



The gastronomic tourist potential of the Pantanal region from the perspective of the residents

El potencial turístico gastronómico de la región del Pantanal desde la perspectiva de los residentes

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Abstract

The tourist region of Pantanal is explored having a diversity of tourist products. The typical food has a great potential to be transformed into a product, due to the traditions, forms of occupation and housing, with indigenous, colonizers and explorers' influences, as well as all the cultural identities present in the territory, denoting the appreciation of local identity. From this perspective, it was detected in loco that the gastronomy is little explored in tourism, being only a component that adds value to the main tourist product of the region, the tourism linked to nature and all its forms of consumption. From this context, the aim of this research was to identify the gastronomic tourist potential from the perception of the residents about the typical dishes that can be considered tourist products. As methodological procedures, it was used literature and document review, with exploratory research with qualitative and quantitative approach. A questionnaire was subsequently analyzed with simple percentage technique. For the qualitative data, it was used the Content Analysis technique (CA) of Bardin (2011). As result, the typical dishes of Pantanal were identified and the emergence of new dishes considered typical by the residents. And for the residents reconstruct the identity of some dishes can help to preserve the originality arising from the cultural history, and this, understood as fundamental for the residents of the region, since they preserve the history of this territory.

Key words:

Pantanal, typical food, cultural identity, Pantanal culture.

Resumen

La región turística del Pantanal es explorada con una diversidad de productos turísticos. La comida típica tiene un gran potencial para ser transformada en un producto, debido a las tradiciones, formas de ocupación y vivienda, con influencias indígenas y colonizadoras, y todas las demás identidades culturales presentes en el territorio, que denota la apreciación de la identidad local. Desde esta perspectiva, se detectó in loco que la gastronomía se explora de forma turística muy reducida, siendo sólo un componente del principal producto turístico de la región, que es el turismo vinculado a la naturaleza y todas sus formas de espectacularización y consumo. A partir de este contexto, esta investigación tuvo como objetivo general identificar el potencial turístico gastronómico a partir de la percepción de los residentes sobre los platos típicos que pueden ser considerados productos turísticos. Como procedimientos metodológicos, se optó por una revisión bibliográfica y documental, con una investigación exploratoria de enfoque cuali-cuantitativo. Se aplicó un cuestionario y posteriormente se analizaron los con la técnica del porcentaje simple. Para los datos cualitativos, se utilizó la técnica de Análisis de Contenido (AC) de Bardin (2011). Como resultado, se identificaron los platos típicos del Pantanal y la aparición de nuevos platos considerados típicos por los residentes. Y para los residentes reconstruir la identidad de algunos platos puede ayudar a preservar la originalidad que surge de la historia cultural, y esto, entendido como fundamental para los residentes de la región, ya que preservan la historia de este territorio.

Palabras clave:

Pantanal, comida típica, identidad cultural, cultura del Pantanal.

Introduction

Two tourist regions in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil stand out on the international scene, attracting tourists from different nationalities searching for tourism with focus on nature and its landscapes. According to Fundação de Turismo do Estado do Mato Grosso do Sul (FUNDTUR/MS, 2021), the tourist regions of Bonito/Serra da Bodoquena and Pantanal have significant tourism offer and demand variables with the potential to achieve robust growth rates.

In relation to the Pantanal tourist region, object of this study, it has one of the most known biomes in Brazil and 65% of its territory is located in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul. According to Radambrasil (1982), Prance and Schaller (1982) and Silva and Abdnon (1998), this biome is considered one of the largest in the world in wetlands, being also the largest flood area in South America. It is one of the most known ecosystems in Brazil, it has a diversity of fauna and flora, with a territory recognized internationally as a Biosphere Reserve and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, 2000).

With these characteristics, Pantanal is able to create a consolidated tourist image in national and international tourism, however, there is the need in order to create and promote new tourist products and a tourism governance plan that enables conditions to provide visibility to this territory and special biome. The municipalities of Aquidauana, Miranda and Corumbá are part of the Pantanal tourist region. Together, according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2020) the estimated population of this geographic region is 188 207 people, with a low demographic density, with an average of 2.98 inhab/km².

The region is touristically explored by a diversity of tourist products such as fishing tourism, ecotourism, adventure tourism, cultural and historical tourism, sport events tourism and sports tourism (Castilho, Bonfim, Oliveira Neto and Chavez, 2021). The territory of Pantanal has a unique occupation in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul, in addition to the traditional indigenous riverine 'hunter-gatherers-fishermen', from the ethnic groups of Paiguás [extinct], Bororos Ocidentais [extinct], Guató, Guaranis Kaiowá, Guaranis Nandeva, Chamacoco, Kadiwéu and Terenas (Bespalez, 2015; SOS Pantanal, 2021), there is also the most recent occupation from internal migrations in Brazil that gave rise to the identity of the Pantanal people. In this sense, the aforementioned territory has a population with different habits that advocate their ways of life, knowledge and practices and give life to the Pantanal culture.

Among the local peculiarities, the local gastronomy and its typical dishes have a diversified formation that comes from its housing and occupation process throughout its history. DaMatta (1986) and Montanari (2010) emphasize that food is not just a food, but a way, a style, a form, that is, it is culture. Montanari (2010) also adds that food is the result of an identity, being an instrument for the expression and communication of man and his environment. Thus, the typical local food of Pantanal, presents a great potential to be transformed into a product that adds value to the tourist region, due to traditions, forms of occupation and housing, with influences from indigenous, colonizers and all cultural identities present in the territory. However, it was detected *in loco* that the gastronomy is explored for tourism in a very limited way, being just one component of the main tourist product in the region, which is tourism linked to nature and all its forms of consumption. From this context, this research aimed to identify the gastronomic tourism potential based on the residents' perception on the typical dishes that can be considered tourist products.

In this sense, the 'perception of the subject' who occupies a given tourist space and their relationship of experience with their lived world is valued. According to Corrêa:

This perception is based on subjectivity, intuition, feelings, experience, symbolism and contingency, privileging the singular and not the particular or the universal and, instead of explanation, it has in understanding the basis of intelligibility of the real world (2001: 30).

Still, it was listed as specificity to unveil which are the typical dishes and their relationship with the local cultural identity. Based on these objectives, this research was based on several phases and methodological procedures. After this introduction, this research has the following structure: theoretical framework, methodological procedures, analysis and discussion of the results, and finally, the final considerations.

Identity and social imaginaries

In recent years, there has been an appreciation of gastronomy as a consumer product related to new experiences. A significant fact of this development, it clashes with the growth of gastronomic reality shows on open and closed television channels in Brazil (Chavez & Dantas, 2020) and this contribute to the association with new gastronomic experiences in tourism and leisure travel.

According to Sant'Anna (2003), the gastronomy gained visibility with reality shows, and is linked to "glamour", "exacerbation", "aesthetics", "sophistication" serving different spectacles of contemporary society. This logic meets the precepts of the hyper consumption society, defended by Lipovetsky (2017: 203), as "tasting dishes is no longer enough: the table should be an occasion for a trip, for a kind of kinesthetic experience in order to provide satisfaction to the senses". Relegated to this philosophical metaphor, it can be observed the growth of the media specialized in tourism, which emphasizes the gastronomic experiences in tourist destinations. Thus, gastronomy has been considered and worked by many public tourism managers, as a tourist product that awakens sensations, flavors, colors, odors and eating habits, denoting the cultural identity of a population and/or region.

Gimenes (2003) endorses that gastronomy and its related activities are very important for tourist activity. Gimenes (2003) also argues that gastronomy is an essential service to tourism, being characterized as a tourist attraction in several locations.

Gastronomy and its interfaces related to tourist activity have been investigated with more emphasis in recent years in Brazil, such as Locks & Tonini (2005), Ferro (2013), Peccini (2013), Martins, Costa & Baptista (2017), Kovalesski, Coutinho & Horodyski (2018), Costa (2018), Neves (2019), Ataides, Cunha & Santos (2019), Ferreira & Oliveira (2019). There are several lines of investigation already pointed out by Aguiar, Melo & Eusébio (2020) and Minasse (2020) in a bibliometric review on the research carried out in the area. Regarding the development of a territory related to gastronomy, there are several development interfaces, with a focus on gastronomic tourism and its direct and indirect relationships to the increase of the production of consumption and services. According to Martins, Gurgel & Martins (2016), the use of the word "gastronomic tourism" is observed in order to conceptualize and value the cuisine of a tourist destination, not only as an attraction, but also as a consumer product for tourists

and their experience with the lived world. In the Pantanal of Mato Grosso do Sul, there is a gastronomic heritage formed by various historical phases and influences from traditional peoples and individuals who colonized, explored and occupied the territory over the years.

South Pantanal, Identity, Culture and Gastronomy

The traditional peoples from South Pantanal, together with the most recent occupation of non-indigenous people, contributed to the formation of the culture of the Pantanal. This culture is formed by a diversity of indigenous ethnic groups and colonizers from different countries (for example: Portugal, Spain) and from various regions of Brazil and their colonial heritages (1500-1822). Finocchio (1998), Nogueira (2009), Ribeiro & Moretti (2012) corroborate this statement, highlighting that the culture of the Pantanal is historically connected to the explorers and colonizers such as Bandeirantes¹ (from 1600), Northeasterners² (from 1890), Mestiços,³ Paraguayans⁴ (from 1864) and Bolivians (from 1950)⁵ who sought opportunities for growth, housing and work conditions in the territory. According to Finocchio (1998), the influence of different ethnicities, uses, customs, provided a cultural legacy to the Pantanal people, who has been adapting his way of life historically over the past few years, which somehow influenced habits food and the construction of an identity of food practices in Pantanal. Maciel argues that: "The cuisine of a people is created in a historical process that articulates a set of elements referenced in tradition, in the sense of creating something unique-particular, singular and recognizable" (2004: 27).

In this sense, eating habits have a significant dimension of the lived world and the cultural practices of the region. In the context of food in Pantanal, it is necessary to understand the occupation of this territory and its historical, geographic and environmental characteristics that guided the way of eating in Pantanal. The first inhabitants of the South Pantanal were the indigenous (native people), as according to Oliveira (1999: 15), "archaeological research attests that the indigenous occupation in Pantanal began at least around 8000 BP".⁶ Before the arrival of non-indigenous peoples to the Pantanal territory, the region was occupied in different periods by indigenous peoples in the process of migration from other South American territories. According to Eremites de Oliveira (2003: 79), archaeological research carried out in the Pantanal territory indicates that it "became effectively occupied from three thousand years ago".

1 Between the 17th and 18th centuries, expeditions of territorial exploration took place in Colonial Brazil. Expeditions were organized by the government (entries) and by private individuals (Bandeirantes). The entries were official expeditions organized by the government that left the Coast of São Paulo towards the interior of Brazil. The Bandeirantes were expeditions organized and financed by private individuals, mainly from São Paulo. Bandeirantes departed from the Coast of São Paulo and the Capital (São Paulo) towards the central-west and south regions of Brazil. The main objective of the entries was to map the Brazilian territory, mainly the interior. This mapping was forwarded to Portugal with the aim of facilitating the colonization of the interior of Brazil. The main purpose was to discover gold, silver and precious stones. The entrances acted in the fight against indigenous groups that offered resistance to the colonizers. The Bandeirantes attacked the Jesuit reductions by capturing indigenous people, who would be sold as slaves. Source: Carvalho, F. (1940). Flags and Bandeirantes of São Paulo. <https://bdor.sibi.ufrj.br/bitstream/doc/265/1/181%20PDF%20-%20OCR%20-%20RED.pdf>.

2 Migrants from the northeast region of Brazil.

3 Mixed races: indigenous and black, indigenous and white, black and white, indigenous and non-indigenous.

4 Migrants from Paraguay, a Country that borders Brazil through the State of Paraná and Mato Grosso do Sul.

5 Migrants from Bolivia, a Country bordering Brazil through the states of Mato Grosso do Sul and Mato Grosso.

6 BP: It was a planetary phase of heat increase, generically designated by this term (Optimum Climaticum) in which the polar glaciers and mountain ranges dissolved.

According to Oliveira(1999), human occupation was intensified after the Optimun Climaticum, as that was when the Pantanal became a geologically diversified region, and it can offer better conditions for subsistence (fishing, hunting and gathering). In this way, the traditional peoples, who based their way of life as 'hunter-gatherers-fishermen' settled in the region, such as the riverine indigenous peoples of the ethnic groups of Paiaguás [extinct], Bororos Ocidentais [extinct], Guatós, Guaranis Kaiowá, Guaranis Nandeva, Chamacoco, Kadiwéu and Terenas (Bespalez, 2015).

According to Esselin(2019), the first non-indigenous people to arrive in the territory of South Pantanal were the Spaniards in the year of 1600. Esselin (2019) points out that the Spaniards founded the city of Santiago de Xerez on the banks of the Aquidauana River, as a way of protecting a territorial strip that belonged to them by the Treaty of Tordesillas.⁷ Afterwards, the decay of the Spanish occupation, the Jesuits arrived around the year of 1631, with the purpose of missionary service and not as colonizers. (Esselin, 2019). The same author (2019) also adds that the 'mamelucos'⁸ from São Paulo followed the Jesuit incursions and began to enslave the indigenous people. During this period, between the mid-16th and 17th centuries, the first cattle herds were introduced by colonizers and religious people from the Jesuit missions, with specimens from Asunción in Paraguay (Esselin, 2011).

It should be noted that until the Treaty of Madrid ⁹(1750), the current territory of the State of Mato Grosso do Sul belonged to the Spanish colony and thus, peoples from Brazil, Paraguay and Bolivia circulated with some intensity in the Pantanal region, which occupies part of these three countries.

According to reports by Taunay(1925) pointed out by Esselin (2019), the people from the State of São Paulo (Paulistas), searching for new territories, arrived in Cuiabá (State of Mato Grosso), where they got to find indigenous people labor and gold on the banks of Coxipó River. The veins of gold attracted people from São Paulo and Minas Gerais to the region of Cuiabá, and in this way the local settlement began (Trubiliano, 2014). The settlement led to the first introductions of cattle in the region of Poconé, Cáceres and Livramento after the gold depletion. The same author (2014) mentions that it was only after 1830 that the settlement of non-indigenous people in the south of the province of Mato Grosso began. According to Zanata: "The proliferation of cattle in the region was due to the departure of farms from the interior of these centers after conflicts with 'mamelucos' from São Paulo who sought to capture indigenous labor" (2015: 157).

7 The Treaty of Tordesillas was an agreement signed on June 7, 1494 in the city of Tordesillas in Spain by the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. The two kingdoms disputed land and maritime routes even before the discovery of America. These disputes were accentuated with the discovery of the new continent, making the kingdom of Portugal feel wronged and threatened to go to war against the kingdom of Spain. The agreement had the following objectives: to maintain peace between the kingdoms; avoid war between Spain and Portugal for the domain of the new lands found in the South Atlantic; Delimiting an imaginary line between the two kingdoms so that America could be explored, without one or the other kingdom invading or exploiting the territory of the other. Source: Santos, Stephani (2023). Treaty of Tordesillas, everything about this international agreement. <https://www.politize.com.br/tratado-de-tordesillas>.

8 Mixture of white people and indigenous.

9 The Treaty of Madrid was an agreement signed on January 13, 1750 in the City of Madrid in Spain between the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain. This agreement was carried out with the aim of resolving border territory disputes between the Portuguese and Spanish colonies in America. In this agreement, the principle of "uti possidetis" was established, which determined that some territories would be in possession of those who occupied them. With that, Portugal expanded its Portuguese territory in America. A consequence of this treaty was the Guarani War. Source: National Archives and Luso-Brazilian history. The Treaty of Madrid. http://historialuso.an.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4215:o-tratado-de-madri&catid=191&Itemid=215.

According to Zanata (2015), the Rusga in 1834¹⁰ prompted a contingent of people from Cuiabá region to migrate to the Pantanal region, where they found herds of wild cattle living freely in the wild way. Trubiliano (2014: 176) cites that “the farmers from Poconé –migrants from the north to the south– expanded their domains to the south of Mato Grosso”, and he also says that they settled “in the Pantanal region”, being entourages of people from Cuiabá, Poconé, Livramento and Cáceres, and they ended up founding large land properties.

Esselin (2011) highlights that the late colonization of the territory of Pantanal and consequently the difficulties imposed by the transport favored the development of livestock on large farms. Zanata (2015) also mentions that the first non-indigenous settlements in the South Pantanal emerged with the emergence of the first properties and with occupation fronts on all sides. Zanata mentions that:

In addition to fishermen, small farmers and former soldiers who abandoned the forts after the Triple Alliance War (1865-1870), the incursion of Paraguayan immigrants in the search for better living conditions due to the devastation of their country at the end of this conflict, made it possible the relationship of different cultures in the interior of the Pantanal region (2015: 158).

It is important to understand that this Pantanal culture was formed over the years, from all these aspects of occupation of the territory. In the context of Pantanal food, Dória and Bastos (2018) highlighted a reflection about the ‘caipira’ identity of Brazil and also endorse that this ‘caipira’ culture is always ashamed, hidden, something that is not made explicit and nor is it celebrated. Unlike other regional identities that value the colonizers and their cultures, the interior of Brazil (from the interior of São Paulo to Mato Grosso), the rustic culture is occasioned by the pejorative bias denoted in the construction of the deleterious image built over the years (Dória & Bastos, 2018). The authors (2018) still discuss that the ‘caipira’ culture is associated with the character Jeca-Tatu by Monteiro Lobato who presented how the ‘mumbava’ man, dirty, bad, slow, simple-minded, backward, synonymous with an agrarian past among others that need to be overcome in modern times. Bertelli (1998) emphasizes that the people from Pantanal and its cultural identity is closer to the ‘caboclo’ from São Paulo than those from the States of Minas Gerais or Rio Grande do Sul. Bertelli (1998) also highlights that due to the difficulties imposed by the territory, the Pantanal people learned to take care of cattle, hunt, fish and be canoeist. It is in this particular world that the local identity was built. Souza on cultural identity, shows that:

It is seen as a form of collective identity characteristic of a social group that shares the same attitudes and it is supported by a past with a projected collective ideal. It sticks as an established social construct and makes individuals feel closer and more alike (2003: 2).

In this sense, the construction of typical dishes from the Pantanal tourist region is based, with a peculiar heritage and traditions of the simple man and native peoples. Gimenes mentions that:

Typical dishes (or typical foods) are understood, therefore, as integral elements of the regional cuisine that emerge from this broader set for numerous reasons (practice, association with another cultural practice, association with certain celebrations) and they are now reproduced with symbolic purpose and they can be tasted, as long as the dish has content capable of allowing such an experience (2008: 48).

In this way, the typical dishes or foods from Pantanal emerge in the most varied forms and reasons. From the original indigenous peoples, according to Proença (1992) it is characterized by the use of cassava, fish, palm hearts, annatto oil and corn. The author (1992) also argues that from the Paiaguás people came the heritage of the Pantanal fish with cassava and banana, in addition to some drinks such as xibé. Dishes such as the Pantaneiro Caribéu, Hi-hi and all the foods related to the Pantanal rivers came from the indigenous people who still occupy the Pantanal region, such as piranha (*Pygocentrus*) soup and the fish roasted on a banana leaf, as shown in table 1.

Table 1. Dishes with indigenous peoples' origins

Typical Dish	Characteristics
Pantanal Fish	Fish prepared with a mixture of flour, cassava, water and honey.
Xibé	Cassava with minced hunting meat prepared by the Terenas indigenous people. Later, Bandeirantes replaced the hunting meat with jerky meat (dried meat). Nowadays, the dish is for the people who work in the delegations that cross the Pantanal region.
Hi-hi	Cassava biscuit cooked and rolled with banana leaves and 'bocaiúva'. In other regions of Brazil, there are similarities, the dish is known in the adaptations as 'pamonha' and made with corn.
Piranha Soup	The fish is prepared as a soup. According to the local legends, it is an aphrodisiac.
Fish roasted on a banana leaf	Pacu fish (<i>Piaractus mesopotamicus</i>) or Piraputanga (<i>Brycon microlepis</i>) fish baked in a banana leaf.

Source: Elaboration the authors (2021). Proença (1992). Interviews and documents from the Municipal Tourism Secretariats (Secretarias Municipais de Turismo) of the Municipalities (2021).

There are also typical dishes of the Terenas indigenous people that are not adapted to the entire population of the Pantanal region, but they are widely consumed in local villages, such as 'ho é' (roasted fish with combari pepper), 'iaparé' (cassava cake), 'pórel' (cassava soup), 'ossoiuti xupu' (roasted cassava) and 'ossoiuti coeé' (roasted potatoes) (Cândido, Pereira & Araújo, 2011; A Crítica, 2021).

From the various occupations that affected the Pantanal region in its several historical phases, the cultural influence of traditional peoples and those originating from Paraguayan and Bolivian, Portuguese from the Southern Brazil, southerners of Brazil,¹¹ Cuiabana, Poconeana and Librementana¹² regions stands out (Leite, 2004). According to Leite (2004), the original Paraguayan peoples who occupied and inhabit the Pantanal South territory it is included Puchero, Chipá Guassú, Locro, São Josu Py, Paraguayan Soup, Chipa, Cumandá Quesú and the drink called Tereré, as shown in the table 2.

11 Influence of the colonization of southern Brazil composed of Portuguese, Italians, Germans and other nationalities.

12 Brazilians who occupied the territory in the northern region of the Pantanal and Cuibá (Current State of Mato Grosso).

Table 2. Typical dishes wiht Paraguayan origin

Typical Dish	Characteristics
Puchero	Beef stew with bones and vegetables.
Chipá Guassú	Corn pie with cheese.
Locro	Stew containing meat, hominy and watercress.
Sôo Josu Py	Minced meat soup.
Sopa Paraguaia	Flavored cornmeal pie with onion and cheese. It is traditionally consumed during Holy Week before Easter.
Chipa	Donut made with cheese, powder, egg and lard in the shape of horseshoe.
Cumandá Quesú	Green bean soup with cheese.
Tereré	Yerba mate drink served with ice water. Currently, there are herbs with different flavors.

Source: Elaboration the authors (2021). Leite (2004), Cândido, Pereira & Araújo (2011). Interviews and documents from the Municipal Tourism Secretariats (Secretarias Municipais de Turismo) of the Municipalities (2021).

According to Leite (2004), the contribution of the native peoples from Bolivia is in Chicha and Saltenha dishes. In addition to these dishes, Costa (2012) also highlights the presence of Bolivian Rice and/or Sauce. The three typical foods inherited from Bolivian culture are already part of the daily lives of residents of Corumbá and Ladário, even sold in bars and restaurants in these cities, as shown in table 3.

Table 3. Typical Bolivian dishes

Typical Dish	Characteristics
Chicha	Juice made with corn or peanuts. Can be consumed as juice or with alcohol.
Saltenha	Baked patty made with chicken, olives, raisins and gelatin. Its initial origin is associated with Salta in Argentina. It is a popular patty in Bolivia.
Arroz Boliviano Bolivian Rice	Rice cooked with spices and ingredients such as potatoes, peas, minced meat and plantain.

Source: Elaboration: the authors (2021). Leite (2004), Costa (2012). Interviews and documents from the Municipal Tourism Secretariats (Secretarias Municipais de Turismo) of the Municipalities (2021).

From Portugal, the influence is in the following dishes: Sarrabulho and/or Sarravulho and transformed by Corumbá people into a typical and/or popular gastronomy dish (Leite, 2004), as shown in table 4.

Table 4. Typical dishes with Portuguese origin

Typical Dish	Characteristics
Sarrabulho and/or Sarravulho	In Portugal, the dishes are based on pork and in the Pantanal the dish was adapted with offal with wine, pepperoni sausage, paio and olives.

Source: Elaboration the authors (2021). Leite (2004). Interviews and documents from the Municipal Tourism Secretariats (Secretarias Municipais de Turismo) of the Municipalities (2021).

From the internal immigrations that brought Brazilians from the other regions to Pantanal, in the typical diet there is the contribution of the people from Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná with the dish based on rice called *carreteiro* (Isquerdo, 2013). Proença (1992) highlights that from the culture of the inhabitants of the region of Cuiabá, Poconé and Livramento, it was inherited *Guaraná Ralado*, *Licor de Pequi*, *Furrundu*, *Pacu Fish* (roasted, fried or stewed), *Rice Cake*, *Maria Izabel* and *Paçoca de Carne Seca*.

According to Silva (2009), Silva, Marques and Marini (2012), the Pulador Village and Anastácio Village Restaurants have one of the largest representations from the Northeast region of Brazil in Pantanal. However, Silva (2009) also mentions that Miranda and Corumbá also have a marked presence of the Northeasterners. The northeastern cuisine, therefore, has a strong presence in flavors, colors and recipes in Pantanal Sul region. Silva (2009) argues that the artisanal production of cassava flour is the most valued in the State. All these dishes can be analyzed in table 5.

Table 5. Typical dishes from the origin of internal migrations in Brazil

Typical Dish	Characteristics
Arroz Carreteiro	Southern Brazil – Dish prepared with rice, dried meat and/or jerked beef (<i>charque</i>), sauteed with plenty of fat, garlic and onion.
Guaraná Ralado	Mato Grosso – Guaraná freshly grated and used by many on an empty stomach, with the objective of renewing and have more energy and good health. The fruit is rich in stimulants derived from xanthine.
Licor de Pequi	Mato Grosso – Pequi is a fruit from the Brazilian Cerrado biome. It is cultivated in the transition region of the Cerrado and Pantanal biome.
Furrundu	Mato Grosso – Candy/ jelly made with green papaya, brown sugar and cinnamon.
Pacu Assado	Mato Grosso – Made from the Pacu Fish rib. Roasted or grilled fish is seasoned with coarse salt, lemon and garlic.
Pacu Frito	Mato Grosso – Pacu fish rib breaded with flour and egg. Fried until golden.
Pacu Ensopado	Mato Grosso – Pacu fish stew. Seasoned with lemon and salt. Later cooked with vegetables.
Farinha do Pulador	Northeast – Cassava flour made in the Northeastern style.
Sobá	Japanese dish – Adapted in the city of Campo Grande by Japanese migrations, and soon expanded to Pantanal. The dish includes pasta, omelet, pork meat, chives and a broth with typical spices.
Espeto de carne	Interior of the South region – meat skewers with rice, vinaigrette, cooked cassava, seasoned flour and garlic sauce.

Source: Elaboration the authors (2021). Proença (1992). Silva (2009). Silva, Marques e Marini (2012). Isquerdo (2013). Interviews and documents from the Municipal Tourism Secretariats (Secretarias Municipais de Turismo) of the Municipalities (2021).

Still about other typical dishes from Pantanal, according to Proença (1992) and Cesco (2012), from the labor of the Pantanal man, who is part of the Pantanal culture, *Quebra Torto*, *Macarrão de Boiadeiro*, *Comida de Comitiva* and also the *Pantaneiro Barbecue*. Machado Neto, Nascimento & Maranhão

(2011: 150) point out that Pantanal barbecue is “characterized by beef, Pantanal sausage, roasted on embers arranged in a hole under a bamboo grid”, they further emphasize that it is consumed “in days when they meat, parties, weddings and moments of fraternization in agricultural auctions”. All these dishes and foods are part of the experience of the Pantaneiro man (cattleman who does the handling of the cattle and transports the cattle through delegations), who incorporated other foods into their daily life, especially during the Pantanal delegations, according to table 6.

Table 6. Typical Pantanal dishes/Pantanal delegations

Typical Dish	Characteristics
Quebra Torto	It is a ritual of the Pantaneiro man's first meal. Burnt mate is included and goes with the 'sujinho', which is a minced meat, leftovers from Pantaneiro barbecue seasoned, braised and mixed with flour. It also accompanies the dried meat with seasoned flour (farofa), the fried cheese cake (dust, egg and cheese) and 'engasga gato' (mate burned on the coals in which water is added).
Comida de comitiva	It consists of several dishes, including rice, carreteiro, cowboy pasta, fatty beans and dried meat. Other common accompaniments are coffee, jerky and brown sugar candy. The pasta is prepared with dried meat and broth.
Pantaneiro Barbecue and/or Ground Barbecue	It is prepared with several kinds of meats such as termite meat (seasoned with salt and left in the sun for three hours), flank steak (cured in the open) and Pantanal sausage. In order to make the Pantaneiro barbecue, the Pantaneiro man makes a square hole in the ground where the coals are placed. At the top is placed a bamboo grid and the meats are roasted under this grid.

Source: Elaboration the authors (2021). Proença (1992). Cesco (2012). Machado Neto, Nascimento & Maranhão (2011). Interviews and documents from the Municipal Tourism Secretariats (Secretarias Municipais de Turismo) of the Municipalities (2021).

Nogueira (1990) adds the importance of the typical artifacts of the region used to serve and prepare some typical dishes and drinks. The 'guampa' is mentioned, which is the tip of the bovine horn worked and carved with a wooden cut at the ends. According to Nogueira (1990), this artifact is a striking element in the hospitality of the Pantanal man who uses it to drink 'tereré', a typical drink from the region and Paraguay. Nogueira (1990) also argues that the 'tereré' circle is considered a symbol of commensality in the Pantanal, as it brings together the Pantanal man in a space of local sociability.

It was observed that the gastronomy of a territory flanked by different occupation influences favors the maintenance and preservation of the subject's cultural identity and his/her space. Silva (2009) denotes that cuisine expresses the culture of a people, even with changes over time and space, carrying the historical bases and the ingredients of his/her origin. Ortiz goes further in his notes, reaffirming that “Every identity is defined in relation to something that is external to it, it is a difference [...] However, identity has another dimension, which is internal. Saying that we are different is not enough, it is necessary to show what we identify with” (1994: 8-9).

These postulates contribute to the local identity and the gastronomic tourism, as according to Martins and Martins (2016) it can be an important vector of economic development of a region.

As Poulain (2003) says, people do not just eat what nature makes available to them, but it is people's disposition and choices that lead them to organize their relationship with their social space, that is, with the nature of the environment, its territory and its lived world. In this sense, according to Castells, identity is the source of meaning and experience of a people. The construction of local food is linked to this relationship, as the "identity is a process of construction of meaning based on a cultural attribute, or even, a set of interrelated cultural attributes, which(s) prevails over other sources of meaning" (2000: 22).

This rereading denotes the following the reflection that is very important for the recovery of customs and traditions. According to Cesco (2012), even though the dishes are prepared in a differentiated and evolved way, the components of typical local cuisine from Pantanal are preserved in the production of dishes on farm hotels. In this way, the culinary artifacts, ingredients and recipes come from this symbolic construction of a man from the interior, from dealing with the cattle, from the cultural exchanges between indigenous and non-indigenous people in the territory.

According to Mascarenhas & Gândara (2010: 779), "gastronomic tourism, therefore, can be understood as a form of cultural tourism that allows to know the habits and way of life of the community visited through its gastronomic representations". It is important to understand that this preservation is linked to the precepts of sustainability, as it values food produced by different means of production in the Pantanal territory. According to Montanari (2010: 141) "the territory constitutes an absolute reference value in food choices" and the author goes further, citing that typical and regional cuisines are processes of slow fusions and miscegenations, as is the case of the Pantanal, triggered in border areas and later rooted in the territories as emblems of local authenticity. It is through this challenge that the residents' perception of identity, memory and social imaginaries regarding the typical local food of the Pantanal can be unveiled.

Methodological procedures

The methodological procedures adopted for this investigation were postulated in several stages, due to the complexity of the Pantanal tourist region. The first one was based on a bibliographic and documentary survey from primary and secondary sources on the theme and its general characteristics related to identity and tourism, relating gastronomy, gastronomic products and tourist potential. According to Fonseca (2002), this type of research is carried out through a survey of theoretical references that have already been analyzed and published by written and electronic means, such as books, scientific articles among others.

The research focused on a qualitative and quantitative approach, as it has steps that complement each other from the qualitative and quantitative precepts. According to Minayo (1997), the quantitative and qualitative treatments of the results can be complementary, enriching the analysis and final discussions. Complementing this analysis, Creswell (2007) points out that the distinction between quantitative and qualitative is a broad understanding on the definition of epistemological assumptions, strategies and methods, and in this case, it resides in the number-words dichotomy.

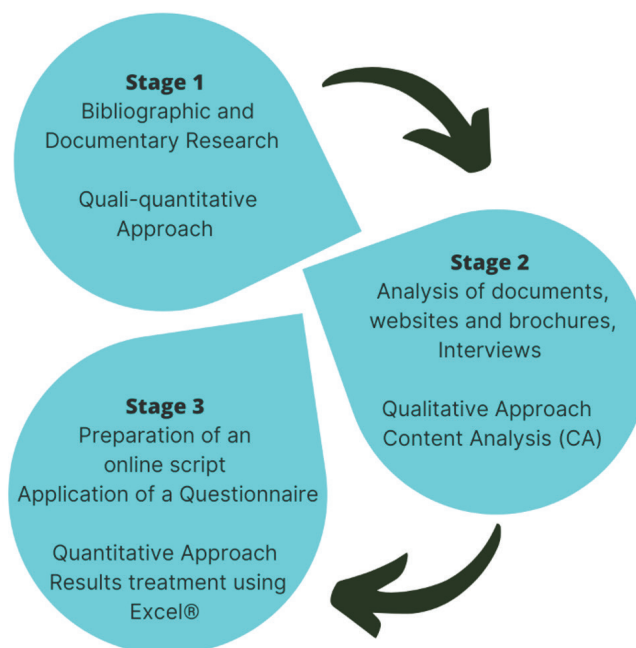
From the initial methodological prerogatives, the second phase of the investigation focused on the following data collection. The following documents were searched in the cities that make up the Pantanal tourist region: Municipal Tourism Plan, websites of the Tourism Secretariats and/or Tourism Foundations, municipal brochures and interviews with the respective managers. The purpose of this step was to identify under official documents, leaflets and interviews, which dishes and supposed gastronomic delicacies were diagnosed (tourist inventory) by the municipalities and are commercialized as tourist products related to local cuisine.

These documents and interviews were analyzed using the technique of Content Analysis (CA) by Bardin (2011). According to the author (2011: 15), "CA is a set of instruments of a methodological nature in constant improvement, which are applied to extremely diversified discourses (content and continents)". Bardin (2011) also argues that the analysis steps are organized into three phases called pre-analysis, material exploration and finally, treatment of the results, inference and interpretation. This choice is justified for the following reasons:

- 1) The large territorial extension of the Pantanal tourist region and the difficulty imposed by the pandemic context;
- 2) difficulty in establishing contacts with elderly people who can report through oral history (OH) knowledge based on common sense, about the dishes and foods that are related to the authenticity of the Pantanal culture;
- 3) the tourism managers, aiming at their tourist marketing strategies, have spread the practice of gastronomic competitions, with the objective of creating typical dishes from the city and/or region, which do not correspond to the reality of local authenticity;
- 4) there is a variety of adaptations to the original recipes in order to meet the supposed needs of the consumer in modern times.

It should be noted that gastronomic competitions have already taken place in the cities of Aquidauana, Miranda and Corumbá in order to reward and supposedly characterize a typical dish for districts, riverside communities and even for cities from the tourist region in question. From the perspective of a society of hyper-consumption (Lipovetsky, 2017) and a society of spectacle (Debord, 1997), the gastronomic competitions, under a critical perspective, meet the need for new experiences for the society, and consequently tourists.

From the treatment of the collected information, a script (questionnaire) was created with a variety of questions in order to achieve the research objectives. An online data collection form was created with open and closed questions, which generated the results in real time in an Excel® spreadsheet. This third phase of the research aimed to compare the results obtained previously, through the entities (Secretariats and/or Tourism Foundations), the perception of residents, in order to identify which are the gastronomic products of the tourist region. As a selection criterion, the research was applied in cities of this tourist region (Aquidauana, Miranda and Corumbá) aiming to reach different social classes and age groups. As sample, it was opted for the "intentional non-random", which Oliveira (1997), Marconi and Lakatos (2017) define as intentionally chosen by the researcher. This type of sample meets the criteria of qualitative and quantitative research, considering that it aims to measure and compare the data obtained in the second phase of the research. The concept map (figure 1) is briefly presented in this way.

Figure 1. Research Concept Map

Source: Elaboration the authors (2021).

In this way, the design of the investigative procedures was formulated by a set of steps within a theoretical, practical and dynamic construct, obtaining a conceptual map with a process aimed at the questions and key elements of the problem initially raised and postulated by the criteria of scientific validity. To these procedures, Duffy (1987) states that there are a series of benefits, as there is the possibility of controlling the biases in the quantitative approach and the understanding of the social actors involved in the phenomenon, through the qualitative approach. The author also adds that there is the possibility of identifying specific variables and a global view of the study and the dynamic nature of the reality. In this sense, the collected data can be gathered under controlled conditions within the results that emerge. Finally, 586 questionnaires were applied in the three cities of the Pantanal tourist region.

Data analysis and discussion of results

It was identified that only Corumbá in the current year (2021) had a Municipal Tourism Plan organized in a participatory and democratic way. The other two municipalities in the Pantanal tourist region –Aquidauana and Miranda– are still in the process of creating the Municipal Tourism Plan, with workshops, inventories and other data collection. However, information was collected from different documents such as tourist information websites, from the tourism departments and previous inventories, in order to identify typical dishes of the local cuisine. With the preliminary information, the interview with the tourism and culture managers was carried out and the mapping of typical dishes was concluded. The typical dishes from the Pantanal region follow those mentioned

above in tables 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, but it is added to this survey, the typical dishes “created” from gastronomic competitions held by the municipalities, and/or adapted by local entrepreneurs, and/or universities aiming at the distribution of income, capital gains with events and sales of food and beverages, as shown in the table 6.

Table 6. Typical dishes created by competitions and/or local entrepreneurs

City	Typical Dish	Characteristics
Aquidauana	Strogonoff de Cumbaru	Recipe adapted from creamy nut candy consumed in Southern Brazil. It was created from the Food and Beverage classes of the Tourism Course at the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul. Cumbaru nuts are used instead of common nuts. It has been marketed at gastronomic fairs by merchants in the settlements.
Aquidauana	Coxinha de filé de tilápia	Kind of fried dumpling made with wheat stuffed with tilapia filet. Gastronomic competition held in Aquidauana at the Fish Festival in the Camisão District/2018.
Aquidauana	Pintado Fish roasted on the tile with annatto sauce	Elected the best typical dish from the Pantanal region by a competition in 2011. It represented the Pantanal region in the 3 rd State Salon of Tourism, in 2011.
Miranda	Milkshake Pantaneiro with Bocaiúva	Elected the best regional dessert from Pantanal. Its origin is from a gastronomic competition. It represented the Pantanal region at the 3 rd State Salon of Tourism, in 2011.
Miranda	Pacu Fish Pizza	The origin is unknown, but pacu fish pizza is sold in the main restaurants in the tourist regions of Bonito – Serra da Bodoquena and Pantanal. Open baked fish on the grill. After browning, mozzarella and other spices typical of traditional pizza are added.
Corumbá	Fried alligator meat	The origin is unknown, but it refers to the consumption of confined alligator produced in the region. It is a noble meat, with high cost. This dish has been consumed in tourist restaurants, but not in the daily lives of local residents.

Source: Elaboration the authors (2021). Diário Corumbaense (2011); GShow (2016); UFMS (2016); Capital do Pantanal (2018); O Pantaneiro (2018); Pioneiro Turismo (2021).

With the exception of ‘Cumbaru Strogonoff’¹³ and ‘Alligator Meat’,¹⁴ which are not yet considered typical by public management, the other dishes in the table 6 were created from public policies by public tourism managers aiming at spectacularization and hyper-consumption for tourists who go

¹³ Cumbaru Strogonoff Candy: Adaptation of a recipe from the South of the country for the use of Cumbaru nuts, aiming at an alternative income for women residing in settlements in the region. Nowadays, the settlements, in addition to selling vegetables, fruits, Cumbaru Strogonoff Candy, offer native fruits such as Cumbaru nuts, among others, for vegan chocolates such as the one from the Angi Chocolates venture (<https://angichocolates.com>) which is calls itself the Pantanal Chocolate.

¹⁴ Alligator Meat: Dish made from alligator meat fried with panko flour, like fried tilapia baits with high nutritional value. Alligator meat has been commercialized in the region, as in 2017 one of the largest captive alligator slaughterhouses opened in Corumbá. Retrieved on November 18, 2021, from <https://www.iagro.ms.gov.br/maggi-inaugura-em-corumba-maior-frigorifico-de-jacare-de-cativeiro-do-pais-e-do-world/>.

to the Pantanal tourist region. Indeed, it is the organization of competitions for such purposes and that the extent to which they represent local authenticity is questioned. According to Ortiz (1994), Souza (2003) and Gimenes (2008), when it comes to typical dishes and identity, it is necessary to understand the territory with its particularities, formed by groups that recognize themselves in the common aspects of their daily lives. Food has a symbolic value of high identity value, as it is part of the habit of a given population and it has meanings with the territory. Poulain (2006) argues that there is a feeling of nostalgia for a social space, where the lived space manifests itself and it is sheltered by a cuisine that is identified and identifies itself. At this point, the question is to what extent typical dishes created by public managers aiming at increasing capital, spectacularization and tourist marketing represent the identity of a people and their territory? There may be connections with what is planted, harvested, but there is no history related to the occupation, exploration or colonization of the territory. Would it be the gourmetization of the popular typical dishes and/or not supposedly to sell a tourist experience? In this way, precedents are set, including from the local population regarding the food that represents them. From these questions, analyzes and understanding, a data collection guide was elaborated, with closed and open questions in order to detect the perception of Pantanal tourist region residents.

The first questioning was aimed at detecting whether the tourist activity helps to preserve the Pantanal culture. From the 100% of those interviewed, 65.4% informed that they totally agree that tourism helps to preserve the Pantanal culture, 30.5% partially agree, 3% do not have a formed opinion, 1% partially disagree and finally 2% totally disagree. The preservation of the Pantanal identity is very important for the society, the territory and also for the development of the tourist activity, considering that the touristic particularities are what attract a specific demand. According to Castells (2000), every individual's identity is built from historical, geographic, biological aspects and also by the productive and reproductive institutions of a given territory. Castells (2000) goes further, citing that the subject's collective memory and personal yearnings, the apparatus of power and revelations of religious nature, also contribute to the construction of the identity. Tourism activity is able to help preserve the local identity, even when there is a homogenization of global culture in modern times. This way, the appreciation of typical Pantanal food helps to preserve the local cultural identity.

The second question was aimed at understanding whether, in the residents' view, the typical food of Pantanal helps to promote the tourism in the region. From the 100% of residents who responded to the script, 69.5% totally agree, 24.5% partially agree, 3% do not have an opinion about it, 2.7% partially disagree. None of the respondents replied that they disagree. This information is in line with what Gimenes (2009) discusses about gastronomic tourism, in which there is displacement motivated by gastronomic practices, being operationalized through routes, circuits and itineraries, as well as differentiated food and beverage establishments and scheduled events. Thus, the resident of Pantanal understands the importance of typical foods in order to add value to the main tourist product of the Pantanal – the nature.

The third question focused on unveiling whether, in the residents' opinion, the tourist who comes to Pantanal should know and taste the typical food. From the 100% of the respondents, 90.6% totally agree, 6.7% partially agree and 2.3% do not have a concrete information about it. None of the respondents informed that they disagree partially or totally. This point of view is in line with what Mascarenhas & Gândara (2010: 779) mention that "the gastronomy is incorporated into new tourist products and allows people to know the local culture through sensations and experiences lived in the tasting of typical regional dishes".

The fourth question aimed to identify which typical dishes are most consumed by the residents on their daily routine, that is, those that most represent the daily life in the tourist region of Pantanal. In descending order, the most cited dishes that are consumed by the residents were chipa, arroz carreteiro, comida de comitiva (all and/or separate dishes), Paraguayan soup, pacu ribs, pantaneiro barbecue, fish with annatto, the dishes that make up the quebra torto, sopa de piranha, meat skewers with sides, puchero, caribéu, saltenha and termite meat. Dishes such as hi-hi, bocalúva milkshake and pacu fish pizza and the others identified, according to the residents' perception, are not part of the everyday consumption habits. It is noteworthy that, even though it is a tourist region that comprises cities with identical cultural characteristics, there are some particularities in Corumbá due to the proximity of the border with Bolivia, where everyday consumption in particular is a little bit different from other cities.

The fifth questioning was open and aimed to understand, through the resident's perception, which typical food best represents the Southern Pantanal. Thus, the five most mentioned typical dishes were, in descending order, arroz carreteiro, Pantaneiro barbecue, comida de comitiva,¹⁵ pacu ribs and fish with annatto. From the answers, a cloud of words was created which identifies the typical dishes that represent Pantanal (figure 2). The other dishes were also mentioned, but not with such emphasis. This question, in general, brought the representation of the Pantanal culture in a forceful way, without the particularities common to cities. It is noteworthy that there is a symbolic feeling that meets these dishes, common to the entire Southern Pantanal, with rare exceptions such as the introduction of different fishes in the annatto sauce.

Figure 2. Typical foods that represent the Southern Pantanal

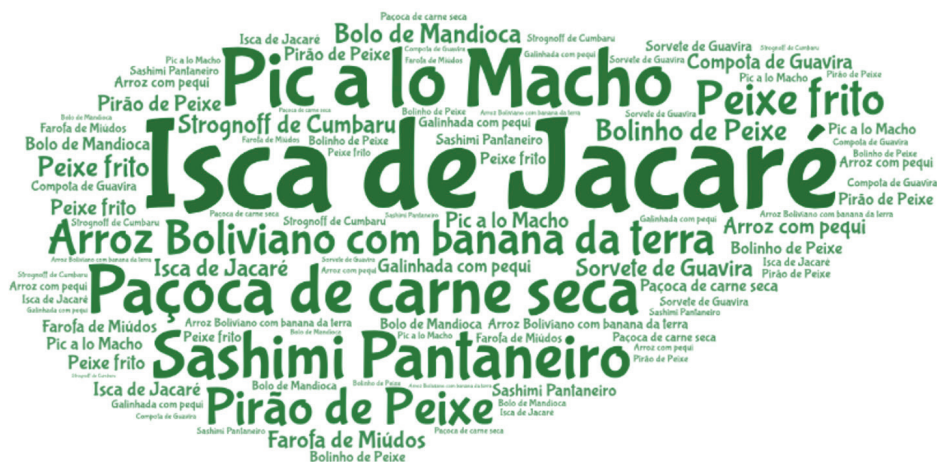


Source: Elaboration the authors (2021).

The last question, also open, aimed to identify through the residents' opinion what other dishes they recognize as typical from Pantanal. The five ones most mentioned were, in order, alligator meat (Isca de jararé), Bolivian rice with plantain (Arroz boliviano com banana de terra), paçoca de carne seca, 'pic a lo macho' and sashimi pantaneiro. Other foods were remembered and with that a second cloud of words was created that highlights the perception of the resident population about it (figure 3).

15 The respondents say that 'comida de comitiva' are all the dishes that make up the dish, but also mentioning this individually. In this way, *carreteiro* rice (*arroz carreteiro*), even though it is part of the 'comida de comitiva', appears as the most consumed individually.

Figure 3. Other dishes from Pantanal



Source: Elaboration the authors (2021).

From these dishes, the most cited, there was a certain regionalism among the residents of the cities studied, as there was a divergence among the dishes mentioned. While in Corumbá there was mention of certain dishes such as "Pic a lo Macho",¹⁶ in Aquidaunana and Miranda there was mention of others such as "Sashimi Pantaneiro",¹⁷ and these dishes do not appear in bibliographic and documentary surveys. It was also mentioned the incorporation of typical foods with fruits from the cerrado, common in the Midwest, such as rice with pequi and chicken with pequi. Thus, it is understood that in this questioning, there are possibilities for future research, with other objectives in order to know how to remedy the specificities of each city in this tourist region.

Final considerations

When the research began, it was found that the Pantanal region is fundamentally characterized by the diversity of tourist products provided by the natural structure of this territory. It was also examined that the cultural exchange established between native peoples and colonizers culminated, not only in understanding the subject from Pantanal, but also in the culture witnessed nowadays, which brings with it the heritage of interaction between these peoples, in a striking way –and here was treated as the main one– in the cuisine of this place, being the last tool of cultural production and identity that, currently, informs us about the historicity of this region.

Therefore, this research had as its general objective to verify the gastronomic tourism potential from the perspective of the inhabitants from Pantanal region, from the examination of typical dishes that can be appointed as tourist products. In this way, understanding the overcoming of the proposed general objective.

16 Pic a Lo Macho and/or Piqué Macho. It is a typical Bolivian food. It is a dish with lots of pieces of meat and french fries. It is seasoned with onion, locoto, boiled egg, mustard, mayonnaise and ketchup.

17 Sashimi with tilapia (*Tilapia rendalli*) fillet.

However, it was verified that the typical dishes have relationship with the cultural identity of the region. It was observed that the residents reconstruct the identity of some dishes that help to preserve the originality arising from the cultural history, and this, understood as fundamental for the residents of the region, since they preserve the history of this territory.

It is understood that Pantanal cuisine is an essential product for gastronomic tourism, since through it there is the access to the recovery of the region history, its cultural and political assets. The residents understand that local cuisine is intrinsically linked to the occupation of the region and if it is visited touristically, therefore, gastronomic tourism is a tourist product as it is part of a cultural category - food dated through the different migrations which make the history of this region.

The limitations found throughout the research concern the possibility of physical interaction with the residents, established by social isolation, in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as the inability in talking personally with elderly citizens of this region (since these ones could report the theme from the perspective of their time).

However, it is suggestive researches that deal specifically with each city so that it meets its specificities. In the current state of the research, the results found can be treated and transformed into marketing strategies for tourism managers and entrepreneurs in the Pantanal tourist region, who aim at marketing in order to meet the immediacy of the demands of the contemporary society.

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