

Taste | Power | Tradition

Geographical Indications as
Cultural Property

Ed. by Sarah May, Katia Laura Sidali,
Achim Spiller, Bernhard Tschofen

Göttingen Studies in
Cultural Property, Volume 10



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Sarah May, Katia Laura Sidali, Achim Spiller, Bernhard Tschofen (Eds.)

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Taste – Power – Tradition. Placing Geographical Indications on an Interdisciplinary Agenda

Achim Spiller, Bernhard Tschofen

Abstract By way of law, economics and culture, geographical indications touch on a range of disciplines. Accordingly, to date these have taken precedence with respect to perspectives and treatment along paradigmatic lines of single disciplines. This contribution provides an introduction to the interdisciplinary approaches employed in the present volume, and formulates the key features of an interdisciplinary investigation of geographical indications understood as power relations. It, thus, opens up perspectives on foodways and the agricultural market as exemplary fields of cultural property. At the same time, as an introduction to the present collection of case studies, comparative overviews and theoretical insights from cultural anthropology and agronomics, it shows how diverse approaches result in an integrated research agenda for these numerous spheres of life, which are relevant to both global as well as local dimensions.

1 Introduction

Newspapers are regularly offering stories about regional, national and international food quarrels, especially about contested cheeses within the European Union. Some years ago, the Bavarians did not want their specialty called Obazda (a typical cheese spread) to also be produced in neighboring areas; Poland and Slovakia had already had similar conflicts around Oscypek/Ostiepek when applying for membership in

the European Union several years ago (Adamski and Gorlach 2012). Leading dairies in Germany tried to hinder Feta cheese from Greece in a seminal case at the European Court of Justice (Voss and Spiller 2008).

Courts repeatedly had to hear and decide in such cases regarding the European system of geographical indications (GIs). This system has been at the center of an interdisciplinary project on “Geographical Indications. Culinary Heritage as Cultural Property” which figured as both a framework and an occasion for the symposium held at the University of Tübingen in the spring of 2013 and is documented in this volume.

2 The Study of Geographical Indications at the Interface of Culture and Economy

A working group from the Department of Agricultural Economics at Göttingen University and the Department of Historical and Cultural Anthropology at Tübingen University was studying the regulations and effects of the EU system for the safeguarding and valorization of “Geographical indications and traditional specialties” (EC 1992, 2006, EU 2012) and their three schemes (PDO/Protected Designation of Origin, PGI/Protected Geographical Indication, and TSG/Traditional Specialty Guaranteed; May et al. 2015) in the project, which was funded from 2011 to 2014 by the DFG (German Research Foundation). Our focus, thereby, lay on both the structures of governance and everyday practice in a cultural property regime that, at the same time, connects consumers, producers and local stakeholders. Starting with a dynamic understanding of GIs, we were working on an integrated ethnographic and economic analysis focusing exemplarily on products and regions in Germany and Italy, and comparing such products with a high international visibility with those with a lower reputation. What we tried to reconstruct was very roughly the contexts of reasoning and legitimizing within the framework of application procedures and the effects on local actors, on consumers and, respectively, on the products themselves.

We are aware that our project was a kind of academic experiment. Agricultural science and economics, on the one hand, and cultural anthropology and regional ethnography, on the other hand, are normally not used to working together. Therefore, the process of interdisciplinary cooperation has been crucial for our work (Bendix and Bizer 2010, Sidali et al. 2015). It included collaborative fieldwork with an intentional intersection of methods and attention, an approach that found its expansion in the presentations and discussions of the symposium. Its program had been something like a personal “playlist” of Katia Laura Sidali and Sarah May, the postdoctoral fellow and research fellow, respectively, who had their shared experiences during fieldwork and had a great need for responses to their findings and for discussion by the experts with different disciplinary backgrounds invited to participate (the main results are, meanwhile, published in a monograph and a series of articles: May 2016, Sidali and Hemmerling 2014, Sidali and Scaramuzzi 2014). It was an advantage of the Göttingen-based interdisciplinary DFG Research Unit on Cul-

tural Property that it was able throughout its running time (2008-2014) to connect the interests of support for academic youth with international cooperation within a series of workshops and conferences (Bendix et al. 2010, Gorth et al. 2015). With regard to the common objectives of the working group, the program of the symposium focused particularly on the theoretical, conceptual and methodological aspects of the study of GI as power relations.

What are the key questions when working on the relations within the trilogy of taste, power and tradition as labeled both in the title of this volume and the previous symposium? In our conception, this accounts for, firstly, exploring practices, agencies and limitations and, secondly, for investigating economic and cultural effects caused by the European legal framework of GI. On the level of acting regional stakeholders, mediating local needs and European and, accordingly, national governance structures of the European agricultural market are mainly in our focus. Furthermore, we are also trying to develop approaches to the consumer's concepts of GIs and regional specialties. A central goal on an applied level is finally to make recommendations for a better practice – that means mainly recommendations for a more transparent shaping and use of the regulatory system.

It is possible to bring all these different perspectives together, because the field of GIs represents, on the one hand, exemplarily the problem of territorial (regional) dimensions of cultural property, on the other hand, it discusses with regards to the EU's agricultural and cultural policy, a post-national regime with a far-reaching influence on everyday life. When considering the question of GIs, the core problem of intellectual property rights also surfaces, a problematic field that is indicated by using the term of culinary heritage in this rather economic and political field. Thereby, the analysis of the EU's scheme leads – as both our investigations and the symposium made clear – inevitably into other systems of managing and transforming so-called cultural heritage into property relations.

3 Politics and Practices of Tasty Products: Geographical Indications as Power Relations

What happens in that field? Intended as a system for the protection of still existing regional and traditional specialties (a system for safeguarding both producers' and consumers' interests), it proves that the GI system is much more a generator of heritage production and of branding processes arguing with regional and traditional distinctions. The constitution of property-like claimed goods is the central effect of the system, not the conservation of such items as intended by the EU. A fact that can, for example, be recognized by the practice of so-called followers trying to use the chances offered by the argument of "culture" to compete with the strong brands on the European agricultural market. In other examples, the GI system offers opportunities for market differentiation and niche marketing for highly competitive players, especially for small and medium sized producers.

This has been the starting point of our research in the shared Göttingen and Tübingen Universities project, asking how the instruments of the EU agricultural

regime function and are used in different national and regional settings (Germany/Italy – local range/superregional range). We turned our attention especially to so-called cultural specification, a document that is crucial for the application and monitoring processes within the system – specification is the core argument where the regional and historical distinctions have to be documented and explained. By doing so, knowledge about what is represented in terms of culture and tradition becomes an initial point of an argumentation working with emotional values and offers for identification. Power relations are often shown in this field through symbolic representations and through having access to knowledge and intellectual resources, a problem that was realized early in the agenda of the DFG Research Unit on Cultural Property (Bendix et al. 2013).

Dealing with the system and negotiating its potentials taste, region and tradition are often presented as something given and as objective categories. The terms and understandings with which our field works are, of course, different to the ones that are based on process-related understandings and on a concept of culture that situates tradition within modernity and takes it as a set of ideas and practices useful for coping with the respective presence. Even within our project, we could not rely on identical concepts, but had to make their disciplinary coined distinctions prolific for our work. We are aware of the fact that this difference of concepts is a particular challenge when working on this topic (Bendix et al. 2010). An example of this is the range between the EU's assumption of conservation and the manifold observation of creation and construction, which we grasp in the term of transformation.

In order to reconstruct such processes of transformation – a change of actors, knowledge, products and tastes – the study of GI has to expand from self-interpretation of the consortia and regions to the question of the effects on experiences and sensory inscriptions. The influence of embodied knowledge is crucial in this, because the plausibility and visibility of the products are counting on the elementary experience of tasting and smelling. They are the bases of the inner map of European consumers – distinguishing regions and products in terms of culinary culture, but being, at the same time, part of a powerful agro-political and economic system. The GI systems are developed as an instrument for small and medium sized farmers and processors in a cooperative scheme, but we also discovered the efforts of multinational companies to collect GIs as a part of their global brand portfolio.

4 Case Studies, Comparative Overviews and Theoretical Insights: A Dialogical Table of Contents

Bringing GI to an interdisciplinary agenda, this volume presents an interplay of perspectives shaped indeed in different fields, but all trying to throw some more light onto this system and its societal contexts and relations. It is an object of this volume to make the dialogue of subjects, approaches and positions traceable also in the publication of the presentations and discussions during the 2013 symposium.

The starting point of the volume is the contribution by Fabio Parasecoli (New York) “Geographical Indications, Intellectual Property and the Global Market,”

which puts the system of GI in the context of international trade agreements and legal systems. He distinguishes these from other instruments – trademarks, collective marks and so on – and discusses them, beginning with the cultural aspects and commerce, linking specific insights into social and environmental effects with all their unpredictability and problems. This viewpoint is shared by the subsequent cultural-anthropological case study “Pure Products, Messy Genealogies. The Contested Origins of Halloumi Cheese” by Gisela Welz (Frankfurt am Main), which reconstructs the example of the Cypriot cheese *Halloumi*, what heritage making in the food sector entails, and how legislation and state practices combine with economic interests to regulate product quality, hygiene, pricing, sourcing and markets. She shows how genealogies are modified in favor of homogeneity of history and territoriality, and ultimately make GIs conceivable as hybrid products. Here, the investigations of Greta Leonhardt and Katia Laura Sidali (both Göttingen) are also established under the title “This Cheese Tastes as it Looks: Conferring Authenticity through Symbols and Narratives.” This example investigates the advertising messages of the Odenwald breakfast cheese PDO using the methods of economics and image analysis. They work out primarily how producers of food specialties confer authenticity by advertising the company’s tradition and its embeddedness in the region as a place of “an environment close to nature.” It is explained here that practices of representation and consideration of relationships between marketing strategies and quality labels often quietly suffer from low awareness in the center. Therefore, another case study in addition to the Odenwälder breakfast cheese above is scrutinized, that of the very well established Allgäu Emmentaler PDO is discussed: an attempt at a systematic description of the practices of local actors in the context of application and valorization.

In “Shaping Borders in Culinary Landscapes. European Politics and Everyday Practices in Geographical Indications,” Sarah May (Tübingen) gives an analysis of a catalogue of the ongoing negotiation processes by ways of shaping borders in a broad range between defining and including (respectively, excluding). Pointing out the producer’s strategies to deal with GI regulations within and outside the label, May calls attention to the contradictions of the system in its effects on local practice.

The fact that GIs according to the European original protection system are not only relevant to producers and consumers in Europe, is often overlooked in the discussion. Insights into non-European manipulations in a context of global economic relations are all the more important, as the chapter about the “Role of the Geographical Indication Certification in Grapes and Mangoes: The Sub Medium São Francisco River Valley Case” by Andréa Cristina Dorri, Jaqueline Carla Guse and Marivane Vestena Rossato (Santa Maria, Brazil) illustrates. By means of a qualitative approach, they explore the perceptions and attitudes of agents participating in the chains and the institutional changes which have occurred at local and regional levels since the introduction of these certification schemes in the context of a developing country.

A very different case for a differentiated opening for employment with a culinary heritage and GI is provided by the contribution by Laurent-Sébastien Fournier and Karine Michel (Aix en Provence). In “Mediterranean Food as Cultural Property? Towards an Anthropology of Geographical Indications,” they show the importance of the anthropological perspective in order not to limit the debates to their most evident and present political or economic dimensions. Instead, they argue for more attention to be paid to the simultaneity of unity and diversity in this field, using the example of the Mediterranean food cultures and their historical religious influences. Their explanations make particularly clear how important the diachronic dimension is to the analysis of synchronous contradictions in the GI relationship – understood between different groups, but also between town and country. The heterogeneity of concepts and ways of dealing with food labels is also the focus of discussions in the agronomic overview article “Consumer Preferences, Marketing Problems and Opportunities for Non-EU-based GIs: Experiences for Brazil, Serbia and Thailand” by Maurizio Canavari (Bologna, with the collaboration of Raymond H. Hawkins Mofokeng, Adriana L. de Souza, Paulo V. Piva Hartmann, Ivana Radić and Rungsaran Wongprawmas). The article condenses a collection of results from different studies on consumer preferences in developing or emerging countries outside the European Union. Focusing on labeled coffee and mangoes in Brazil, raspberries from Serbia and vegetables from Thailand, the overview makes visible that understanding and acceptance of GI might be much more problematic in domestic markets than in foreign ones. Additionally, the authors reveal that coordination among the supply chain actors is crucial for the success of the GI system. The paper intimates that labels are not a panacea for all challenges and that the use of GI as a potential tool demands more focused research on a transnational comparative scale. This global view of national policies and practices opens the example of the cultural-anthropological argumentative contribution of Raul Matta (Paris/Göttingen). Writing about “Unveiling the Neoliberal Taste. Peru’s Media Representation as a Food Nation,” he investigates the internationally acclaimed Peruvian strategies of showcasing food with the aims of improving the country’s reputation and fostering business overseas. Using media scientific methods, he shows how food contributes to the national branding of the Andean nation working outwardly and, at the same time, the international communications of a positive Utopia of multicultural cuisine (called *mestizaje*) is utilized as a resource for social change in the country itself.

Finally, this interplay of spatial regulations in cultural heritage and GI is treated in the sketches dealing with the transformation of an otherwise historically little known specialty, and are thus recontextualized at regional levels. In his contribution “The Montafon Sour Milk Cheese. A Nutritional Relic as a Ferment of Regionality,” Bernhard Tschofen (Zurich, formerly Tübingen) shows how a product, long-neglected by state agricultural policy, was again able to acquire positive status by becoming a primary product – embodying, as it does, both tradition and healthy living – under the conditions of a regional presentation in search of authenticity.

This contribution, at once reference to the flexibility of the concepts of GI, shows that currently local practices also represent negotiation of the future invariably in concert with historical knowledge.

The same holds, no less, for the anthology of contributions in the present volume. This is owing to the fact that, irrespective of all restrictions involved in the interplay of taste, power and tradition – as a general summary might run – GIs are not only instruments of regulation, but also a tool box that facilitates regulation and incentives at various levels, and which, in their occasionally confused applications, are also capable of contributing to economic and social self-empowerment. The insights collected here are drawn from various fields, and it is especially the attempt to institute fruitful dialogue between anthropological and economic perspectives which contributes to casting greater light on this field: A field, moreover, which, with all its contradictions and never conflict-free (since often opposed) dynamics may well prove instructive in two ways. Firstly, for an understanding of spatially secondary regulations and relations in late modernity and, secondly, for the complex interlinking of culture and economy, politics and law in only what appears to be the most menial of everyday affairs.

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Geographical Indications, Intellectual Property and the Global Market

Fabio Parasecoli

Abstract. Geographical indications (GIs), connecting products and their reputation with their places of origin, have been included in the World Trade Organization treaty on intellectual property. Within that intentionally inclusive framework, the implementation of GIs follows two distinct approaches, one based on special (*sui generis*) legislation and the other subsuming GIs in existing mark-based systems. Trade negotiations and legal battles have originated across the world from these different perspectives about GIs, with important consequences regarding identity, culture and power relations at both local and national levels.

1 Introduction

Postindustrial societies, such as the US, Western Europe and Japan, have seen their food systems move more and more towards mass manufacturing, intensification and industrialization in the past few decades, a process which began at the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time, food production, distribution and consumption have become increasingly entangled in global flows of goods, people, money, scientific and technological innovations, services and – last but not least – ideas and cultural trends, supported by ever faster media and communication technologies. Against this shifting and evolving background, many ingredients, dishes and culinary practices, when connected with cultural categories such as “traditional,” “authentic” and “typical,” have become objects of growing interest for relevant

segments of consumers. Purchasing choices play an increasingly important role in defining contemporary subjectivities, and food has become more visible in the public sphere as the epicenter of political debates, social identification processes and cultural preoccupations (Arnauld and Thompson 2005; Johnston and Baumann 2009). As a result, growing numbers of consumers with high spending power are willing to pay premium prices for products and practices that define themselves as knowledgeable, refined, and attuned to trends. In other words, food connoisseurship, rather than just conspicuous consumption, is on its way to becoming a mark of distinction and good taste.

Artisanal delicacies that claim fundamental and long-lasting connections with specific places are increasingly available in stores and restaurants, prominently featured in media, and examined in cultural and political institutions. The value of a product is often determined not only by its inherent material and gustatory traits, but also by its rootedness in far-flung communities across the world. These crops, specialties and dishes, whose production is usually restricted to small areas and whose consumption in the past was frequently limited to nearby communities, can now be appreciated everywhere. Media and trade exposure in global markets can ensure commercial success, as long as key outsiders legitimize these products as “authentic” to that specific area. They are considered to have great potential for the establishment of niche markets that can add value by diversifying from bulk commodities. In short, recognition of a unique identity can increase the economic and marketing potential of whole agricultural and artisanal clusters (Beebe et al. 2012).

Knowing the origin, the history and, at times, the artisans behind a product satisfies emotional and aesthetic needs that are left unmet by mass-produced items, even when they are cheaper, more available and more convenient. As cultural aspects of food acquire commercial value with a noticeable impact on production and distribution strategies, it becomes relevant to examine how trade regulations and other juridical instruments have addressed their protection and support in different parts of the world. Legal safeguards are now included in the internationally recognized category of intellectual property (IP) known as a “geographical indication” (GI), which refers principally to the connection between products and their places of origin – and, in the stricter European Union (EU) definition, to their history and manufacturing processes. Geographical Indications are meant to increase the value of goods, enhancing their reputation and protecting them from the competition of similar products. At the same time, they constitute entry barriers for producers located outside the area defined by the GI regulations and administrative requirements.

This kind of legal instrument does not protect all crops or dishes whose qualities and characteristics are perceived as dependent on their origin. In many countries, GIs are not subject to special regulations, but instead fall under particular kinds of trademarks, specifically the collective and certification marks. Different policies and practices surround the various approaches to GIs, and heated debates about their

mutual relations, their effectiveness and their impact on communities worldwide are shaping trade negotiations at the highest level, from the Doha round of negotiations of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). After briefly discussing the different IP legal frameworks in which GIs developed, the article illustrates the trade negotiations and the legal battles these differences have engendered, as well as their social and environmental impact.

2 Geographical Indications and Intellectual Property

The appreciation and valorization of the cultural and traditional aspects of food, as well as their connection with specific places, have generated systematic commercial and legal frameworks in Europe since the mid-nineteenth century, starting with the 1855 elaboration of the Bordeaux crus. However, the EU only established a union-wide approach with regulation 2081/92 in 1992, which allowed the registration of products under two categories: the Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and the Protected GI. The PDOs indicate that the qualities and other characteristics that make a product unique are essentially or exclusively connected to its place of origin; for that reason, the regulation requires that all stages of production and transformation must be carried out in the designated geographical area. The PGIs allow reputation and traditional fame associated with the place of origin of the product to play some role; at least one phase in the production and transformation process must be carried out in the area mentioned in the denomination. A less strict category, the Traditional Specialty Guaranteed, which does not refer to specific areas of origin of a product, but to its traditional composition and production methods, was added in 2006.

Shortly after the EU initiative, the term “Geographical Indication” was enshrined in the 1994 Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), one of the founding treaties of the WTO. According to Article 22, GIs “identify a good as originating in the territory of a Member, or a region or locality in that territory, where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin.” Stronger protection was granted for wines and spirits. Article 23 of TRIPS stipulates that member countries establish systems to avoid GIs being used for wines and spirits “not originating in the place indicated by the geographical indication in question, even where the true origin of the goods is indicated or the geographical indication is used in translation or accompanied by expressions such as ‘kind,’ ‘type,’ ‘style,’ ‘imitation’ or the like.” Exemplarily, no wine made outside the area of Chianti is allowed to use the name Chianti or “Chianti style,” even when the label clearly indicates the actual origin of the wine.

The inclusion of a legal definition of GIs in TRIPS reflected the Western European influence in the WTO negotiations concerning IP issues. In fact, GIs can be considered the only category related to traditional, non-trademarked and non-patented knowledge that has been included in current IP agreements. Besides the GI clauses in TRIPS, only the 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity and its 2010

Nagoya protocol, which specifies modalities of access and use of genetic resources, act as safeguards of indigenous and traditional knowledge. This state of affairs reveals longstanding global power hierarchies in international relations. The living nature of traditional products and practices is difficult to define and categorize, as the current IP legal framework typically grants protection for a limited period to inventions and original works by individuals or companies. It is easier to patent a new industrial food product than to seek protection for crops and specialties belonging to the traditions of local communities. These issues are compounded by the collective nature of traditional knowledge and the lack of written documentation in many orally transmitted cultures. Until the inception of the post-war decolonization processes, cultures considered to be less advanced had not been admitted to the international negotiations that had concerned them, and types of knowledge concentrated in developing countries had long been treated as public goods and freely appropriable resources (Arewa 2006).

The WIPO is trying to clarify the legal status of indigenous and traditional knowledge. The organization established the Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore in 2000 to examine the complex relationship between traditional knowledge, IP rights and agrobiodiversity. In 2009, an agreement was reached to work on an international legal instrument to protect traditional knowledge, genetic resources and traditional cultural expressions, including folklore. Such a document will constitute a historic shift in IP law, possibly with a relevant impact also on the protection and support of agriculture and artisanal traditional manufacture.

The TRIPS provisions on GIs have been reflected in the national legislations of WTO member states along two main approaches: the adoption of special (*sui generis*) legislation outside the mark systems, inspired by the EU experience, and the inclusion of GIs in existing trademark laws. While countries such as India, Thailand and Brazil have issued *sui generis* laws and regulations, other trade superpowers, such as the USA, have chosen the latter legal framework.

The mark system focuses on products resulting from the inventiveness and creativity of individuals and companies, and on the protection of innovation and entrepreneurship. In this perspective, goods reflecting the traditions and the characteristics of their regions of origin do not deserve the same level of attention and protection, with important effects on the survival of the food cultures of local communities. The US model is arguably the most important among the mark systems, due to its impact on international negotiations and disputes. Under that model, three types of marks are commonly used to protect goods: trademarks, collective marks and certification marks. Trademarks require that private ownership be granted to the rightful inventor of a good. They are often used to protect brand names, such as Coca-Cola, but are typically not applied to basic and traditional foodstuffs and crops, because those goods cannot often be tied to a rightful owner or inventor, being connected with communities and their traditions in specific places. Many

new artisans producing high-end cheeses or cold cuts in the US prefer to use trademarks to highlight their originality and distinctiveness, considered more interesting and commercially advantageous than the adherence to traditions (Paxson 2012). This attitude reflects a food system that has experienced a much longer and more intense industrialization process compared to its European counterparts, allowing for many local traditions to disappear or become insignificant, also from an economic point of view.

Collective marks are used to designate goods as connected to and represented by an association, board or a collective group of producers which administer them and oversee quality control. Constituents of the group may have a profit-driven interest through their individual enterprises, but, unlike trademarks, no one enterprise can apply for full ownership of a collective mark. This kind of mark does not necessarily have to have a geographic association with the product it refers to and may be issued by domestic or foreign collective groups.

Lastly, certification marks are different from trademarks or collective marks in that they are owned by a third party, such as a government department or a private institution, that functions as a certifying entity rather than by the producers themselves. The certifier sets standards that users must meet, but products cannot be excluded from the use of the certification mark as long as the characteristics of the product are maintained. In fact, discrimination can be a cause for the cancellation of the mark. Examples of certification marks referring to agriculture and crops rather than branded industrial products include Florida Citrus, owned by the State of Florida's Department of Citrus, Vidalia Onions, owned by the State of Georgia's Department of Agriculture, and Napa Valley, owned by the Napa Valley Reserve Certification Board (Montén 2006:326-27).

The US mark system's internal logic seems to show its limit when it comes to wines. A particular category of appellations of origin, the American Viticultural Areas (AVA), has existed in the US since 1978. To date, there are over 200 AVAs, established at the request of wineries and other petitioners. They range widely in terms of size and production, as long as at least 85 % of the grapes used to make a wine have been grown in the areas they include. Unlike wine denominations in the EU, which developed to reflect what the French define as *terroir*, AVAs do not specify grape varieties, yields or methods of vinification, as they are less concerned with local traditions and cultural aspects of wine production.

The GIs, as a form of collective IP, challenge the law and the spirit of countries whose mark systems are oriented toward individual ownership (Daviron and Ponte 2005:37-43). In the case of the EU, the GIs do not belong to individual producers, although they can use the denomination for their businesses, and are instead attributed to the region in which they are situated and its inhabitants. The GIs are widely perceived as an expression of the soil, the history and the culture of specific locations. As such, they cannot be sold or moved elsewhere and they are managed according to charter documents established by producers' associations, following a

framework and general principles dictated by the EU. In case of infringement, the national governments and the EU, not the producers and their associations, take the legal initiative to defend the GIs, which is advantageous for associations of small producers who may not have the financial means nor the necessary know-how to access legal counsel in foreign and international courts. This approach goes against the very nature of business in the countries, such as the US, that consider brands and marks as IP protected by trade names. Trademarks belong to individuals or companies and can be bought and sold in the same way as any other business asset. If violated, it lies with the natural or legal persons who own the mark to defend their IP assets (Barham 2003:129).

3 Trade Negotiations and Legal Battles

The profound legal and cultural differences between European-style *sui generis* legislations and the US style mark-based systems have an impact on how GIs registered and protected under one model can find forms of safeguard under the other. *Sui generis* GIs are usually registered as certification or collective marks in the US. The design that includes the Black Rooster (the Gallo Nero of Chianti Classico), controlled by the Consorzio Vino Chianti Classico, and Frankfurter Äpfelwein, the cider from Frankfurt in Germany, managed by Verband der Deutschen Fruchtwein- und Schaumwein-Industrie, for instance, are registered as collective marks in the US. It is important to remember that collective marks are also in use within the EU. The Consorzio Melinda, for example, an association of cooperatives located in the Val di Non valley in northeastern Italy, has registered the collective mark “Melinda,” applicable to PDO apples produced by its members, as “Melinda D.O.P Mela della Val di Non.” The mark can also be used for other products of the association, such as snacks and vinegar. In this case, the mark is conjoined to the denomination of origin for marketing purposes, as it makes the products more memorable and distinguishable. Similar to collective marks, certification marks may also be owned by foreign authorities. Examples include Darjeeling, owned by the Tea Board of India, Jamaica Blue Mountain Coffee, which belongs to the Coffee Industry Board of Jamaica, and Roquefort, owned by the Community of Roquefort, Department of Aveyron, France.

As EU products need to be registered within the US system to obtain legal protection, the same happens for American products in the EU. However, the US claimed in 1999 that Regulation 2081/92, which established the system, discriminated against foreign GIs and, as such, infringed upon the WTO National Treatment principle, which requires that WTO members treat nationals of other WTO members equally as favorably as they do their own nationals. The WTO's Dispute Settlement Body ruled in favor of the US on April 19, 2005 and, consequently, the EU adopted Regulation 510/2006 to replace the previous one. The new system extended the protection available for EU GIs to GIs from non-EU countries, regardless of whether the foreign governments where the products originate grant an equivalent level of protection to the EU system.

Differences in the cultural outlook also emerge in the issue that most trademark laws prohibit the registration of geographical names, since they are considered only as an indication of the place of origin, a description or even a generic name. European GI producers often have to deal with registered marks in other countries that contain their GI denomination but, having lost their specificity over time, are considered as generic names. These occurrences are relatively common in New World countries with a history of immigration from Europe, such as the US, Argentina or Australia. Moreover, geographical names in those regions may partly or totally coincide with names of locations in the former colonizing country. La Rioja, for example, indicates provinces both in Argentina and in Spain that are known for their wines. Although the regulatory council of denomination of origin La Rioja in Spain asked the Argentinian producers to change their products' name, a federal judge in Buenos Aires threw out the claim in 2011, arguing that the wines are different enough that no confusion would be possible because the Argentinian Rioja is a white wine made from Torrontes grapes and not a red wine made from Tempranillo grapes (like in Spain); in this interpretation, most consumers worldwide are not even aware of the existence of the Argentinian wine (Lechmer 2011; Yapp 2011). The Spanish producers vowed that they would appeal the decision, but no adjustment has taken place yet.

These disputes still take place, despite the stipulation in TRIPS Article 23 ensuring stronger protection for wines and spirits, including the use of so-called “de-localizers” (i.e. “California Champagne”) or tags such as “like” or “style.” Exceptions and adjustments had to be made to reconcile the parties involved. By amending the US trademark law in 1996, the US congress made sure of compliance with the GI rules laid out by the WTO. However, categories of names that refer to specific geographical areas but are also used in the US in a generic sense, such as Burgundy, Chianti, Champagne, Chablis or Tokay, are still recognized as “semi-generic,” as long as the label discloses the wine’s true place of origin (Maher 2001). Consequently, in the US, Chablis could refer to both a wine with specific characteristics coming from a precise geographical area in France and any “semidry soft white California wine,” the second definition listed in the Merriam Webster dictionary. An agreement between the US and the EU in 2006 limited this kind of use exclusively to labels with brand names or fanciful names that were approved before March 10 of the same year. In exchange, the EU agreed to accept all existing US winemaking practices and the temporary use of “traditional expressions,” such as Chateau, classic, clos, noble, ruby, superior and tawny, on US wine sold in Europe, even when their use is restricted by EU regulations.¹

These issues, which are both economic and cultural, indicate the importance of multilateral and regional agreements regarding the international protection of GIs. As a matter of fact, GIs were one of the hottest topics of the Doha negotiations in

¹ Cf. http://www.ttb.gov/wine/itd_qas.shtml and http://www.ttb.gov/industry_circulars/archives/2006/06-01.html <accessed April 21, 2015>.

the WTO, a round where the agenda has brought agriculture to the forefront. The EU is currently pressing for GIs to be recognized under an international register that would automatically ensure mandatory protection worldwide. Other countries (including Australia, New Zealand, the US and several countries in Latin America and Asia) propose alternatively a voluntary system based on the creation of an international database.²

In the framework of these trade disputes and negotiations, both the EU and US have been making diplomatic efforts to have their approaches dominate the global trade landscape, trying to get as many countries and regional associations behind their positions. The EU signed free trade agreements with South Korea in 2011, six Central American countries (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama) in 2012 and Singapore in 2013, which all provide local protection for EU food, wine and spirit GIs, increasing pressure on the local governments to develop systems modeled on the EU *sui generis* legislation. As a counterpart, GI products from these countries receive increased protection within the EU (Korves 2012).³ The EU is also negotiating a Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (commonly referred to as CETA) with Canada, which will also recognize the special status of numerous EU GIs on the Canadian market.⁴ Particular attention is being paid to China, which acceded to the WTO in 2001 and has been adapting its internal legislation to the requirements of the organization, establishing three GI systems, including one inspired by the EU approach and one based on marks. Its decisions and policies in the field of GIs are likely to have repercussions worldwide due to the sheer size of its trade networks and its impact on the global economy.

4 Social and Environmental Impact of GIs

The political and trade issues surrounding GIs at the global level impact on economic realities, labor relations, social inequalities and environmental problems in the areas of origin of the various products. The recognition of a GI can have a positive influence on local communities, enabling the prevention of depopulation and the creation of sustainable production in rural areas that had been suffering from unemployment. Boseong green tea in Korea (Suh and MacPherson 2007), Comté cheese in France (Bowen 2010) and Coorg oranges in India (Garcia et al. 2007) can be mentioned as examples of cases that have been studied.

However, the impact of GIs may vary enormously. In less developed countries, GIs could stimulate entrepreneurship in rural communities through the use of the local knowledge and know-how of farmers, offering opportunities for smallholders,

² Cf. WIPO 2007.

³ Cf. <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/south-korea/> and <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/regions/central-america/> <accessed April 21, 2015>.

⁴ Cf. <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/canada/> <accessed April 21, 2015>.

whose traditional crops are often produced in marginal or unfavorable areas, to free themselves from a commodity-based export model and focus on value-added specialty products, which can command higher prices in niche markets despite the small quantities available. As a result, GIs could ensure higher incomes for underprivileged segments of the population and limit migration to urban centers, while, at the same time, attracting capital and investment to develop infrastructures and collateral activities, such as ecotourism and sustainable tourism in disadvantaged areas. The protection and reputation offered by GIs could prevent the commercial exploitation of local ownership by external economic actors, contributing to the achievement of the goals outlined in the Convention for Biological Diversity and the Nagoya protocol. Finally, if revenues from GIs were to be considered a common resource, they could be reinvested in the development of local community and environmental conservation through sustainable farming.

However, less developed countries and regions are often in a particularly weak position to take advantage of the protection afforded by GIs, given the costs involved in establishing and maintaining the administrative organization necessary for the protection of IP (Evans and Blakeney 2006). The distribution of revenue among the different actors in the supply chain varies greatly depending on different social and political structures at a local level. As Sarah Bowen (2010) pointed out through a telling comparison between tequila in Mexico and Comté cheese in France, the environmental and socio-economic effectiveness of GIs depend on the administrative structures and social and political dynamics in place in each area (Hinrichs 2003). The link between GIs and socially progressive economic relations is far from automatic. In fact, the political negotiations preceding the creation of a GI can reinforce inequalities and the exploitation of workers in the interests of local elites and bureaucracies. Moreover, assessments of the impact of GIs on local communities often ignore issues of gender relations. Women, excluded from modern economic sectors, often see their role in food production or in the conservation of food traditions as distorted or even totally ignored. Traditional knowledge used by women for certain products is sometimes considered outdated, so that when standards are created to obtain recognition as a GI, production methods are changed to be more “scientific” and acceptable to consumers. These changes and innovations are generally considered necessary to add commercial value to the possible GI (Larson 2007:38; Parasecoli 2010).

From an environmental point of view, the greater social and economic relevance connected to potentially successful GI products could help local governments and politicians to consider farmers as stewards of the landscape and ambassadors for sustainable agriculture. This change of perception of rural activities is particularly important in regions where farming is considered a backward and unprofitable activity, mostly connected to self-sustenance and women (Maddison 2013). Furthermore, the protection of GIs could favor agrobiodiversity directly through the promotion of local genetic resources and diffusion of traditional agricultural techniques, with

a positive impact on the conservation of local ecosystems and landscapes. Research and collaboration among local communities, scientists, academics and institutional actors would be required to identify, assess and recover local resources with GI potential that might have remained invisible – both to consumers and policymakers – due to cultural and social hurdles. This would contribute to the diffusion of scientific information, technological expertise and management skills in the communities producing the GIs.

The environmental advantages, similar to those for social and economic benefit, are not straightforward (Parasecoli and Tasaki 2011). Climate change could affect the productivity or the survival of traditional or local crops identified as potential GIs. The homogenization of the varieties or breeds specifically required by quality standards in GI regulations, reinforced by market and productivity demands, could cause the marginalization of other varieties (including those used for local consumption) and, consequently, a reduction in agrobiodiversity. In order to maximize their income, farmers could be tempted to cultivate GI crops in marginal lands within the area defined by regulations that are not conducive to those crops, or to grow them more intensively, increasing the risks of soil degradation and water scarcity. Furthermore, GIs are often economically profitable because they count on international consumers in faraway locations. The growing carbon footprint engendered from the transportation of products to their final market destination is the subject of many debates.

5 Conclusions

The GIs stand at the intersection of fiercely debated international issues such as global trade and IP. Commercial and legal issues related to these instruments have generated intense and complex negotiations in international trade arbitration bodies, legislative institutions and even trial courts worldwide. Last but not least, the growing interest in and commercial impact of the connection between food products and specific places have given rise to theoretical debates in academia about *terroir*, identity dynamics and cultural values.

As many of the essays in this volume demonstrate, the legal definitions and functions of the various approaches to GIs, the political and economic negotiations that have led to their institution, the practices and policies that they generate (or can generate), and their actual impact on cultural, social, environmental and developmental issues are still being explored. In order to provide a critical assessment of a complex set of issues that is eliciting growing attention, it will be necessary to connect the research and the international debates among academic disciplines that seldom dialogue with each other to the experience of practitioners in the fields of policy, communication and activism.

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Pure Products, Messy Genealogies. The Contested Origins of Halloumi Cheese

Gisela Welz

Abstract. Historically, the multi-ethnic and multi-religious population of Cyprus had many food traditions in common. Halloumi is a cheese that does not belong to any one ethnic group or nation alone. While Greek Cypriots consider it a national patrimony, the cheese is also produced and consumed among Turkish Cypriots and in parts of the Arab world. Halloumi is a food item that resonates with the complicated histories of the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean. This chapter addresses the conflicts that ensued when the government of the Republic of Cyprus went ahead to suggest halloumi cheese for one of the geographical indications awarded for origin foods by the European Commission. Greek Cypriot claims that the cheese is as a national cultural property came to the fore in the course of the process. Ultimately, the application to the European Union failed and had to be submitted again at a later point in time. The reasons for this had little to do with the conflict over cultural property, but are evidence of large-scale industrial dairy corporations attempting to hijack the geographical indication process with the intent of securing and expanding their market share of mass-produced industrial cheese.

1 Introduction

The European Union (EU) has given official recognition to regional culinary traditions since 1996 by extending protection to geographically distinct food products. Within the various international frameworks of intellectual property regulation,

geographical indications (GI) constitute a form of protection that differs markedly from such rights as copyright, patents or trademarks. Geographical indications are awarded to products whose provenance is territorially defined. Consequently, GIs are not reserved for one producer only, but can potentially be shared by all producers in a defined area.¹ This chapter looks into conflicts over market shares and authenticity claims that have ensued in Cyprus in recent years. Historically, the multi-ethnic and multi-religious population of this island in the Eastern Mediterranean had many food traditions in common. The island has been divided since 1974 after an invasion by the Turkish Army. Since then, the Green Line, a buffer zone monitored by a United Nations peace keeping force, marks the armistice line between the Turkish-occupied north and those areas of the island over which the Republic of Cyprus still exercises sovereignty. In spite of many rounds of negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations and other diplomatic actors, the division remains in place today, separating Turkish-language Muslims in the north from Greek-speaking orthodox Christians in the south. The findings of this chapter are based on research in Cyprus between 2005 and 2012, after the Republic of Cyprus became a member of the EU in 2004. Qualitative interviews and ethnographic observations were conducted during annual visits to the island. Initially, in 2002, I had engaged in a small-scale field study of the modernization of halloumi production, in collaboration with Nicholas Andilios, a Greek Cypriot food researcher.² For follow-up work on the effects of transnational regulation on halloumi production and marketing since 2004 (Welz 2012, 2013a, 2013b), I interviewed entrepreneurs who market regional specialties, administrators who implement the European quality label programs both in Nicosia and in Brussels, consultants who assist producers in complying with food hygiene guidelines, food scientists at research institutions, representatives of non-government organizations that safeguard consumer rights, public health officials, veterinary officers, *slow food* activists, and restaurant chefs and hotel owners.

2 The EU's Quality Label System: A Regime of Authentication?

The opening up of the European internal market within the framework of the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Communities in the second half of the 20th century, coupled with a huge increase in industrialized mass production in the food sector and the growing availability of globally marketed food products, had endangered and, to a large degree, diminished small-scale rural production of traditional foods throughout Europe. Out-migration from rural areas to urban centers,

¹ As both the application for a quality label and the inspections required to guarantee that the producers keep to the specifications defined can be quite costly, producer groups will often regulate access to the label and tie it to the willingness to pay the necessary fees. Practices also differ between and even within EU member states, as a recent study in Germany shows. See May 2013.

² In 2002, we visited both small-scale halloumi producers and the huge industrial mass production enterprises and eventually published a paper (Welz and Andilios 2004) that ended up as part of the background documentation for the first application for origin protection to the European Union that the Republic of Cyprus launched in 2009.

especially in Southern Europe, also hastened along the declining viability of agricultural production in many European regions. Working in conjunction with regional development measures to halt rural decline, the EU's GI program was instituted by the early 1990s. It was hoped that it would counteract some of these trends. Even more importantly, the emphasis of the so-called origin foods program on diversity and quality helped to create a market for high-end culinary specialties domestically and also to strengthen the EU's role vis-à-vis global food markets (Pratt 2007; Salomonsson 2002). More recently, the GI system instituted by the EU has been criticized for privileging agribusiness mass production of food rather than rewarding and protecting small-scale local and family-run enterprises (Mattioli 2013).

Historians Alexander Nützenadel and Frank Trentmann assert that "food consumption plays a crucial role in the construction of local and national identities and in the changing self-understanding of social groups," adding that "foodstuffs [...] raise sensitive questions of authenticity. Of course, many of these claims to authenticity are products of what Hobsbawm and Ranger in a different context called 'invented tradition'" (Nützenadel and Trentmann 2008: 1). More often than not, nation states have successfully deployed heritage preservation as an instrument of identity politics, creating a homogenized national culture. Heritage production is indeed a modern phenomenon, deeply rooted in both the political economy of capitalism and the emergence of the modern nation state. Any claim to ethnic ownership of a food product or a recipe is always the outcome of social constructions, resting on an "authentication regime" (Nützenadel and Trentmann 2008: 13) that privileges discursive and symbolic evidence of a group's social and territorial integrity through history.

Not surprisingly, conflicts between member states within the EU over the right of producers to use particular GIs ensued. Some of the most publicized of those concerned cheese products, such as the Italian regional specialty Parmigiano Reggiano and Greek feta cheese (DeSoucey 2010). Less well-known than these conflicts played out in the international arena, but more indicative of the effects of the EU's quality label program on regional food producers, are the conflicts over market shares and authenticity claims that have occurred within member states of the EU and that have been studied by ethnologists and anthropologists (Mattioli 2013; May 2013; Tschofen 2007).

3 Cyprus, a Divided Island

Cyprus acceded to the EU in 2004. Understandings of what constitutes regional tradition and the national heritage are complicated by the tumultuous history of the island. Cyprus had been part of the Ottoman Empire for almost three hundred years before it came under British colonial rule in 1878. When the British Crown released Cyprus into independence in 1959, the population consisted of a majority of Greek-speaking members of the Cypriot Orthodox Church and a minority of Muslims whose language, with few exceptions, was Turkish. The mutual antagonism that had been catalyzed by the divide-and-rule politics of the British and fuelled by

the nationalisms of the mother countries Greece and Turkey repeatedly erupted into violence. In 1974, a Turkish military invasion of the island, ostensibly to protect the Turkish Cypriot minority after a right-wing coup had ousted the Greek Cypriot government, caused numerous deaths and massive population displacement of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots. As a result, Cyprus remains divided between the Republic of Cyprus in the south of the island, and a polity whose statehood is not internationally recognized, the *Turkish Republic of North Cyprus*. To date, only Greek Cypriot food producers to the south of the dividing line separating the island are eligible for the origin foods program of the EU.

Dairy and meat products are excluded from the category of goods that Turkish Cypriot producers can sell to companies and consumers in the south of the island. Because the divided island failed to reunite at the time of the 2004 EU accession, the EU's community contract, *Acquis Communautaire*, remains suspended in the north of the island. Turkish Cypriot cheese producers are locked into an internationally non-recognized polity and have no access to European markets. Their production facilities do not yet comply with the EU-regulated food hygiene regime. This also means that they are excluded from applying for GIs with the European Commission.

In 2009, the Greek Cypriot government submitted a proposal to the European Commission to secure Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) status for halloumi cheese. Halloumi cheese is produced by curdling milk using rennet, followed by a boiling stage of the curd in its own whey.³ The resulting cheese was traditionally preserved in brine. It was usually made of a mixture of milk from sheep and goats. Backing the proposal was the Cyprus Cheese Producers Association, dominated by the large industrial corporations who market halloumi throughout Europe and who also compete with each other for market shares in the United States and the Arab world. In 2008, Turkish Cypriot dairy companies located in the Turkish-controlled north of the island went to court in the Republic of Cyprus in an attempt to halt the process of the halloumi application submitted by the Republic of Cyprus to the European Commission, demanding acknowledgement that it is not an exclusively Greek Cypriot product. They referred to the fact that historically, halloumi is an element of the habitual diet shared by both the Turkish and Greek populations of the island (Hatay 2006), and that it is also produced by Turkish Cypriots, who call it hellim. The complaint proved to be futile, and the original Greek Cypriot application in 2009 went ahead without acknowledging production in the north of the island.

Historically, many, if not most, of the food products traditionally produced and consumed in Cyprus were shared by all groups of the island's population, that is, orthodox Christian Greek Cypriots, Muslim Turkish Cypriots, as well as smaller groups of Armenians and Maronites. This not only holds true for halloumi, but also for many other food products for whom similar terms exist in Greek and Turkish.

³ For a detailed description of the process of halloumi cheesemaking, see Welz and Andilios 2004.

Indeed, this is a phenomenon you find in many areas of the former Ottoman Empire, also in south-eastern Europe. The applications for EU quality labels by the Republic of Cyprus – for a candy called *loukoumi*, granted by the European Commission in 2007, and for *halloumi* cheese, submitted in 2009 – however, laid claim to these products as being uniquely and exclusively Greek Cypriot (Welz 2013a, 2013b). This construction of nationalized heritage worked to exclude all those groups that are considered external to the national project.

4 Contested Origins

But is *halloumi* exclusively evidenced in the traditions of the Greek-speaking orthodox Christian population of the island? And if yes, does this mean that the *hellim* produced by Turkish-Cypriots is a mere copy of the authentic original, or do dairy producers in the north of the island have a legitimate stake in this food tradition as well? Did *halloumi* originate on the island, and was the recipe only later exported to other regions of the Near East where *halloumi* is known today, such as Lebanon and the Emirates? Or has the practice of making a cheese that is resistant to melting, an effect of the fresh curd being heated before the cheese is shaped, been imported to Cyprus from other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East? All of these questions are rife with ethnicist assumptions and economic competition.

Etymologically, the term *halloumi* points to an Arabic root and cultural historians insist on Venetian sources that had encountered *halloumi* on the island in the pre-Ottoman period (Patapiou 2006). German folklorist Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter, whose 1913 monograph on Greek customs in Cyprus today enjoys a second life as source book for Greek Cypriot cultural nationalism, mentions *halloumi* as one element of a Greek Cypriot family's hospitality offered to passing travelers, but does not insist on its Greekness (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1913: 96). A recent study by sociolinguists at the Eastern Mediterranean University in Famagusta, North Cyprus, relies on Ottoman sources, thereby claiming to be able to trace back the origins of *halloumi* to the Roman Empire and ancient Egypt (Osam and Kasapoglu 2011). This is an attempt to prove that *halloumi/hellim* is definitely not the cultural property of the Greek Cypriots. The findings suggest that the recipe and the specific technology of cheesemaking indeed predates the division between the orthodox Greek-language Cypriots and the Muslim Turkish-language inhabitants of the island, and may have been known on the island before the formation of these ethnic communities.

The etymological origin of a term can, of course, point both to lexical borrowing and to technology transfer, migration or trade. Clearly, the adoption of cultural innovations from other societies has made cultural change possible in cultures around the world for thousands of years. Contemporary anthropology is wary of explanations that present evidence for the unequivocal provenance and historic continuity of any cultural artifact, knowledge or practice. Anthropologists consider all tradition invented, in so far as it is always an interpretation of the past guided by present-day interests and identities. While it is often cited as common knowledge that *halloumi*

cheesemaking goes back many centuries and was not exclusive to one group of the population,⁴ and as both the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot rural population utilized milk from sheep and goats in their food production, there is no evidence that cheese production, in the village context, occurred in cross-ethnic contexts.⁵

However, since the 1974 Turkish invasion and the *de facto* division of the island, references to food and eating, with their benign connotations of commensality, pleasure and sharing, have served to lend credibility to Greek Cypriots' insistence on the so-called good neighborly coexistence prior to 1964 and especially during the colonial period. Since the 1990s, bi-communal peace activists have started to employ the shared food culture of Greek and Turkish Cypriots as a medium for reconciliation and rapprochement, citing it as evidence of an older unity broken by the colonial regime's politics of divide and rule. The findings of ethnologists and folklorists have been used to substantiate this view of socio-political relations between the communities under British rule.⁶ Conversely, as Constantinou and Hatay argue, in Greek Cypriot society today, "non-ethnic or cross-ethnic heritage [...] is underestimated, with the exception of peace activists concerned with the construction of a common Cypriot national identity" (Constantinou and Hatay 2010: 1601). The majority of Greek Cypriots turned down a United Nations peace plan in a 2004 referendum shortly before EU accession. Repeated attempts to break the deadlock and solve the so-called Cyprus problem have failed since then.

5 The Origin Label Application that Failed

Ultimately, the original Greek Cypriot application to secure the EU's PDO label for halloumi cheese *failed*. It was retracted by the Ministry of Agriculture in 2012. Doubts about the claims to exclusivity by Greek Cypriots had been voiced in Brussels and there were even inquiries launched by members of the European Parliament about allegations that the application implied discrimination against Turkish Cypriots. Yet, in the end, the application for a PDO status for halloumi cheese failed not only because of the struggle over ethnicized notions of property, but also because

⁴ Additionally, in the work of ethnologist Ephrosini Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, there is ample evidence of shared culinary cultural traditions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. See, for instance, Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2002, 2007.

⁵ Rather, it is safe to assume that this gendered subsistence activity, where groups of women pooled the milk from their animals to produce cheese once a week (see also Loizos 1981: 22), was known to and practiced by Orthodox and Muslim women in their respective neighborhood groups separately. Lisa Dikomititis, in her ethnography of Kozan village (known by Greek Cypriots as *Larnakas tis Lapithou*) where she conducted fieldwork between 2003 and 2006, encountered hellim making as a family-based gendered occupation (Dikomititis 2012). Her observations of Turkish Cypriot families, many of whom were displaced from the Paphos district, mirror first-hand observations in Greek Cypriot society among small-scale domestic halloumi producers in the south (see Welz and Andilios 2004).

⁶ For a critique and a summary, see Azgin and Papadakis 1998.

se of the attempts of powerful dairy corporations to hijack the quality label for their industrially produced cheese.

The production and marketing of halloumi cheese in the Republic of Cyprus had actually undergone dramatic changes in the second half of the 20th century. Up until the 1960s, the production of halloumi was a gendered activity that formed part of the subsistence economy of agrarian households. It was modernization, growing prosperity and urbanization since the 1960s that had turned the traditional collective cheesemaking into a more professional and commercialized activity, but production still took place in an artisanal fashion according to traditional recipes in small-scale workshops. In the 1970s, halloumi also became an important mass-market commodity produced by the large dairy companies that dominate the national market for cheese and other milk products. Since then, this cheese has grown into one of the most important export products⁷ of the Republic of Cyprus. Halloumi exports have quadrupled during the last decade (Gibbs et al. 2004; Steinhauser 2012). The Cypriot producers of industrial halloumi have become global players and their products can be found not only on supermarket shelves and at cheese counters around the world, but they have also made major inroads into convenience food processing in European countries. Conversely, small producers experienced additional pressure when the new food hygiene laws instigated by the EU were introduced some years before, and many were forced to close down and leave the market.

Therefore, when the government of the Republic of Cyprus submitted its application for a PDO for halloumi cheese to the European Commission, intense struggles within the Greek Cypriot economy ensued over the specific ingredients of this cheese. Traditionally, it is a cheese produced from a mixture of milk from sheep and goats. However, milk only from cows is utilized for the industrially produced halloumi cheese in Cyprus, especially the grade made for export, due to its year-round availability and its lower price. Yet, dairy cows were introduced to Cyprus on a large scale only in the 1960s. National legislation passed in the 1980s to protect the dairy industry's interests specifies only that a substantial amount of goats' and/or sheep's milk needed to be included in any cheese sold as halloumi, without any fixed percentages or threshold levels.⁸ Consequently, the industrial dairy companies applied considerable pressure to the government bodies preparing the application for PDO status for halloumi cheese, to ensure that they would continue to be able to use only cows' milk. In response, the owners of large flocks of goats and sheep protested, demanding assurances that milk from sheep and goats would remain an important ingredient in the future production of the EU certified cheese. In 2012, however, fierce debates and political altercations erupted around the issue of hallou-

⁷ Halloumi exports amounted to EUR 54 million in 2013. Only pharmaceutical products and potato exports achieve a higher volume.

⁸ This was changed in 2012 when a minimum of fifty one per cent milk from sheep and goats became mandatory. See The Official Gazette of the Republic of Cyprus 30 November 2012 Issue No 4628 p. 4786.

mi ingredients. Goat herders and owners of flocks of sheep mounted street demonstrations in the capital city of Nicosia, bringing their animals along, to protest *hijack* of the PDO application by the dairy companies. Nevertheless, the large-scale industrial dairy corporations that dominate the Association of Cyprus Cheese Makers as well as the Cyprus Organization of the Milk Processing Industry insisted that halloumi should continue to be made with at least half the milk utilized coming from cows. They wanted to have the entire output of halloumi valorized by an EU quality label in order to be able to sell it for higher prices abroad. They threatened the government with sabotaging the PDO application process. When the government did not back down, the Cheese Makers Association pulled out from the application procedure, leaving the Ministry of Agriculture with no other choice but to retract the application and to abort the process in 2012.

Regardless of this, in the Greek Cypriot media and political debates, the failure to acquire a PDO label for halloumi cheese is primarily viewed as making the cheese industry vulnerable to incursions and usurpations by competitors from other countries. Turkish Cypriot producers, as well as dairy companies from Turkey, Bulgaria and Germany, are feared in this context. Turkish Cypriots in the north, conversely, have continued to insist on their right to the cheese, and even the British Foreign Office intervened among the combatants,⁹ calling on the Greek Cypriot side to back down and to view halloumi cheese as an instrument for confidence building measures between the two communities.

A renewed effort to apply for PDO for halloumi cheese was initiated soon after a new government of the Republic of Cyprus took office in March 2013. In July 2014, the government submitted its application to the European Commission. This time, it aims to protect “halloumi and hellim”. Whether a renewed application will eventually give producers in the north a fair share of the real and symbolic benefits of origin certification, or whether it is an attempt to claim Turkish Cypriot hellim and subsume it under a product legislated by the Republic of Cyprus, as some critics suggest, remains to be seen. Turkish Cypriot cheese producers do not yet have access to the European market and cannot trade across the Green Line, also because their production facilities are not being monitored according to EU food safety standards. However, new measures initiated by the European Commission intend to change that giving Turkish Cypriot producers access to the market in the south of the island. Meanwhile, the PDO application remains pending.

6 Conclusion

When local food products start to circulate in translocal markets, truth claims as to their origin become decisive in establishing their authenticity. Halloumi cheese illustrates very acutely what “heritage making” (Welz 2015) in the food sector entails, and how legislation and state practices combine with economic interests to regulate product quality, hygiene, pricing, sourcing and markets. In the end, a hybrid artifact

⁹ See press articles by Brady (2013) and Stevenson (2013).

is created that social anthropologist Cristina Grasseni, in her study of cheesemaking in northern Italy, called “commodity-heritage” (Grasseni 2005: 80). When food is discursively distinguished and politically regulated in order to become commodity-heritage, it is taken to represent a group’s history, and the distribution of that product is mapped onto the group’s territory. Claims for origin foods, therefore, may be based on notions of an ethnicized ownership of tradition or even on “gastronationalism” (DeSoucey 2010). However, in many cases, these claims to cultural property have to be discursively constructed against the backdrop of a history that is often far from clear-cut. Indeed, while some food items are distinctive for designated communities, others have messy genealogies. This is most often the case where regions that have been subjected to successive foreign rulers and empires – which also holds true for the island of Cyprus. In Cyprus, many food traditions have been held in common by population groups who are distinct in terms of their language and their religion. Indeed, halloumi and hellim is only one of a whole series of Greek and Turkish twin terms denoting the same food item familiar to and consumed by both communities. The candy known as loukoumi in Greek and lokum in Turkish is an example that people are familiar with throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. In Cyprus, the Easter bread called flaouna by Greek Cypriots is known as pilavuna among Turkish Cypriots. This phenomenon is not limited to Cyprus, but can also be found in other countries where Muslim and Christian populations coexisted during Ottoman rule (Hatay 2006). Even in situations where the origin of individual food items can be traced to one or the other group beyond doubt, claims to cultural ownership of a tradition or artifact are always constructions. They reflect present-day group interests and notions of social belonging rather than centuries of unbroken transmission and in-group purity. However, it is precisely such claims – to unbroken transmission and to purity – that the EU’s instruments of certifying food origins are inviting, facilitating and stabilizing. Within the European Commission’s legislative framework, GIs can provide a motivation to promote an ethnicized ownership of tradition. Nevertheless, one must add that this is by no means inevitable. Examples from other member states of the EU show that the origin foods program can, by the same token, also be deployed to politically enhance both regional diversity and cultural heterogeneity within a country. In some cases, European quality labels have even been awarded to *origin products* that are produced across national boundaries, giving producers in two countries the right to carry the quality label on their products. Thus, the origin foods program would indeed offer opportunities for Cyprus to affirm its hybrid legacy as a country that links Europe and the Middle East and to supersede its on-going division.

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This Cheese Tastes as it Looks: Conferring Authenticity through Symbols and Narratives

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Abstract. The purpose of this work is to understand how producers of food specialties confer authenticity in different media, namely in brochures and advertisements of producers and connected actors (such as tourist offices, NGOs). To this end, we chose a German PDO cheese called “Odenwalder Fruhstuckskase” which is produced by only one German dairy, as a case study. The analysis of the promotional material shows that the PDO label is not considered an influential representation by producers since they tend to use other devices to confer authenticity.

1 Introduction

Since only a few studies focus on the visual representation of typical food products, this work analyzes how a product with a Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) label is represented in different media, namely in brochures and advertisements of producers and connected actors (such as tourist offices, NGOs). Our motivation stems from the consideration that the representation of a typical product affects consumer food preferences (Nelson 1970) as well as other consumption activities, such as tourism (Baylina and Berg 2010; Kneafsey 2010). Our aim is to detect how producers of typical products try to signal authenticity of their goods. We chose a German dairy, which is the last one to produce a cheese protected by the European Union by means of the PDO label, as a study case. Hence, we aim to analyze the

promotional material of the dairy to conduct a twofold analysis based on image and frequency. The findings of our work confirm once again that the PDO label is not considered an influential representation by producers since they tend to use other devices to confer authenticity. In the following, we first present the selected case and the methodological framework. Then we present the findings of the two methods employed. Finally, some conclusions are drawn.

2 Case Study and Methodology

Our analysis focused on a soft cheese from the Odenwald forest, a low mountain range in the southwest of Germany. This regional specialty has a long tradition dating back to the 18th century. Nowadays, it is produced by only one local dairy, the Hüttenthal Dairy, run by the Kohlhage family who uses a traditional artisan procedure. The cheese's name, Odenwälder Frühstückskäse (breakfast cheese from the Odenwald forest: OF), has been protected by the European Union since 1997 as a PDO product. The cheese is hardly known beyond the region's borders.

Regarding the methods, as explained previously, this article examines the way in which authenticity is conferred in the marketing of OF. We apply an image analysis to the advertising material that we collected in September 2013 in the region where the dairy is situated. In addition to the advertising material given out by the producers of the dairy at the point of sale, we analyzed the promotional material and other actors who cross-promote their activities by using images of the OF, i.e. the Slow Food Convivium of the Odenwald forest (part of Slow Food Deutschland) and the regional tourist office.

The image analysis is a method which has been designed especially for advertising images and is, thus, suitable for the present study. Since the material collected also includes advertising text, we apply a frequency analysis of the most selected words and visual elements associated to the different dimensions of authenticity in a second step. In this way, we can determine the aspects of authenticity that were most frequently emphasized.

3 Step 1: Image Analysis

The image analysis proposed by Müller-Doohm (1997) is one of the most well-known and has, therefore, been selected by the authors of this article. It is divided into two major steps: the image lithography analysis and the case analysis. The former consists of a screening of the material to detect "family resemblances" among different images (Müller-Doohm 1997: 102).

The latter includes three levels of analysis: the description, reconstruction and interpretation. This allows an in-depth analysis of the overall complexity of the image. In the description, the entire image is first described accurately in all its details, i.e. image and text. Next, in the reconstruction phase, its meaning is analyzed. In the last step, the image-text relationship is interpreted in a sociocultural context (i.e. the sociocultural interpretation, Müller-Doohm 1997: 98 ff.). Since all images that were used in this study refer to the marketing of the same cheese and dairy,

reconstruction and interpretation of the various images are carried out as a whole in this case.

Selection of the Prototypes

We screened three groups depending on the source of the promotional material for the OF. Group one consists of the promotional material published directly by the dairy. In this group, there are four brochures and a business card. Group two consists of advertisements of the Hüttenthal Dairy printed in the local press or in brochures of other regional actors linked with the gastronomy sector. Specifically, this group includes two advertisements of the Hüttenthal Dairy in brochures of the Slow Food Convivium and two in the regional newspaper Odenwald Kartoffelsupp (different editions). In the third group, there are brochures in which the region is promoted under the slogan of “Lust auf Odenwald.” The latter is a collective brand that indicates that given products and services were produced or commercialized by the members of an identified group set in the Odenwald region. Since the family Kohlhage belongs to this common body, it uses these brochures to prints advertisements of the dairy and the OF.

Two images are used as a prototype of group one (advertisements of the dairy on its own brochures): the cover page of a brochure and pages 6 and 7 of the same brochure on which the OF is shown and its method of production explained (Fig. 1).



Figure 1: Cover page of the brochure of the Hüttenthal Dairy and pages 6 and 7 of the same brochure. Source: <http://www.molkerei-huettenthal.de/unserespezialitaeten/Huettenthal-Folder.pdf> <accessed March 13, 2013>

In group two (advertisements of the Hüttenthal Dairy printed in external media), an advertisement of the dairy was chosen as a prototype, which was printed twice: once in a brochure for hiking in Mossautal Hüttenthal, and once in a brochure of the Slow Food Convivium Odenwald (Fig. 2).



Figure 2: Advertisement of the Hüttenthal Dairy
 Source: Brochure of the hiking association of Mossautal Hüttenthal (left) and brochure of the Slow Food Convivium Odenwald (right)

For the third group, we chose an image of the dairy which was found in a brochure of the local tourist office with the following title: “Fancy Odenwald ... just amazing!” (Fig. 3).



Figure 3: Regional promotion for the Hüttenthal Dairy
 Source: Brochure of the local tourist office Lust auf Odenwald

4 Results of the Image Analysis

The prototypes of the three groups are described in detail in the following. Next, we provide an overall reconstruction of the connotative elements of each image and a sociocultural interpretation.

Prototype 1: The Image of the Dairy on its own Brochure

The images that serve as prototypes for group 1, come from a promotional brochure of the Hüttenthal Dairy. They consist partly of the title page of the brochure and the seventh page, where the OF is illustrated and further explained. The brochure is square-shaped. There is a square image on the front which covers the greater part of the page, and is located towards the lower left corner. There are five more much smaller squared images: two photographs to the top left and three photographs to the right-hand side, as well as a rectangular text box on the top right. The largest square shows the gable of the dairy, on which a weather vane is attached in the form of a black and white Friesian cow. There are two triangular windows beneath the gable and above the lettering. The logo of the dairy, Molkerei Hüttenthal (Hüttenthal Dairy), is painted on the house wall underneath the gable. The word “*MOLKEREI*” is written in capitals with a vertical font in a semicircle above the word “Hüttenthal,” which is written in a font that appears handwritten in upper and lower case letters. The lettering is colored in blue tones. There is a graphic illustration of a valley with some white houses at the bottom surrounded by high green mountains under the lettering. A blue cloudless sky stretches above the valley and mountains.

There is a blue rectangle with white lettering stating “*Unsere Hüttenthaler Milch- und Käse-Spezialitäten*” (Our Hüttenthaler milk and cheese specialties) in the upper right-hand corner on the front cover. It is an informative text style from the first-person perspective. The left image of the two small square photographs top-left shows a close-up of a flower meadow with tall grass and red and yellow flowers. The right photograph illustrates a small herd of black and white and red and white cows on a pasture with high green grass and yellow flowers. The background is hilly and forested. In front of the forest, scattered houses can be seen. The image displays a blue sky with light clouds that give the impression of moving from the right.

On the right side of the title picture, right-aligned photographs of some dairy products are illustrated. The top image shows a fruit curd or yogurt with fruit pieces in a plastic cup. A pear, an apple and two strawberries are arranged to the right of the cup. The background of the picture is white. The second picture shows a slice of Rodensteiner cheese covered with a mixture of herbs and flowers, with a slice about a quarter of the cheese cut out, so that one can see the inside. Again, the background is white. Just the shadow of the cheese can be seen in front of it. An OF served on a blue ceramic dish with a sauce of onions and cumin and a few parsley leaves is illustrated in the lower right-hand corner of the last picture. The lower part of a glass, presumably filled with apple juice, can be seen behind the plate. To its right, one

spots the cutlery, and to the left of the glass, a small section of a wooden plate with a slice of bread on it.

The image with the gable of the dairy is the focus of the front page of the brochure due to its size. The lettering on the top right and the other images are comparatively small. Overall, the picture makes a fresh impression, as colors such as blue and green, the yellow of the cheese and the colorful flowers were selected. This renders the picture idyllic and summerlike overall.

The background of page seven of the brochure is white. On the upper-left part of the page it reads: “Unsere herzhaften Weichkäse mit Rotkultur...” (Our hearty soft cheese with red culture ...) in blue font. Two images of the OF are side by side on the top right. The pictures are specified with “Traditional Hüttenthaler handmade cheese.” By means of an asterisk, the reader is informed of the correct name and the history of the cheese:

The patented designation of origin (PDO) is “Odenwald breakfast cheese.” It is patented in Europe as a regional cheese specialty and may only be produced in the Odenwald from Odenwald milk. The name has been handed down traditionally; this cheese was consumed as a breakfast snack after the morning milking. Its flavor is mild and aromatic as a young cheese, hearty and spicy in the mature stage. The 14-day, intense natural maturation occurs from the outside to inside, and the initially white core is characteristic.

In addition to this black lettering, there is the red and yellow logo of the EU’s PDO. A table including information for the end user as well as the retail, catering and bulk consumers is placed in between the images and the information text. The cheese is made of cow’s milk. The type OF is a soft cheese with red culture and 10 % fat in dry matter. It is offered in a cylindrical packaging in sizes of 5 x 100 g and 2 x 100 g, and in a packaging unit of six for retail, etc. There is quite a lot of information on these pages. The text and image content is more or less balanced. The overall impression is appealing since the pictures of cheese and background information merge well.

Prototype 2: The Image of the Dairy in Cross-Promotion with the Slow Food Movement

The advertisement is from a brochure of Slow Food Germany e.V., namely for the Slow Food Convivium Odenwald program for 2012. The display is visually divided into two parts, each of which is, in turn, subdivided. The upper part shows a small herd of grazing black and red spotted cows (a section of the image can also be seen on the front page of the dairy’s brochure). The meadow shows high, green, lush grass. You can see a few scattered houses and a forest on the hilly background. A blue sky with light clouds extends above the cows. This serves as a background for the dark blue lettering: “Buy the whole range directly from the place where it is produced.” The logo of the Hüttenthal Dairy is at the centre of the lower part of

the display; this has already been described in the image description for the dairy's brochure. The end of the sentence started above, "... *in our dairy shops*," is in a small font size under the small logo. Below the latter are the opening times of the shop on different days as well as the address, telephone number and Internet address of the Hüttenthal Dairy. The upper text in this display is highlighted by its size. There is a link to the small font size lower part implied by three full stops at the end of the unfinished sentence. Even the logo of the dairy is relatively larger and, thus, also in focus. As in the first brochure, fresh colors and light blue and green are used here, which leave a natural and idyllic impression.

Prototype 3: The Image of the Dairy in Cross-Promotion with the Regional Tourist Office

This advertising page can be seen in the promotional brochure "Fancy Odenwald ... just amazing!" produced by the Geo-nature Park Bergstraße Odenwald. The site has a white background and the text is written in green and black letters. There is the slogan "Enjoy a piece of Odenwald – with us" on the top of the page. The heading reads, "Hüttenthal Dairy," and the sub-heading, "Fresh by tradition." To the right of the heading, the logo of the dairy can be seen, as portrayed in Figure 1. Further below is an information text that is written from the first-person perspective:

Indulge your taste buds with meadow-fresh dairy and cheese specialties from the Odenwald. You will find our small dairy that has been in family ownership for more than 100 years in Mossautal-Hüttenthal in the southern Odenwald. Our delicious dairy and cheese specialties are still produced in the traditional artisan way, made exclusively from the milk of our region.

An image of the prepared OF that has already been described is underneath this text; the only difference is that there are two instead of one cheese slices on the plate and some salad is served next to it. Moreover, the image of the dairy's gable and the cows in the pasture can be seen, which have been described previously. Below those images, there is a shopping recommendation, phrased as a tip: "*Die ganze Vielfalt direkt einkaufen... in unserem Molkereilädchen*" namely "Buy the whole range (of products) directly from the dairy little shop" The address, telephone and fax number, the opening times, e-mail address and the URL of the dairy is provided at the bottom of the page. The ratio of information text and pictures is balanced on this page of the brochure.

Reconstruction of the Three Prototypes

Taking into consideration the colors used, the choice of images and the attributes mentioned in the text, the overall impression for the reader is that emphasis is placed mainly on the processing of regional raw materials, on the production of fresh products and on the good quality. Furthermore, the words and the images

used to convey the idea that Odenwald products are traditional and authentic employ mainly the narratives of “made by hand” and “home-production.” This is an already well-recognized marketing strategy for food specialties, as shown by Sidali et al. (2013).

The marketing of the Hüttenthal Dairy through several regional institutions aims at persuading the reader of the fact that the product really stems from the Odenwald forest, which, in turn, contributes to increasing the credibility of the product. Many images include the gable of the dairy, which is often placed at the centre. The name “Hüttenthal Dairy” suggests that it is a regional dairy. From the imaging of the gable, the recipient may get the impression that it is not a large-scale dairy. Furthermore, the images of cows in a lush meadow are recurrent. This is not only to express that the milk comes from the region but also that animals are kept on pasture, thus suggesting a rather animal-friendly husbandry.

The pictures often show the OF, which is PDO labeled. This is illustrated in connection with a hearty ready-to-eat snack, that is aimed at appealing to customers directly. However, it is striking that the PDO logo is almost never mentioned. Only in the case of a more detailed product description is there an indication as well as an explanation. This logo seems to be rather unimportant for the marketing of the dairy. The text elements of the advertisements are written from the first-person perspective. This aims at a particularly personal effect and creates closeness to the reader. In addition, the small size of the dairy is underlined. This also gives the reader the feeling that even the production is done “with love.”

Expressions such as “(meadow) fresh,” “quality” and “dairy and cheese specialties” also ensure that consumers get the feeling that the products of the dairy are of a particular quality. In addition, terms such as “tradition” or “artisanal” ensure that a personal reference of the customer to the product is made. By emphasizing the “region,” the product is additionally associated with its environment in time and space. In order to associate the product with its sales environment, the words “petit dairy shop” are used. Due to the diminutive of the (German) word for “shop,” the customer should immediately realize that the selling point is also small, fitting with the image of the small-scale dairy.

The fresh colors also give the reader the feeling that high-quality products are made in the dairy. The images convey a sense of tranquility; these are aspects that many consumers nowadays desire intensively above all in an age characterized by highly-mechanized agriculture (Kneafsey, 2010). By the way of illustrating the dairy, the raw materials it chooses and the wording used in the advertisements, it is ensured that the dairy is perceived as authentic by potential consumers. The latter should realize that the products are of high-quality and can be bought directly from the producer.

Sociocultural Interpretation

Landscape and countryside are very important in all the images described above. As shown by Figueiredo and Raschi (2011), this conveys the image of an idyllic agricultural environment where products are natural and genuine. Furthermore, the image of the Odenwald natural surroundings also reinforces the idea that products are particularly fresh and of high quality.

The Hüttenthal Dairy identifies itself traditionally with the region and the local countryside, from which it draws its raw materials. This is coherent with the image of the OF, since the latter has been awarded the PDO by the European Union and, thus, may only be produced in the Odenwald region.

5 Step 2: Frequency Analysis

The frequency analysis is a form of quantitative content analysis. During this process, individual parts of a text are assigned to certain categories. These categories are formed on the basis of review material and the research question. A system of categories is specifically formed in the frequency analysis and how often words or parts of the text of the appropriate categories occur are counted in the text (Bortz and Döring 1995: 138 ff.). Mayring (2007: 14) describes the work steps of a frequency analysis as follows:

- formulation of the research question;
- determination of the material sample;
- setting up the system of categories (depending on the research questions), i.e. determination of the text elements whose frequency is to be reviewed;
- definition of categories, possible listing of examples;
- determination of the units of analysis, i.e. determining what can be included within a category (coding unit) as the minimum text component, as the maximum text component (context unit), etc.;
- coding of the material, i.e. working through the material by means of the system of to record the occurrence of the categories;
- allocation, i.e. detecting and comparing the frequencies; and
- presentation and interpretation of the results.

Similar to the procedure of Baylina and Berg (2010: 279), this study examines visual elements in addition to words. These are also classified into the appropriate categories.

The question to be examined in this frequency analysis is concerned with the role of authenticity, in particular, the individual authenticity dimensions, in the marketing of OF. This makes use of the promotional material that has been descri-

bed in the previous analysis of the images. The coding unit, i.e. the smallest unit studied in this paper, is a word or an image. The context units, namely the ones studied most, are short text segments, such as background information.

Formation of the Systems of Categories

The authenticity dimensions “personal reference,” “product, price and space,” “conformity of the product with the sales environment” and “product communication” are to be studied in the analysis. To this end, a system of categories is created for each of the dimensions.

The system of categories 1 corresponds to the “personal reference” dimension. This was determined mainly by the illustration of tradition and culture in the material used. Originally, there was also the category of “nostalgia.” Contrary to expectations, there were no nostalgic images in the material, which is why this category was removed.

Table 1: System of categories 1: Personal reference; Source: Own data based on Figueiredo and Rashi (2011: 7)

System of categories 1: Personal reference	
Category	Manifestation
Tradition/culture	Words/phrases and pictures which describe or show the traditional and/or cultural features: (e.g. traditional craftsmanship)

The second system of categories, “product, time and region,” consists of the categories “environment-friendly production,” “natural products,” “purity of the products,” “geographical origin of the products” and “uniqueness of the products.”

Table 2: System of categories 2: Product, time and region; source: Own data based on Figueiredo and Rashi (2011: 7)

System of categories 2: Product, time and region	
Category	Manifestation
Environmental-friendly production	Illustration, e.g. by describing the production
Naturalness of the products	Illustration of nature
Purity of the products	Illustration, e.g. by specifying that the products does not contain any additives

Geographical origin of the products	Illustration, e.g. by displaying of the PDO logo, declaration of the milk's origin
Uniqueness of the products	Illustration, e.g. by certificates
Historical origin	Illustration, e.g. by stating the origin of the OF in the Odenwald forest, original way of consuming it as a breakfast cheese

The third system of categories is called “compliance of the product with the sales environment.” We check specifically whether the sales environment is illustrated and whether words are used to create a specific atmosphere.

Table 3: System of categories 3: Conformity of the product with the sales environment; source: own illustration based on Figueiredo and Rashi (2011: 7)

System of categories 3: Conformity of the product with the sales environment	
Category	Manifestation
Sales environment	Example: illustration of sales environment
Sales atmosphere	Example: attempt to create a particular sales atmosphere by using certain words

The final system of categories covers the topic of “product communication.” The extent to which information is transmitted to the potential consumer is reviewed by means of this plan. This work focuses on information about the dairy and the OF.

Table 4: System of categories 4: Product communication; source: own data based on Figueiredo and Rashi (2011: 7)

System of categories 4: Product communication	
Category	Manifestation
Product information	Communication of product information, e.g. in the form of certificates, information, text, background information

6 Results

It can be clearly seen in the first category, “personal reference,” that the tradition in the dairy is very important and is advertised repeatedly. The dairy or the OF is associated with “tradition” 21 times. It is linked to the craftsmanship, general tradition and the (traditional) family ownership. It is also explained that the OF was traditionally taken as a breakfast snack after the morning milking and gets the “traditional” name from the dairy.

The system of categories “product, price and region” consists of several categories. Information on environmentally friendly production is mentioned twice by emphasizing species-appropriate animal husbandry with grazing. The naturalness of the products is constantly shown by using landscape images and pictures of cows in the pasture. In addition, the slogan “naturally fresh” is used. The fact that the products of the dairy are produced without additives is mentioned twice. The geographical origin of the cheese is mentioned six times. However, the PDO label is used only twice and is only mentioned in one type of promotional material namely in the dairy’s brochure. Surprisingly, the certification scheme of origin is not mentioned, while the logo is shown twice.

The category “conformity of the product with the sales environment” is analyzed next. The external view of the dairy is shown once and the external view of the gable of the dairy is shown four times (painted on the logo of the dairy at the same time) in the material collected. While this does not belong directly to the point of sale, as the dairy with a shop is very small and both are located next to each other, the dairy is also part of the sales environment and atmosphere. The shop is shown twice from the inside and once from the outside. The milk garden, a place next to the dairy where customers can eat and drink dairy products, is imaged once and mentioned twice in the promotional material. The word “petit dairy shop” is used particularly often (twelve times) in the promotional material.

The “product communication” in the advertising material primarily includes information on the dairy (seven times). Information text about the flavor of the OF is provided four times, while we find background information about the fact that the OF has been awarded the PDO label in three cases. However, the PDO label is displayed only twice.

7 Interpretation

The Hüttenthal Dairy is a traditional company. This is vehemently emphasized throughout the text. Cheese is presented as part of the culture and, thus, helps in establishing a relationship with the customers, especially if they value tradition and/or are proud of such a culture.

Moreover, the dairy lays a lot of emphasis on regionality, which is justified by the fact that the OF has been awarded the PDO and the raw materials for the cheese come from the region. Notwithstanding this, the cheese is not widely advertised by means of the logo of the designation of origin: in fact the label is shown and explained only twice.

In addition to the construct of regionality, the naturalness of the product plays an important role in marketing. The consumer gets an idyllic impression of the region in which the OF is produced from the frequent illustrations of natural images.

Furthermore, the fact that the shop of the dairy is called a “petit dairy shop” and, thus, a diminutive of the name is available (in German), should convey the impression of a personal and lovingly designed “dainty” shop.

8 Conclusion

As evidenced by the previous results, the Hüttenthal Dairy tries to convey the perception of the OF as an authentic product by means of its advertisements.

By advertising the company’s tradition and its embeddedness in the Odenwald region, consumers should experience a feeling of trust toward the dairy. Furthermore, the special quality of the products is strongly highlighted, because it plays an important role for consumers. The grazing of cows, the freshness of the products, the selling point located next to the place of production, are all devices used to communicate the authenticity of the OF. However, since the evidence of the genuineness of the OF is conveyed by the PDO logo, it is surprising that the latter is shown only on a sporadic basis. Hence, it seems that, at least for the (predominantly local) customers of the dairy, this certification scheme is not very necessary. This partly confirms the low level of awareness of consumers towards protection labels, such as PDO, as pointed out in previous studies. On the other hand, the results of our analysis seem to indicate that producers, especially small-scale ones, also tend to ignore the importance of such labels.

Given the empirical findings mentioned above and the theoretical debate about the low awareness of quality labels such as PDO, it is evident that further analysis should be carried out to address the relationship between marketing strategies of food specialties and quality labels, extending the latter also to other labels, such as private labels (e.g. Slow Food label). An increased knowledge of the interaction of the latter with PDO labels could lead to a better tailored niche marketing, such as in the case of food specialties in rural areas.

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Shaping Borders in Culinary Landscapes. European Politics and Everyday Practices in Geographical Indications

Sarah May

Abstract. In order to throw light on the realization of the European Union's regulations on geographical indications, this paper focuses on local actors. Their practices in the context of application and valorization of assumed traditional and regional anchored specialties are analyzed as practices of border-shaping. This approach allows the distinction of acts of defining and demarcating, enabling and establishing, and of creating and constructing. Therewith, this paper indicates differences between single actors and regions, their particular interests and scopes of influence, as well as their particular effects. The author reflects the in- and excluding potential of the EU instrument by discussing four central practices of border-shaping and with that, assumed and newly created dichotomic phenomena.

1 Approaching by Drawing: an Introduction

The capability of giving meaning – or rather, the capability of demarcating and naming things, acts and ideas – is a source of power.¹ Consequently, the capability of demarcating and naming specialties with a Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) is a source of power too. Both capability and power are bound to actors also within

¹ This is borrowed from Eric R. Wolf who states that “the ability to bestow meanings – to ‘name’ things, acts, and ideas – is a source of power” (1986: 388).

the system of European Union (EU) food protection. This chapter focuses on these actors and the interests and effects of their acting. Based on case studies of PDO cheese specialties, it discusses how local actors apply the EU regulations on geographical indications and how they interpret, give meaning and profit (by) them. By doing so, it becomes clear that the actors involved create, confirm and strengthen several borders. This is why I chose the *shaping of borders* as the title and topic of this article.

In order to sort material and arguments for a discussion on border-shaping in the context of PDO specialties, I brainstormed by drawing up my associations and questions. One of these drafts engaged me so much that I decided to put this sketch in the focus of this paper in order to critically reflect both the shaping of borders in the context of food protection, as well as my interpretation of this acting. This sketch shows a dichotomic scene (Fig. 1): On the left, I drew high mountains, in front of them two cows (as mentioned before, I am working on PDO cheese, which is probably why cows came to mind). I drew the cows as calm and content, and colored their coats in black. I drew two very different white cows on the right side of the paper: They are running down their little hill. Their eyes are wide open, as are their mouths. Then I drew a line, a diagonal, right through the picture and scene. And I added scissors (as big as a cow) on the top of this line. This line destroyed the scene.

By looking at that picture, I realized what I drew *associatively*: On one side, the *black* cows are grazing calmly and contently, on the other *white* cows are romping crazily and jealously; and between the black and white cows runs this border shaped by geographical indications, which demarcate and distinguish an inside and an outside. Realizing my sketched categorical assumptions, I asked myself critically if these opposites really exist or if I had created them, drawing them quite literally in



Figure 1: Shaping border in culinary landscape. Sketch by the author, May, 2013

black and white. This self-skeptical attitude strikes me as a suitable starting point to discuss the shaping of borders in the context of geographical indications. Accordingly, I formulated two opposed questions: Where do the actors involved experience borders in the context of EU food politics and how do they shape them? In order to answer these questions, I structured my case studies' material and carved out four central practices, which may illustrate the actors' intentions and behavior. These are: defining and demarcating, and enabling and excluding. Before I expand them, I will give a short insight into the issue of my research.

2 Outlining the Context: Carrying out Research on PDO Cheese

Parmigiano Reggiano, Piave, Allgäuer Emmentaler and Odenwälder Frühstückskäse – four types of cheese, all of them labeled by a PDO, altogether chosen to be the object of our study in which we carried out research on a binational field in a bidisciplinary team, combining the perspective of agricultural-economists and cultural anthropologists, from July 2011 until June 2014.² The selection of the PDO cheeses did not merely follow the comparability of two European states, but also further: Two of them, Parmigiano Reggiano and Allgäuer Emmentaler, seemed to be more well-known, whereas Piave and Odenwälder Frühstückskäse, by contrast, less so. The first two are still each produced by several cheese-makers, while the second two are each currently produced by only one manufacturer. This asymmetric, comparative scenario was chosen in order to provide evidence for the EU guidelines as they appear in different regions, contexts and practices.

We carried out interviews with cheese-makers, local and regional government officials and marketers, members of dairy associations and consortiums, people in local non-governmental organizations and museums. In addition, I did participant observations in training sessions for PDO cheese-sellers, as well as in local and international fairs and festivals dedicated to cheese or regional food. All of these interviews, events and observations were chosen to be as parallel as possible for each of the four cases. Using these interviews and observations, we aimed to find out if, where, how and why geographical indications show economic, political, social, legal and, therefore, cultural effects.

With a sociocultural approach, centering my attention on the actor(s), I focused on initiation and application processes, the establishment of geographical indications, and structures of government and policy-making in order to understand the

² This study is embedded in the interdisciplinary research project "The Constitution of Cultural Property," which is located mainly at the University of Göttingen, run by Prof. Regina F. Bendix, and founded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for the period of June 2011 to June 2014. In this context, the sub-project on geographical indications was carried out in close cooperation with the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Development, University of Göttingen, namely Prof. Dr. Achim Spiller and Dr. Katia Laura Sidali, and the Institute for Historical and Cultural Anthropology, University of Tübingen, represented by Prof. Dr. Bernhard Tschöfen (recently University of Zurich) and the author. For an early examination see Tschöfen 2008.

processes of cultural propertization and actors' scope of action within the European protection system. It seemed and seems important not to illustrate this (socio)cultural dimension apart from the economic and legal discussions, but in close connection to them.³

Out of that material, in order to narrow down the content, I will concentrate hereafter on one case which shows some interesting points regarding the shaping of borders: The PDO cheese Allgäuer Emmentaler and the processes and actors around it will take the center stage of this paper. Both general and particular practices may be detected by using this example. A comparative look at the Odenwälder Frühstückskäse will round out this perspective.

3 Defining: European Expectations, Individual Implementations

The PDO is the highest label within the system of geographical indications. There are fixed expectations tied to this label which the EU translated into compulsory criteria and guidelines. Thus, to earn a PDO, the applicants have to prove that the product is both typical and traditional for a specific area. Article 4 of the 2006 Regulation dictates:

The product specification shall include at least:

- (a) the name of the product or foodstuff comprising the designation of origin or the geographical indication
- (b) a description of the agricultural product or foodstuff, including the raw materials [...]
- (c) the definition of the geographical area [...]
- (d) evidence that the product originates in the defined geographical area [...]
- (e) a description of [...] the authentic and unvarying local methods [...].⁴

Whereas the EU regulation formulates some clear expectations of a PDO, the local food reality, however, is less definite: In order to gain a PDO, local actors need to negotiate the case-specific answers to the parameters required. Thus, practitioners, politicians and proponents – in our cases, cheese-makers, consortiums and officials on a regional or federal level – work together to put the EU regulation into action: The actors have to *define* the specialty with the aim of distinguishing one special product from all the others.

³ Such as Hermann Bausinger (1997: 113) required for an investigation into European structures concerning the close intermeshing of sociocultural and politico-economic discussions.

⁴ Council Regulation (EC) No. 510/2006 of 20 March 2006 on the protection of geographical indications and designations of origin for agricultural products and foodstuffs; Article 4.

Dairying represents the most important economic sector in the Allgäu, a region, rather landscape, in Southern Germany. The Allgäuer Emmentaler is said to be traditionally anchored and, therefore, labeled by a PDO. The product's specification, however, was nothing like unambiguous: The actors found themselves in fundamental discussions in order to define the raw material of Allgäuer Emmentaler. A trained cheese-maker who is today the manager of the biggest exporter of Allgäuer Emmentaler PDO, remembered:

There was much debate on the question of: How strict do we limit the protection? [...]. Many said, it's okay to protect an Allgäuer Emmentaler made with silo milk [...]. But the protection level was established by a stricter model, a good thing in my eyes. Because... if we protect Allgäuer Emmentaler with hay milk, that is raw milk, this is a higher protection. But there was much debate. In the end there was that spokesman who forced the decision.⁵

Two observations may be deduced from this quote: firstly, different types of milk were established for the production of this cheese before the registration as a PDO; not every producer used the same *traditional* raw material as its basis. Secondly, referring to the spokesman, there are always people who influence, decide and realize a legal requirement. They are capable of establishing an ingredient as *right*, to name a product *traditional*, to demarcate one practice from another. In fact, these actors shape a border by defining. This actively defined border between Emmentaler made from raw milk and Emmentaler made from silo milk is reflected in my dichotomic sketch described above: In this special case, facing the fact that the Allgäuer Emmentaler PDO is defined by one special type of milk (excluding another), my active creation of a sketched PDO border may be appropriate. But does this scene in black and white also apply to the other parameters required? In order to answer this question, I turn to the EU's expectation of a clearly defined geographical area, due to the associative strength of spatial borders: Its linear presentation on maps, for instance, makes this type of border easier to understand than the more invisible social, temporal and cultural demarcations.⁶

4 Perceiving Landscape, Demarcating Space

The EU requirement for a "definition of the geographical area"⁷ includes geological, biological and climatic details, but, first of all, a spatial demarcation of the product's origin. When I enquired about the border around the area of the cheese's origin, a longstanding Allgäu cheese-maker stated: "For me the Allgäu ends in Eggmannsried

⁵ Interview with an exporter, Krimratshofen, March 21, 2013. All statements were gathered and translated by the author.

⁶ Also in anthropology, the discussion of spatial borders dominates in the research of borders; cf. Donnan 1999: 19 or Schmidt-Lauber 2006: 378.

⁷ Council Regulation (EC) No. 510/2006 of 20 March 2006 on the protection of geographical indications and designations of origin for agricultural products and foodstuffs; Article 4.

[...]. I know that there is the border and then it gets flat, too. [...] The border has existed for sure for hundreds of years because somebody made it. I cannot tell you why. And I don't think that anybody knows that."⁸ In his words, it is echoed that the Allgäu's border is experienced as a visible difference in the perception of landscape. By naming the flat part, he refers implicitly to *the other* hilly part which represents the Allgäu. Just to complete his thoughts, the border separates these scenic opposites. Beside the perception of landscape, the knowledge of the spatial course of the border in his statement becomes important. He refers to some kind of general regional knowledge, which assumes the Allgäu's end as determined and handed down. Everyday perception and the assumed run of the border become blurred.

I encountered a similar kind of view only a few kilometers away when I met the chair of the Milchwirtschaftlicher Verein Allgäu Schwaben (Dairy Association of Allgäu-Swabia). Asked for the course of the border which marks the cheese's area of origin, he answered: "For me it is totally clear. I mentioned that grassland area already; if you come from Memmingen, then you'll recognize it: at some point agriculture begins. And that is the border."⁹ The visual perception of the border repeats itself and becomes a kind of pattern. The difference to the cheese-maker quoted before lays in the tone of this statement: The chair spoke in a manner as if he had to finally sum up. The concern to demarcate the Allgäu as a region resonated in his voice, and the concern to justify this course of the border even more. Based emphatically on the way he expressed himself, the listener gets the idea that the discussions and negotiations which led to this demarcation were neither unambiguous nor unequivocal.

The EU regulation seeks the demarcation of an area where the product is produced and protected in order to close it off from a spatial outside where the production of this product is prohibited. The reality, however, offers several established modes to demarcate *the Allgäu*. They depend, on the one hand, on varying historical realities; on the other hand, they correspond to the subjective interests of those who drew and draw the borders. Accordingly, the conversation with the association's chair shows that the border of the Allgäuer Emmentaler's origin had to be defined in the course of the application procedure. The actors involved had to come to a compromise, which then had to be reasoned. Thus, the spatial border was defined quite pragmatically in the 1990s: It was adapted to production at that time. The chair of the Dairy Association Baden-Württemberg stated: "In Bavaria there have been a lot of discussions. Here, however, ... the chronological development made clear that all producers should be included as well as the relevant districts So the producer in Kofeld and his suppliers had to be included. This is why the district of Lake Constance is included. This is a Lex Bauhofer."¹⁰ To contextualize: Bauhofer is the name of a producer and Kofeld is the small town where the dairy is based. The

⁸ Interview at a dairy, Gospoldshofen, March 16, 2012.

⁹ Interview at the Milchwirtschaftlicher Verein Allgäu-Schwaben e.V., Kempten, March 12, 2012.

¹⁰ Interview at the Milchwirtschaftlicher Verein Baden-Württemberg e.V., Kirchheim, May 11, 2012.

governmental district of Lake Constance, however, is located to the west, and it is quite rare that this district is assigned to the Allgäu. Thus, the border-shaping here happens on a very personal level.

What does this Allgäu discussion say about the shaping of borders? At least three different things: Firstly, the Allgäu's border is perceived due to its particular landscape. Regardless of to whom I talked, he or she named agriculture, grassland, hilly and flat areas as visual-geographic criteria. Secondly, beside the perceived borders, there are those that are demarcated. These depend on cases and actors, a fact which is finally confirmed by the border-shaping in Baden-Württemberg. Thirdly, due to the application procedure, the Allgäu's border became that line which my sketch alleged: a separating line which creates an inside and an outside, also spatially, quite verbatim – borders in landscapes.

5 Enabling: Structures and State

After having negotiated and defined the parameters required within the producers' group, the product's traditional and regional origin must be proved to EU level officials. This process is time-consuming and requires funds, research and expert knowledge, as well as the ability to translate everyday practices in an EU application, in an *EU language* (cf. Hegnes 2010; Welz 2007). Not every producer or producer group has the possibility to complete such translation work.

Whereas the application seems to be open to everybody, there are actually some producers who are not enabled to venture into the application process and do not receive assistance from governmental departments. Furthermore, there might be some who do not even know their rights and, thus, do not have the possibility of registering their product because of a lack of knowledge or support. Where are these conditions of influence, governance and power located?

Politically, the Allgäu belongs to the federal states of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. Consequently, there are two ministries and two dairy associations whose officials and representatives worked together in the application's processes and they carry joint responsibility to this day. Both states lead in their number of registered products in the German ranking of EU-protected products. Of the altogether ninety products with geographical indications, Baden-Württemberg holds eighteen and Bavaria thirty.¹¹

The Bavarian state especially has invested a great deal of effort into labeling its regional specialties and supporting its local agriculture. In recent years, the Bavarian State Ministry of Food and Agriculture has founded a "competence center of food" with a special section offering advice and support for the registration for EU protection. Furthermore, this Ministry initiated different advertising campaigns for their

¹¹ Cf. <http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/door/browse.html?display> <accessed January 22, 2013>.

protected specialties.¹² In short, the Bavarian state acts on a multitude of levels in order to protect and promote its products. Of course, this does not remain unnoticed – or uncommented upon – from the outside.

In order to take this outside perspective, I turn to Hesse, a federal state which borders on Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. Nonetheless, structural terms in politics and administration are different. In order to talk about the Odenwälder Frühstückskäse PDO, I went to the Hessian Ministry for Agriculture and Consumer Protection. The person in charge there stated, more with admiration than envy:

Well Bavaria is on top. [...] They have a better financial standing and then they founded that marketing association, allocated to the ministry. ... And they have very good experts, universities who do research in this direction who are represented in the ministry. [...] They are really great. With all the products that are already protected [...]. They have another culture than that of Hesse, for example. From a historical point of view, Hesse is patched together. It arose only after the Second World War. That needs time.¹³

She referred unmistakably to a hierarchy of knowledge and possibilities and to the different conditions with which the federal states have to work. These differences have grown historically as well as economically, politically and culturally – and they might appear as borders, understood in the context of having the luck of support here and a lack of support there: Shaping borders in culinary landscapes implies borders of enabling.

The EU communicates as if the application for a geographical indication is a bottom up-initiative: “Producers draw up their own specifications. While these are vetted by national and EU authorities, there is a strong element of self-policing in the systems” (European Commission 2007: 10). However, as mentioned above, not every producer group shows the capability to apply for a PDO, nor to fulfill the EU’s expectations to arrange and translate arguments for product and protection. Experts are needed to establish geographical indications.

Claims to geographical indications require this enablement by *outsiders* as they constitute, to speak with Bendix and Hafstein, a “technology of governmentality” (2009: 7). Rather than a bottom up-process, the implementation of geographical indications appears as top down practices (cf. May 2013, 2014). These practices are dependent on operations at political and administrative levels: Whereas some states, regions and responsible actors have a deep interest in regional specialties and their protection, others are light on support. If you compare the cases of Allgäuer

¹² For instance, this Ministry initiated a database for Bavarian specialties and the advertising campaign “World Culinary Heritage of Bavaria,” cf. May 2013, <http://www.weltgenusserbe.de/>, <http://www.kern.bayern.de/ueberkern/>, as well as <http://www.stmelf.bayern.de/> <accessed February 17, 2014>.

¹³ Interview at the Hessian Ministry for Environment, Energy, Agriculture and Consumer Protection, in the Department of Agricultural Markets, Products’ Innovation, Wiesbaden, 13.11.2012.

Emmentaler and Odenwälder Frühstückskäse, it becomes obvious that the strongly structured region gains further advantages due to the EU offer to protect local specialties.¹⁴

The European instrument of specialties' protection provides a better fit to some states, regions, structures and actors than to others. The Allgäu, without doubt, belongs to the more privileged parts. Here, the structures do not only allow the establishment of EU protection but, by doing this, they are even strengthened. There are differences in capability between regions which are reinforced. Furthermore, there are differences in knowledge between producers and politically administrative actors. However, these two gaps differ fundamentally: Whereas the latter is bridged by experts and enablers, *border crossers* or *border workers*, the first becomes even deepened by practices of EU food protection.

6 Contrasting Categories, Creating Realities: an Interim Interjection

So far different practices of border shaping could be named: Firstly, there were the acts of demarcating and naming, which are required for a PDO application. The definition of the product worth protecting, of its material and area of origin creates and strengthens contrasting structures: raw milk versus silo milk, protected traditional regional practice versus practice, PDO cheese versus cheese. Without doubt, this binary confrontation is too systematic, too reduced and, in fact, not (always) true.

However, facing the heart of the matter, the shaped borders own the power to give meaning. They own the capability to demarcate and name things, acts and ideas. Not without reason, Braun denotes borders as "reality constituting lines of meaning" (2006: 24). In the same breath, however, he points to the constructed character of these lines and to their arbitrary character: Each actual border could also have been determined in another form (cf. *ib.*). These borders do not simply appear or have always existed, but they are shaped by the actors involved. In this specific case, cheese-makers and dairy associations as well as political and administrative actors draw these lines of meaning – and with it they create reality.

Under the patronage of the EU, local actors gain the power of denoting a product as special. Here, however, the second observation discussed becomes relevant. There are basal preconditions of belonging to a (not) committed and (less) well set up administration unit. This slope of regions and actors' capabilities becomes sharpened by the implementation of the European instrument. Thus, the binary confrontation has to be replenished with the aspect of a *privileged* and *normal* region and of a *leading* and *outlying* area.

Focusing on the axis between European politics and everyday practices, the implementing actors appear as core. The dairymen, marketers, politicians and administrators define, demarcate and enable. Therewith, they stabilize production methods, rights, status, belongings and meanings. Due to their practices, an everyday practice

¹⁴ The literature also draws parallels between strong economic areas and strong, innovative food cultures. Cf. Matthiesen 2004.

such as cheese-making becomes a *protected practice*, a defined act, a right. They shape visible and invisible borders intentionally and unconsciously; and so do I by describing my observations. However, my sketch's dichotomy is rather strengthened than solved – a fact which has to be turned to now.

7 Including and Excluding: Borders and Belongings

Allow me to restart from the question about the cheese's origin mentioned already. When asked about its spatial border, a young dairyman in Allgäu's mountainous area uttered: "The principal of the dairy-master school always said that the Allgäu does not have borders. He gave us many examples of people who, with regard to milk, still belong to Allgäu. I myself have not dealt with this. For me, it's good enough if I belong to the Allgäu."¹⁵ Beside the fact that this young cheese-maker refers back to his teacher at all, it is remarkable how he deals with the older man's attitude: Although he firstly quotes the principal's words, he pulls back at once, only to get to his central point: it does not matter how to define the Allgäu, he cares about his own belonging. Therewith, he names a central characteristic of borders: They do not only cut one side off from the other, but they shape the separated parts.

Along with the fact that a border marks the edge of a system, it also provides the basis by which members within the border can identify themselves¹⁶ – and by which they can be identified from the outside. As Bausinger indicates, regional individuality is a value adjustment from outside (1997: 116). And yet again, we encounter binary structures: Due to borders, the *outside* actors in nearby regions may organize their knowledge and orient their acting. However, this contrasting system creates identity for all the actors inside.

Whereas the shaping of borders generally allows for an "enclosure"¹⁷ of the group on an ideational level, in the special case of geographical indications, it is accompanied by a legal consequence: As in the context of EU protection, a proprietization of a cultural practice and product takes place and the producers (have to) join. Due to the award of a PDO, the EU grants certain rights and protection to the product's producers. Together, they own the right to produce the recently protected product and to name it after the spatial origin. Thus, the cheese-makers find themselves in new situation: By becoming outwardly a community of interests, ex-competitors become partners and act commonly against the outside.

The so-called *common property*, however, is reserved for those producers who manufacture the registered good in accordance with certain guidelines as they have been discussed above: in accordance with established ingredients and production

¹⁵ Interview at a cheese dairy, Hopferau, March 13, 2012.

¹⁶ A thought which traces back to no less than Hegel ("Elements of the Philosophy of Right," 1821), who indicated that identity is based on borders and the ability to distinguish from others. Subsequently, it became frequently discussed with regard to my topic by, for instance, Donnan 1999 or Silberman et al. 2012.

¹⁷ A term which was established by Max Weber, who refers, for instance, to the use of common ground (Weber 2009).

methods within defined borders. If one does not uphold all of these parameters, one may neither produce the PDO good nor name the product after the origin's region. Thus, instead of using the term *commons* for rights regarding geographical indications, Rose uses the term "limited common property," which is "held as commons amongst the members of a group, but exclusively vis-à-vis the outside world" (1998: 32).

Regarding the processes of in- and exclusion in the context of the common property Allgäuer Emmentaler PDO, however, I detected two remarkable processes which finally undermine the binary opposite. Firstly, the belonging to either the PDO group of producers or the *non-PDO outside* is not as clearly separated as I had expected: The same producers who manufacture Allgäuer Emmentaler PDO (with raw milk, "the black inside") also produce Emmentaler without PDO, which is made with silo milk (and because of that, it should actually be located on the other side of my cut sketch). Certainly not all of the PDO producers do this, but many of the bigger producers do – why? A staff member of a dairy company which produces both Allgäuer Emmentaler and Emmentaler explains:

The market asked for more industrial, prepackaged ware and then we tried to simplify the processes within the company. [...] It was an insidious process in which the market sold more and more Emmentaler, while the demand for Allgäuer Emmentaler fell. [...] You will find only a few consumers who are aware of the difference [...] and the German consumer looks at the price, not at the quality.¹⁸

In view of growing demand, the silo milk was cheaper and easier to handle than raw milk. Actually, you may ask a higher price for the raw milk cheese, but the consumer buys this mostly cheaper *unprotected*, therefore, *untraditional* version. The producers subvert their own concern of the product's protection by these two grounds.

Secondly, there is one producer who has produced Allgäuer Emmentaler PDO with raw milk for years. Even today he produces Emmentaler with raw milk in accordance with the methods and ingredients established and defined as *traditional* in the context of EU protection. Nevertheless, he is no longer permitted to name his cheese Allgäuer Emmentaler because he quit the PDO producers' group for one simple reason: He no longer wanted to be audited, which is required by the EU. In his words: "I may no longer use the word 'Allgäu' to name my cheese. That's why I produce 'Gospoldshofener Emmentaler' here. We are well-known in this area, which is why I may adhere to my decision. But I produce my cheese just like the Allgäuer Emmentaler."¹⁹

The EU protection in the form of the PDO label counts so little to this cheesemaker that he waives his right of EU decoration just for the possibility of using the localizing term "Allgäu." Even though he fulfils all expectations to name his cheese

¹⁸ Interview in the administrative office of a dairy company, Kempten, March 19, 2013.

¹⁹ Interview at a dairy, Gospoldshofen, March 16, 2012.

“Allgäuer Emmentaler,” he forbears from doing so and puts his trust in the fact that his local network is strong enough to sell his cheese. Coming back to my sketch, I wonder: Suppose he had cows, on which side of my cut border would they graze? These two observations, in essence, destroy my binary opposition. In fact, they turn my scene literally inside out. Based on these points, the border has to be altered. It cannot run in a straight line. It should show curves and corners if it appears as a line at all. These two cases show me emphatically all that grey area which lies between my sketch in black and white.

8 Drawing a Line Under Observations and Interpretations: a Conclusion

Since I cannot close and leave an unspecified grey area between the EU guidelines and the local implementation, I summarize the observation on Allgäuer Emmentaler PDO, questioning my sketch in black and white again and summing up my observations on shaping borders in the EU protection system. Hereby, four peculiarities emerge.

Firstly, definitions and demarcations have to be determined in the course of application for a PDO. They concern ingredients and practices as well as spatial borders. Therewith, the actors distinguish an inside from an outside, an assumed traditional right from a wrong. Thus, they create dichotomous couples which function as patterns for the organization and perception of reality.

Secondly, the analysis of space gained center stage not only because spatial borders are central for the conception of the EU instrument, but also because the area of origin emerges as the EU's standardizing measure: Producers of a certain area gain the right to a “limited common property” (Rose 1998: 32). The foundation of a spatial community which possesses the right to the name of a product and its method of production evokes a separation of (spatial) insiders and those (personal, social and financial) who are excluded.

Thirdly, not every actor may put the EU regulation into practice. In order to translate (traditional) cheese-making in an application and legal text requires the support of actors on an administrative level. They provide a certain knowledge and overview and assist in processes of application and valorization. This paper, however, showed that some regions may offer this support, while others may not due to financial or structural differences. It crystallizes: The better organized a regional administrative unit is, the better it may implement the instrument and profit by it.

At least the observations and interviews showed that neither EU label, the use of the regional name nor the spatial community's solidarity are attractive enough to some producers. Regardless of all the common work directed into the application and valuation, regardless of European benefits or the simple fact that the rules for production are put on by their own kind, each actor pursues their own goal, follows their own interests and, therewith, shapes their own borders.

All these things considered, my sketch in black and white allowed me to take a good look at my part as observer, interpreter, border crosser and border worker. It allowed me to give broader evidence beyond my exemplary case to detect general

items valid for other products and practices in the context of the EU instrument of geographical indications: There are borders which are shaped during and because of the implementation and translation of European politics in everyday practices. These borders *in culinary landscapes* are mental and material, spatial and legally binding. They are constructed, perceived and experienced, as well as less straightforward, definite or tight as I had expected.

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Role of the Geographical Indication Certification in Grapes and Mangoes: the Submedium São Francisco River Valley Case¹

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Abstract. Brazilian products and services have found a way of enhancing and protecting the cultural heritage of agricultural regions in geographical indications (GIs). Grapes and mangoes of the Submedium São Francisco River Valley are included in this context, because they have been being registered since July 7, 2009. The GIs' processing of these products is important in order to understand the role performed by the GIs and what the conclusions arrived at by the responsible agents are and by the institutional changes which occurred at local and regional levels. The grapes and mangoes sector in the region of Juazeiro/BA-Petrolina/PE of the Submedium São Francisco River Valley was chosen as a case study. Four key chain agents were interviewed *in loco* during the period from February 28 to March 9, 2013, characterizing the research as exploratory and descriptive, with a qualitative approach of data analysis. The conclusion is that GIs have the function of keeping products authentic, signaling as a market differential for specific shares, and avoiding piracy and fraud.

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1 Introduction

Geographical indications (GIs) have a merit value for the products concerned and protect the regional culture and heritage, as they are a form of protection for both products and services in a given region. Thus, it is necessary for the Brazilians concerned to have a specific production system or “know-how” about their products and services which distinguishes them from similar ones produced elsewhere. This enables Brazilian products or services to gain the seal of geographical indications awarded by the National Institute of Intellectual Property (INPI) (Conselho, 1992, 2012). The GIs are, in fact, a *sui generis* right that belongs to products related to a certain area (collective ownership), instead of to a group of agricultural producers, in other words, the right belongs to a territory where the “know-how” has been historically developed (Conselho, 2006b).

The idea of GIs was born in the seventeenth century among European countries, inspired by the discovery of new forms of production. Europe has a specific legislation (Conselho, 1992, 1996, 2006a, 2006b, 2008a, 2008b) to discuss and regulate the GIs. In the context of the European Union (EU), a system of protection and enhancement composed of the Protected Designations of Origin (PDO), the Protected Geographical Indications (PGI) and the Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) was created in 1992. A total of 1,238 items on the registers of PDO, PGI and TSG are recognized by the EU, with an approximate distribution of 287 in Italy, 243 in France and 204 in Spain (data accessed August 31, 2014).

Furthermore, the European Regulation no. 1151/2012 was recently approved which establishes a system of protected designations of origin and geographical indications in Article 4 in order to help producers linked to a geographic area. Note that the concept of GIs in Brazilian legislation is very similar to that existing in European legislation. However, one item of distinction between them is that the Brazilian definition of a GI covers any kind of products and also provision of services.

The GIs were regulated in Brazil by Act no. 9,279 (Brazil 1996), which establishes rights and liabilities related to industrial property. The section on GIs are dealt with in Articles 176–182, and divides them in two types: a) the Indication of Source (IS), which values the relation between the product and its source (production, extraction or manufacture of a certain product, or provision of services) when at least one phase of the process is performed in the region; and b) the Designation of Origin (DO), which is only awarded when characteristics presented in the product or service depend, exclusively, on the geographic media, including anthropic or cultural local actions that would not happen under different conditions. Since Brazil is also part of the World Trade Organization (WTO), legislation about intellectual property and rights, GIs included, were placed under the responsibility of the INPI, where specific regulations are established for GI processing through norms, including application, examination and grant (INPI 2000). The GIs can be found in different states of Brazil, due to the geographical and cultural diversity of various regions. According to INPI (2013), there are seven types of DO and 26 types of IS

in the country. The GIs for grapes and mangoes of the Submedium São Francisco River Valley (SMVSF), located in the division of Bahia and Pernambuco states, have been registered since July 7, 2009 (GI Registration 200701).

Aliceweb data (2012) show an impressive production and cultivation area of grapes and mangoes in the region of Juazeiro/BA-Petrolina/PE. The region accounted for 82 % of mangoes and 100 % of grapes of the total export from Brazil to the EU in 2012. The total volume cultivated was about 41 and 78 thousand tons of grapes and mangoes, respectively, in 2012. Note that the region is considered as an export milestone and singled out because of the many certification programs executed there (Camargo et al. 2011; Dörr and Grote 2009).

Despite the publication of several studies on European, Asian and Latin American products delineated by an economic approach (Bowen and Zapata 2009; De-francesco et al. 2012; Dentoni et al. 2012; Jena and Grote 2010, 2012; Jena et al. 2012; Kizos 2013; Kizos and Vakoufaris 2011; Longobardi et al. 2012), Brazil is still lacking more studies concerning this area (Cruz and Menasche, 2013; Froehlich et al. 2009, 2010; Valente et al. 2012) with an economic-cultural approach.

All in all, the main objective of this research was to identify the role played by geographical indications in the grapes and mangoes sector in the region of Juazeiro/BA-Petrolina/PE, in the Submedium São Francisco River Valley. The research aims, more precisely, at identifying agents participating in the chains and the institutional changes which have occurred at local and regional levels since the introduction of these certification schemes.

2 Material and Methods

This research can be defined as exploratory and descriptive, with data analysis displaying a qualitative approach. It was carried out in the São Francisco River Valley region, which is formed by the states of Minas Gerais, Bahia, Goiás, Pernambuco, Sergipe and Alagoas, including the Federal District. The total area is approximately 640.000 km² and had about 13 million inhabitants distributed throughout 503 municipalities in 2012 (IBGE, 2010). The area studied (Juazeiro/BA-Petrolina/PE) is located in the Submedium São Francisco River Valley, in the semiarid Brazilian Northeast (Figure 1).

The field research was carried out *in situ* from February 28 to March 9, 2013, including four face-to-face interviews with the aid of a structured open questions script. The key agents consisted of two consultants of the Brazilian Service of Support for Micro and Small Enterprises (SEBRAE; Respondents A and C), a member of the Council of the Associations and Cooperatives Union of Table Grapes and Mangoes Producers of the Submedium São Francisco River Valley (Univale; Respondent B) and a researcher of the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (EMBRAPA; Respondent D) (Figure 2). The agents were selected with the view of the role played by the entities in the GIs' recognizing processes. Data were tabulated and analyzed qualitatively.

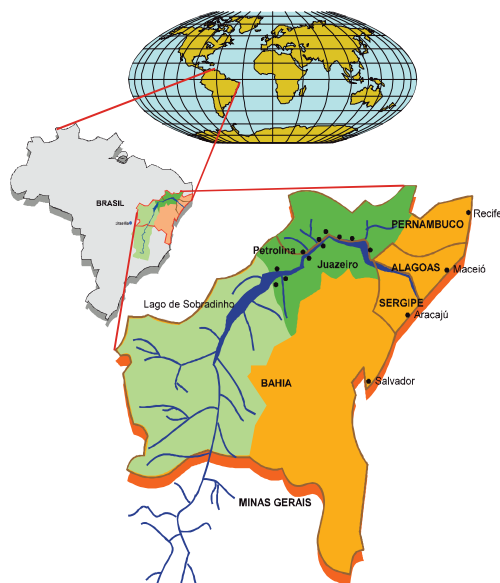


Figure 1: Surveyed area

Source: designed by the authors based on IBGE (2010)

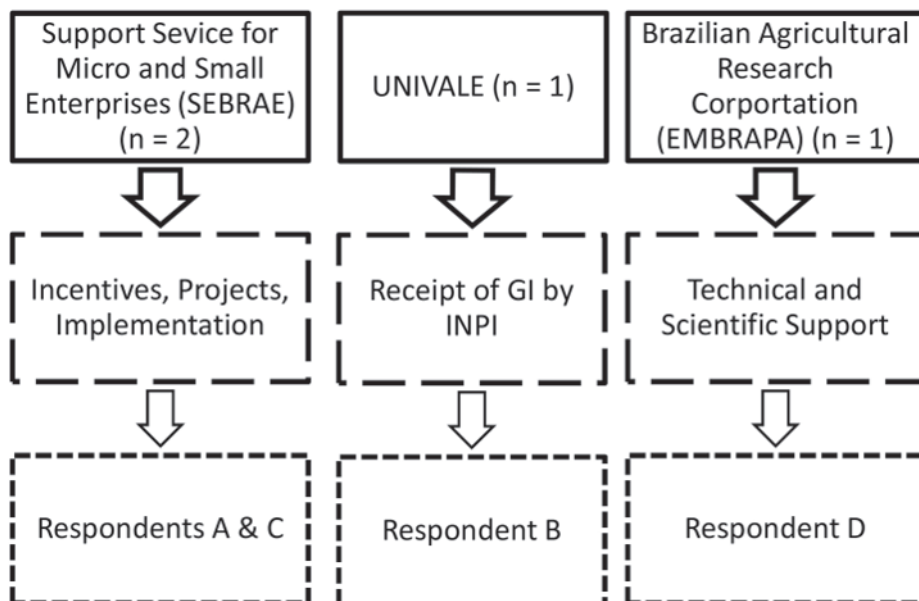


Figure 2: Diagram of data collection

Source: designed by the authors

3 Results

3.1 Institutional Setting of the Geographical Indication in the Region

The region which is the subject of this study was the first case registered for GIs covering two states (Pernambuco and Bahia) and two products (grapes and mangoes). Furthermore, it was also the first case in Brazil regarding fruit, a highly perishable product (Respondent A).

The preparation of documents for the filing of the application for GI with the INPI counted on the collaboration of several entities, namely, the Agriculture Federation of the State of Pernambuco (FAEPE), SEBRAE-PE, SEBRAE-BA, SEBRAE, EMBRAPA, grape and mango producers and the São Francisco and Parnaíba Rivers Valleys Development Company – Region Integrated Development (CODEVASFRIDE).

Respondent B points out that Univale was created with the purpose of legalizing GIs. The Brazilian Grapes Marketing Association (BGMA) held, at that time, 80 % of the grape export volume, while the Agricultural Cooperative Juazeiro of Bahia (CAJ) held 80 % of the mango exports. Together, a few exporters were dealing with 60 % of producers in the region. Respondent B also states that the region in the division of Juazeiro/BA and Petrolina/PE shares the same vegetation and climatic conditions. Thus, the GIs accountable were assigned to Univale. He relates the process needed for implementation of the GI in the region:

In 2004, SEBRAE offered sensibilization courses about GIs, as well as visits to associations and cooperatives. Univale was launched by 12 entities and 354 producers, supported by its articles of incorporation, actuation area and documentary evidence. EMBRAPA provided technical production studies free. CODEVASF delimited the Submedium São Francisco River Valley. The original ideas for the GI implementation, that later impressed SEBRAE, belonged to FAEPE. At first, only certified producers having Good Agricultural Practices (GAPs) could participate. The process was submitted to the INPI in 2007, and approval came in 2008. (Respondent B)

3.2 Membership and Selection of Producers to Adopt the GI

According to Respondent A, GIs are an aggregating rather than an excluding strategy, since producers making use of any GAP program can join. Respondent B highlights that criteria for producer's membership consist only for those having a GAP program. Nevertheless, the achievement of an export level fruit production concern requires hard work and investment, and the technical regulation provides rules and procedures to be met.

Thus, any producer can register on the site and print a stamp that will provide a traceable number. Next, the producer must send a fruit sample to the Technology

Institute of Pernambuco (ITEP) in order to check the requirements according to the protocol, after which, the system accepts the fruit as tested. Finally, the buyer can search the system for confirmation that the fruit is considered a GI.

However, Univale is currently lacking financial resources to develop the software and the system has still to be implemented. Conversely, the cooperative already has GIs, but, up to the time of the research operation, the SMVSF region had not yet exported any fruit with the GI seal.

For Respondent B, the seal represents friendship and union, as well as the guarantee of a first line product, while for Respondents A and D, the seal adds value to the fruit and represents a market share. Although the seal was launched in 2008, SEBRAE only restarted the GI activities in 2010 due to the international economic crisis. Because the product is perishable, the work is much harder than that when one is dealing with a processed product (Respondent D).

3.3 Level of Knowledge of Agents about GI

According to Respondent A, the exporting producer knows more about GIs than the producer who sells only in the domestic market. Respondent B says that debates on GIs consisted initially of two lines of thought: to favor producers or to market high quality fruit. After many discussions, the second line of thought, with the main focus on the production of high quality fruit, i.e. an export brand, prevailed. Thus, the main idea is that GIs will represent the difference between fruit with (GIs) or without quality (without GIs).

Opinions of agents on how significant the GIs are to the grapes and mangoes sector point to consumer recognition (Respondents A and C), to product features (e.g. identity [Respondent D], differentiation, quality and guarantee of source [Respondent B]) and to market share (Respondent A).

Respondent A highlights that “grapes and mangoes are authentic products since they have an authentic means of production which qualifies them as unique or difficult to cultivate in other regions.” Respondents C and D also agree that the authenticity of the fruit refers to the means of production, because, as Respondent C reports, “Grapes have the most striking and recognizable visual features, while mangoes are recognized through their taste.” Respondent B emphasizes that the region’s climate is singular.

Sims (2009) discussed that producers develop an objective method of identifying authenticity. In this sense, an investigation on consumers’ perceptions of agricultural products would be relevant.

3.4 Importance of Protecting GI

The smell and taste of the fruit play an important role in the act of purchase. As Respondent A says, “Many consumers appreciate the intrinsic characteristics of fruit, and the decision to buy is stimulated by smell, texture and color.” These unique

characteristics in these fruit may be attributed to the fact that the “SMVSF region is the only semiarid region in the world, so its production is differentiated” (Respondent A). In concert with that, Respondents B, C and D also agree that the tropical climate is unique and differentiated. Apart from the climate, Respondent D points out that the technologies used facilitate handling.

Therefore, having a protected product means “an opportunity to explore new markets” (Respondent C). To Respondent D, it means “prevention of piracy, reinforcement of the product and financial gains concerning quality.” Finally, to Respondent B, “It means that Brazil will be receiving more credit in the international market from the point of view of buyers and consumers.” Therefore, it becomes essential to protect grapes and mangoes “against fraud: producers versus loss of prestige and competition, and consumers versus deception and fraud” (Respondent A). Respondent C points out that the most relevant action is to “identify the products,” and also emphasizes that “they [the products] are public assets for the region and producers, also representing the strength of the São Francisco River Valley.” To Respondent B, “the grapes and mangoes of São Francisco River Valley will be marketed as GI products, i.e., the label will differentiate the fruit and avoid fraud.”

3.5 Opportunities and Access to Niche Markets

GIs appear to play a role in the domestic market (Respondent A) and mean having a collective record of intellectual property (not individual). In this sense, GIs represent a guarantee of market and competitiveness (Respondent D). To Respondent B, the aims are the domestic and foreign markets, because the international market is easier to access since buyers and consumers already know what GI products are. He also states that buyers in Brazil have a lower level of standards (cluster size, brix, berry size, color, etc.) and actually buy any standard of fruit.

Buyers are not aware of GIs, either at producer or consumer levels. Note that there is a potential market that needs *marketing* investments, said Respondent D. Respondent B states that there are niches in the domestic market where the GI fruit could be in demand and producers paid at a premium price. In addition, buyers would be able to appreciate the quality of the fruit.

It is not yet possible to report what changes have been brought about by GIs at local or regional levels. However, there was a change concerning the type of market accessed. Until 2008, 95 % of the regional grapes were exported and, after the international crisis, export grapes were selected to be sold on the domestic market or, the best fruit began to be sold within Brazil. As sales in the domestic market increased, producers demanded that buyers paid a special price for fruit quality (Respondent B).

3.6 Marketing of GIs

Because the software for registration and traceability is not yet running, according to Respondent D, there are no GI labels on product packaging so far. Nevertheless, the idea is to carry out advertising campaigns in Brazil (Respondent B). There is no specific festival in the region to announce and demonstrate GI products. However, the idea for the design of the software was unfolded during the National Fair of Irrigated Agriculture. As the GIs are not effectively in use, “consumers are not yet able to recognize them concerning grapes and mangoes” (Respondent D). On the other hand, it may be stated that “consumers themselves look for fruit quality, so when consumers start buying top quality fruit, they will also prefer and demand this kind of fruit” (Respondent B).

4 Conclusion

This research aimed to identify the role played by geographical indications in the grapes and mangoes sector in the Submedium São Francisco River Valley in Brazil. Four local players were interviewed in order to identify which institutional changes have occurred at local and regional levels since the introduction of these certification schemes.

It may be concluded that the agents had unanimous perceptions regarding the importance, authenticity and role of grape and mango GIs: consumer recognition, well-known characteristics of the product, differentiation, quality, and guarantee of origin and of market share. Establishing there will be a set of documents required for the application at the INPI provoked a change in the institutional environment at a regional level.

A concern regarding grapes and mangoes in the SMVSF region is the preservation of their identity and authenticity to prevent piracy and abuse. The GIs protect producers from fake products and guarantee consumers the purchase of protect producers from fake products and guarantee consumers the purchase of authentic regional products. For that, it is necessary to conduct studies on consumer behavior (Perosa et al. 2012) in order to outline their perceptions of quality, authenticity, etc. In addition, as GIs introduce grapes and mangoes into specific domestic market shares, producers expect to obtain *price premium* and recognition by consumers. Future research should concentrate on identifying and studying negative aspects that might be associated with GIs.

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Mediterranean Food as Cultural Property? Towards an Anthropology of Geographical Indications

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Abstract. This chapter focuses on three different aspects of Mediterranean food in order to emphasize the relevance of anthropology in future food studies. Firstly, it addresses the unity of Mediterranean culture through the relations religions have with food. Secondly, the chapter focuses on the differences between anthropology and other disciplines in the study of Mediterranean food. Thirdly, the chapter reports on the French debates concerning the AOC (Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée) labels and the French notion of terroir. Out of these three different aspects of food studies in France, the global aim is to present a reflection on the valorization of food products in the construction of local and Mediterranean identities. By investigating the religious and historical background in which Mediterranean food is captured, the chapter eventually shows the importance of the anthropological perspective in order not to limit the debates on cultural property and on geographical indications to their most evident and present political or economic dimensions.

1 Introduction

Due to the impulsion of some researchers working on food, a new research program was born at the Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme in Aix-en-Provence, France, in 2012, under the name "Alimed" (*Alimentation en Méditerranée*:

Food in the Mediterranean)¹. The ambition of this new program is to study food in a diachronic dimension from a multidisciplinary perspective, including anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, historians, archaeologists and prehistorians.

Most of the food studies specialists in France (Chevallier 2000; Fournier et al. 2012a and 2012b; Rautenberg et al. 2000) in recent years have focused on the *terroir* or soil products, on the French “AOC” labels (*Appellation d’Origine Contrôlée*, that is the French term for the protected designation of origin, PDO) and on their building up as cultural heritage. Such contributions have participated in the understanding of the stakes of the valorization of food products in the construction of local identities today, however, most of them remain anchored in the present and, because of that, they cannot really grasp the deep anthropological meanings of food and eating.

Within the “Alimed” program, themes such as local identities, the role of food in society and the history of food are considerably enriched by the multidisciplinary perspective. The historical context has been extended and the focus enlarged, taking into account not only the variations of food products through time, but also their place in cultural transmission and in the culinary heritage. Anthropology proves here to be very useful, linking together the historical context, the treatment of food products in its technical and economic aspects, and the connected mechanisms of social and collective appropriation.

This chapter focuses on three different aspects of Mediterranean food in order to emphasize the relevance of anthropology in future food studies. Firstly, it addresses the unity of Mediterranean culture through the relations religions have with food: Does such a unity exist and where does it come from? Secondly, the chapter focuses on the differences between anthropology and other disciplines concerning the study of Mediterranean food: How is it possible to have a multidisciplinary approach in this field of studies? Thirdly, the chapter reports on the French debates concerning the AOC labels and the French notion of *terroir*: What has been the impact of such categories on the conceptualization of food studies and of cultural property in France in the last decade or so?

Out of these three different aspects of food studies in France, the global aim is to present a reflection on the valorization of food products in the construction of local and Mediterranean identities. The chapter mainly consists of an inspection of the French and Mediterranean debate around the question of soil products and cultural heritage. By investigating the religious and historical background in which Mediterranean food is captured, the chapter eventually shows the importance of the anthropological perspective in order not to limit the debates on cultural property and on geographical indications to their most evident and present political or economic dimensions.

¹ The name “Alimed” is also an abbreviation for: *Alimentation Identités Modèles Economie Diachronie*. See <http://alimed.hypotheses.org/162> <accessed January 16, 2014>.

2 Food and Religions in the Mediterranean

Food is tightly connected with religion in the Mediterranean area, especially because the three monotheisms, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, have been present together in the same geographical area for a long time. The three form a pluri-religious Mediterranean context for the study of food and of the cultural property of food. Different scholars have suggested that food in the Mediterranean should be considered in such a perspective. The works, for instance, of Douglas (1971) in anthropology or Rodinson (1966) in history lead to a better understanding of the cultural dynamics of Mediterranean food. According to them, food can be defined as a stressful object. Food, in any case, implies a relation to the unknown, because all the different food products are caught up in specific symbolical meanings which go far beyond their material value. Food also needs special preservation techniques, which are themselves connected with special customs and beliefs. More-over, each culture develops a feeling of strangeness in front of another culture's food system. Because of these different features, thinking about eating in anthropology needs to ask what is good or bad to eat. According to the anthropologist Murdock (1967), for instance, only 42 out of 363 human groups eat dogs, despite their nutritive contribution. The same can be observed with horses: fewer and fewer French people are eating horse meat, similar to the English and American people. From an anthropological perspective, it means that some things are not culturally edible. Some foods are culturally forbidden and provoke dislike or disgust.

Such a construction of culinary tastes in the Mediterranean area has to be understood in connection with the traditional religious conceptualizations. The historian Rodinson (1966) suggested the idea of a distinctive "three religions triangle" between Judaism, Christianity and Islam. According to this theory, the prohibited food enables the three monotheisms to differentiate from each other in the Mediterranean. The prohibition of blood, for instance, is described in Leviticus for Judaism and the prohibition of pig is observed by both Jews and Muslims. The Shiite Muslims proscribe fish without scales, as the Jews do, but not the Sunni Muslims. The Christians eat rabbit and hare, whereas the Jews reprove them because these animals do not have cloven hooves. Some of the Christian congregations are exclusively vegetarian, but others are not.

There is a gradation in the prohibitions in all these different situations. Food behaviors can be sorted out according to the danger they are supposed to represent in a given culture. Moreover, such food prohibitions can be extended to the hands which have touched the food and sometimes to the cooking tools themselves. Observant Jews, for instance, have to sort out the dishes according to the prohibition of mixing milk and meat. This is an application of the verse: "You shall not cook the kid in the milk of his mother" in the Old Testament (Exode Michpatim XXIII, 19). This taboo concerning what we might call *culinary incest* implies that the dishes must be changed between the different courses of the meal (not only the plates,

knives, spoons and forks, but also the sinks used) and not to mix any milk, or any form of milky food, with meat.

Trying to explain the reasons for these prohibitions in the three monotheist religions, the anthropologist Harris (1987) considers that they would correspond to rational choices. However, for Douglas (1971), the food structure of the different human groups has to be understood in relation to some purity and impurity conceptions. The anthropologist Fabre-Vassas (1994) also speaks about the fears linked with the “too near” or “too far” aspects of food. In this perspective, it is not possible to eat either something too similar to us or too different. In antiquity, Cicero spoke about the impossibility of eating oxen used for plowing, which would be “too near” to human, and also of eating carrion, as they would be “too far” from human. This concept brings to light an anthropological parallel between eating and marital alliances: man has to marry at a good distance from his own family in all human societies. According to the anthropologist Fabre-Vassas (1994), for instance, the pig is too similar to the human, which could be a reason for its prohibition in several cultural settings. In a way, eating pigs would mean being a cannibal. In a similar way, according to Pythagoreans, eating broad beans is forbidden because they are considered too near, too similar to the human face and to the child.

Nevertheless, some flexibility can be observed in the social uses of such rules. Some religious prohibitions are permanent, others are temporary and some prohibitions can be broken according to special circumstances. In Iran in 1983, the Ayatollah Khomeini issued a *fatwa*, a religious statement, allowing the eating of sturgeon, which lacks scales (Bromberger, 2014). In the same way, an egg is not always considered in the same way. Is egg a fat food? There are some hesitations on such matters according to the different cultures. To take another example, it is interesting to remember that the Protestants used to eat meat on Fridays just to differentiate themselves from Catholics. On an individual level, double behaviors can sometimes also be observed. One can, for instance, drink heavily during Lent or during the holy periods, meaning a radical transgression. On the contrary, outside the holy periods, some believers accept compromises: Jews or Muslims sometimes eat ham when they stay with nonbelievers. Such practices show that social uses can be more flexible even if the rules are very strict.

In this section, the anthropological study of the religious background of Mediterranean food cultures eventually shows that the idea of cultural property is deeply anchored and, at the same time, divided between the different cultures. Mediterranean food, as a cultural property, belongs to all three religions at once. Its recognition as a shared cultural good raises a lot of problems.

3 Towards Interdisciplinary Diachronic Food Studies

The anthropological approach to food through religious prohibitions tells us a lot about human diversity, but it also reveals the unity of eating all around the world. Looking at some dishes, such as Spanish paella or egg fried rice, we might ask if the most notable differences are in the way in which they are cooked or they are

mixed in the food. Such a context, combining the unity and the diversity of food, explains the necessity of anthropologically orientated food studies. This context has also to be considered at different times in history, which suggests that diachronic studies should be encouraged. Killing animals according to Islamic rules, for instance, comes from the Koran and Sunna. It is an old practice which can be studied at different historical periods in Muslim societies. However, *eating halal* is rather considered as a contemporary topic in European societies and implies important questions of right, equality and ethical considerations in a multicultural context, as the works of the anthropologist Bergeaud-Blackler (2012, 2014) have illustrated in the case of Muslim communities in Europe.

In order to know more about the diversity and unity of Mediterranean food, more diachronic studies have also to be imagined. In order to understand the complexity of the relations between food and culture better, the “Alimed” program has suggested studying food in a diachronic dimension from a multidisciplinary perspective, including anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, historians, archaeologists and prehistorians. In this perspective, thematic studies are enriched by the multidisciplinary perspective. The historical context can be extended with the help of the archaeologists and the paleontologists. With the sociologists and the geographers, the focus can be enlarged, taking into account not only the variations of food products through time and space, but also their place in cultural transmission and in the culinary heritage.

How is it possible to speak together with the other different disciplines? To what point can the diachronic study of food be extended? According to Brugal and Desse (2004) and Brugal and Fosse (2004), paleoanthropologists, food can be studied as far back as the prehistoric period. Food and eating are then studied with the methods of archaeozoology. Which leftover bones are at the disposal of the researcher? A study of this period focuses on subsistence strategies, on the relations between men and animals, and opens up a reflection on ecology. As the researcher’s resources are based on animal leftovers, it is impossible to study the human diet alone. More is known about eating when meat becomes the main food of the first hominids. The studies on prehistoric feeding concentrate on the size of the game. If the game is small, the question is: Was it possible for men to take it in their hands? These considerations also raise the question of the acquisition of this food: Were the animals hunted or were they carrion? And, incidentally, when did men begin to eat meat? The evidence comes from the bones: by the scarred lines and the impacts left by prehistoric tools on them. Food was at the center of the system during prehistoric times. Some studies let us know about the impact of evolution on hominids at the food level. The structures of their stomachs or their reproduction cycles were modified by their food. However, since Cro-Magnon times, men can eat everything, thanks to important technical progress. Even if it might look strange to go back as far as in prehistoric times, this diachronic approach enables us to understand how strong the relation between food and ecology can be in a given territory. In this

context, geographical indications are important, because they show that the relation between food and the place where it is found, which is often emphasized in contemporary cultural property policies, can be traced back as far as in prehistory.

Herrscher (2011) and Herrscher and Le-Bras-Goude (2008), paleoanthropologists, have worked on food with a different method. They use isotopic analyses to understand geographical localization and consumption in prehistoric times. With this approach, their aim is to identify the culinary diet of prehistoric men. The goal of the isotopic method is to identify the different factors which can explain this culinary diet unambiguously. Based on the isotopic analysis of teeth and their proteinic contents, the method is, however, limited by the material itself: a tooth has a ten years period of regeneration. In this approach, it is necessary to conceptualize the system as a whole: environment, social structure, nutritional state, behavior and ideas concerning food, acquisition diagrams, distribution and consumption have to be taken into account in order to understand the prehistoric diet. In such a perspective, food cannot be separated from the context in which it is collected and transformed. Prehistorians provide strong evidence concerning the importance of the relations between men, food and their environment. They show that some of the products that are today valorized as traditional in the Mediterranean area had already been used long before written culture could keep a record of it.

These diachronic approaches are limited, because they study a given period and use only specific methods. Due to these limitations, they focus on the food system more than on one element, on food itself. At the same time, with such an interdisciplinary perspective, food appears as being as much a biological as a socio-cultural element. At least, food studies in a diachronic perspective show that both these aspects have to be worked out. Nevertheless, they also help us to understand the reasons why geographical indications today are so much connected with the idea of an immemorial tradition.

4 Terroirs and Protected Designations of Origin in France Today

Before these efforts of the “Alimed” program to build up an interdisciplinary approach to food in a diachronic perspective, social anthropologists had mainly worked with cultural geographers in France, producing, a few years ago, a book significantly entitled “A so desirable countryside – cultural heritage and new social uses” (Rautenberg et al. 2000).

Mixing the geography of cultural indications and social sciences, this book focuses on the cultural heritage processes concerning French *terroir* products, such as champagne, fine wines, *pâté de foie gras* or olive oil. Case studies in this book consider different technical elements connected with cultural heritage processes. In a broader perspective, the book deals with requalification processes concerning food products considered as cultural heritage.

Anthropologist Chevallier (2000) in his introduction to the book, shows that the valorization and merchandizing of cultural heritage has become essential in the last few decades for fitting out and developing specific territorial resources. Such a

development consists mainly of updating the processes by which societies or places constantly recycle their symbolic productions into new objects and new values. Cultural heritage in the different French regions has now become a cultural object, a mass consumption product and an element of the life context. It is no longer connected to the fine arts and historical monuments. In a way, the changes in the notion of cultural heritage in this context have led to a reevaluation of the notions of nature, wilderness and territory. The aim is then to understand how the different regions manage to build their cultural heritage out of specific local resources. Chevallier invites us to follow three directions in order to analyze this *heritagization* process:

- the question of the territories and of the political stakes linked to their definition;
- the reflection on the example of soil products, between culture and economy; and
- the changes in the relations between town and country, and the end of their opposition.

With such questions, the interest of interdisciplinary works concerning food becomes obvious. In this context, food has to be thought of, at all the different periods of history, as a system, taking into account not only the food itself and the products which are used to cook it, but also more technical aspects, such as the environment, the social context and its production, all these different aspects being connected with the building up of cultural heritage.

The aim of the interdisciplinary approach developed in this book is to understand how the different regions manage to build up their own cultural heritage. Studying the territories, the products or the relations to the neighbouring towns helps one to analyze new forms of dialogue between actors and institutions. The book also focuses on the relations between economic goods and cultural values, on the way local spaces and heterogeneous social groups hold together, and on the way social actors get involved in cultural heritage processes. This approach is especially useful to understand the processes of requalification, naming and revitalization.

However, this approach, as interesting as it could be, has been sharply criticized by sociologists Laferté and Renahy (2003). They explain in an article that this book contributes by itself to the production of this heritage by presenting a constructivist analysis of the new rural cultural heritage. Such a constructivist analysis of the cultural heritage building process would go against a more critical point of view, even leading to a belief in the “self-heritagization” of places and *terroirs*.

To answer this critique, the authors of “A so desirable countryside – cultural heritage and new social uses” have suggested that the analysis of cultural heritage, even a constructivist one, cannot be the same as the production of cultural heritage itself. Being objective in these matters, they argue, is impossible, because cultural heritage always depends on some public policies which use and instrumentalize it. In this

argument, cultural heritage is eventually defined by Chevallier (2000) as a common language created by the dynamic reconfiguration of the scientific, the political and the economic worlds. Such debates show the importance of paying attention to the context of the research and to the one in which the actors are caught. A lot of economic, political, scientific, social, cultural and esthetical arguments participate in the definition of cultural heritage and in its valorization. All these arguments lead to the requalification of various cultural elements on a spatial, social and symbolic level, and give them a new value, such as the French olive oil example shows.

Our own work on French olive oil becoming a PDO (Fournier 2010) has shown how the image of the *terroir* products has been deeply changed with the creation of special thematic festivals in the last few decades. Olive oil was, initially, a simple agricultural resource and then became a *terroir* product. Its image moved from a farmer culture to a modern urban culture. These changes are often criticized as an answer to the requirements of the tourist industry, but they are also a way to build up a productive nonindustrial economy out of a given geographical indication. This situation leads us again to the question of cultural property. Over one or two generations, some rural products have begun to refer to an urban distinctiveness. Wine and olive oil have become *fashionable*. To whom do they belong when their image changes? To the people who produce them? To those who sell them? To the tourists who buy them? To the people participating in the new thematic festivals? This series of questions shows how difficult it can be to determine to whom the *terroir* products belong. In the Mediterranean context where food cultures have been shaped through centuries by the three religions and by the environment, struggling around the belonging of food and defining geographical indications seem to be part of the traditional culture. Today, similar to in the past, food and eating enable not only a differentiation from one to another, but also a congregation through shared alimentary habits. Such a context makes the notion of cultural property difficult to apply to the Mediterranean as a whole, but enables an understanding why it is so important to rely on it to legitimize or to reinforce the different cultural traditions in this specific area.

5 Conclusion

The elements developed in the different sections of this chapter show what determines the French point of view on *Mediterranean food* and on cultural property. This point of view is, on the one hand, determined by larger anthropological preconceptions concerning religious prohibitions on food and long-term evolutions of the human diet, and, on the other hand, by contemporary research on PDO and *terroir* products in the Mediterranean regions of France. Concerning cultural property, we have tried to emphasize the way the notion of cultural heritage has been adapted to food products in recent years, leading to some changes in the definitions of this notion. The question is then to use this scientific heritage in order to prepare future research in food studies. If some researchers use to think of *geographic indications* only in relation to contemporary economic or social problems, the anthropological

perspective presented here shows that a more culturally based approach is required to grasp all the complexity of the problem. Food, indeed, carries strong symbolical meanings and needs to be diachronically studied, as the cultural anthropologists and the prehistorians show. However, on the other hand, there is a risk that if the contemporary aspects of food culture are not taken into account, the diachronic and cultural interpretations will always be confronted with empirical contemporary evidence. This chapter eventually shows the need to cross-fertilize the studies focusing on cultural or historical aspects of Mediterranean food and the research concerned with more contemporary social and economic aspects.

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Consumer Preferences, Marketing Problems and Opportunities for Non-EU-based GIs: Experiences for Brazil, Serbia and Thailand

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Abstract. The topic of geographical indications (GIs) has been put on the map as an effective idea that could steer rural economic development along with food product value-enhancement in rural areas in emerging countries. However, numerous studies have indicated that such approaches have been intensively focused on the European Union (EU) or other developed countries, while there have been fewer investigations involving consumer preferences in developing or emerging countries. This poses a problem, especially as consumers' voices are supposed to be the driving forces behind marketing strategies in the food business. This study condenses a collection of results from different studies performed by research students, entangled with the determination of consumer attitudes and preferences towards food products conveying GI labels based in non-EU countries (mangoes and coffee in Brazil, raspberries in Serbia, and fruit and vegetables in Thailand), and with both local (Brazilian) and foreign (Austrian) consumers and stakeholders. The outcomes that the comprehension of and reception by consumers in domestic markets might be more problematic than in foreign markets are put forward for consideration.

1 Introduction

Geographical indications (GIs) have been alleged to be powerful tools for rural economic development and value enhancement of food products (Belletti and Marescotti 2011; Giovannucci et al. 2009). However, their tremendous effectiveness regarding consumer-related studies has been strongly noticed in developed countries rather than in developing or emerging countries, and, as a result, evidence suggests that GIs are hardly known let alone being exploited in the latter countries. Therefore, this study intends to ensure interested parties of the opportunities available to any emerging market could these trends (rural economic development and value enhancement) be fully used. The study further outlines the possibility of a potential strategic tool that could appeal to both marketers and policy makers, who could use consumer preferences and willingness to pay (WTP) to achieve their goals by offering products that are in demand. This would allow development in communities on the basis of their cultural identity.

This study, thus, deals with the exploration of the existing relationship between GIs and marketing in general, offering a summary of the few studies from non-European Union (EU) countries which have focused on the protected and value-enhanced local and foreign specialty products. The purpose of this study is to address the following goals:

- To shortly discuss GIs as immaterial goods and sources of value.
- To summarize the results of a collection of different studies as examples of different analyses of the attitudes and preferences of consumers and supply chain stakeholders towards food products with a GI label based in a non-EU country, namely:
 - mangoes from Brazil with local consumers,
 - coffee from Brazil with local stakeholders,
 - raspberries from Serbia, with foreign consumers, and
 - fruit and vegetables from Thailand with foreign stakeholders.
- To offer some thoughts and suggestions for further research.

2 Geographical Indications

A GI characterizes a product as emanating from a demarcated region where a remarked quality and/or stature of the product was originally accredited to its geographical origin, the labor used to produce or harvest it and natural factors there (Giovannucci et al. 2009). A GI is helpful for consumers to ascertain the qualities of a product by confirming its link with its place of origin, distinctive production methods and characteristics that were well known to exist in the region. However, GIs require appropriate protection against imitation, fraudulent and free-riding products that could take advantage of their valuable reputation in an illegitimate way. They have also been put forward as powerful tools for rural economic development (Vandecastelaere et al. 2009). The purpose of initiatives related to GIs is to

empower the small local producers, foster the development of rural communities, support the local economy and sustain employment in the countryside. Potentially, such initiatives could inspire the formation of different GIs in a way which could be embraced as protecting and assuring the quality of the local products, their uniqueness and methods of production. Research has shown that this could be promising, but it also highlights that not all that glitters is gold (Bowen 2010; Mancini 2013; Zhao et al. 2014).

The effectiveness of a GI as a tool can be noticed when a commodity is converted into a consumer good (turning undifferentiated agricultural produce or raw materials into differentiated goods), which can be branded and regarded as unique by the customers. The process of branding and labeling is involved with many food specialties, but it is interesting to look at fruit as an example. Previously, buying fruit was perceived as a habitual buying behavior that included low involvement of the consumer buying process, whereas recently, the large amount of readily available information and food safety concerns has driven consumers and marketers to have a higher interest in the quality aspects of fruit. Therefore, this encouraged more effort being expended towards product differentiation regarding distributors' own labels, club varieties and GI labels. Another good example is coffee in Brazil. Coffee was regarded by its producing countries as a staple product that was usually traded as a commodity and had strong brands (owned by roasters). However, some producers recently tried to focus on the origins of its raw materials.

Geographical indications are currently in different stages of development in the countries on which we focus in our analysis. Therefore, it makes sense to cope with the issue of whether it would be worthwhile introducing the protection of the geographical name as a way of protecting the intellectual property and the cultural identity of local communities. We deal with this issue by adopting a marketing approach.

3 Marketing

We approach marketing in this study as a custom that is benefit-oriented rather than product-oriented, and whose final goal is to put the customers (voice) first. This is carried out by identifying, analyzing and satisfying their needs and wants, providing a desirable product or service at the right place, time and price, while building a long-term relationship. In order to retain this relationship, marketers continuously conduct market research to gauge consumer preferences and try to manage it by finding means of communicating value delivery. In most cases, consumer behavior is there to start with, whereby marketers find means of simplifying the decision-making process and positioning themselves prestigiously and strategically within niche segments as providers of high quality legitimate products and services using an adequate marketing mix (Mili 2006). This is followed by a technically differentiated marketing strategy that emphasizes quality attributes and the product's place of origin. This, in turn, adds value due to the product's uniqueness in terms of production, tradition, traditional knowledge and natural resources, which is ultimately

beneficial to producers from the area concerned, hence, their legal protection using GIs. This also encouraged tourism business ventures (Vandecandelaere et al. 2009).

Recent legislation on GIs within the framework of the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) and increasing interest have created a need to acquire more specific knowledge in the field. The key is to educate a typical consumer about the importance to the community and economy of GI designated products and increase the availability of information, especially in regions where these kinds of products are hardly known. On the contrary, in regions where they are known, marketers just have to continuously remind, reinforce and reassure consumers about value and to clear skepticism in any form regarding these registered producers. Marketers have to communicate value by any means, such as newsletters, e-mails, cell phone messaging, setting up websites where consumers could read about the product claims, offers or guarantees, and even taking advantage of the power of social media. The point is to understand consumer behavior and thought processes regarding these unique products; marketers also need to thoroughly understand the consumer's willingness to buy these products, how they process information and what stimulates their choice preferences.

Furthermore, according to Giovannucci et al. (2009), there was not enough evidence regarding the reasonable tactics of how to approach GIs as they had been fostered to play an important role in the economic development strategies for rural communities. Many countries and places have unique physical and cultural attributes that can be translated into product differentiation in the market place. In addition, the existence of GIs justifies a link between not only a product and its specific place of origin, but also its unique production methods and distinguishing qualities. The latter are the source of its reputation that drive the need for authenticity, and represent market credibility of the key elements; all these aspects revolve around the pivotal "concept of product-service-place." Consumers are drawn to a product by its name and what that name represents or offers; as a result, they tend to be conscious about its design, material, method and place of growth or production, and what makes it stand out among other competing products. A consumer creates a link between all these aspects to find out the importance of the product or how valuable this product is, and the created value that is deeply embedded in the product or service itself. To the consumer, what such a product delivers compared to others in the industry as a result of having a "reputation" develops into a kind of brand, which could be addressed as a quasi-brand (a GI) (Kahn 2014). The key questions shown in Table 1 highlight that, despite "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet", a name that generates associations with ideas and positive feelings in people's minds, might actually affect how they identify, perceive and value things. A name is not just a conventional way to identify an object, it is a sort of wall hook for hanging ideas, concepts, knowledge, experience, emotions, that altogether may generate value.

Table 1: A framework for consumer value assessment in a product
Source: Authors

Key questions	Key answers (resemblances)
What is in a name?	Conventional identification (sign) Perception (concept) Interpretation through knowledge and experience Easy association
Where is the value?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The linkage of quality to place was a key asset ✓ Exclusivity ✓ Reproducibility ✓ Scarcity ✓ Specific quality, characteristic, reputation linked to a geographical origin ✓ Heritage and <i>terroir</i>, a potential to add value (differentiation) ✓ Collective asset linked to the territory (collective action) ✓ Definition shared among local producers (code of practice, specification, book of requirements)

Niche markets were also eager to find out about the qualities of these GI products and discover exactly what appealed to them and make them perceive the product as something possessing a higher value, therefore, making them willing to pay extra money. As a result, the niche markets are the most influential forces behind the continuous existence of these products and keeping this heritage alive as part of their

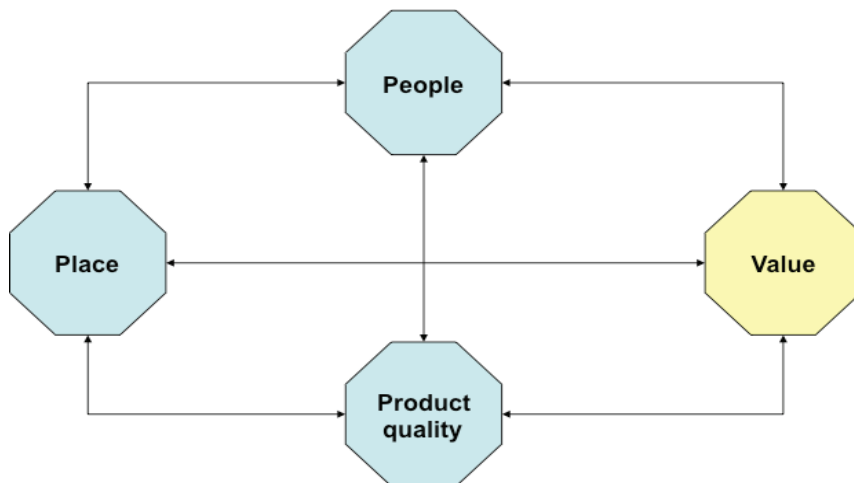


Figure 1: Adapted from Vandecandelaere et al. (2009)

history. The information pertaining to location, labor, production mechanisms and climatic conditions were linked to value, which guaranteed quality to the consumer, simplifying its decision making at the point of purchase and easing the willingness to pay – a good competitive advantage. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 demonstrates how certain agricultural products have a unique quality related to the area where they were produced, which forced them to incur a certain reputation that resembled characteristics linked to their domestic natural and human environment. The factors outlined in the figure show how one factor can be influenced by another and vice versa, and how this influences the local economic development, as is further illustrated in Figure 2.

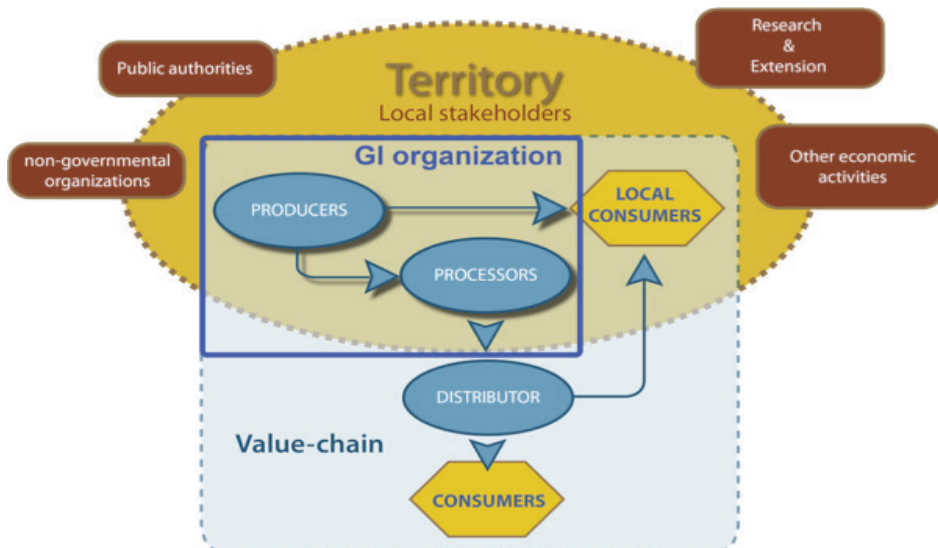


Figure 2: FAO approach to sustainable local development (value chain delivery)
Source: Vandecandelaere et al. (2009)

Figure 2 further justifies that it was not just all about GI organization, rather the complete well-coordinated virtuous circle that took in a fully functional value creation process whereby, logically, the local stakeholders would gain knowledge of a certain potential product and offer to launch a collective process. The consumers and market acknowledgement of the product added more value that needed to be strengthened by an official appreciation, as well as a legal protection of GI. Therefore, success and sustainability of such a production system for the origin-linked product would be dependent both on remuneration from the market and sustainable reproduction of local resources and a value chain.

It became a tendency that most of the research on consumers (preferences) and GIs was concentrated in the EU or other developed countries (Giovannucci et al. 2009). The European Commission welcomed more consumers' studies in the EU

Regulation Act of 510/2006. The analysis of consumer perception of GIs in developing and emerging countries was rather scarce and this might be a problem, since the consumer's voice is always a key element in any marketing strategy. On the other hand, it had been noticed that the price of starting and running a GI was quite high, and, together with a lack of knowledge, there were financial constraints in developing countries where the funding available may be focused on other factors of direct and indirect links rather than on registering and protecting GIs. Consequently, there were systems in place that could substitute such initiatives. Hence, the scarcity of research and GIs were not very well-known.

4 A Selection of Studies on Non-EU-Based GIs

We summarized a collection of results from different studies entailing the analysis of consumer preferences, marketing problems and opportunities for non-EU-based GIs. These studies have been conducted by research students working at the Department of Agricultural Science, Alma Mater Studiorum-University of Bologna, and have been presented at conferences and eventually published in journals. We summarize them here in order to show how different aspects relating to the development and implementation of GIs may be coped with from a marketing research perspective.

Value Enhancing the Heritage of the Coffee Industry in Brazil:

A qualitative Analysis

The first analysis focused on a case study investigating coffee in Brazil (de Souza 2013; de Souza et al. 2012). Vale do Café in Rio de Janeiro was the area in which the country's unique environmental and cultural heritage could be found. In addition, coffee was produced here extensively and exported all over the world in the 1830s.

Unfortunately, issues related to deforestation and excess of soil exploitation led to a collapse of the coffee production system, hence, the industry moved elsewhere; the only survivors of this past activity were the *fazendas* (farms) and some residual coffee planters.

The study intended to identify and analyze a possible way of introducing sustainable practices in forest management, and value enhancement through focusing on the historical and cultural heritage of the area in order to position coffee as a symbolic asset of the territory as well as an identity attractor. In turn, this factor could be a potential tool for cultural and rural tourism development. This case study used a qualitative analysis research approach on local stakeholders and domestic consumers to check the impact on sustainability and preservation of cultural heritage.

The results need to be validated; therefore, they cannot be considered conclusive. However, the preliminary findings of the study indicated that coffee was currently positioned in second place among local traditional produce in the minds of local consumers, after dairy products. Furthermore, there were a number of concerns with regard to the awareness of local consumers when it came to local production of

coffee beans, which had negatively affected the quality and reputation of coffee in this area. Therefore, there were new private brands that were using the geographical name “sweet memories,” trying to exploit the emotional attachment of local people to a past that was tough and challenging. The study concluded that a re-introduction and restoration project could be feasible and successful. However, resources and multiple stakeholders’ involvement would be necessary; there were high risks of failure though. Therefore, there could be a need for involvement and good governance aimed at overcoming the obstacles to a good use of common resources.

Origin Labeled Mangoes in Minas Gerais (Brazil): A Choice Experiment

The second analysis aimed at assessing consumers’ preferences and WTP for GI quality labels for mangoes in Minas Gerais (Piva Hartmann 2011; Piva Hartmann et al. 2012). The preference for mangoes with a label indicating a specific region of origin was evaluated against information on variety, packaging and price, whereby a store intercept survey including a choice experiment had been administered to 215 fruit consumers at the point of purchase in the city of Uberlandia in Minas Gerais, Southeast Brazil. Data were then analyzed using econometric models, which allowed an estimation of marginal WTP measures.





1 kg mangoes	1 kg mangoes	
 <p data-bbox="244 1155 386 1192">Mangoes Variety Palmer</p> <p data-bbox="296 1246 399 1274">Unpacked</p>  <p data-bbox="296 1446 399 1483">R\$ 2,40</p>	 <p data-bbox="598 1173 817 1210">Mangoes Variety Tommy Atkins</p> <p data-bbox="631 1255 817 1283">Individual packed</p>  <p data-bbox="669 1465 772 1501">R\$ 2,00</p>	<p data-bbox="920 955 1075 1028">I prefer not to buy any of the offered options.</p>
Option A	Option B	Option C

Figure 3: Attributes and attribute levels on the choice experiment design
Source: Piva Hartmann 2011; Piva Hartmann et al. 2012

Choice experiments are traditionally based on two economic theories, namely, Lancaster's theory of consumer behavior and McFadden's random utility theory (Lancaster 1966; McFadden 1974):

- The Lancaster Theory states that consumers choose goods based on the services they provide, these services being different in quality, which is called product attributes. It also states that the complete utility of a good is derived from the sum of the partial utility that each single attribute provides.
- The Random Utility Theory is based on the concept that individuals perform their choices because of the observable attributes of the good and characteristics of the individual (representative or deterministic component), but also with an unknown unit of randomness (random component). This theoretical framework was the basis for the empirical analysis of choice, allowing the more proper exploration of the trade-offs between the utilities provided by different product features.

The choice set in this experiment was designed using search and credence attributes of mangoes, such as variety information, GI labels and packaging. The final choice set contained 25 combinations of attributes, distributed in five blocks. The consumer faced three different choices in each alternative: option A, option B, and an option of not buying the products (option C), as indicated in Figure 3.

Two different econometric models analyzed the data from the choice experiment:

- Multinomial Logit: a model commonly used to analyze choice experiments by assuming that all the parameters are constant across people, thus, presupposing the "homogeneity" among the preferences of consumers expressed in the choice set.
- Random Parameter Logit: defined as an extension of the previous model, where the variation of tastes among the respondents can be evaluated under specific assumptions.

The results suggest that, currently, GI labels *are not* the most important attributes for the Brazilian consumers considered in the sample. However, a higher utility and willingness to pay a premium for more information (both on variety and GIs) was detected, indicating a possible trend for the future. Moreover, these could be depicted from the following Figures 4 and 5 and Table 2.

It was noted that the values in Table 2, were different from 0 at the significance level of 1 % for most of the attributes included in the model. The implications are that the WTP for information on variety was higher than the WTP for other attributes, therefore, variety could be associated with quality.

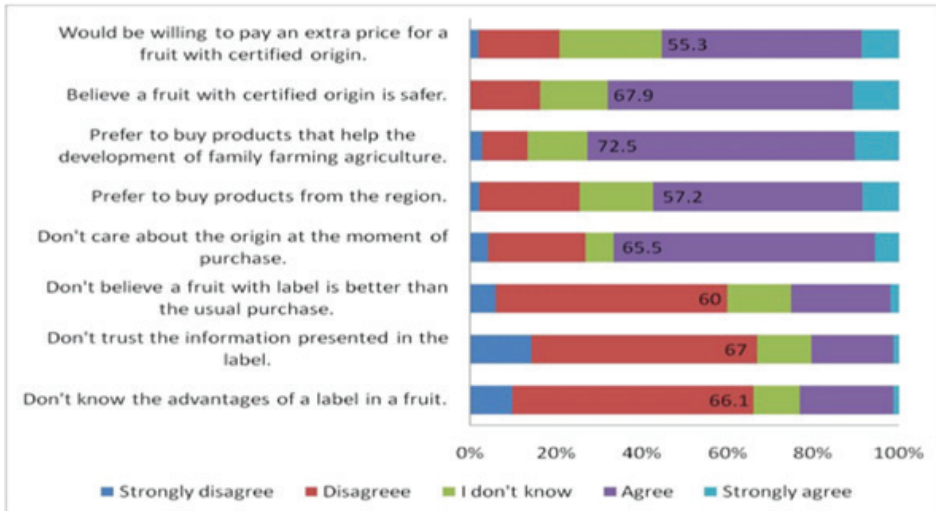


Figure 4: Factors that influence consumers' preferences
 Source: Piva Hartmann 2011; Piva Hartmann et al. 2012

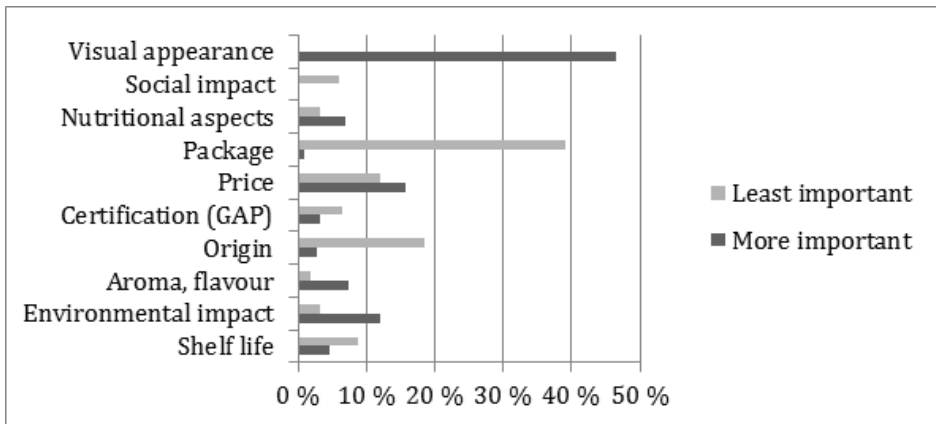


Figure 5: Factors that consumers consider important at the point of purchase
 Source: Piva Hartmann 2011; Piva Hartmann et al. 2012

Table 2: Willingness to Pay (WTP) for fruit attributes among Brazilian consumers

Source: Piva Hartmann 2011; Piva Hartmann et al. 2012

Note 1: WTP was derived from the RPL model. WTP values are in R\$ (BRL) for 1 kg of fresh mangoes.

Note 2: ***, **, * = Significance at 1 %, 5 %, 10 % level, respectively.

Variety	WTP	GI	WTP
1. Tommy Atkins	0.29 ***	1. Bahia/Pernambuco	0.14 **
2. Palmer	0.35 ***	2. Minas Gerais	0.15 *
3. Haden	0.27 ***	3. Sao Paulo	0.19 **
4. No info about variety	-	4. Sudeste Bahia	0.21 ***
		5. No GI Label	-
Package	WTP		
1. Bulk/Unpacked	0.08 **		
2. Packed	-		

Raspberries from Arilje (Serbia): A Choice Experiment with Austrian Consumers

The third analysis of the study focused on a Serbian GI (Radić 2012; Radić and Canavari, 2014) and considered a different problem, namely, the possibility of exploiting market opportunities in foreign markets. Raspberries from Arilje were interesting to the study because they were some of the leading horticulture products in the country and they had a good reputation, therefore, their protection had been seen as a good trend for the rest of the western region of Serbia. The study aimed at this particular region due to its position, climate and traditional production methods, peculiarities of landscape and, last but not least, the fact that in this area there is a GI recognized and protected at the national level in Serbia. The chosen target market, Vienna, was determined on the basis of proximity, historical connections and cultural links, and immigration in the 20th and at the beginning of 21st century. The idea was to estimate the WTP of consumers in Vienna for raspberries with the indication of origin “Arilje, Serbia,” compared to other origins that were familiar to those consumers. The preference for raspberries from Arilje, Serbia, with a label indicating the region of origin was evaluated against other origins (Poland and Spain) and information on organic/integrated pest management, punnet size and price. A store intercept survey including a choice experiment was administered to 235 fruit consumers at the point of purchase in Vienna, Austria, in March 2012. Then, similarly to the previous study, data was analyzed using a multinomial logit econometric model, which allowed researchers to estimate marginal WTP measures, as indicated in Figure 7.

The results indicated that the combination of attributes, such as price, place and product, of the utilities had a high significance in influencing consumers' decision making (WTP). On average, consumers were willing to pay more for raspberries coming from Serbia compared to those that came from other places or countries.

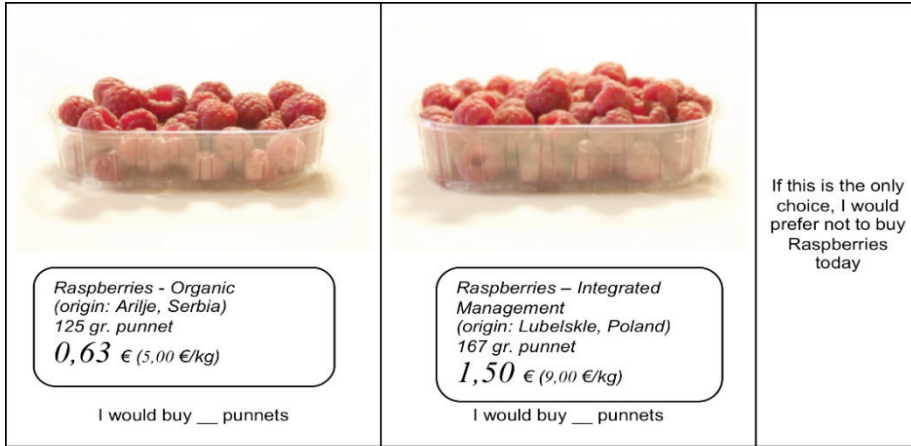


Figure 7: An example of choice task

Source: Radić 2012; Radić and Canavari 2014

GI-Labeled Fruit and Vegetables from Thailand: an Exploratory Study

The last analysis that we want to discuss in this study focused on exploring the perceptions of European gatekeepers toward renowned Thai fruit and vegetables protected by GI and factors influencing the purchasing decisions of gatekeepers toward imported food products (Wongprawmas et al. 2011, 2012). This was interesting to the study, because Thailand is known to be the largest single market with a growing demand for genetic products and high premium prices for quality products (Tomecko 2010). Gatekeepers (of the EU market) are food channel members who make food-buying decisions (high involvement) on behalf of food importing and distribution companies that supply millions of end consumers (Canavari et al. 2010; Knight and Gao 2009; Knight et al. 2007; Sternquist 1994). Gatekeepers are known to have great authority to influence food-buying decision making, therefore, the study intended to uncover a deeper understanding of their attitudes and perceptions towards Thai food products, and to find out whether Thai GIs are valued in the EU. The study was exploratory by nature, based on a qualitative research approach and used 16 personal semi-structured interviews. This approach was considered appropriate as it eased the complexity of the study and left room for hypothesis. The results indicate that the GI label might be useful as an attribute to foster the perceived quality of Thai GI products, but in order to make it an effec-

tive tool, information and communication should be crucial issues of consideration. Furthermore, the study suggests that GIs seemed to act more as a mediator of trust in the ability to assure the quality of safety of Thai food products. Thai GI labels are not perceived as a quality cue and the GI attribute alone cannot enhance the competitiveness of Thai specialty fruit.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

This study intended to put forward issues regarding consumer behavior, marketing problems and opportunities for non-EU-based GIs. Consequently, we used the past experience we had accumulated performing studies on GIs established in non-EU countries, specifically in Brazil, Serbia and Thailand, whereby a collection of results entailing the analysis of consumer attitudes and preferences towards food products in these regions were summarized. The motive was to contribute to the body of existing knowledge pertaining to an ongoing debate regarding GIs. The outcomes of these four case studies suggest that the understanding and acceptance of consumers in domestic markets might be more problematic than in foreign markets. Therefore, this study intimates that GIs are not a panacea for all challenges. Problems arise because a concerted action by many different actors is required. Origin may be a signal of quality familiar to consumers, but it competes with other signals. However, GIs could be the useful attributes that foster the perceived quality of products. Furthermore, the key issue concerning the effective management of quasi-brands, such as GIs, was reputation. Firstly, local consumers must (be encouraged to) recognize the value of a GI to their economic development. Secondly, they must also be able to provide sustainable production, which can be more expensive than for generic products, but within certain boundaries. Lastly, a well-governed coordination among the supply chain actors should be more crucial and should not be taken for granted at all. As an overall conclusion, we recommend that strategic marketing of agriproducts needs to be revised, including a closer consideration of GIs as potential tools, and we further recommend that more focused research addressing such problems of those highlighted above should be encouraged.

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Unveiling the Neoliberal Taste. Peru's Media Representation as a Food Nation.¹

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Abstract. This chapter addresses the most visible facet of gastro-politics in Peru: gastro-diplomacy, a set of international relations strategies that consist of showcasing food with the aims of improving the country's reputation and fostering business overseas. More precisely, the analysis focuses on the ways gastro-diplomacy communicates ideology and outlines the contours of a certain form of citizenship and a sense of nation committed to achieve political and economic objectives. Drawing on recent media content, the chapter highlights gastro-diplomacy's links with three values embedded in Latin American neoliberal societies: cultural diversity promotion, entrepreneurship and competitiveness.

1 Introduction

Peruvian cuisine is arousing enthusiasm within the country today. Never before have Peruvians talked so much about food. They take pride in *their* cuisine, think about its international potential and consider successful local chefs to be artists, if not superstars. The omnipresence of cuisine in the public sphere is the result of

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the country's recent successful economic performance and, particularly, of what is known as the Peruvian gastronomic revolution: a phenomenon which originates from the early-1990s, was developed further in the mid-2000s and has shaped the conditions developing Peru's food and gastronomic markets (Fraser 2006; Lauer and Lauer 2006; Matta 2013; Mclaughlin 2011). The high significance of food and cuisine in Lima, the capital (also known in the foodies' milieu as the *Gastronomic Capital of the Americas*), turned into a top-down concern about economic potentialities, cultural recognition and social inclusion (Fan 2013; Matta 2011). The internationalization of Peruvian restaurants, the media exposure of chefs' success stories and the identification of possible economic benefits has led both public and private actors to define Peruvian food in terms of *opportunities*. Consequently, food burst into the political arena at the core of an ambitious discourse about development (Matta 2011, 2013). The main ideas of this discourse are twofold. Firstly, Peruvian culinary culture could bring positive economic impacts to the country if grounded on a balance between cultural preservation and adaptation to the international markets. Secondly, food as privileged vehicle of national identity could instigate social reconciliation in a nation shaped by persistent inequalities of race, class and gender.

In this regard, actors from government, civil society and the private sector took an active part in the implementation of political and economic initiatives linking food cultures to development issues with diverse purposes. Public agencies and business firms are currently promoting the export of Peruvian food by opening Peruvian restaurants worldwide and supporting the modernization of agricultural production activities to compete in global markets (Nicholls 2006). Some celebrity chefs and non-governmental organizations show commitment to valorize peasant culinary knowledge as well as native ingredients (García 2013; Graddy 2014; Matta 2013). Meanwhile, diplomatic efforts were made to obtain global recognition for Peruvian cuisine by its inscription in the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Matta 2011, 2016). The emergence of gastro-politics in Peru is, thus, interpreted in different ways: as the turning point leading to a long-time missing interest from political elites concerning the needs and difficulties of rural populations; as an opportunity for the country to consolidate gains in international food-related markets; or as a means of national promotion at the global stage (Valderrama 2009; Villarán 2006). However, these issues are more often addressed in a celebratory, uncritical fashion.

This chapter attempts to remedy this imbalance. By focusing on the most visible facet of gastro-politics in Peru, it discusses the implementation of international relations strategies that consist of showcasing food with the aims of improving the country's reputation and fostering business overseas. Such a program is named *gastro-diplomacy* (Rockower 2012; Wilson 2011) and is treated as a specific form of cultural diplomacy. Gastro-diplomacy oscillates between the efforts to develop public diplomacy via cultural exchanges and "soft power" (Nye 2004) and the will to

manage the country's image as a product brand (Anholt 2007; Kaneva 2011), while promoting international tourism among large communities.

However, I will not analyze the conception and application of Peru's gastro-diplomacy,² but the ways in which it communicates ideology. The high expectations placed on the impact of food-related policies are outlining the contours of a certain form of citizenship and a sense of nation committed to achieve political and economic objectives. Accordingly, I will analyze gastro-diplomacy in Peru as a political discourse and performative agent. Drawing on recent media content, this chapter highlights gastro-diplomacy's links with three values embedded in Latin American neoliberal societies: cultural diversity promotion, entrepreneurship and competitiveness.³ To this aim, I will focus on three audio-visual productions screened between 2009 and 2012 in the cinema, television and on the Internet: "Cooking up Dreams," "*Perú Sabe*" and "Peru-Nebraska," respectively. These videos were all promoted as documentaries – a definition which, as we will see, is quite questionable. As such, they participated in international film festivals and won awards at some of them. It is necessary to attend to the contexts related to production, circulation and image consumption in order to understand how the constitutive power of symbolic repertoires and performances structuring gastro-diplomacy in Peru is exploited in these videos.

In most cases, the analysis of audio-visual material is associated with the concept of representation. Conversely, my approach will stress the entanglement of discursive and material practices and technologies; both considered a part and function of subjectivities and social identities. Indeed, the food imageries of our concern are involved in performative and prescriptive semantics with two different aims: in negotiations of power (Kershaw 1999), when addressed to international audiences, and in the production of normativity (McKenzie 2001, 2003), when addressed to nationals. To be more precise, I argue that in Peru, gastro-diplomacy's narrative is an invitation to action within an ideological framework that heaps praise on *participative individuals*; that is, independent, risk-taking, entrepreneurial people. As such, it functions as a bio-political device that links individuals to governing bodies, including the nation-state, with the aim of managing population (Foucault 2004). Consequently, I refrain as much as possible from the referential and representational function of images in order to understand how these are strategically put into action in specific contexts.

² For an understanding of this process, see Wilson (2011).

³ Building on neo-Foucauldian approaches, neoliberalism is understood here as a mode of governance, encompassing, but not limited to, the state, which produces subjects, forms of citizenship and behavior, and an organization of the social based on the principles of market economy. Neoliberalism spreads a rationale that encourages people to see themselves as individualized and competitive subjects responsible for heightening their own well-being (Brown 2003; Larner 2000; Lemke 2002; Rose 1996).

2 Cooking up Dreams

“Cooking up Dreams” (*De ollas y sueños*) is a documentary premiered in 2009 and directed by the Peruvian filmmaker Ernesto Cabellos.⁴ The project received funding from multiple types of investors, such as banks, corporations, educational institutions and foundations. The Peruvian and Brazilian coproduction obtained various awards during its participation in the international network of documentary film festivals. The movie focuses on the question whether cuisine can represent a nation. The director develops the answer throughout one hour around the following proposition: In a country with so many differences and inequalities as Peru, “there is a unique and auspicious space in which the nation is harmoniously represented; this space is the pot” (Cabellos 2009).

Cabellos illustrates his arguments on the basis of one central concept, that of *mestizaje*. *Mestizaje* refers to racial and/or cultural mixing of white people and native people living in what are now Latin America and the Caribbean. It may be defined as a “gesture of deep reverence for the indigenous (or, in Brazil and perhaps Cuba, African) roots of national identity, combined with a European-oriented ‘mestizo’ subject, as bearer of rights and source of political dynamism that looks to the future” (Hale 2005: 12). *Mestizaje* emerged as Latin American state projects in the early twentieth century when elites sought narratives to create homogenous national populations by highlighting strong national identities, while downplaying (non-white) racial and ethnic identities, which were usually assumed to impede national development. However, as science increasingly discredited white supremacy, some intellectual elites began to develop ideas about *mestizaje* based on an intertextual network comprised of literary and scientific texts, political and artistic expressions, and state policies. This was expected to counter *whitening ideologies* and put a positive spin on mixture as the essence of Latin American nationhood. These ideas were promoted as a moral obligation for Latin America, even though some elements of whitening ideologies remained (De la Cadena 2005: 273; Telles and García 2013: 132). The use of the notion of *mestizaje* in Cabellos’ film corresponds mostly to the second trend.

However, *mestizaje* here is broadly construed: It is recognized at times as a historical process of cultural mixture and fusion, as an agent of integration of differences in modern times and as a tool for development. In line with this view, “Cooking up Dreams” presents Peruvian cuisine as embedding different meanings.

The initial sequence, for instance, announces Peruvian cuisine as a result of “encounters and disencounters” and as a space in which different flavors, tastes and colors “struggle, confront, negotiate and reconcile” (Cabellos 2009). Then, in its attempt to highlight food *mestizaje* as mixture, the movie develops a flow of images of food (of different colors, forms, textures and preparation methods), personal stories, situations of commensality and contrasting landscapes (city vs. countryside,

⁴ Trailer available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9F33CmtQtw> <accessed March 6, 2015>.

urban opulence vs. rural poverty). It is noticeable that these images were carefully selected in order to demonstrate national unity in difference and commitment with the development of Peruvian cuisine.

However, what most interests us here is how Peruvian food *mestizaje* is interpreted as an asset for the country's projection in the global economy. This occurs in the last quarter of the movie, particularly when Peruvian chef and businessman Gastón Acurio affirms: "When I was a child, the word *mestizo* was pejorative; today it is our worth (*nuestro valor*, or our value)." The use of the word *valor* refers not only to people's greatness, but also a value in monetary terms, suggesting that *mestizaje* can become a competitive advantage in today's global open market world.

From this moment on, the movie reveals its performative and prescriptive aspects, as it indicates the way ahead to occupy a visible place in global circuits: Indeed, the strategies used to consolidate Peru as a global player are literally communicated through the kitchen by Acurio himself and his disciples, young cooks in training. The apprentices are students from the Instituto Pachacútec, a culinary school nearly free of charge, located in one of the poorest districts of Lima (Ventanilla), and created as an initiative by Acurio. There, chefs who work in different restaurants in Acurio's business group technically and discursively instruct young Peruvians from underprivileged backgrounds. The students see a great opportunity in Peru's gastronomic boom to move forward personally and professionally, inside or even outside the country. Although it is clear that most of them will remain in Peru, they still believe that their work skills are appropriate for abroad. The attitude these young students adopt is clearly competitive and marked by an entrepreneurial spirit. A student recounts before running cameras: "I believe that all of us here have a mission, a very important mission from our hearts, which is to make our gastronomy known to the world [...] like a teacher once said: 'everyone be prepared for when we finish,'" she affirms smiling and trusting. One of her classmates confirms this enterprising and conquering spirit by saying: "We are studying to increase our knowledge and then declare war on the food of all the other countries." This is how these apprentices demonstrate that they have completely internalized the idea of a competitive nation through cuisine. A fact Acurio does not hesitate to reinforce in the next scene: "The boys and girls at Pachacútec," he says with a challenging gesture, "really are authentic soldiers." He notices that, despite all the setbacks in their lives, they are strongly committed to one common cause, which is something he misses in the traditional Peruvian businessman. The reference the chef makes to the traditional Peruvian businessman is relevant to my analysis. Indeed, Acurio has engaged in politics for many years. His discourse is a synthesis of economic intelligence and social responsibility inspired by the approach of sustainable development (García 2010; Matta 2011, 2013), which promotes a balance between economic, social, political, environmental, and cultural dimensions. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the chef frequently criticizes the traditional Peruvian elites, historically disconnected from the problems of Peru's rural population and primarily aiming at

economic growth. The rise of a *gastronomic entrepreneurship* then suggests a new way of thinking about Peruvian society – yet the society is still marked by a unilateral vision of development. “Cooking up Dreams” clearly agrees with this rethinking of Peruvian society, in that it captures the images of a think-tank of chefs from different social and ethnic backgrounds debating not only the future of Peruvian cuisine, but also wider issues, such as the lack of recognition for the peasants workers’ contribution to Peruvian cuisine or the nutrition problems in the rural areas of the country. This scene evokes the unification of a leading class of all blood of the nation. Even though it is true that the ideal of a food nation operates the discourse related to the expansion of social and cultural rights, it is even more true that those rights are influenced by the imperative of global competition, whose results are hardly predictable. The optimistic business projections presented in the movie appear to characterize the guidelines of action for and the spirit of Peruvian cuisine. Acurio states this idea: “Our job is to transform the Peruvian cuisine everywhere we go into a powerful consumer trend, so that other Peruvian restaurants will open and are equally successful, and so we can finally ... let’s say, defeat the other trends like Japanese sushi bars or Italian trattorias” (Acurio in Cabellos 2009).

It is noteworthy that the discourse of gastronomic entrepreneurship deploys the concept of *mestizaje* as a tool, that leads to universalism. The latter is seen as a synonym for cosmopolitanism, which, in turn, is understood as modernity. In fact, Cabello’s documentary demonstrates how the idea of *mestizaje* still comprises a proposition of modernity and progress, considering it as a social space where different cultures oppose and negotiate until they supposedly find a common ground. In other words, *mestizaje*, viewed here as a fusion of cultures, turns into an indispensable resource for survival in competitive contexts. Accordingly, Acurio recounts:

In this moment, when fusion is a tendency throughout the world, when integration, globalization, and all these kinds of concepts become modern concepts, Peruvian cuisine appears, having fused cultures, but in a very balanced, very reflexive, very consensual way over the last 500 years, and this is what makes it magical, what makes it so attractive (Acurio in Cabellos 2009).

Although Acurio’s concerns are expressed in terms of *mestizaje*, they correspond more to commercial logics of multiculturalism, which exploit difference and shape an exotic *other* highly valuable in global markets. That becomes clear in the way that the promoters of the Peruvian gastronomic boom address the virtues of native cuisine: the value they confer to traditional Peruvian food has less to do with traditional culinary knowledge than with a technical and discursive revalorization of native ingredients that, paradoxically, invisibilizes those same products (Matta 2013). In that way, *indigenous* culinary features attain the same value, both in terms of cultural and commercial importance, as Europeans’. Moreover, as Acurio indicates above, native and European features are placed in fictional dialoging and intertwining relationships. In doing so, he and other chefs minimize or hide the colonial logics – hardly

balanced or *consensual* – that also took place within culinary practices (Long 1996). “Cooking up Dreams” reduces the social complexity of *mestizaje* to stereotypes and to a frozen identity: Peru is presented as a country already liberated from all social conflicts, whether they are class-based, economic, racial or cultural, where all the people live together in harmony.

However, what might be most related to *mestizaje*, and particularly to the way it was addressed in Peru,⁵ is the weight Acurio attaches to education as the means to modernize (to *whiten*) popular culinary knowledge and bring it into global competition.

3 “Perú Sabe.” Cooking up the American Dream

“Perú Sabe” is a documentary by the Spanish director Jesús M. Santos.⁶ It was financed by the Spanish telecommunications company Telefónica and the banking group BBVA Continental. The movie premiered in 2012 and was presented in various contexts: prestigious film festivals in Berlin and San Sebastián, and organizational settings, such as the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization in New York, the German Chamber of Commerce in Berlin and the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington D.C.⁷ The plot revolves around the story of Gastón Acurio, who accompanies the Catalan Ferrán Adrià, probably the world’s most influential chef, on a road trip through different culinary regions and settings (markets, gastronomic festivals, restaurants, culinary schools) of Peru. Together, they *discover* Peru’s existing food biodiversity and taste different dishes and recipes. Yet, despite the road trip itself, Acurio’s overall objective is to demonstrate to Adrià why becoming a chef in Peru turned into the dream of thousands of young Peruvians wanting to get a better life. Peruvian cuisine as an agent for social change is the documentary’s central tenet, and a series of testimonies of people who have improved their lives thanks to it (cooks, small traders, restaurant owners, culinary students) serves as proof.

Santo’s movie tries to adapt to a documentary format, though it resembles more a long-term (70 min) advertising spot in both form and content. With regard to the form, what stands out most is the high frequency of successive images, perhaps because it was originally produced for television. The stories and personalities succeed one another practically without any interruption. Additionally, the line between fiction and reality is blurry in most scenes. This is highly problematical, since the movie was promoted as a documentary. Moreover, the scenery appears staged and the statements rehearsed. The scenes and individual stories upon which the director bases the main argument of the movie seem forced and overproduced. That affects

⁵ De la Cadena (2005) has shown extensively how the education of “retarded populations,” perceived as a matter of life by Peruvian political elites, was consequently at the core of the twentieth century *mestizaje* project in Peru.

⁶ Trailer available from: <http://vimeo.com/50365025> <accessed March 6, 2015>.

⁷ See, <http://www.lagardeideas.com/tensacalma/?cat=4> <accessed February 5, 2015>.

directly how the message is transmitted and received: actually, it is nearly impossible not to notice that the protagonists of the different stories – people that trade their life at the edge of the abyss for a professional commitment to Peruvian cuisine – are often overacting, sometimes innocently and other times melodramatically. This choice gives the movie a propagandistic character, since an intentional and systematic form of persuasion is noticeable.

Indeed, the narrative voice and the ones offering testimony repeatedly use phrases such as: “the cuisine is the culture of the nation,” “this is Peru,” “the cuisine transforms the nation” or “the cuisine is a weapon for social inclusion” (Santos 2012). Through these affirmations, the movie not only presents the *national cuisine* as the binding element of the Peruvian people, but also poses it as a way to combat poverty.

From the first scene on, “*Perú Sabe*” links Peruvian cuisine with biographies of success (whether achieved or in progress). Food is the coat that covers the personal stories: it allows people to survive, to improve their living conditions or to fulfill destiny’s plans. However, the common denominator of these life stories is to escape poverty. The movie assigns an individual character to poverty through its entire length: it affects individuals struck by fate but able to escape it thanks to culinary work. However, the structural poverty, which is supposed to be resolved by *development* due to well-designed, holistic and inclusive political and socioeconomic programs, is hardly mentioned. The movie only refers to one single “gastronomic value chain” – argued on the basis of an economic optimism never seen before – which would distribute its benefits to the whole society.

Behind the optimism of chefs Acurio and Adrià, who bear witness to the potential of the Peruvian gastronomic boom, the movie addresses other issues. Actually, it does not become clear how Peruvian cuisine contributes to social inclusion, nor what is meant by social inclusion in this context. “*Perú Sabe*” confirms repeatedly that about 80,000 young Peruvians are currently studying to become cooks. Nevertheless, the fact that the majority of these students will obtain tough and badly paid jobs after their graduation, as they cannot count on good contacts or family financial support, is concealed. With that said, it could be suggested that the definition of social inclusion from this gastro-political perspective can be summarized as obtaining a job that may be precarious, but a job nevertheless. The film also raises the possibility that these young people could open up their own businesses. Despite the increasing importance and variety of gastronomic markets, caution is required before making hasty and over-optimistic conclusions. The discourse expressed within the movie, however, does not take into account the persistent inequalities of life chances, which will certainly deprive the majority of these students of the possibility of having their own highly profitable business. As the expectation of owning a business is constantly put forward, we are approaching a more precise image of the contemporary worker: the precarious entrepreneur.

“*Perú Sabe*” is not only a fictional example of the pervasive nature of neoliberalism, but also a tool to promote its spirit. On the one hand, the movie stres-

ses that one's well-being depends on the identification and the accomplishment of aspirations and desires, rather than rights and obligations. On the other hand, it encourages future cooks to see themselves not as *workers* in a political sense, who have something to gain through solidarity and collective organization, but as entrepreneurs, "companies of one" (Read 2009: 30).

To sum up, the movie (and not precisely the documentary) pretends to sell the fortune of an *American Dream Peruvian style*. It consists of the idea that everybody committed to the professional practice of Peruvian cuisine could improve their situation. It is interesting to mention that this American Dream does not necessarily occur inside Peru. In fact, the two main protagonists of "*Perú Sabe*" expect the gastronomic boom to contribute to the opening of new restaurants run by Peruvian chefs outside the country. This, in turn, will make Peruvian food known throughout the world and will open up new job opportunities for Peruvian emigrants, which later enables them to send remittances back to Peru.

Thus, economic immigration passes from being an uprooting, solitary and sacrificial experience to an exciting adventure. To take risks is seen today as something desirable. The movie establishes a heroic rhetoric of culinary ambassadors and conquerors prepared to achieve goals that go beyond their personal needs and those of their families. Therefore, the international precarious entrepreneur (or the individual economic migrant, depending on our point of view) is always positively connoted, his qualities are glorified, his potential is never questioned, and that is how he becomes a central element of contemporary economic growth.

4 Peru Brand's Promotional Spot "Peru-Nebraska." Cooking up Nationalistic Competitiveness

As was suggested in the introductory part, the willingness and commitment to update national aspirations is strongly linked to the success stories of cooks. Gratifying news about local heroes in chef's whites are quickly spread, over-exposed by media and follow a general tendency that elevates individual achievements to national achievements – as in sports competitions. This resulted in expressions of national pride in the public discourse (Matta 2014).

Perhaps the most striking example of the intersection between nationalist sentiments and Peruvian food is the nation branding campaign *Marca Perú* (Country Brand Peru) carried out by PromPerú, the governmental commission for the promotion of Peru. Nation branding as used in this paper is the definition offered by media researcher Nadia Kaneva:

[A] compendium of discourses and practices aimed at reconstituting nationhood through marketing and branding paradigms [...] nation branding includes a wide variety of activities, ranging from "cosmetic" operations, such as the creation of national logos and slogans, to efforts to institutionalize branding within state structures by creating governmental and quasi-governmental bodies that oversee long-term nation branding efforts. (2011: 118)

Within this framework, we will see that Peruvian food is the flag-product expected to attract foreign money to the country and instill national pride. For *Marca Perú* to be successful, external and internal advertising campaigns (the former addressed to foreigners and the latter to Peruvians) were launched with the aim of raising awareness of the national brand internationally, and for Peruvians to adhere and identify with the concept. In order to make this happen, the creators of the *Marca Perú* campaign appealed firstly to a hypothetical spirit of the Peruvian people to build unity and commitment amongst nationals before heading out to compete globally.⁸

To this aim, a 15-minute spot targeted at the local public was first aired on April 2011 on cable, open-signal television channels and the Internet.⁹ It demonstrates what happens when a group of talented Peruvian personalities (musicians, actors, media people, top-level athletes and, of course, cooks) arrive in the small town of Peru, in Nebraska (United States), to promote Peruvian culture. In the video, the Peru brand “ambassadors,” as they are called, are devoted to show the 569 *Peruvians* of Nebraska the *real* meaning of being Peruvian through food, customs, music and other cultural features. The visitors meant to teach the inhabitants of Nebraska about their new rights as Peruvian citizens, all associated with positive cultural and leisure activities. In sum, the spot presents a fictional depiction of the refoundation of the Peruvian nation. Paradoxically, the refoundation does not occur in Peru, but in the United States.

Diverse aspects alleged to be representative of Peruvian culture and mandatory to become a *real* Peruvian are screened. Among them are: Huayno music, Afro-Peruvian folklore, *exotic* tourism, surfing and food. However, the latter stands out by far. Indeed, more than a third of the video’s length is dedicated to the display of *typical* Peruvian food: Nebraska locals appear tasting *ceviche* (lime marinated raw fish), *anticuchos* (beef heart skewers) and *papa a la huancaína* (boiled potatoes covered in a spicy cheese sauce). Moreover, among the number of Peruvian celebrities featured in the spot, a third are chefs. Food is thus presented as the spearhead of a strategic move to fulfill the country’s new aspirations. Chefs are the commanders-in-chief of this entrepreneurial action with a scent of conquest: they first set their feet on the land of Peru, Nebraska, immediately inciting its inhabitants to explore *Peruvianness* through the palate.

This short movie demonstrates that nation branding acts as an interface between business management, diplomacy and public policies in order to refound nations in ideology and praxis. Consequently, the expected changes both in reality and in

⁸ This idea is made explicit in the website of the *Marca Perú*: “With this campaign we are reaffirming a nationalist sentiment of optimism and self-confidence, as we ceased to be simply colonized recipients of all that comes from the world. We are ourselves aware that we can go now everywhere with our strength, and convinced that there is no better ambassador for the Peru Country Brand than ourselves.” <http://nacional.peru.info/en/posts/article/1953/campana-nacional-2011> <accessed February 5, 2015>.

⁹ Video available from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8joXlwKMrk> <accessed February 5, 2015>.

the sense of nation must be analyzed according to the aims of government bodies. In this case, the voice-over explains at the end of the spot what the goal of the story is: it is for Peru-Nebraska not to dwindle in “backwardness and oblivion.” Here, the small town is used as a metaphor for Peru twenty-five years ago when it had been overwhelmed by a devastating economic crisis and extreme levels of political violence, which isolated the country from the investment community. Although it is true that the present is better than the early nineties, the optimism conveyed by the movie is unprecedented: Peru-Nebraska appears to be part of the past, a painful memory. One of the final scenes (Min. 12:31) especially supports this idea, as it slips one attribute strictly economic in nature in between the many cultural attributes of Peru: economic growth. This is embodied by the image of an ignited firework in form of “10 %,” which corresponds to the top gross domestic product monthly growth rates obtained over the last decade. In that way, Peru presents itself as an economically viable country, secure for investment. As the campaign shows, the treatment given to Peruvian food reflects a collective competitiveness expressed at the level of the state. This is an example of how nationalism¹⁰ is employed as a framework within which competitiveness can be justified in terms of a higher aspiration than increased profit margins (Davidson 2008). Peru’s entrepreneurial and political elites try to convince themselves and the Peruvian people that what they do is in a greater *national* interest; even if this is scarcely the case (rather it is plainly in their own interest). However, it would be a mistake to think that these strategic norms are set without any form of social concern. These concerns may exist, but they would be expected as outcomes from neoliberal ideas of development and competition. So then, if Peru is to be collectively competitive, it follows that Peruvian companies must be individually competitive; but they are in competition with each other as much as with foreign rivals.

5 Conclusion

Gastro-diplomacy strategies currently applied in Peru are succeeding in promoting the image of a new, entrepreneurial and economically viable nation. The diversity of public and private entities engaged in the production of audio-visual material to support the idea may be considered evidence of this. Indeed, we have seen that the origin of this actualization of Peru’s national imaginary is based on a series of social, economic and cultural changes, which correspond to global tendencies (commercial exploitation of cultural identities), as well as to local particularities (economic growth, expansion of urban consumption, acceptance of globalized cultural features). Peruvian food – or, more precisely, the success of those who raised its status to gastronomy – is the one element that best permitted the conjugation of new social and economic purposes within an accessible and consensual language for the majority

¹⁰ Brubaker’s (1996:10) broad definition of nationalism is particularly useful in this context. He defines nationalism as a “set of idioms, practices, and possibilities that are continuously available or ‘endemic’ in modern cultural and political life.”

of Peruvians. In fact, since the social space of the *national cuisine* took on political and entrepreneurial meanings, it captures, translates and performs specific values of societies governed by neoliberal regimes. We also discovered via these movies how entrepreneurship, competitiveness, and individual responsibility are celebrated. It is in this regard that the *mise en scène* of food and cuisine is the most visible aspect of a discourse which is changing the national imaginary and, with it, the evaluation of what is considered *Peruvian* in all of its diversity.

The analysis of the audio-visual material presented above reveals the emergence of a new narrative about Peru. Always raising the flag of commercial success of a complex and unique culinary culture, Peru presents itself today as a proudly *mestizo* and entrepreneurial country that knows how to be competitive on a global scale. This rhetoric – where identities, individuals and markets are entwined – is articulated through three different concepts: the first, *mestizaje*, insures the presence of cosmopolitanism, while the second, entrepreneurship, promises the acknowledgement of undertaking risks irrespective of their results. Finally, competitiveness assures progress and development. Having seen this, it can be argued that Peruvian culinary nationalism – instrumentalized in systematic, institutional and commercial ways – reproduces a frequent situation in Latin-American societies: the situation of individuals who deal with everyday challenges through actions of *self-made* character and with little state support.

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“Sura Kees.” An Alpine Nutritional Relic as a Ferment of Regionality

Bernhard Tschofen

Abstract This contribution treats the astonishing career of an Alpine cheese which was able to endure first under the shadow of a modern and state-controlled dairy industry, and which has emerged, in recent years, to become a regional product with great charisma. In addition to a review of the remarkably different history of what, at first glance, could hardly be called a unique product, the present contribution focuses on the discussion of the historical conditions for the rediscovery of the Montafon sour cheese. This involves, above all, a transformation from backwardness to authenticity. The case example facilitates exemplary analyses of the changes of products and regions by way of thinking in categories of culinary heritage and designated origin. In particular, it prompts the question as to how far geographical indications in such similar cases are directed less at the protection of products than to the strengthening of regions.

1 Introduction

Questions of labeling, construction, narrative structure and economic as well as social added value frequently occupy center stage when treating the subject of regional specialties and geographical origins. A common feature in cultural scientific and agricultural economic perspectives on products and processes is that neither account for production methods, their historically embedded significance and their erstwhile historical dynamics. However, various studies on products still deemed traditional – and, thus, furnished with a conservation status – have repeatedly pointed out

that this conserved tradition is itself the product of historical, innovative processes.¹ Indeed, that which is presented as autochthonous heritage is often indebted either to an expedited mercantile oriented agricultural policy in European countries which has been underway since the early 1800s, or to imported innovative technologies by way of internationally networked entrepreneurs. A prime example of such processes in the history of agriculture is the alpine hard cheese dairy, especially in Alpine regions (Roth 1970). With a mere handful of precedents, its mediation by specialists engaged from other regions and state schools and, ultimately, its production by dint of rapidly expanding technologies and relevant knowledge, many European cheese sorts are, in fact, indebted to globalization-like dynamics for the assertion of that which counts as traditional and regional-specific. Thus, at least semantically, they stand in stark contrast to those processes with which they are commonly associated, as well as to the imputation of standardizing cosmopolitanism, as is frequently claimed in reference to unprotected products in the context of Geographic Indications.

The present case study centers on one example, the peculiarity of which lies in the mode of production, and which thereby demonstrates that the superficial natural processes of milk curdling also form part of cultural action. The example in question is *sour cheese*, recently rediscovered in the Montafon – a mountainous region in Western Austria. Local vernacular refers to the product as *Sura Kees*, which, owing to the method of preparation, belongs to the above-mentioned and better known group of sour milk cheeses. This example describes the kinds of preparation and products linked to this item and the way in which the latter, in turn, plays back into our everyday life. It is hoped, moreover, that an analysis of such contemporary approaches will also contribute to further reflection; for, as this thesis argues, contemporary sympathy towards such products relates to the long misunderstood simple method of milk curdling. Their appeal lies in the fact that they are coupled to specific meanings, which hence also imply social outcomes.

2 From § 3.2.1.4.4 to Region of Delight

3.2.1.4.4 – this is the affected serial number under which the “Vorarlberg Sour Cheese: locally also known as Sura-Käs” is registered in chapter B 32 of the “Austrian Food Code,” the *Codex Alimentarius Austriacus*. It is a short and succinct entry, as is the subsection on sour milk, which represents only a small fragment of the total range of cheese represented.

Through the acidification process, the cheese becomes more raw, thermised or pasteurized, and is produced in block form or in wheels of c. 200 g. Vorarlberg sour cheese has a fatty, partly greasy surface. The paste is fatty on the edges, sometimes pan-like in form. The cheese is perforated and has an acidic,

¹ This was cited as an exemplary instance of alpine cheese production in the investigation of Gruyere/Greyerzer cheese, the tradition of which, according to the market narrative, is traceable to the year 1115, and which was correspondingly celebrated in 2015. For the history of its modern innovation, see Borcard (1999); therein above all, Morard (1999).

strong piquant taste. Fat content in dry weight (F.i.T.): lean; maximum water content: 68 %. (Federal Ministry of Health 2011/2015)

In any case, one would hardly guess that these few lines conceal a product that in recent years has been destined to become emblematic for an entire region, and for the positioning of which considerable cultural energy and economic capital has been invested. Today, in the Montafon, Vorarlberg, sour cheese has become a buzzword – though, perhaps, not quite in the literal sense hoped for, nevertheless, as a much talked about and visibly present primary product in a region which works hard at cultivating its image. For several years now, the sign “Region of Delight: Montafon Sura Kees” welcomes visitors on entering the valley; a sign, depicting the image of a paprika-dusted and outwardly discreet, but, when cut, brilliant white cheese wheel. The fact that this sign, marked by through traffic, is positioned in the first municipality of the valley – of all things, placed before an old guest house currently home to an uninviting Chinese restaurant – probably has to do with the austerity of the road authorities: An apt symbol for the simultaneity of local and global logics in the representation of culinary traditions (Tschofen 2014).

The cheese which is the focus of our attention here is an outstanding example of the reinterpretation of traditional economic and dietary habits and, above all, of the products, the regions and the actors associated with the transformations related to this. What today is conveyed as regional pride had been considered, if not a flaw in its farming methods, then certainly as a barely discussed public product – albeit a less prestigious one – of a not particularly ambitious agriculture. However, for some time now another narrative has been drawing attention, though naturally not of its own accord. The sour cheese is presently no longer the surreptitiously traded remnant of a modernization-resistant economics, but, indeed, a special, authentic and particularly healthy food intimately connected with space and nature. It profits from the Alpine hallmark in its being affiliated to constructs of regional culinary heritage (Tschofen 2012).

3 “In the End, it is Their Custom”: A Different Economy?

The cheese received attention as something special as early as the close of the eighteenth century. In the summer of 1780, two priests from Graubünden, Johann Baptist Catani and Luzius Pol, undertook a “*Bergreise [...] durch die Muntafunerberge in die Gebirge Fermunt* [a mountain expedition [...] through the Montafon region in the Fermunt mountains]”. Lasting several days, the tour which the two educated and reformist gentlemen from Prättigau Valley (Swiss canton of Grisons) took through the neighboring Austrian and Catholic region was very much in the spirit of enlightened enquiry. Their interests, covering natural conditions, knowledge of glaciers, rocks and, above all, vegetation, were almost ethnographic in precision, whereby particular attention was given to economic context and attitudes towards cattle and the environment in the nearby *foreign* local Alpine community. What particularly struck the two investigators in a period otherwise distinguished by progres-

sive economization was that even the peripheral inner Alpine regions were ignorant of *modern* milk processing.

Here [after having crossed the border comb and arrived on the Alps near Gargellen, B.T.] we purchased milk, took luncheon, and had explained to us their system of Alp whey, which is of a most peculiar kind.

For the purposes of making cheese, they required neither stomachs nor anything else of similar effect; nor did they require vinegar or acid for whey cheese, and yet they managed to produce both – especially cheese – in considerable quantities. They had dairies everywhere, in their homes and in the Alps. The dairy may be large or small, and is almost always acidic. And they say that they prefer this than sweet dairy. The reason may well be that the yield from their cows is insufficient for the production of surplus whey for selling purposes, and almost every farmer on each Alp produces separately, owning only two or three cows for his usage; therefore, there are several huts in each mountain hamlet and also a number of dairies in each hut. They explained a good deal to us about the greater yield of the sour cheese in contrast to the sweet variety, which is right since one cannot eat so much of it when still fresh; and once it has aged, so long it has been well-made and the right precautions taken, its enthusiast will certainly dine well; they even attribute medicinal power to it. [...] Finally, this is their habitual method, which they commonly prefer to others, and to which their equipment and small alpine dairies almost compel them to adopt, and they can better achieve the sour dairy than the sweet and fat, which demands greater regulation and caution.

The entire process involves the following: They leave the milk-filled vessels, which can contain up to twelve Churer Maaß (unit of 1.35 liters), to stand unstirred for up to six to eight days; they then skim off the cream, which is still quite good, to make butter, but needs in the alps not more than one imperial pound for 72 Loth (equal to about 1 kilogram) from 20 units (about 27 liters) of milk. The skimmed milk, which is generally already quite thick, is then poured into a kettle hung over the flames and lightly warmed until the cheese is completely separated from the whey. It is then skimmed off with a skimmer. If it is long and glutenous, it is then put into a *Skaps* [perforated wooden cheese form, B.T.]; if it is flour-like in texture and short, it is usually first transferred to a sack, which is hung and compressed before then being transferred to finely perforated *Skaps* – commonly a large perforated wooden bowl with a lid held down by a heavy stone and pressed until it becomes rock hard: It is then taken out and used like any other cheese. (Catani 1789: 36-38)

Amazed, and captivated by the desire to explain, what J. B. Catani recorded is an economic structure that had yet to participate in contemporary developments typical of the eighteenth century. In many Alpine regions at the time, the process of *Vergrünlandung* (the turning of farmland into meadows) was already far advanced and the transition to fat cheesemaking had long since been consummated. The importance of traditional sour milk cheesemaking began to wane following the rapid orientation towards a market-driven agriculture beyond subsistence. However, the development of the agricultural system did not everywhere go hand in hand with an intensification of the dairy industry. On the contrary: This rather had more to do with caricatured images prevalent since the nineteenth century, namely, that wherever pastures and cattle are to be found must necessarily imply that the economic basis of the region is milk and cheese. What is frequently overlooked here is that in a system based increasingly on a division of labor within the European agricultural economy – where the Alps were traditionally involved – differentiation can adopt various directions. Development took a different course in those areas in which cattle breeding predominated. In such regions, the cattle trade – for the supply of meat to towns in the vicinity of the Alps, above all, for those neighboring regions based on dairy industry – took precedence over whey production. In the Montafon, sheep were also to remain, by a long shot, the most useful livestock; upkeep of the latter was more commensurate with a way of life depending, in most cases, on cultivating several sources of income.

In the gubernatorial and mercantile discussion on agriculture of the nineteenth century, this was, nevertheless, perceived as a deficit, whereby continued adherence to sour milk cheesemaking was considered antiquated and, thus, superseded. This was also more or less the tone of the *k.k. Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft von Tirol und Vorarlberg* [Imperial and Royal Agricultural Society of Tirol and Vorarlberg], which discussed the advances of *cheese production* in the western states of the Crown in great detail and which, above all, strove to institute general *improvements*. Hence, the social status of those products which fell short of this norm inevitably lessened, despite it being abundantly evident that ownership status is not the same everywhere and facilitates similar developments:

That this [the introduction of fat and semi-skimmed alpine dairy, B.T.] has until now not been attempted must have its grounds solely in the small-scale property ownership and in the poverty of its inhabitants, who are unable to spare the insignificant production of butter and sour cheese beyond that of their own domestic usage. (Wochen-Blatt 1841: 28)

Whereas the so-called Montafon Brown Cattle were to become one of the most well-known breeds of livestock in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and was traded early on, butter and cheese was to remain a by-product. In terms of self-sufficiency, the latter products were to continue to assert themselves in spite of the dissolution of the erstwhile subsistence economy.

4 “That Vulgar, Fatless Sour Cheese”: The Taste of the Primitive

The status of the sour cheese, now restricted to domestic production and to the Southern Vorarlberg, defined itself by the mid-nineteenth century predominantly in its relationship to other regions of the country, where, since around 1800, an advanced, export-oriented fat cheese production had managed to assert itself. With the aid of foreign dairies and by way of training native personnel in Switzerland and the Netherlands, for example, it was soon able to join internationally desired cheese types, such as Emmental, Greyerzer (mostly referred to as Groyer) and so-called Patta Matta (for the Lombardian market), and to establish the relevant know-how (Weitensfelder 2002: 20f). Compared to these more elaborate products, sour milk cheese stood for primitive technologies and premodern knowledge. Where in other places, technology and early food chemistry began to assert themselves in everyday practices, handed-down experience and feeling remained the basis for the domestic and Alpine dairy. Accordingly, agricultural economist Ferdinand Kaltenecker in his “*Rinder der oesterreichischen Alpenländer* [Cattle of the Austrian Alpine Regions]” of 1880 – a study entirely endorsing the scientification of agricultural practice – described the technique thus:

The customary approach is as follows: Once the cream has been skimmed off, the curdled or *thickened* milk, which has been standing for some time and has consequently become sour, is then gently warmed over embers, and just strong enough as to be able to hold one’s hand over it, a heat corresponding to a measured temperature of 43 to 45° Celsius. (Kaltenecker 1880: 195)

Here, it is not only the *skills*, namely, the practical knowledge of farmers and shepherds, that is considered ‘vulgar’ along with the conditions of production as a whole, but also the sensory attributes of the sour cheese. Here, aroma and taste are described as outmoded, an acquired taste, if not downright uncivilized – and this, in spite of the fact that nutritional science had become aware of low-fat and easy to digest cheese around the same time.

Despite its off-putting taste – no welcome experience for the uninitiated palate – and thoroughly unappetizing appearance, this foodstuff, produced in both domestic and in Alpine dairies, remains an outstanding favorite among all mountain dwellers, and thus, for all intents and purposes, constitutes an indispensable and irreplaceable staple. (Kaltenecker 1880: 195)

Over the course of the twentieth century, this basic appraisal remained unaltered. As was the case in other parts of the Republic, the agricultural regime in the Austrian state of Vorarlberg was oriented towards the prestigious hard cheese for the promotion of which, those production and distribution structures already in place during the Monarchy were to undergo further development, and for which a state-affiliated training and association system was installed for supervising the legitimacy of production. A certain analogy may be drawn in the example of viticulture whe-

reby, in a similar manner, state regulation and *social engineering* were linked. This was instanced, more recently, in the *wild wine* from hybrid grapes – later superseded by finer types of wine – which enjoyed a cult-like revival. The Burgenland *Uhudler* is just such an example, similarly purported to have gustatory disadvantages with attendant health risks and problematic social effects.

In the Montafon itself, sour cheese was to secure its own place in the regional economy during the twentieth century. Whereas, during the nineteenth century, it was still the justified impossibility of a large-scale alpine dairy economy as stipulated in inheritance law and in small-sized operations – along with the strongly seasonally conditioned immigration connected with this – which was to ensure that the agricultural sector, in a valley otherwise dominated by tourism and the energy industry, would now suffer greater loss of importance. Furthermore, this reinforced the status of cattle breeding – easier to implement as a supplementary income in conjunction with traditional Alpine economy – and intensified the limitation of butter and cheese production to one’s own consumption and, at best, to a regional market.

5 From Premodern Agricultural Relict to Regional Emblem: Adaptions

Up until a few years ago, it was sometimes difficult to obtain Montafon sour cheese in grocery stores. Sales were limited, for the most part, by direct marketing to one of the numerous Alps or to private channels. Today, the situation has altered fundamentally; in the supermarkets, cuts from the wheels of various Alps and manufacturers compete with those small sour cheeses from the large-scale production of supraregional dairies and specialized cheese merchants or companies outside the valley. The presence of this former, otherwise barely visible product is conspicuous everywhere; one finds it listed in the menus of hotels and restaurants in the valley and, notably, also in various offers tailored to the *experience* economy of regional tourism.

But what brought about this change of heart, and what does it signify? The fact that one may today refer to the “Montafon lead product of *Sura Kees*” (Montafoner Sura Kees 2016) is indebted to the increased global attention awarded to regional specialties. In spite of the fact that the cheese has yet to be given official heritage protection as issued by the European agricultural regime, it nevertheless continues to profit from the changes thereby introduced on national and regional markets. Here we see a convergence of *top down* and *bottom up* initiatives. Firstly, sour cheese was incorporated into the initiative “Region of Delight” by the Austrian state agricultural campaign and, secondly, it became the centre of attention of the regional association “intentionally Montafon,” which linked agricultural and tourist initiatives. Closely linked to this, a “Montafon Cheese House” was established in 2011 as a central market place for regional products, which – conveniently located on the bypass road and within walking distance to the center of Schruns, the principle center of the valley – forms part of the gastronomy and shopping facilities, and also provides catering and various regional offers in and around the subject of cheese. The descriptive narrative of the “Region of Delight” reads thus:

Its taste resembles a homage to the Montafon, to the region which is still its home. This is where it is conserved, this unique *Sura Kees* – much like a relic from a time when cheese production was carried out without rennet. Along with the Montafon, it stands for one of the oldest cheese traditions of the Alps, which is just how it tastes: authentic and unadulterated. (Montafoner Sauerkäse 2016)

However, in spite of the fact that the sour cheese counts among the top 100 happiness-inducing foodstuffs as listed by Austrian organic food pioneer Werner Lampert (“enjoyed in moderation, one slowly but surely becomes a friend, indeed, a lover of this cheese”), the marketability of this traditionally produced item still remains limited. In short, it is now possible to observe a modification (and commodification) which, though economically understandable, evidently contradicts the product’s prevalent rhetoric. Gisela Welz described similar processes in her case study on the Europeanization of comparable products; she outlines the genealogy and transformation of Cypriot Halloumi as *messy*, by which she means, among others, the paradox margins used in their production and representation in spite of the ostensibly strict rules pertaining to geographic indications and protected specialties (Welz 2016). Even the claimed uniqueness of tradition and affiliation to region proves no less stable than that which also holds for similar specialties: In other words, the necessary “verification of the connection to the ‘Terroir’” could be provided no less by Swiss and Liechtenstein businesses – a mere few kilometers beeline beyond the Rätikon mountains – for their “Werdenberg sour cheese/Liechtenstein sour and Bloderkäse” when applying for “protected indication of origin” (Federal Ministry of Agriculture 2016).

6 Genuine Enough? An Outlook

It should come as no surprise, then, that recent discussion in the Montafon has centered on the authenticity of the newly appreciated sour cheese, now primarily treated as a culinary heritage. Here, criticism is directed, above all, at a meanwhile established method of feeding cows with a concentrated feed transported from the valley by way of trucks, along with a form of production under *valley conditions*. Rumor has it that some even doubt whether that which is offered up as sour cheese is even produced without rennet or other enzymes. And, finally, precisely what purification process the cheese has undergone over the course of its establishment as a marketed specialty is barely concealed from observers: Invariably, representation and distribution turns on a *clean* and visually attractive young cheese. The product which has passed through several levels of maturity and which has, thus, undergone a number of changes in appearance and consistency is, in any case, barely noticeable on the front stage of regional representation – and certainly not with respect to smell and to taste. The olfactory and gustatory qualities that have arisen in conjunction with this new status have hence been described as a loss of authenticity. This is all the more interesting with respect to further development in the wake of such discourses:

The fact that, in the process, the criteria of authenticity and originality occupy center field and, thus, facilitate a new distinction is already evident.

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The idea of origin in terms of space and culture as a special indicator of quality is one of the most influential strands in contemporary food. It impacts on politics, economics and everyday life – and it connects these fields with complex relations of power and culture. With geographical indications, the EU offers an instrument which allows for the declaration of specialties, qualified by their tradition, as typical for a defined area. The declaration serves to protect these products as intellectual and collective property and presents them as culinary heritage, thereby enabling sale at an added value. Accordingly, the EU instrument of geographical indications evokes the interests of a variety of disciplines, such as (agricultural) economics, (social) geography, sociology, anthropology and law. Nonetheless, dialogue and cooperation among the disciplines are quite rare. “Taste | Power | Tradition” gives an insight into this multidisciplinary debate and brings together empirical data and theoretical reflections from different perspectives.