



The Dynamics of a Scientific Field: Pressure Forces in the Emerging of Gastronomy in Brazil

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Abstract

The aim of the current study is to investigate the challenges and opportunities associated with the process to mature the scientific field of Gastronomy based on its interface with the scientific field of Tourism & Hospitality in Brazil. Interviews with renowned researchers focused on investigating this interface were conducted. The main results were analysed from the Bourdieusian perspective, and they pointed towards antagonistic pressure forces, called “domination” and “heretical” forces, which either restrict or boost the maturation of Gastronomy as proper scientific field that is more autonomous from T&H. The main “domination forces” refer to dependence on epistemological and formal structures provided by the scientific field of T&H, as well as on theoretical-methodological deficiencies and conceptual inconsistencies. The main “heretical forces” comprise the proposition of a master’s degree course in Gastronomy, the launching of specialized journals, the growth of the scientific community and the extent of this field. The main contributions of the current research lie on some propositions aimed at maturing the scientific field of Gastronomy.

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INTRODUCTION

The current research invites us to understand Gastronomy as a field, in the Bourdieusian perspective (Bourdieu, 1992). Facing it from this perspective sheds light on the range of its phenomena, which are complex and hard to explain from a single viewpoint. Although the Gastronomy field has different dimensions, as any kind of Bourdieusian field, the current study focuses on its scientific one. This perspective provides a dialogue between the agents that have interest in researching Gastronomy, even if they come from distinct fields of knowledge to develop researches that involve the multi and interdisciplinary approaches that Gastronomy seems to require. Consequently, there is the generation of a scientific field open to the exploration of its contents through distinct optics, but that somehow seem to converge.

Taking this position also presupposes that Gastronomy knowledge results from contributions of several adjacent fields, such as Nutrition and Medicine, Food Science and Technology, Human Sciences, Communication Sciences, Business Management and Tourism & Hospitality (T&H), given the myriad of research possibilities. Nevertheless, it is possible to assume from the results of systematic review and bibliometric studies (Barbosa & Collaço, 2018; De Jong et al., 2018; Ferro, 2021; Gimenes-Minasse, 2020; Okumus, Koseoglu & Forest, 2018; Okumus, Mehraliyev & Köseoglu, 2020; Vogel, Barros & Marinho, 2019) that Gastronomy presents a configuration of a scientific field of its own, as advocated by Hegarty (2009), Scarpato (2002a; 2002b) and Seyitoğlu (2019), given the density of knowledge produced in various formats (papers, theses, dissertations, books, etc.).

In this text, it was elected the interface between Gastronomy and T&H as a background analysis, once a significant growth in scientific production on Gastronomy in T&H has been observed since 1976, according to Okumus et al. (2018). This intrinsic interface between Gastronomy and T&H is known to occur due to the cultural bias of Gastronomy that gives it a character of tourist attraction (Kivela & Crofts, 2005) and provides, through the shared meal, food and drinks, an opportunity to create and strengthen social ties (Giacoman, 2016). It also worthy to highlight the foodservice sector that can be considered an essential service for both tourist and the resident. Additionally, many other themes are addressed and continue to be developed at this interface (Okumus et al., 2020), which demonstrates the fruitfulness of the relationship between the phenomena and the research practice between these fields.

Following the example of T&H research, Tribe (2006; 2010) highlights that there is a frequent competitive state between dominant positions, traditions or schools of thought because it receives influence from several other scientific fields such as Marketing, Business, Anthropology, Sociology, etc. For researchers such as Tribe (2006), Lynch, Molz, McIntosh, Lugosi and Lashley (2011) and Morrison (2018), T&H is a scientific field that is characterized as an environment of continuous negotiation, creating and challenging the production of discourses about knowledge, its applications and the positions of its agents. Gastronomy in turn, according to Seyitoğlu's (2019) findings, also seems to find itself in this same competitive configuration in the interfaces with adjacent scientific fields.

In this sense, it is urgent to consider the disputes for epistemological dominance and the academic habitus that guide the way Gastronomy is being seen in its multiple interfaces, as in the case of T&H, legitimating or delegitimizing thoughts and positions. According to Bourdieu (2004), the configuration of a scientific field is conditioned to these various pressure forces that occur through the objective or discursive structures of science since

they have the capacity to (de)stimulate and/or (de)legitimize research positions in scientific fields.

Many discussions about disciplinarity, conceptual coherence and theoretical background, research objects and problems, ontology, methodology, scientific community profile, offer of courses at different levels (undergraduation, master's and doctorate degree) and reorganization of their respective curriculum were conducted by Seyitoğlu (2019), Hegarty (2009) and Scarpato (2002a; 2002b). However, efforts must be addressed to analyse the forces observed in disputes among scientific production agents, either through discourses, habitus and objective elements arranged in a given scientific field (Bourdieu, 1975) in order to better understand its configuration and projection for future scenarios.

The following research questions were defined based on this scenario: Which forces do other more mature scientific fields possess that are able to interfere on the scientific field of Gastronomy? Do these forces collaborate with the progress of the scientific field of Gastronomy or do they hinder this process? Based on these questions, the aim of the current study is to investigate the challenges and opportunities associated with the process to mature the scientific field of Gastronomy based on its interface with the scientific field of Tourism & Hospitality in Brazil.

Brazil was selected as a case study since it presents a recent scientific field in Gastronomy closely linked to the T&H field. Because of their close origins and mutual contributions, Gastronomy and T&H in Brazil tend to share theoretical, methodological, and conceptual references. The offer of undergraduate courses in Gastronomy started in 1999, initially associated to recognized schools of T&H. Since the creation of this course, there has been a growing offer throughout the Brazilian territory (Cabral, Anjos & Hostins, 2017). Despite the significant number of undergraduate courses, there is only one graduate program (master's degree) in Gastronomy that started in 2020. This indicates a great advance for the field of Gastronomy, considering that in Brazil the proposition and supervision of a graduate program is regulated by a public agency – “Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior” (Capes) – that follows strict performance criteria, such as the productivity and impact of the professors' scientific productions, program aims, social insertion, among other criteria. Ferro e Rejowski (2018) analyzes the dissertations and theses produced in the country in all areas of knowledge of Capes and finds that the area of Tourism is the one that most concentrates these documents. The author (Ferro & Rejowski, 2018) identifies the beginning of scientific production on Gastronomy in 1999 in a graduate program in Architecture, and the first document produced in a graduate program in Tourism is dated 2001. The results of Gimenes-Minasse (2020) and Barbosa and Collaço (2018), who analyzed the Gastronomy papers published in T&H journals, show the beginning of this interface between the years 2005 and 2007. Thus, Brazil represents a scenario where Gastronomy is taking its own proportions and still demonstrates an intrinsic relationship with T&H, both in scientific production and in training of qualified workforce.

From the exposed, five renowned professors and researchers dedicated to Gastronomy research in the T&H field were interviewed to critically analyse the current configuration of the Gastronomy scientific field pointing out challenges and opportunities from the relationship with the T&H field. The concept of Bourdieu's scientific field permeated the interview script in themes that deal with objective, discursive and scientific conditions such as publishing possibilities, fundraising, contributions from other areas of knowledge, existing lines of thought and their competition, reasons for scientific collaboration, teaching and training and theoretical-methodological maturation of Gastronomy. Collected data were submitted to qualitative content analysis (Drisko & Maschi, 2016) in MaxQDA

software.

The present article was organized as follows. The theoretical framework on scientific field is initially presented, from Bourdieu's perspective, by associating this concept with both Gastronomy and its interface fields, mainly with Tourism & Hospitality. Then, the adopted methodological approach, the results and the discussion are presented based on the theoretical framework. Finally, the last section presents research contributions and limitations, as well as suggestions for future studies and implications for Gastronomy.

Scientific Field and Scientific Knowledge Production From The Bourdieusian Perspective

To determine the concept of field, Bourdieu went through various scientific paradigms of 20th century Anthropology and Sociology that led him to a period of reflection on his ethnographic research practices and his critical and social engagement with the subjects of his studies (Bourdieu, 1991). After his immersion with the research subjects, Bourdieu realised the existence of a social force that consequently shaped all social dimensions of a community and was termed by him as symbolic power. At the same time, Bourdieu identifies that the social order brought about by symbolic power takes place through conflicts of symbolic capital for the imposition and legitimation of interests of a particular class in society. Symbolic power capital is considered as transfigured forms of other material (monetary, goods, etc.) or non-material (knowledge, politics, etc.) capitals, these power structures being only recognised as symbolic by the individuals who are disputing such capitals in a given field. In this manner, a field may be considered an autonomous microcosm within the social world-space, being structured of positions where dominant and dominated struggle for the maintenance and attainment of certain positions on the basis of the accumulation of capital specific to this microcosm.

According to Bourdieu (1975; 2004), scientific production takes place in a space called scientific field, wherein agents (researchers) dispute the domination and hegemony of specific symbolic capitals, such as prestige, acknowledgement, reputation and knowledge. According to the aforementioned author, science cannot be neutral towards the influence of adjacent fields (other scientific fields or social, economic and political fields), since it is built through symbolic struggles among agents whose results have objective effects on resource management in research activities (public or private financial support, as well as the launching of research departments, positions and associations, etc.). Thus, Bourdieu advocates that the selection of theoretical framework, topics, objects, methods, publication spaces, among other structures of science, is always strategically designed by agents from scientific fields to help maximizing these symbolic capitals (Bourdieu, 1975).

Scientific capitals are often distributed among agents, in a more or lesser unequal manner. Such distribution is based on their position in the field, be them the dominant or dominated ones. Given the struggle to master scientific competence, there is this trend to associate science representations with ideological strategies disguised as epistemological position-taking processes (Bourdieu, 1975) focused on justifying agents' position and scientific field-related rules; this factor ends up benefiting the dominant agents and discrediting those with different positions (dominated agents).

According to science scholars, such as Becher and Trowler (2001), Bourdieu (1975, 2004), Foucault (1979) and Latour (1996), political and social disputes and conflicts are inherent to scientific production. These disputes tend to shape the hegemony of researchers' knowledge and behaviour in a given scientific field, which is also known as

scientific habitus (Bourdieu, 1992). Briefly, scientific habitus can be defined as different behaviours and intellectual dispositions mostly associated with the specialized language - in technical-scientific terms – adopted by a certain group of researchers, who differ from other people in the scientific and non-scientific society (Becher & Trowler, 2001).

Therefore, according to (Bourdieu, 2004), the configuration of a given scientific field is conditioned to different pressure forces that emerge from outside the scientific field itself, mainly from adjacent fields, be them scientific or not, as well as from science (objective) structures, such as scopes and journals' editorial members, interests of public and private agencies focused on education and research, master's and doctoral courses and their respective research lines and teaching staff, research associations, groups and seminars, regulatory agencies, councils and research support foundations, since these structures have the ability to (dis)encourage and/or (de)legitimate agents' positions and research.

Thus, scientific production from Bourdieu's perspective is susceptible to a set of efforts, facilities, as well as dynamic and complex processes that are partly consensual and partly coercive among agents, and based on which scientific knowledge is created, shared and used by them. In other words, the concept of scientific field enables reflecting about who produces (groups and/or individuals), in what position they produce (social, ideological, ontological and epistemological) and for what reasons they produce, in addition to where and how (methodological procedures, as well as ease or difficulty to produce and communicate) they produce. Therefore, this concept encompasses the phenomena, structures and agents involved from the most incipient scientific research stage – such as the identification of the problem to be investigated – to the time when the produced knowledge is internalized by other scientists; in other words, to the point when the process to understand scientific knowledge cannot be dissociated from the scientific community producing it. It is the reason why the concept of scientific field developed by Bourdieu (1975) was selected as theoretical lens to enable the analysis carried out in the present research.

The next section will address how Gastronomy can be seen as proper scientific field and the dynamics observed in this emerging field in Brazil.

Gastronomy Seen as Scientific Field

Gastronomy can be understood as a multi-dimension field, in the Bourdieusian sense (Bourdieu, 1992). It can be defined as the dynamic structure regulating the way human beings understand, consume, and relate to food and beverages. This field has different practical and/or theoretical, scientific or common sense, social, cultural and economic dimensions, among others, which are connected to, and influence, each other and other fields. The present research focuses on the scientific dimension of this field.

This perspective enables the dialogue among agents interested in Gastronomy, even among agents from different scientific fields, in order to develop research involving the multi and interdisciplinary approaches required by this scientific field (Scarpato, 2002a; 2002b). Consequently, it generates a scientific field open to explore its contents from different perspectives, which are oftentimes incomprehensible to each other, but that converge into a single field.

On the other hand, this movement of discovery based on different scientific fields brings along a factor inherent to these dynamics, namely: dispute for domination. Tensions and symbolic struggles to define epistemological,

methodological and theoretical-conceptual positions are often observed among agents in emerging fields, such as Gastronomy (Bourdieu, 1975; 2004). Despite the aforementioned benefits, this dispute scenario can also hinder the advancement of this scientific field by interposing and managing rules to obtain and distribute capital, which tend to limit the understanding of Gastronomy-related phenomena, although some of these rules get established in this field.

This scientific field started to be more expressively outlined in Brazil at the turn from the 20th to the 21st century, when the first undergraduate courses in Gastronomy was launched back in 1999 (Cabral et al., 2017; Ferro & Rejowski, 2018; Gimenes-Minasse, 2020), and when Gastronomy started to be promoted in the media, through reality shows, newspaper columns and specialized magazines (Previatti, 2021; Rezende & Lavinias, 2017). These two scenarios have boosted Gastronomy graduates' search for qualification at master's and doctoral level, as well as attracted the attention of researchers from adjacent scientific fields. Since then, this emerging field has been making systematic efforts to give merit to scientific research. Furthermore, it must be noted that the first Master's in Gastronomy in Brazil was only proposed about twenty years after the creation of the first undergraduate course.

Ferro and Rejowski (2018) have investigated the Brazilian panorama of scientific production on Gastronomy; they highlighted the vertiginous increase in the number of dissertations and theses produced in the early 2000s, as well as the fact that research about Gastronomy was conducted in seven of the nine major knowledge fields organized by Capes. It is worth emphasizing that 30% of these documents refer to master's and doctorate degrees in the Tourism area, which belongs to the broader Applied Social Sciences area (Ferro & Rejowski, 2018).

According to Seyitoğlu (2019), although Gastronomy is an emerging scientific field, journals specialized in it are outnumbered, even at international level, and studies published in them often show unsatisfactory theoretical-methodological quality. This factor results from the weak relationship among agents in this field (Seyitoğlu, 2019). The aforementioned author has also addressed lack of theoretical coherence, as well as of concepts widely accepted among peers as deficiencies to be overcome in this scientific field. Moreover, Hegarty (2009) has emphasized three obstacles for Gastronomy to thrive as scientific field, namely: the fragility of its theoretical infrastructure, lack or scarcity of master's and doctoral programs and inability to separate practice from theory. Besides these three elements, there is the challenge inherent to interdisciplinarity, due to epistemological disputes among different scientific fields, which reverberate in their interface with Gastronomy.

Thus, these data reinforce the perspective, according to which, Gastronomy should be seen as proper emerging scientific field. In addition, it should be taken into consideration the interfaces with other adjacent fields that are at more advanced maturation stages, such as T&H.

Associations Between the Gastronomy and Tourism & Hospitality (T&H) Fields

The process to expand the scientific field of Gastronomy has been mainly corroborated by knowledge deriving from other fields that are at more advanced scientification stages. The T&H field stands out in the Brazilian case (Ferro & Rejowski, 2018).

Several bibliometric studies have mapped the Brazilian scientific production at the interface between the Gastronomy and T&H fields. Among the main results, one finds: a) researchers (with more than one published article) focused on this interface remain scarce (Ferro, 2021; Gimenes-Minasse, 2020); b) few researchers are considered mature, i.e., few of them focus on doing research or are supervisors in master's and doctoral courses (Gimenes-

Minasse, 2020); c) publications take books and articles from national journals as references, although they are often outdated, i.e., they were published more than six years ago (Ferro, 2021; Vogel et al., 2019); d) between 16 and 24 T&H journals accept Gastronomy research (Barbosa & Collaço, 2018; Ferro, 2021; Gimenes-Minasse, 2020; Vogel et al., 2019); e) there is a group of authors and references promoted in this interface (Ferro, 2021); f) the main theoretical discourse used in research projects is the liberal one, according to which, Gastronomy is only observed under its economic potential and aspect, to the detriment of ethnic, cultural and critical studies (Barbosa & Collaço, 2018).

On the other hand, conclusions reached by De Jong et al. (2018), at international level, are based on the practical dimension addressed in the literature on Gastronomy and Tourism. According to the aforementioned authors, it is necessary focusing on what is beyond the empirical, management and business aspects of Gastronomy to help establishing the scientific and critical merit of this field. Adopting theoretical perspectives from other knowledge fields, beyond Business Management and Marketing, was one of the likely solutions suggested by them to this problem.

Okumus et al. (2018) have addressed how undergraduate and graduate courses in T&H focus on the management of services linked to this sector, such as accommodation, marketing, service management, among others, to the detriment of addressing topics such as food production chain, cuisine, food culture, gastronomy and food security, which are also essential to help training future professionals in this field. The aforementioned authors have suggested that the main T&H journals should produce special editions focused on Gastronomy. This factor can help improving the quality, and increasing the number of these studies, in addition to significantly reduce the rejection of studies that, despite their high scientific quality, tend to be rejected for simply addressing issues that are not considered important by those who dominate this field.

Scarpato (2002a; 2002b) and Kesimoğlu (2015) performed a critical analysis of the association between Gastronomy and T&H. They criticized the imposing conditions to turn the Gastronomy from a given place into tourist attraction or a mere tool to enable competitive advantage in business, as well as pointed out likely consequences from food culture commodification processes. According to them, there should be a paradigm shift in the use of Gastronomy only as loco-regional and business development vector to generate cultural capital for both tourists and consumers. “These approaches further reinforce static notions of gastronomy as something to be measured in profits, neglecting its interpretive nature, as well as symbolic and cultural value for consumption.” (Kesimoğlu, 2015, p. 75).

There is a clear objectification of food as tourist attraction or as business, regardless of whether it focuses on tourists or dwellers. The close connections between practices in these fields also reflect on the configuration of the scientific field of Gastronomy.

On the one hand, there are disputes among agents to introduce their scientific positions (theories, methods, techniques, research objects, among others) in order to corroborate the Gastronomy field maturation process (Seyitoğlu, 2019). Therefore, it is necessary investigating whether more mature scientific fields, such as T&H, limit one’s view on Gastronomy by disregarding the range of this scientific field.

Methodology

The current study adopted a qualitative approach, based on semi-structured interviews, to investigate the

challenges and opportunities to mature the scientific field of Gastronomy through its interface with T&H, in Brazil.

Based on interviews and on the qualitative analysis approach, it was possible investigating the underlying evidence, i.e., the reasons and explanations, conflicts and contradictions underlying individuals' behaviour and positions, since subjects are unique due to their personal experiences and to idiosyncrasies deriving from the context that they are inserted in. These study types enable analysing complex phenomena, as well as outlining the new concepts and hypotheses to be tested (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Veal, 2017).

Research Participants, Data Collection and Treatment

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with five exponent agents, who were selected from preliminary bibliometric research that mapped the productivity, impact and centrality of scientific collaborations of all Gastronomy researchers who published studies in Brazilian journals focused on T&H. It is worth noting that there are a limited number of researchers dedicated to this researched interface, as evidenced by Gimenes-Minasse (2020). These researchers were also selected based on their professional positions, resumes and academic experience, with emphasis on those who stood out in new knowledge production perspectives.

Most interviewees were Professors in graduate programs (master's and doctoral courses) in Tourism and/or Hospitality or in undergraduate courses in Tourism or Gastronomy, either in public or private universities. In addition, all participants had PhD degree and acted as journal reviewers and/or editors, and/or as leaders of research groups in scientific events focused on the scientific field of T&H, with emphasis on Gastronomy. Table 1 summarizes participants' training, time of experience as researchers and their professional position at interview time, as well as their demographic data.

Table 1. Interviewees' Profile

Code	Sex	Time of experience as researcher	PhD	Professional position
P1	Male	23	Tourism and Hospitality	Professor in Master's Degree and Doctoral Courses
P2	Male	16	Geography	Professor in Master's Degree and Doctoral Courses
P3	Female	30	Social Communication	Professor in Master's Degree and Doctoral Courses
P4	Female	18	Tourism and Hospitality	Professor in Master's Degree and Doctoral Courses
P5	Female	20	Geography	Professor in Tourism Undergraduate Course

An interview script was prepared based on literature review and on research aims. It was divided into four different parts, namely: 1) academic-professional background; 2) research background (time focused on research in Gastronomy, motivations to do research about Gastronomy, ease of publication, fundraising, citations, career progression, among others); 3) discussions about Gastronomy and its association with tourism and hospitality (understanding of Gastronomy, existing lines of thought and their competition); 4) prospecting (opportunities and challenges of research in Gastronomy). The interview script did not need to be adapted, although additional questions were asked to interviewees, whenever necessary, in order to deepen some discussions. All participants have signed the consent form; all interviews were recorded for further transcription. Researchers' names were kept secret.

Interviews took place in virtual environment due to the Covid-19 pandemic. They were carried out between March and April 2021, in Zoom video communication software, and lasted one hour, on average. Collected data were

subjected to qualitative content analysis (Drisko & Maschi, 2016) in MaxQDA software. Interviews were divided into categories defined a priori, based on the applied script; these categories were later organized into two major antagonistic categories, which emerged after transcripts' reading and analysis processes.

Findings and Discussions

Categories “challenges” and “opportunities” were initially explored based on their respective topics, which emerged from data analysis, namely: “Field range and concepts”, “Journals and their implications in this field”, “Scientific community and higher education”, “Master’s and PhD degrees in Gastronomy” and “Maturation and constitution as field”. Respondents (Table 1) provided several quotes on these topics. Then, discussions were finalized based on a visual and theoretical approach, called “pressure forces”.

Field Range and Concepts

Data analysis started from interviewees' considerations on issues concerning the range and concepts of the investigated field. Participants believed that Gastronomy is a broad field, due to the complexity of its phenomena, although it remains poorly explored by research lines in Brazil. Some of them addressed the confusion observed in the use of concepts adopted by researchers.

According to P2, it is necessary reinforcing the importance of using theory as lens to better understand the research phenomena and objects, whereas P3 has pointed towards lack of clear epistemological position in Gastronomy research. There was consensus among all participants about results reported by Seyitoğlu (2019), who advocated for the need of defining terms and expressions such as “cuisine”, “cooking”, “food culture” and “Gastronomy”, to enable the scientific community to minimally share these definitions, in the form of thesaurus, in order to circumscribe research objects and to strengthen the investigated field.

We often see people trying to redefine terms in published articles [...] trying to be the owners of some concept, by giving new semantics and meanings, by ‘reheating’ things that, in theory, would have been overcome. People sometimes use everything as synonym, they don’t know what technique, cuisine, food culture and gastronomy mean [...] it seems to me that we need to be a little more coherent in these approaches, to reason about something better structured (P2).

The range of this field was also mentioned, since Gastronomy is linked to the daily life of all social classes and enables different reading levels (P3). According to P4, Gastronomy is dynamic and stands out in academic and non-academic environments. P3 has explained that authorities (development agencies and public managers) are turning their sight to the potential of Gastronomy, mainly due to the labour qualification opportunities provided by this field. Gastronomy can be a source of income and job positions for experts (P4). Research and critical professional training in Gastronomy are seen as ways to meet the need for qualification in the market (P2).

P2 has also emphasized that the range of this field is also conditioned by the cultural richness of each location and that it can be featured as “a gigantic world, since it ranges from the socio-anthropology of food to chemistry”, in reference to multiple interfaces between Gastronomy and other scientific fields (Brillat-Savarin, 2009; Scarpatto, 2002a; 2002b; Seyitoğlu, 2019). In addition, based on his research experience, P1 has claimed that many gaps are yet to be filled in this field.

P2 and P3's perceptions, as well as results reported by Altaş and Acar (2018) and Ferro and Rejowski (2018), help substantiating and mapping part of the range of the Gastronomy field in Turkey and Brazil. Another part of this field is not yet seen at the interface with the scientific field of T&H; it is mainly latent at international level, as well as represented by some journals focused on investigating perspectives in the interface with Food Science and Technology, such as the Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science, Journal of Culinary Science & Technology and British Food Journal.

Journals and Their Implications in This Field

Journals play essential role in the maturation process of any scientific field. With respect to Gastronomy, some obstacles associated with the editorial scopes of T&H journals were identified; thus, creating new journals was the solution found by agents in this field. However, these new journals present questionable continuous flow capacity given the number of researchers focused on investigating Gastronomy in Brazil.

According to P4 and P5, the range of the Gastronomy phenomenon is fully or almost fully covered in the scopes of Brazilian T&H journals. On the other hand, P2 and P3 have advocated that the editorial scopes do not fully encompass the range of the Gastronomy field. Consequently, some studies conducted in this field are harder to be published. It seems to be unclear to the scientific community how Gastronomy should be addressed in research conducted at this interface, as shown in P3's speech:

For example, 'comida de santo' ["saint's food" - dish inspired in African-origin religions], [...] Is it necessary for the temple to receive tourists so that the saint's food can be investigated? No! This phenomenon is bigger than that! And if I don't have this previous theoretical background, I will approach tourism in a more superficial manner (P3).

Seyitoğlu (2019) has pointed out the disagreement among participants about the number of Gastronomy-related publications and journals in Turkey; the interviewees also mentioned some points about journals and publications in Brazil. According to P1, there is increasing number of Gastronomy research submissions to T&H journals. P3, in his turn, has indicated some efforts made in the Brazilian scenario to launch new Gastronomy journals comprising multi- and interdisciplinary discussions that are not found in T&H journals. P2 has also mentioned the challenge faced by these new gastronomy journals to get established in the scientific field, given the small number of researchers focused on it:

(...) Perhaps there is no room for some approach types (...). And, perhaps, by creating its own path, through its own journals, Gastronomy can bring along other interdisciplinary dialogues (...) I don't know whether the demand will be big enough to generate issues with quality publications (...) Perhaps, the scope of some existing journal, which is already acknowledged, should be changed instead of launching new journals. I am a little apprehensive, since even tourism journals lack good publications (P2).

It is worth mentioning that journals are important tools to support the principles of a given scientific habitus, since they are the main means used to communicate and measure scientific performance (Hall, 2011). According to Bourdieu (1975, p. 30), journals are that "consecrate productions faithful to the principles of official science, [...] and exercise a de facto censorship of heretical productions, either by rejecting them outright or by simply discouraging the intention of even trying to publish them".

According to the Bourdieusian perspective (Bourdieu, 1975), some heretical discourses associated with

Gastronomy, which are more likely to emerge in this scenario, will not be considered for publication, unless justifications, methods and references widely accepted in the scientific field of T&H are used (Ferro, 2021), i.e., justifications capable of bringing Gastronomy issues closer to tourism and hospitality practices, as emphasized by P3. Another option for researchers in this scenario is the use of canonical publications. In general, researchers cite the most accepted published research in their manuscripts, thus increasing the probability of being accepted by their peers (Bourdieu, 1975). This would explain why there is a set of (usually outdated) publications preferred by researchers in a field as new as Gastronomy.

Despite the acknowledged inseparability among gastronomy, tourism and hospitality phenomena (P4 and P5; Seyitoğlu, 2019), it was evident that the herein interviewed researchers long for higher flexibility in the editorial scope, but it does not imply condescension towards the theoretical-methodological rigor, and an effective dissemination of their research to the scientific community dedicated to Gastronomy research.

Besides restricting the advancement and innovation of Gastronomy as scientific field, this issue reinforces the habitus and the ways of thinking about a more consolidated field. This is another condition based on which Gastronomy aims at having some autonomy in comparison to other fields, not only to T&H, since these conditions can prevent the proposition of innovative approaches capable of filling the gaps observed in the range of the Gastronomy field.

Scientific Community and Higher Education

Gastronomy can be considered a new scientific field in comparison to other adjacent fields, such as T&H. Consequently, participants have acknowledged a limited number of researchers focused on investigating this field in Brazil. Along with this scenario, participants have mentioned issues associated with the curriculum construction in higher education in Gastronomy in the Brazilian context, which is basically focused on the practice of this sector.

The scarcity of researchers identified in P1, P2 and P5's statements, as well as their short history, are a challenge to the Gastronomy field. It is possible comparing the background of the formation process undergone by other scientific fields, such as T&H, as well as seeing the difference between time of existence and its corresponding scientific maturity. According to the aforementioned participants, the number of publications about Gastronomy tends to increase over time, and it will provide higher integrity to this field and make it stronger. Although the number of Gastronomy researchers is increasing (P5), little has been done to solve the challenges faced by this field (P2).

I see that it is time and a group of professionals who dedicate themselves. (...) when we started, there were very few people working on this topic. I see that, since 2008, we have had a boom of research, authors and even interest. (...) integrity is inherent to this process (P5).

This point is directly linked to the offer of training courses for researchers at the most diverse levels: undergraduate (scientific initiation), and master's and doctorate degrees. According to P2, it is necessary rethinking the Gastronomy educational logic, which often focuses on practices (Robinson, Breakey & Craig-Smith, 2010; Santich, 2004), providing for the students theoretical-conceptual tools to enable them to expand their knowledge about complex aspects associated with food and beverage, based on scientific research. However, according to some participants in the study conducted by Seyitoğlu (2019), redirecting the curricular construction in this sense is a challenging task. In the Brazilian case, based on P3, the theoretical background is disdained by some undergraduate students, and it shows

that these courses remain based on a stereotype focused on pedagogical practices and on the sector of Food & Beverage.

The common sense and part of the scientific community tend to strictly view Gastronomy for its practices/techniques or for its representation of the Food & Beverage sector (P2 and P3; Seyitoğlu, 2019; Kesimoğlu, 2015). In other words, Gastronomy remains almost strictly seen as equipment (business in food and beverage services), mainly when it comes to haute cuisine, or as tourist attraction. The genesis of association among phenomena taking place in these fields appears to indicate a likely way to explain this tendency.

One of the hypotheses raised in the scientific production context is that research about Gastronomy in the T&H field initially aimed at understanding consumers' behaviour, certainly for liberal reasons, with little concern with understanding what lies behind the Gastronomy phenomenon, as well as its symbolic and even conceptual aspects. This factor stems from the premise that the scientific field of Gastronomy started with contributions from other fields, whose researchers were in the process of conducting studies with variables, concepts and methods that were defined and solidified in their respective scientific communities.

Thus, the habitus determining the ways of thinking and investigating Gastronomy in the scientific field of T&H is clear. These epistemological beliefs and positions are reinforced over the years through different mechanisms, rather than through research alone, as clearly mentioned by Kesimoğlu (2015) and Scarpato (2002b), but mainly through teaching. Since higher education courses in Gastronomy were launched, in association with Tourism and Hospitality schools, the curriculum have been focusing on meeting the needs of this sector and on providing technical qualification to individuals working in it (Airey & Tribe, 2001). A pragmatic perspective was adopted to the detriment of a more critical one, along with the promotion of TV shows, which started in Brazil at the same time these courses were launched.

Master's and PhD degrees in Gastronomy

Issues associated with higher education in Gastronomy, at master's and doctoral degree, can be explained by the small number of PhD researchers working in this field and forming the teaching staff of these courses in the T&H field. In addition to the challenge of raising awareness about the importance of conducting research and of providing opportunities for students to participate in research projects, there is also small number of professors to supervise students interested in continuing their training at postgraduate level (P3). On the other hand, P1 has mentioned higher availability of professor advisors based on his professional trajectory, a fact that enables expanding research in Gastronomy, which was initially linked to these courses.

Based on Gimenes-Minasse's (2020) contributions and on P1's speeches, it is worth emphasizing the relevant role played by few professor advisors, associated with master's and doctorate courses in T&H, who are dedicated to do research in Gastronomy. These agents account for expanding the scientific field of Gastronomy to its current position in Brazil. However, it is necessary keeping in mind that these professor advisors have training in other fields, which are not necessarily T&H, and that they are associated with research focus fields and research lines inherent to their respective educational formation. It is also noteworthy that the editorial body of journals is mostly formed by this agent profile. These conditions reinforce convenient theoretical-methodological positions and habitus in the scientific field of T&H.

By being aware of the scarcity of master's and doctoral courses focused on Gastronomy in Brazil and abroad (Hegarty, 2009; Seyitoğlu, 2019), P1 and P2 have mentioned new opportunity cases, such as the launching of the first (and still only) master's degree course in Gastronomy at Federal University of Ceará and the possibility of including Gastronomy as one of the research lines in the existing master's and doctoral courses in T&H. However, P2 has emphasized that the way these courses and research lines will be formally set before the sponsoring and regulatory bodies, as well as how they will collaborate to each other in interdisciplinarity and inter-institutional relationships, remains unknown.

I think that maybe this is the way, consolidating a proper field in postgraduate studies, which would comprise the master's and doctorate degrees in Gastronomy, although based on interdisciplinary perspectives and on the field's own richness. I also believe that this type of training is necessary to provide feedback to undergraduate courses in Gastronomy (P2).

This scenario points towards the clear dependence of the Gastronomy scientific field on other fields in its interface. Despite the launching of a master's degree course and of new research lines, there is still no expansion movement towards the doctoral level. Consequently, it will keep Gastronomy under the tutelage of other fields, when researchers decide to move forwards in their academic training.

Although these courses show that the scientific field has been formalized with a contingent of dedicated researchers, to the point of having Capes' approval to operate, little is known about how the communication with other agents in the Gastronomy or adjacent fields will take place. (P2). It is also unknown whether the interdisciplinarity expected for research in Gastronomy (Scarpato, 2002a; 2002b) will be prioritized in research projects and in scientific collaborations between professors and students in these courses.

Methodological Maturation and Constitution as A Field

The training of masters and doctors tends to contribute to the scientific maturity of the Gastronomy field, not only in terms of number, but also of quality of research (Gimenes-Minasse, 2020; Hegarty, 2009; Seyitoğlu, 2019). Seyitoğlu (2019) and Ferro and Rejowski (2018) reported increased production of doctoral theses focused on Gastronomy, which were defended in Turkey and Brazil, respectively. However, Seyitoğlu (2019), and all the herein interviewed researchers, have emphasized recurrent flaws in methodological rigor. According to P4, the scientific field of Gastronomy will mature based on methodological rigor, in order to reinforce data collection and treatment in an impartial manner. In the Brazilian case, it appears to be common for researchers to glamorize food cultures and preparations, since Gastronomy is linked to the food and beverage business, mainly to the part of the sector called haute cuisine (P1). Other examples of it comprise excessive personal involvement with the research object and disqualification of traditional knowledge (P2).

One of the main difficulties lies on the loss of food culture simplicity. Researchers significantly tend to glamorize (...) or work in an exaggerated way [...]. Another issue is the presumption that we are better than the culture we are visiting (...) (P1).

This is a field that, if we are not careful, we easily fall into a partiality condition. Even more so when I am part of it, when I lived it, when I grew up in it, observing that fact/phenomenon, that way of doing, so what I perceive significant partiality (P4).

By addressing the interface between the scientific fields of Gastronomy and T&H, P4 was the only participant to consider Gastronomy as research sub-topic in the T&H field, although he emphasized that it has certain theoretical-methodological autonomy. The other interviewees have claimed that Gastronomy should be a proper scientific field due to its range, since tourism and hospitality do not cover enough the complexity of phenomena associated with Gastronomy (P2 and P3). In some cases, this association can even hinder Gastronomy research:

[...] it seems to me that there are always edges of Tourism and Hospitality, and it's just one of the addressed topics [...]. We still don't have high density [of researchers] in Tourism and we are trying to cover other correlated field, such as Gastronomy. [...] since Tourism is not as consolidated either, it ends up slightly disrupting Gastronomy itself (P2).

The next section summarizes results and discussions based on the approach called pressure forces, which was created to analyse the association between the scientific fields of Gastronomy and T&H.

Discussions

Based on the presented results, it was possible developing a synthesis approach, called “pressure forces”, to help better understanding the challenges, herein called “domination forces”, and the opportunities, or “heretical forces”, faced by the Gastronomy science field at the interface with T&H.

Domination forces

The domination forces identified are conditioned to the dependence on the existing formal structures of more mature fields, as in the case of T&H, for example, graduate programs (masters and PhD), professors-supervisors, journals and the weaknesses that these dependences cause in emerging fields, as Gastronomy.

Gastronomy has only one specific master's degree, recently approved at the Federal University of Ceará. For this reason, there is a clear dependence of the scientific field of Gastronomy in relation to other master's and PhD programs, especially those linked to the area of Tourism in Capes (Ferro & Rejowski, 2018), and that by themselves have a tiny amount of offer in Brazil if compared to other areas (Rejowski, Ferro & Sogayar, 2022). Even with the creation of this master's course, there is still no movement to expand this program to the doctoral level, which consequently will keep Gastronomy under the tutelage of other areas if the researcher decides to continue his or her academic training (Hegarty, 2009).

Furthermore, it is important to highlight, from the support of the contributions of Gimenes-Minasse (2020) and the P1, the relevance of the few professors-supervisors, associated with the master's and PhD degrees in Tourism and/or Hospitality, who are dedicated to Gastronomy research. These agents are largely responsible for the expansion of the scientific field of Gastronomy to the point where it is today, because of their privileged professional positions dedicated to research. However, it is necessary to remember that the professors-supervisors have training in other fields of knowledge and are associated with the areas of concentration and lines of research of their respective courses. Thus, these conditions possibly reinforce theoretical and methodological positions and habitus that are convenient for the functioning and cohesion of the scientific field of T&H. It is noteworthy that the most part of editorial board of the journals is composed of researchers in privileged positions in the field, especially the professors-supervisors, who, in turn, are conditioned to the factors already mentioned and to their respective training and professional activities.

Journals act as important tools to sustain these domination forces, since they are considered the main communication platform and measurement of scientific performance (Hall, 2011). Despite believing in the inseparability of the Gastronomy phenomena in the context of T&H (according to P4 and P5) and in the observed flexibility of themes that T&H journals cover on Gastronomy, as observed by Okumus et al. (2020), it is agreed with the P2 and P3, about the complexity of Gastronomy not being contemplated in the scopes of T&H journals. It seems to matter to the researchers of this interface under analysis the flexibility of the editorial positioning, the possibilities of readings and the effective dissemination to the scientific community dedicated to Gastronomy research. And this does not necessarily mean condescension regarding the theoretical and methodological rigor (according to P4).

Based on the interviewees' considerations, it is believed that there is a greater probability that some heretical discourses related to Gastronomy, according to the Bourdieusian point of view, will not be considered for publication, unless justifications, methods, and references widely accepted in the scientific field of T&H are used, that is, if the objects of Gastronomy are brought closer to the practices of Tourism and/or Hospitality, as commented by P3.

The weaknesses that compromise the development of the scientific field of Gastronomy are also highlighted. The first of them being related to the prioritization of the pragmatic sense, relativizing the importance of theory, and the second, to conceptual fragmentation.

There is a propensity, on the part of common sense and some part of the scientific community, to view Gastronomy strictly by the practices/techniques or by the representation of the Food & Beverage sector. This weakness is pointed out by P2 and P3 and by the results of Seyitoğlu (2019) and Kesimoğlu (2015). The genesis of the relationship between the phenomena of these fields together with the challenges of disassociating the personal and the glamorization of Gastronomy research (according to P1) seem to indicate a possible path to explain the cause of this weakness. In summary: Gastronomy is still seen almost strictly as an equipment (business in food and beverage services), especially in the sense of haute cuisine, or a tourist attraction.

As Gastronomy dates back to its emergence as a field (in a broad sense) in the 19th century, according to Ferguson (1998; 2006), and its structure was very dependent on the expansion of a bohemian lifestyle associated with tourist and hotel activities in Europe and other Western countries (Poulain, 2004; Spang, 2019), perhaps this stigma constituted in the modern era still persists today, even in the view of researchers who supposedly qualify as critical professionals within society and within a field that they intend to study.

In this sense, the habitus that determines the ways of thinking and researching Gastronomy in the scientific field of T&H is unveiled. These beliefs and epistemological positions are reinforced, and one could say sedimented, over the years by means of several mechanisms, not only in research, as presented in the contributions of Kesimoğlu (2015) and Scarpato (2002b), but especially in teaching. Since the creation of Gastronomy courses, known to be linked to Tourism and Hotel Management schools, the curricula were directed to supply the needs of the sector and the technical qualification of the labour force (Airey & Tribe, 2010). This movement may have supported the discourses that favoured the perspectives of Gastronomy in the T&H context in a utilitarian way. Wood (2007), as well as Scarpato (2002a) and Santich (2004), criticizes the Hospitality educational model in segregating the teaching of Food & Beverages from other subjects such as accommodation, services, etc. For these researchers, Food & Beverage studies are inseparable and necessary for a broader understanding of T&H.

There are several conditions that impact the conceptual fragmentation of Gastronomy observed at this interface: a myopic ontology of the phenomena; the emptying of theoretical thinking; the diversity of the researchers' backgrounds; and, finally, the disputes foreseen among researchers to determine a scientific truth in the field. In view of this exposure, the words of P2 seem to be sufficiently synthetic to explain the causes of this conceptual fragmentation: "I think that since Tourism is not so consolidated, we still end up deconstructing the Gastronomy field itself".

Heretical Forces

As mentioned by Scarpato (2002b) and supported by the statements of P2 and P3, Gastronomy tends to become a more autonomous scientific field. To this end, some heretical forces need to be put into play to formalize such advances towards autonomy and to allow critical thinking.

The amplitude of the scientific field of Gastronomy is still unknown, given the countless possibilities of theory, methods and techniques, levels of analysis of objects and associated phenomena. Another part, at first not contained in the interface with the scientific field of T&H, and latent mainly at the international level, is represented by some journals that seek perspectives at the interface with Food Science and Technology.

As mentioned by Seyitoğlu (2019) facing the inadequate number of journals dedicated to Gastronomy in the Turkish scenario, it is noticed some efforts in the Brazilian scenario for the creation of new scientific journals, which, in view of their scopes, try to embrace multi and interdisciplinary discussions that are not found in the existing journals. It is considered that this is another condition by which Gastronomy seeks a minimum of autonomy in relation to other fields, not only T&H, because these can prevent the proposition of approaches that adopt theoretical and methodological positions coming from other fields of knowledge than those with which they already have some proximity. This condition does not contribute to the development of Gastronomy as a whole. In this sense, it is agreed with P2 who states that interdisciplinarity "[...] is the way to consolidate science, to consolidate new perspectives... It is the totally inter, but mainly the transdisciplinary look, which is when one area manages to interfere in the other, bringing novelties, bringing new perspectives [...]. This is the direction that Gastronomy should take."

Furthermore, it is valid to reflect on the role of the only Master's degree in Gastronomy at the Federal University of Ceará in these heretical forces. Although this course demonstrates that the scientific field is becoming formalized with a contingent of dedicated researchers to the point of obtaining the approval of Capes for its operation, it is unknown how the interlocutions with other agents, whether from the Gastronomy field itself or from adjacent fields will occur, as pointed out by P2. It is also not known whether interdisciplinarity, which is expected for Gastronomy research, will really be prioritized in the research projects and in the scientific collaborations of the teachers and students of these courses. A more in-depth analysis of the dissertations produced and the trajectories of the professors-supervisors of this program may indicate more insights into their positioning in relation to the formalization of the scientific field of Gastronomy.

Besides the formalizations that confer scientific merit and contribute to the development of the maturity of the field as exposed so far, a few incursions in the form of critical discourses against the established habitus seem necessary, since it is easy for the dominant agents of more mature adjacent fields to transfer the rules of the game of capital distribution to the field of Gastronomy.

Conclusions

The current study has investigated challenges and opportunities associated with the process to mature the scientific field of Gastronomy, based on its interface with the scientific field of Tourism & Hospitality in Brazil. Five leading researchers focused on investigating Gastronomy in the scientific field of T&H were interviewed. Data analysis enabled developing a theoretical and visual model to explain the pressure forces (heretical and domination forces) currently in place in the scientific field of Gastronomy (see Figure 1) in its interface with the scientific field of T&H.

The current research has direct implications for the development of the theoretical and scientific field of Gastronomy, not only in the Brazilian scenario, but also likely in international projections. It corroborates efforts to define Gastronomy as scientific field, highlights the habitus and objective conditions underlying its scientific production in adjacent fields and enables a critical perspective on positions taken by agents and their contributions to the autonomy of Gastronomy as scientific field.

The results and discussion can be visually represented and summarized in Figure 1. The figure presents the two fields under analysis, T&H and Gastronomy, pointing out opposing forces that generate movements of domination, which intend to integrate Gastronomy increasingly into T&H; or of autonomy, which aim for a certain autonomy on the part of the Gastronomy field.

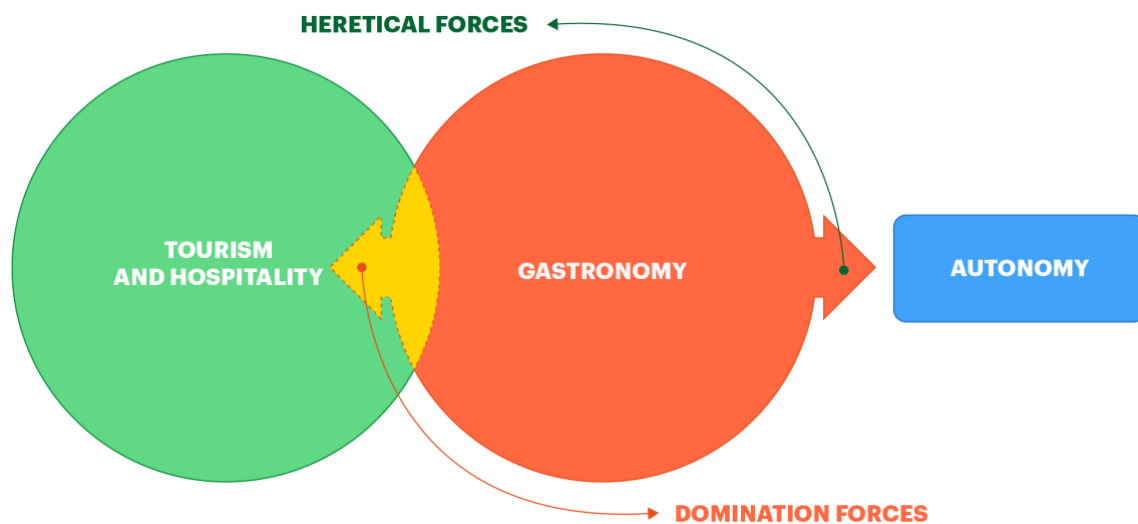


Figure 1. Pressure Forces in The Maturation of The Scientific Field of Gastronomy

Thus, it is understood that the T&H field, represented by its current researchers and by the prevailing scientific habitus, makes efforts to create and manage mechanisms of domination over the scientific making, that is, of acquisition and distribution of scientific capital when it intends to study Gastronomy, which consequently limits it as a complex and comprehensive scientific field. These forces of domination are understood as consequences of the very trajectory of formation and systematic generation and ordering of knowledge of the scientific field of T&H, as Tribe (2006) and Tribe and Liburd (2016) exposed, and the dependence that Gastronomy still has for some formal structures of more mature fields.

The T&H field, which is represented by its active researchers and current scientific habitus, makes efforts to create and manage mechanisms of domination over scientific practice, i.e., of scientific capital acquisition and distribution (Bourdieu, 1975; 2004), at the time to investigate Gastronomy, which limits it as an interdisciplinary and broad scientific field. These domination forces are a consequence of the very trajectory of formation of the interface

between these fields and the dependence that Gastronomy still has on some formal structures of the T&H field. The following domination forces were identified: dependence on master's and doctoral courses, and supervisors whose research lines do not directly deal with Gastronomy; inflexibility of journal editorial scopes; disguised obligation to use certain theoretical-methodological references; conceptual and methodological deficiencies; and reductionist and pragmatic view of Gastronomy.

On the other hand, there is a trend towards the configuration of Gastronomy as a scientific field that is more autonomous from other fields, which requires that the researchers dedicated to it organise themselves to critically examine the habitus established in adjacent scientific fields and appropriate the mechanisms of acquisition and distribution of scientific capital, create and manage their own rules of the game of doing science.

It is necessary rethinking the entire educational logic and discourses observed at different Gastronomy education levels, as well as understanding the need of substantiating the Gastronomy phenomenon with theory and of rethinking its ontological understanding (P2 and P3; Albeniz, 2021), by stripping it from prejudices formed in the common sense and in the genesis of phenomena capable of biasing the way Gastronomy is seen by researchers, even after years of research conducted in this interface. While this discussion does not take place at the heart of the scientific community, it remains a domination force capable of repressing the complex nature of Gastronomy.

As mentioned by Scarpato (2002a; 2002b), and corroborated by P2 and P3, there is this trend to turn Gastronomy into a more autonomous scientific field, although not isolated, and it requires researchers to organize themselves to critically assess the habitus established in adjacent scientific fields and to take ownership of mechanisms used to acquire and distribute scientific capital. In order to do so, some heretical forces should be put in place to formalize such advances towards autonomy, namely: gathering a group of qualified researchers focused on investigating Gastronomy (still at early stage in master's and doctorate programs in adjacent fields); launching interdisciplinary journals, as well as master's and doctoral programs (or research lines) dedicated to Gastronomy; promoting the range and complexity of Gastronomy-related phenomena.

Thus, understanding the so-called disciplinary structures (Becher & Trowler, 2001), as well as the rules of the scientific capital acquisition and distribution game (Bourdieu, 1975), enables having a critical perspective on positions taken by agents and their contributions to enable Gastronomy to have a certain autonomy degree as scientific field.

Further research should be conducted to overcome some of the observed limitations. These new studies should interview a larger number of researchers, although Gastronomy is an emerging and sparsely populated field in Brazil; adopt other theoretical lenses, such as "power", "archaeology of knowledge" or "truth" by Foucault (1979) or "actor-network theory" by Latour (1996); be carried out in other countries or locations; focus on a more in-depth study about the trajectory of researchers belonging to this interface, with emphasis on their contributions and positions towards and in this field.

Some recommendations are presented below in order to guide the process to mature the scientific field of Gastronomy:

- Adopting and interrelating multiple theoretical-methodological perspectives in Gastronomy research, i.e., prioritizing multi-, interdisciplinary and, likely, transdisciplinary research;
- Valuing rigor and conceptual, epistemological and methodological coherence in Gastronomy research;
- Restructuring the curricular components of higher education courses in Gastronomy by incorporating scientific research and improving the theoretical-practical relationship;
- Proposing and encouraging the launching of research lines or master's and doctoral courses in Gastronomy;
- Launching and supporting quality journals specialized in Gastronomy and providing opportunities to often publish thematic dossiers on Gastronomy in prestigious journals belonging to adjacent scientific fields;
- Promoting Gastronomy beyond its pragmatic dimension, as well as possibilities to interface this field with other scientific communities.

Declaration of interest statement

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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