the participant observation served to complement the data obtained from the interviews. Descriptive data analysis was conducted to define the operational characteristics of the restaurants and events, the perceptions of owners of the customers´ consumption patterns and the customers' attitude toward the restaurants and events during their gastronomic experiences.

# 3 Results

This section presents the results of the analysis firstly of the restaurants (referred to by RT number codes) and then the events (coded as EV).

The restaurants generally claim to serve traditional food based on traditional recipes, although some use their experiences of living abroad to innovate by mixing foreign flavours with the regional food, specifically Italian (RT5), Brazilian (RT17) and Galician (RT7 and RT19). RT19 states »because our customer base is predominantly from Galicia, we follow the wave of providing food which is familiar to them«.

Some restaurants located closer to the major towns diversify their offer through internationalization. According to RT1, »we provide a bit of everything to satisfy all« (RT1,2,3,6,19,20,23), not just specific dishes for different customer segments, like pizza crepes (RT2), but also with beverages like foreign beer, caipirinha (Brazilian drink-RT2) and sangria (RT19,23). Beverages play an increasingly important role in the food experience (RT1,2,7,12,16,18,21,23), generally the regional vinho verde wine, with the red served in its traditional form – in a white bowl (RT12,18,21,23), and champarrião, a derivative of vinho verde mixed with beer, sugar and 7up (RT3,25).

Other restaurants incorporate internationalisation into their name (RT1,2,17), for example adding »food & friends« (RT1) as they see it as a form of customer attraction and a sense of innovation. That attitude is also seen in the restaurants use of information technology, particularly social media such as Tripadvisor and Facebook (RT1,5,6,7,19,24). Some restaurants are more open to innovating the basic food product. As one respondent indicated, this often implies the reinterpretation of traditional dishes that might be termed »*tradinnovation*«. This seems to be driven largely by consumer demand: »Today I make things more elaborate because the customers ask for it« (RT 20). »Every year we change something in the restaurant. The question we ask ourselves is, what do we want to conquer with that change« (RT25).

Innovation is also used to avoid the pressure tradition exerts on pricing. In the Minho, customers are used to large portions at low prices. One restaurant reiterated that it »controls the portions but customers can always ask for more at no extra cost« (RT5) and »quantities cannot be small, they must be generous« (RT6) keeping to tradition of providing hearty, comfortable food. Others are quite faithful to the traditional food and their operating model is based on a practice of a set menu that includes soup, bread, choice of main course and beverage and expresso coffee at a price ranging between €6 and €8 (RT5,10,15,16).

Restaurants tend to be informal, casual with a family, festive atmosphere (RT3,4,5,8,9,10,13,19,25), with customers and staff being on a first name basis (total of 22 RT). »First friendship, then the food« (RT14), »the camaraderie« (RT20), »we talk, we hug and widen the circle of solidarity that at times is not so evident in other places« (RT18). Customers experience wonderful stories of food and drink and customer loyalty is high (RT1,3,5,8,10,16,24,25). In his Cook´s Tour of Portugal, Bourdain (2001) noted a number of specific elements of the Minho dining experience. The large groups of people who ate together. The family element. The seemingly casual cruelty that comes with living close to your food [subsistence agriculture]. The fierce resistance to change –if change comes at the expense of traditionally valued dishes.

Most restaurants are family-based and have been operating for over 40 years, in one case since 1939 (RT22). The cook is generally a woman, with four exceptions (RT5,6,11,17). Even today, in the traditionally patriarchal based society of Minho, women are more associated with the kitchen than the men. The cooks remain at the same restaurant for many years, especially at family run restaurants. Only one restaurant referred to a chef instead of a cook (RT6). The term »chef« is rarely used, and only in restaurants placing emphasis on the presentation (RT5,6), seasonal menus (RT6,24) and where »the dishes don´t look traditional but have all the elements« (RT5).

One innovative practice is that gradually more restaurants are providing food outside of the traditional set time for meals (RT1,2,7,16,24), more towards late afternoon (RT9,25) and more so on weekends, particularly restaurants on the periphery of the towns. Others are more open to serving food throughout the

day (RT5,14,15,23); »lunch continues while there is still food« (RT5). This tendency for smaller meals outside the traditional mealtimes is changing restaurant operations and models – with a growth in petiscos (the Portuguese version of the Spanish tapas). »Petiscos are the best thing we have in Minho« (RT4). »Traditional petiscos like our mothers used to make« (RT23), like our ancestors (RT24).

In terms of forms of innovation, Table 1 shows that design and atmosphere are most frequently employed.

Table 1: Forms of innovation used by restaurants (categories adapted from Ivkov et al. 2016).

| Type | Restaurants |
|---|---|
| Design and atmosphere (e. g., interior and exterior appearance, friendship, entertainment) | 22 |
| Food and beverages (e. g., portion size, new ingredients) | 19 |
| Technology application (e. g., POS terminals, online reservations, social media) | 5 |
| Responsible business (e. g., social responsibility, eco-friendly packages, waste recycle) | – |
| Human resources (e. g., customer orientation, service climate) | 14 |

Food and Beverage innovations ranked second, and Human resources ranked third. In particular, the two top ranked items were expected as they formed part of the criteria for selecting the sample. Technology Application (4$^{th}$ ranked) was mentioned as a source of innovation amongst the more recently established restaurants. However, Responsible Business was not mentioned by any respondents, reflecting the traditional focus of most operations. Overall, these mostly family run restaurants focus essentially on their friendly atmosphere and food, which is also what their customers seem to expect from them. First friendship, then the food. There was little difference between restaurants in rural and urban areas, although the older urban restaurants continue being most resistant to change.

Food events stimulate a sustainable approach to food by highlighting the social and cultural benefits of the conservation of traditional heritage, skills and lifestyle, for »awareness of the roots of a community« (EV1) and a »feast of traditions« (EV1,2) with a nostalgia for bygone traditional eras. Alongside endogenous food, the events embrace cultural entertainment (EV1,2,3,4,5). In all five events, the principal motive for the visit was the local food promoted based on home cooking. But the social atmosphere was also mentioned by all events as being important in providing a mix of »Food & Entertainment«. It is not just about the food, but also the authenticity, storytelling, and the valued gastronomic experience.

Events hosted in urban areas are organised by the respective Municipality (EV4). But events outside the towns are voluntarily organised (EV1,2,3,5) and some serve a social purpose (EV1,2,5). »*Food is served family style. The locals gather for a social cause and simultaneously pass on heritage to the new generations*« (EV1). Alongside restaurants serving the celebrated foods, locally produced products were on display for tasting and purchasing, for example smoked meats (EV4,5). Events present themselves as viable forms of keeping food cultures alive by involving local communities.

Following the same parameters as in Table 1, the forms of innovation identified at the events were Food and Beverages and Design and atmosphere (tied as the top ranked), followed in close second by Responsible Business, having to do with the social causes for which the event is being organized.

# 4 Discussion

Our analysis shows that providers place significant emphasis on the meal experience and less emphasis on the provenance of the ingredients. This may be linked to restaurants providing daily specials at low prices, requiring that they reduce the cost of their purchases. In restaurants that serve traditional food, customers are not usually so concerned about the origin of the ingredients and are less interested in eating local, fresh, or organic food. Enthusiasm for local produce and high-quality ingredients, the matching of flavours and a more modern style of cooking and food presentation is more evident in recently opened restaurants that are more open to innovation. Such restaurants are still not in abundance in the Minho Region, but the number is increasing. The new restaurant operators suggest that the way forward is for cooks to look for inspiration in the region´s humble peasant cooking. Dishes embedded in tradition, but not simply repro-

duced in the same way as in the past. Gastronomy should not be limited to replicating the past, but should also look forward (Fernandes 2019).

The lack of attention to food provenance has practical implications. Restaurant operators are not common visitors to food markets in Minho. In fact, the municipal food markets in Minho have fallen into disuse. There is no regional network or distribution system of locally produced products to restaurants outside the major towns. Although a significant quantity of fresh and processed food products are sold by individual small 'farmers' and producers, they face the challenge of a rapidly expanding supermarket culture featuring Portuguese chains and international operators offering more accessible prices. These trends may in the longer term undermine the traditional food culture of the region and its ability to meet contemporary demands for 'local' food.

The biggest difficulty Minho restaurants face is human resources, as it is increasingly difficult to recruit and maintain employees. They prefer to not work nights, weekends and are not flexible in terms of schedule. Minho has a significant number of hospitality vocational schools distributed throughout the region. Yet, every year these schools see their graduates look for employment in nearby Spain, where the wages are much higher. For those who do opt to remain in Minho, the turnover is very high. »In the hospitality schools they are trained with the idea of Masterchef and the reality is quite different. When faced with the reality, they usually stay a little over a month. They see restaurant professions as a hobby. The theory is very different from the practice« (RT25). The difficulty in recruiting qualified servers and cooks/chefs is seemingly persuading restaurants to adapt their operations to be less tradition-focused.

Food festivals, in particular those based on local, traditional products, appear to be ritual tools used by local communities for sustaining their collective memory and heritage (Hall and Sharples 2008; Di Francesco 2013). In so doing, the celebrated foods become ethno-commodities (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009) and these culinary products are promoted in an attempt to attract culinary tourists (Long 2004). In the past decade, Minho has witnessed the proliferation of food-related events acting as attractors for generating visitor demand. Most of these events are organised in the tourism low season as a motivation for visiting the region. But summer events also attract a booming tourist market in search of authentic regional foods. Thus, Minho is a year-round gastronomy destination.

Whereas in restaurants, the customers place more emphasis on the meal experience and less expectancy on local ingredients for the preparation of the food, food-related events in Minho use words such as »local« and »authentic« applied to endogenous food to attract consumers, particularly when the service is provided by local companies. Events also provide a more flexible food provision format that is less susceptible to the human resource pressures faced by restaurants.

# 5 Conclusion

The Minhoness of the people, their attachment to their history and culture, suggests that they see themselves as inheritors of an array of food traditions and gastronomic practices that they would like to pass on to future generations. However, in traditional restaurants the traceability of the origin of the ingredients and products is not so evident. Their strategy is to compete based on cost and not necessarily on the quality and origin of the ingredients. This relates to the cultural position of traditional restaurants, which provide a space for socialisation around food. This means that the familiarity of foods and relatively low prices are prioritised over innovative gastronomic practices. Some restaurants that have developed a more elaborate approach to traditional recipes are more open to using regional producers, they but tend to take a broader view of the region as extending beyond the Minho. Meanwhile, restaurants on the peripheral villages are more focused on the endogenous products and »0 km approach« and the conviviality with the customers.

Contemporary consumer behaviour suggests a more sustainable approach towards food production may be developing. There is a closer relationship between a territory and its products in terms of quality and uniqueness. There is more emphasis on local fresh seasonal ingredients and more transparency in the preparation of the food (Fernandes 2019). But strong linkages between gastronomy, local food production, fisheries, agricultural activities and tourism are not being sufficiently explored for creating added value and contributing to regional development.

For many restaurants in the Minho, the main challenge will be marrying the traditional focus on sociability and atmosphere with changing consumer demand and trends towards more sustainable gastronomy. The ability of traditional restaurants to innovate is constrained not just be local gastronomic culture, but also by lack of human resources and a weak food supply chain. Unless the links between restaurants and the regional food economy can be strengthened, this may constitute a long-term threat to the local gastronomic culture.

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