



**The New Edible Endangered Species
PDO, PGI and TSG Policies, Food and Cultural Pluralism in Europe**

by

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Declaration

I, Sarah Goler hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “The New Edible Endangered Species: PDO, PGI and TSG Policies, Food and Cultural Pluralism in Europe”, submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) is properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the Bibliography section.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

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Abstract

The New Edible Endangered Species: PDO, PGI and TSG Policies, Food and Cultural Pluralism in Europe

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European Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG) policies have become the new endangered species lists for traditional and specialty food products, central to a worldwide debate that is often misconstrued as economically and politically motivated. However, PDO, PGI and TSG products need to be elevated from the political and economic spheres to exemplify how they encompass more than pure sustenance, but symbolize the protection of cultural pluralism and identity amidst the surging homogenous tide of Europeanization and globalization. Few cultural analyses have been devoted to deconstructing the cultural impetus and cultural counterarguments for the extension of origin-protection policies worldwide. This study endeavors to demonstrate that the implementation of PDO, PGI and TSG policies is based on ‘Four Perspectives of Self’ modeled after Roland Robertson’s theory on global consciousness, that I have reconfigured to include the self as identifier, consumer, European and victim of globalization. Through a thorough exploration of each perspective using various primary documents, secondary sources and specific examples, I will illustrate crucial cultural arguments and critical analyses that are often overlooked in economic and political discourse concerning the policies. The ultimate goal is to show that culture provides the foundation for PDO, PGI and TSG policies and their success depends on the ability of the European Union to appease individuals by appealing to the ‘Four Perspectives of Self’ in a world of inevitable cultural identity reconstruction and the perceived threat of Europeanization and globalization.

Abbreviations

PDO	Protected Designation of Origin
PGI	Protected Geographical Indication
TSG	Traditional Specialty Guaranteed
EU	European Union
GI	Geographical Indication
AOC	<i>Appellation d'origine contrôlée</i>
INAO	<i>Institut National des Appellations d'Origine</i>
DOC	<i>Denominazione di origine controllata</i>
WTO	World Trade Organization
TRIPS	Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
CIAA	Confederation of the Food and Drink Industries of the European Union
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

Preface

One may ask why I based my entire Master's project on the study of food. Unfortunately, as with the paper itself, this question cannot be answered with a short reply. I have experienced a complicated relationship with food and identity from the moment of my birth. Upon exiting from the womb, my identity was handed to me on a plate, literally. My parents were among the countless hippies that joined the irresistible urge of counterculture society, deciding in their early twenties to permanently expel all forms of meat from their diets. This vegetarian lifestyle would ultimately be passed down to my brother and me. My mother is a talented cook, and brought a slew of recipes and culinary experience with her from everywhere they lived. I was taught to not only appreciate meatless living, but the diversity of international tastes from all over the world.

As a child, I knew my vegetarianism set me apart from my peers, but I relished in the attention. Hot lunch in the school cafeteria was a moment of self-reassuring my uniqueness. Soy sausages and tofu hot dogs were prepared especially for me, hand delivered by my mother each week. During my teenage years, I lacked any affinity for religion and being raised in an ethnically homogeneous environment, self-distinction and belonging took on an even more important role in my life. Though my family members partially abandoned the lifestyle in favor of incorporating small amounts of poultry and fish into their diets, I vehemently rejected this option. It was as if I subconsciously realized that the absence of my vegetarianism would mean an absence of who I was.

Vegetarianism, therefore, became an obsession. I secured a job with the local natural food shop and educated myself on the art of meatless cooking techniques. I became a database of the most up to date nutritional knowledge, health and proper diet. In the realm of academic experience, I focused countless essays, speeches and presentations on topics ranging from ethical vegetarianism to vegetarian philosophers. Dreams of the future shifted between becoming a natural chef or nutritionist, to opening my own vegetarian restaurant. After entering college, I decided it was time to prove my uniqueness to the ultimate degree. Veganism characterized my life for over a year, as if the absence of dairy and egg products added some degree of prestige to my already meatless identity. However, I knew that the taste of soy cheese and rice yogurt could not satisfy my hunger forever.

It wasn't until I lived abroad the first time that my identity as a whole was questioned. I would come to realize that vegetarianism was a new and strange way to live one's life in the Czech Republic. Stating that I was vegetarian was met with blank stares and inquiring interest as to why on Earth I would choose to live in such a way. My diet also inconvenienced field trips and travel, as special concessions had to be made to accommodate my eating habits, usually resulting in a generous helping of fried cheese and potatoes. It was a challenge, but I became an expert at the locations and favored dishes at vegetarian restaurants scattered around Prague, and the best

deal on tofu at international supermarkets. While traveling, it became a game to locate the vegetarian restaurants in each city and town; vegan lasagna in Budapest, lentil soup in Krakow, falafel sandwiches in Berlin...

It was also living in Europe that my identity as an American was confronted for the first time in my life. My international peers have playfully labeled me the 'untypical American' or 'not a real American'. This led me to wonder, if I was not American and clearly not European, what was I? I retreated once again into identifying myself as vegetarian. My Americanism took on a shameful meaning, and I'd just assume respond to the question of 'where are you from' with 'I'm a vegetarian'. If there were such a land of vegetarians, I would come from there.

After leaving Prague, it appeared a miracle to those both familiar and unfamiliar with the Czech Republic that I was able to maintain my vegetarianism while living abroad. But it was also when I returned from Europe that my vegetarianism took on a new meaning. After being asked on so many occasions 'why' I stuck with it, I never analyzed the true answer to this question. That is because I did not know the answer. Though I empathized with animals as sentient beings, it was not ethics that kept me going. Though environmental impact of the meat industry and animal slaughtering practices bothered me, it wasn't that either. I decided suddenly that it was time to face my addiction to a meatless lifestyle and 'quit cold turkey'. I realized that vegetarianism was purely a habit ingrained in my being since childhood, and habits are very hard to change. The abandonment of vegetarianism meant an abandonment of my uniqueness. Vegetarianism provided me with comfort and focus, a way to narrow down choices in a world of infinite possibilities. But for some reason, I did not need it anymore.

This sent me on what I like to call my 'carnivorous escapade' of ferocious culinary curiosity. My first experience with meat was in the form of buffalo tacos. To the delight of my friends, I devoured my first Lebanese shawarma. When moving back to Europe, I ate everything from döner kebabs to bratwurst and salami, kielbasa in Poland and goulash in the Czech Republic. I now realize the power that my vegetarian identification held in my life. Rather than being a habit, I know that it was my identity that I was afraid to let go of.

I would like to finish by saying that I confront this subject not in terms of any national bias or arguments for or against either side. I am approaching it as a food enthusiast and one who has personally experienced the power of food and identity, and the complexity that something as seemingly simple as sustenance adds to our already multifaceted lives.

Sarah Goler
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To my parents

If it were not for the way they fed and raised me, I would not be me.

1. Introduction

Our lives revolve around food. Food in itself is a contradiction, we eat to live but also live to eat. It may be considered one of the simplest, yet most complicated necessities of life. It controls and taunts us, yet rewards and delights us. It has the ability to increase and decrease the mass of our bodies. It can be artistic, scientific and functional. It embodies endless possibilities, combinations and styles. It brings people together and also tears them apart. It can be the cause of wars and social unrest. It changes throughout history, through wealth, poverty and hardship. It is a deeply important part of every culture, not only necessary for survival but also strongly associated with cultural identity. The sheer complexity of life on the planet is demonstrated by the diversity of cultures and foodstuffs that are produced, processed and prepared in a multitude of different styles using countless different methods, tools and know-how. The importance of food cannot be underestimated and it is not a topic to be ignored. And it is this complex nature of what should ultimately be a simple necessity of sustaining life that makes the controversies and issues surrounding food regulation in the European Union difficult for people to digest.

The fact is that modern food habits are changing. This is not a new phenomenon, but one that must be considered in an interdependent global context. What, where and how to eat is becoming consistently more difficult as people have become overwhelmed with choices. Food in various European countries has even become a symbol of social change, a rallying point to prevent the loss of rootedness, identity and culture that seems inevitable amidst the surging homogenous tide of globalization. This feeling of loss is exacerbated by new questions of sustainability, protection, nutrition, disease and safety within a world of overpopulation, famine, hunger and poverty. There has also been a surge of demands from consumers in Europe today, stemming from sustainable and safe practices to traditional protection, traceability, quality and authenticity. It is the task of the European Commission to find ways to ensure these demands are met.

Individuals need to eat, but eating has never been and never will be an individual act, nor will it ever be separate from the political and economic spheres. The area of foodstuffs has always been a sensitive and emotionally charged yet vitally important arena in the EU. What began with the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) has mushroomed into questions of how to

best preserve and protect the area of foodstuffs without interfering with personal choice and empowerment. No longer purely a national responsibility, the European Commission must respond to more complicated arguments that go beyond the need for quality, safety and hygienic properties. The struggle for the availability of food was a main issue in Europe in the past. However, with modern affluence the extinction of food products prevails as a symbolic struggle to prevent the loss of cultural identity and pluralism. Food is important for culture and tradition, and is something the European Union strives to protect. Through Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG) geographical indications, the European Union is trying to rescue endangered food products from the threat of extinction.

Because of its abundant and mundane nature, food has often been an underrepresented discipline considered unworthy of scholarly attention.¹ It receives a marginalized role in globalization literature, even though Alexander Nützenadel and Frank Trentmann declare it is “...arguably at least as important as finance, transport and industry, which dominate most writings.”² It has also been argued that food has never received the attention it deserves, due to the fact that it was classified as ‘women’s work’ and not an area to devote patriarchal attention. Greek philosophers including Plato viewed constraints of the body, such as eating, as distracting them from the search for truth.³ However, on the most basic biological level we would perish without it and be unable to focus our attentions on anything else, much less the truth. There has long been interest in describing the utilitarian nature of food and its importance in human life. But there is a continued lack of a broader and deeper understanding of the meanings and causes of food habits, and the role of society and culture in shaping them. The area of food studies is a blossoming field that deserves detailed and critical analyses because whether we realize it or not, food touches every part of our lives.

The issue of origin and name protection with regards to PDO, PGI and TSG policies and their underlying cultural inspiration is one aspect of food studies that has received little in depth scholarly attention. Despite the fact that the policies are involved in a global battle for

¹ Peter Atkins and Ian Bowler, *Food in Society: Economy, Culture, Geography* (London: Hodder Headline Group, 2001), Introduction, viii.

² Alexander Nützenadel and Frank Trentmann, *Food and Globalization: Consumption, Markets and Politics in the Modern World* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2008), Introduction, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 311-312.

legitimization, they are only briefly touched upon by many writers and researchers, and often only to describe economic and political aspects. The European Commission states that the policies are essential to protect tradition and culture throughout Europe and the world. But it lacks a convincing analysis of why this is the case and how this assertion was reached as a universal value in every European country. It seems as though one of the most important driving forces for enacting the policies has been shoved into the background, overlooked and often forgotten. As said by Malcolm Waters, “In a world in which the minds of individuals are so resolutely focused on mass-mediated images it is surprising that so much social scientific attention should have been paid to global integration by means of economics and so little to culture or consciousness.”⁴ This point can be extended to PDO, PGI and TSG’s because most focus on their development has been based in the economic and political realms.

To use the ever-popular iceberg analogy, PDO, PGI and TSG policies and their economic and political arguments represent merely the tip of the iceberg. Yet, there is so much more to an iceberg than its tip, and the fundamental symbolic issues concerning culture and identity are always present below the surface. Malcolm Waters theorizes that “...material exchanges localize; political exchanges internationalize; and symbolic exchanges globalize. It follows that the globalization of human society is contingent on the extent to which cultural arrangements are effective relative to economic and political arrangements.”⁵ While this thesis is not entirely focused on globalization, the words ‘globalization of human society’ may be substituted with ‘PDO, PGI and TSG policies’ in order to understand the relevance to the statement. Therefore, I argue that the policies will only be successful economically and politically in relation to the effectiveness of their cultural aspects. In this respect, the material items refer to the traditional local products that seek protection under the system. The political arrangements concern the attempted adoption of protected items throughout the world. Finally, the symbolic aspect refers to the recognition of the policies as protecting more than endangered food products but the symbolic struggle for cultural pluralism and autonomy amidst the modern forces of globalization. Ultimately, the policies’ success globally depends on their ability to effectively transmit the underlying symbols as connected with the importance of food and cultural identity around the world.

⁴ Waters, Malcolm, *Globalization* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 33.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

For that reason, my task is to highlight that which is easy to forget: culture provides the foundation for the policies and without it they would crumble. The European Union's fervent dedication to PDO, PGI and TSG policies in the economic and political realm may often be misunderstood as attempted economic protectionism. But when the underlying issues have been brought to light, the reason for this dedication becomes clearer. The purpose of this research is to present a deeper understanding of the cultural impetus behind the policies and the cultural assumptions that lead the European Commission to justify harmonizing them on a European level. With improved understanding of the defined cultural angle of PDO, PGI and TSG policies, citizens of Europe and throughout the world will have more of an in depth understanding to be able to embrace or reject them.

1.1. Research Questions

There are various questions, which I will consider throughout the development of the thesis.

- What is the connection between PDO, PGI and TSG products with identity and culture?
- Why do the policies place such extensive emphasis on consumer demands?
- How are the policies being interpreted culturally within the European Union?
- Does globalization present a valid threat to the survival of non-industrial specialty food products?
- Can the policies be considered a method of creating an 'other' for Europe?
- If the specific policies in question are not implemented, will culture and tradition truly be threatened?

1.2. Theoretical Framework

The fragmentation and interdisciplinary nature of food studies presents one of the main problems in formulating a coherent theoretical framework. The theoretical issues surrounding PDO, PGI and TSG policies are numerous and various theories will be employed throughout each chapter of the thesis. Nevertheless, Roland Robertson's theory on globalization will predominate. In order to demonstrate the underlying cultural elements and counterarguments to the policies, the chapters will follow similarly to Robertson's theory on globalization and

intensified global consciousness. Through the so-called shrinking of the world as a whole, this phenomenon leads people to relate individual and national reference points to general and supranational ones.⁶ Robertson continues to state that a ‘global field’ is created and “...therefore involves the establishment of cultural, social and phenomenological linkages between four elements: (1) the individual self; (2) the national society; (3) the international system of societies; and (4) humanity in general.”⁷ This thought-process will further unite the world through material interdependence, but not necessarily lead to a more integrated whole.⁸

To continue, it is important to note how these four elements may be assembled in such a way that provides perspective and subjective interpretations on globalization. Malcolm Waters presents them linked in four combined sets:

- 1) “The individual self (1) is defined as a citizen of a national society (2), by comparison with developments in other societies (3), and as an instance of humanity (4).”⁹
- 2) “A national society (2) stands in a problematic relationship to its citizens (1), in terms of freedom and control, views itself to be a member of a community of nations (3), and must provide citizenship rights that are referenced against general human rights (4).”¹⁰
- 3) “The international system (3) depends on the surrender of sovereignty by national societies (2), sets standards for individual behavior (1), and provides ‘reality checks’ on human aspirations (4).”¹¹
- 4) “Humanity (4) is defined in terms of individual rights (1), that are expressed in the citizenship provisions of national societies (2), which are legitimated and enforced through the international system of societies (3).”¹²

Conversely, throughout the course of this thesis I will consider different elements that more appropriately align with the issues surrounding PDO, PGI and TSG policies. I have replaced the four elements of Robertson’s thesis with what I refer to as the ‘Four Perspectives of Self’. I

⁶ Cited in Waters, *Globalization*, 42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹² *Ibid.*, 43.

suggest that under these assumptions about the individual the European Union justifies its promotion of the policies. The perspectives show that when considering one's consciousness with respect to origin protection policies, the individual makes different linkages between (1) the self as identifier, (2) the self as consumer, (3) the self as European and (4) the self as victim of globalization. Consequently, new combinations may be formulated:

- 1) The self aligns with an identity (1) as a consumer (2), which tries to differentiate itself amidst the process of European integration (3), and the invasion of globalization (4).
- 2) The consumer self (2) experiences a problematic relationship with its identity (1), in terms of freedom of choice and abandonment of a certain degree of national sovereignty, views itself as attached to its region and locality (3), but may be provided with a reason to unite as European when referenced against the homogenizing forces of globalization (4).
- 3) The European self (3) depends on the personal alignment with the locally, regionally and nationally identified self (1) that could be emphasized by the preferences and support of local origin protected policies of the consumer self (2) but becomes self-conscious when referenced to the globally victimized self (4).
- 4) The self as the victim of globalization (4) is defined in terms of cultural homogenization and the loss of culture and identity (1) and is protected by the consumer support of localities (2), which is legitimated and enforced through European PDO, PGI and TSG policies (3).

On the other hand, PDO, PGI and TSG's cannot be so easily culturally legitimized. The importance of the policies for cultural identity and the meaning attached to products as a symbol of the endangerment of cultural pluralism is not necessarily self-evident. It is important to address the counterarguments to the European Commission's assumptions of the 'Four Perspectives of Self' as a reason to rally worldwide support for extended worldwide protection. Accordingly, I believe by using slightly altered combinations, opponents could use counterarguments to discredit the cultural legitimization of PDO, PGI and TSG policies. The opposing formulations proceed as follows:

- 1) The self constructs a subjective cultural identity (1) that is supported by an imagined consumer self (2), which perceives itself as threatened by the creation of a European self (3), which it rejects despite the presence of globalization (4).
- 2) The imagined consumer self (2) is manipulated into believing that its identity is dependent upon the protection of endangered cultural food products (1), by the European promotion of PDO, PGI and TSG policies (3), and the targeting of globalization driven by the US and fast food as the main threats to cultural pluralism (4).
- 3) The Eurosceptic self (3) reasserts its local, regional and nationally identified self (1) by demanding origin protection to satisfy the perceived needs of the imagined consumer self (2), as a confrontation to both Europeanization and globalization (4).
- 4) The self as autonomous and creative individual in a globalized world (4) is defined in terms of adapting cultural globalization to suit its own cultural identity and needs (1), that is catered to by the abundance of choices that suit the imagined consumer self (2), which acts on its own regardless of PDO, PGI and TSG certification (3).

Robertson states that each of these interactions develops into four reference points of individualization, internationalization, societalization and humanization. But in the context of the new combinations of reference points focused on PDO, PGI and TSG policies, I believe that other developments are produced, namely: individualization, or each person redefined in terms of real or invented personal and consumer identity and preferences; localization/regionalization, the appeal to tradition and local production on a smaller scale; Europeanization, which could be hampered by continued Euroscepticism or strengthened amidst the tides of globalization that ultimately presents the greatest threat to culinary cultural pluralism, tradition and identity in the future; and finally, internationalization or the recognition of, as according to Robertson, "...the multiplication of inter-state interdependencies and arrangements [on a global scale]."¹³ Incidentally, the chapters of the thesis will be built upon a foundation of the 'Four Perspectives of Self', as defined previously. Each perspective and their counterarguments will be explored in detail and be complemented with numerous appropriately aligned theses.

¹³ Ibid., 43.

1.3. Methodology and Materials

The emerging field of food studies is inherently multidimensional and multifaceted, and this is reflected in the nature of current research. This multidimensional aspect is also characteristic of PDO, PGI and TSG policies. The research will therefore be of a mixed and interdisciplinary variety. It is often the case that disciplines are no longer separate and it is necessary to conduct research and provide evidence from a wide range of areas. These include in no particular order: sociology, culture, social science, anthropology, geography, economics, psychology, history and politics. Each of these areas will be touched upon throughout the course of the thesis. The research also reflects the influence of the ‘cultural turn’ in food studies beginning in the 1990’s. This turn was persuaded by a new focus on food, food scares and the emergence of safety, quality, ethical, regulatory and other issues, becoming highly important on the political agendas in Europe and the United States.¹⁴

In my attempt to understand and interpret the perceived definitions, descriptions and meanings as defined in individual and cultural terms with regards to the reasoning for initiating PDO, PGI and TSG policies, my thesis will be based on an in depth qualitative analysis using the poststructuralist “Critical Discourse Analysis” method, of which the best known theorists include Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk.¹⁵ I am basing this research on the idea that there is symbolic cultural meaning to be found underlying PDO, PGI and TSG policies that must be deconstructed. The endangerment of food products in this context is symbolic of greater societal changes and their threat to cultural identity and pluralism. I will be analyzing food policy as a unifying discourse of European society, worthy of political and economic protection. The policies and their cultural and social contexts will provide the so-called ‘text’ for further analysis. The method will be useful because I am operating under the assumption that the experience of human reality and identity are subjective and socially constructed, and will help me to better understand the cultural phenomena within the overall context of globalization.¹⁶

The poststructuralist (postmodern) approach to this research is essential to highlight the various changes in the study of food throughout history. In the twentieth century there was a

¹⁴ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 202, 211-245, 253.

¹⁵ Jan Blommärt and Chris Bulcaen, “Critical Discourse Analysis,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 29, 447-466 (2000), in JSTOR, <www.jstor.com>, (accessed on November 05, 2009).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 451

move from the functionalist approach, which focused on ritual, custom and utilitarianism in understanding food behavior, to structuralism, which is interested in the deeper meaning of food habits with regards to culture.¹⁷ But with the postmodern focus beginning in the eighties, structuralism has again been altered and gears itself to focus more on the individual. For food studies, there are four themes of the poststructuralist approach that are discussed by Warde and paraphrased by Peter Atkins and Ian Bowler. These include the emphasis of the consumer over social and economic structures, thereby establishing an individual identity. Second, new societal groups are said to share a lifestyle, not a social class. Third, mass consumption has focused its energy on selling products that appeal to everyone, transcending all boundaries. And finally, social differentiation divides the ‘West’ from less-developed countries, because the poor areas of the world have undergone little change with regard to consumption patterns.¹⁸ Each of these points will be noticeable throughout the thesis through the ‘Four Perspectives’.

To continue, I will employ the use of content and data analysis to sort through and organize the multitude of both primary and secondary sources, whose meanings will then be refined and deconstructed to allude to characterizations of the cultural motives for the policies, and a better understanding of the differing perspectives. Primary sources will include official regulations from the European Commission, the World Trade Organization and other official organizations, statements from politicians, official documents and websites, journal articles and recent study results. The ‘Four Perspectives of Self’ will be based on these primary sources, as well as the interpretation of secondary sources, stemming from newspaper articles, books and journal articles.

I will begin my research in chapter two with a thorough investigation of the development of PDO, PGI and TSG policies. I will discuss their background and emergence from the well-known French *Appellation d’origine contrôlée* (AOC) system, the application process, worldwide issues and the main arguments published in current discourse for and against them. The second chapter will illustrate the emphasis placed on economic and political motives for the policies. The subsequent chapters will be based on the ‘Four Perspectives of Self’ and endeavor to present the overlooked cultural motives that surround the policies, along with their counterarguments. The length of certain chapters may be longer than others. This is not because

¹⁷ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 5-6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

any of the perspectives deserves less attention, but because some require more detailed explanation.

To continue, chapter three will discuss the ‘Self as Identifier’ and highlight the main issues surrounding personal identity, culture and the symbolism encompassing food, names and places. In chapter four I will venture to describe the ‘Self as Consumer’, the impact of the modern day consumer identity on the individual. Chapter four will center on the ‘Self as European’, the issues of cultural preservation amidst furthered European Integration. Finally, chapter five will discuss the ‘Self as Victim of Globalization’ and the issues adjoining cultural globalization and its threat to food culture and identity. Each chapter is organized in such a way so as to present supporting evidence of the perspectives as convincing individual reference points motivating the policies, while also indicating possible counterarguments in the form of critical analyses that could be used to question their credibility for PDO, PGI and TSG policies.

1.4. Hypothesis

The goal of the aforementioned theoretical framework and methodological analysis is to clarify the assumptions that I have made concerning PDO, PGI and TSG policies. I am suggesting that the inspiration for the development and extension of the policies worldwide has a fundamental cultural aspect, and is not merely fueled by economic and political aspirations. I believe the European Union is legitimizing these policies based on assumptions of the individual perspectives of citizens, which include that of the self as identifier, consumer, European and victim of globalization, and that this also generates much criticism on the part of the opposition.

Therefore, the supposition is that the success of PDO, PGI and TSG policies depends on the ability of the European Union to appease individuals by appealing to the ‘Four Perspectives of Self’ in a world of inevitable cultural identity reconstruction and the perceived threat of Europeanization and globalization.

2. PDO, PGI and TSG Policies Explained

In order to introduce the topic at hand, the background and development of PDO, PGI and TSG policies must be discussed before analyzing the underlying cultural issues.

2.1. The Origin of *Appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC)

The recent PDO, PGI and TSG policies and their development are mirrored after the well known French *Appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC) system that governs wine, cheese and other specialty French products. When asking various persons whether or not the acronyms PDO, PGI or TSG mean anything to them, it is often met with blank stares and inquisitive response. However, upon the utterance of the word Champagne, an immediate light of recognition is evident and a discussion over the issues of the protection of food according to its origins can begin.

One of the most interesting aspects of the new food regimes is that they are modeled after a policy that has its historical groundings in a symbolic struggle for identity. It was not always accepted that Champagne or Bordeaux could only come from specific regions in France. Author Kolleen M. Guy best describes the conception and subsequent birth of appellation policies in the early twentieth century France in her essay “Wine, Champagne and the Making of the French Identity in the Belle Epoque.” What began as a small battle between producers in the Marne and Aube regions of France concerning the rights to the historical roots of Champagne erupted into a movement of virus-like behavior, spreading to include demands from various French regions to safeguard the unique qualities of their products through legislation and legal protection. The ripple effect of this movement is still being felt today.¹⁹

To begin, the wine producers in the late nineteenth century argued that the name of their region was being misused to spread a generic and false reputation of quality, resulting in the adulteration and fraud in the industry, and undermining a national heritage. So, between 1905 and 1908 a series of bills were introduced to try and alleviate this problem by establishing what

¹⁹ Kolleen M. Guy, “Wine, Champagne and the Making of the French Identity in the Belle Epoque,” in *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Scholliers, 163-177 (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 163-164.

is known in French as *terroir*. Though there is no direct English equivalent, *terroir* is described in terms of the embodiment of a combination of various conditions. Specifically concerning wine, it is "...generally applied as a descriptor for the holistic combination in a vineyard environment of soil, climate, topography, and the soul of the wine producer."²⁰ Author Wendy Leynse describes it more generally as being derived from a specific place or made in a traditional way. Thus, the connection to its place of origin connotes a sense of 'authentic', 'typical', 'artisanal', or 'natural' properties. It can also be said to convey a sense of 'timelessness' and derive a special sensorial quality from the soil. A dish can also be considered *terroir* if it is composed entirely of local ingredients.²¹

Despite the initiation of legislation, manipulation of wine products continued to occur and imitations abounded.²² In order to alleviate the problem, the battle for protection intensified. In May 1908 a number of hearings were scheduled in order to determine the boundaries and rightful ownership of Champagne.²³ According to Guy, the struggle in France is often misconstrued as an attempt to ensure economic protectionism.²⁴ Though the underlying economic rationale is evident, the protection was laden with notions of identity, supposedly "... linking the fate of a material good to that of the nation."²⁵ In this particular instance, historical transcripts recorded each side promoting its own interests and positions, asserting their region's superiority as the supposed 'birthplace' or 'father' of Champagne and the rightful heir to the historical legacy. In Guy's words, "The actual meeting...turned into a battle over the construction of the French past."²⁶ Connections to wine as 'rooted' to the French nation were also stressed, along with assertions of themselves as the protectors of French culture.²⁷

The late nineteenth century was a critical period in the development of the European continent. The relative stability was characterized by the immersion of new forms of art, science, technology and social changes as well as the introduction of a mass, consumer culture. From its

²⁰ Ibid., 173.

²¹ Wendy L.H. Leynse, "Journey Through 'Ingestible Topography': Socializing the 'Situated Eater' in France," in *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006), 146.

²² Guy, "Wine, Champagne and the Making," 164.

²³ Ibid., 169.

²⁴ Ibid., 173.

²⁵ Ibid., 164.

²⁶ Ibid., 169.

²⁷ Ibid., 167.

beginning, the drive to protect regional specialties has been central to the construction of a true French identity and an attempt to create cohesion amongst a particularistic and insecure whole. To the French, their soil was seen as one of the most sacred possessions and wine was a fundamental element of it.²⁸ This can also be seen in books written for both children and adults at the time, in which the idea of a collective identity and feeling of Frenchness is portrayed.²⁹ One example written for adults entitled *Le bourgmestre en bouteille* details the encounters of two Frenchmen on their journey through different landscapes. The story was successful because it promoted a timeless and authentic French character, teaching the reader about the profound connection between France's soil, wine and soul with the nation.³⁰

During the Champagne confrontations, a sense of French 'memory' was being constructed, giving regional products an added sense of prestige and significance and uniting the nation. This was instrumental at the time because, "Local communities could then link themselves to this national good and a common imagined past of France. This imagined past, in which the regions were freed from the tyranny of the Old Regime, linked the continued existence of the regions to a national narrative actively promoted by the state."³¹ As linked to the land and its people, rural actors in the fight for regional significance were active in shaping the French identity.³²

From the beginning of the battle to ensure protection for regional products and, subsequently, national identity, it is clear that the French have long highlighted local production, regional dishes and geographic specificities as an important part of their culture.³³ It was these battles at a crucial junction in their history that were the stepping-stones in creating the internationally acclaimed *Appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC) system and reputable quality of French products. The AOC system began in 1935 with the establishment of the *Institut National des Appellations d'Origine* (INAO), an administrative organization that acted to safeguard

²⁸ Ibid., 172.

²⁹ Kolleen M. Guy, "Rituals of Pleasure in the Land of Treasures: Wine Consumption and the Making of French Identity in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Food nations: selling taste in consumer societies*, ed. James Belasco and Philip Scranton, 34-47 (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 36.

³⁰ Ibid., 42.

³¹ Guy, "Wine, Champagne and the Making," 172.

³² Ibid., 176.

³³ Leynse, "Journey Through 'Ingestible Topography'," 129.

products in the different *terroirs* of France on both a national and international level.³⁴ The INAO now administers all regulations and ensures strict compliance with its set standards and criteria. They are also in charge of new Geographical Indication systems, including PDO, PGI and TSG's.³⁵

The idea of the AOC system is based on the principles of its founding arguments. By securing economic protection, it also ensures the quality and characteristics of *terroir* that is individual to each product and so vital to its people. For consumers of AOC products, the label provides reassurance and a guarantee. In fact, according to Bruno Gimmig AOC wines represent the largest balance of foreign trade with over eighty-five percent of France's total wine production, and the dairy sector calculated at twenty percent in 2000. To put it into perspective, he states, "...75,000 wine estates, 30,000 milk producers and 25,000 cattle breeders in France are affected by the AOC system."³⁶ Due to the obvious success of the AOC, many similar systems have used it as a model and the concept has been developed all over the world. Some systems include the *Denominazione di Origine Controllata*³⁷ in Italy, *Denominação de Origem Controlada* (DOC)³⁸ in Portugal, *Districtus Austriae Controllatus* (DAC)³⁹ in Austria, *Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée* (AOC) and *Indication Géographique Protégée* (IGP)⁴⁰ in Switzerland, Wine of Origins Scheme (WO)⁴¹ in South Africa, the American Viticultural Area (AVA) in the United States,⁴² and the Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG) policies of the European Union.

³⁴ "Institut National de l'Origine et de la Qualité (INAO)," 2009, <<http://www.inao.gouv.fr/>>, (accessed on November 03 2009).

³⁵ Bruno Gimmig, "Appellation d'origine contrôlée: a regional label of excellence," *France Diplomatie*, 2008, <<http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/>>, (accessed on November 03, 2009).

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ "Denominaciones de Origen e Indicaciones Geográficas," *Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Medio Rural y Marino*, 2009, <<http://www.mapa.es/es/alimentacion/pags/Denominacion/consulta.asp>>, (accessed on November 03, 2009).

³⁸ Jancis Robinson ed., "Denominação de Origem Controlada (DOC)," from *The Oxford Companion to Wine* Third Ed., 09 Jul. 2009, <www.wikipedia.org>, (accessed on November 03, 2009).

³⁹ Michael Prónay, "A La Carte," *Österreich Wein*, Feb. 2009, <<http://www.weinausosterreich.at/>>, (accessed on November 03, 2009).

⁴⁰ "AOC IGP-Switzerland," *Organization for an International Geographical Indications Network (OriGIN)*, 05 May 2004, <<http://www.origin-gi.com/index.php>>, (accessed on November 03, 2009).

⁴¹ "Wine of Origin Areas," Wines of South Africa (WOSA), 2009, <<http://www.wosa.co.za/index.php>>, (accessed on November 03, 2009).

⁴² "American Viticultural Area (AVA)," *Calwineries*, 2006-2007, <<http://www.calwineries.com/>>, (accessed on November 03, 2009).

2.2. The Birth of PDO, PGI and TSG Policies

According to The Confederation of the Food and Drink Industries of the European Union's (CIAA) 2008 'Annual Report', the food and drink industry of the EU is the largest manufacturing sector in Europe and employs over four hundred million people.⁴³ The industry also purchases and processes seventy percent of agricultural production, exporting billions of euros worth of products to non-EU countries.⁴⁴ At the same time, it generates revenue of 913 billion euro, more than the automobile and chemical industries combined.⁴⁵ However, continuous developments in countries such as Brazil and China have led to more competition, resulting in a shrinking of European exports.⁴⁶ Thus, from an economic standpoint the introduction of PDO, PGI and TSG policies could present a great advantage. In fact, the first statement listed on the European Commission Council Regulation (EC) No 510/2006 (which replaced the former Regulation (EEC) No 2081/92) establishing the policies cites the importance of agriculture and foodstuffs for the well-being of the Community.⁴⁷

As mentioned previously, the policies were modeled after the French AOC system, and various countries established similar rules to protect the names of their foodstuffs before the development of PDO, PGI and TSG schemes in 1992. Dominique Barjolle and Bertil Sylvander state that, "The regulation came about because of diverse national and cultural interests, but also groups in different economic sectors on the basis of shared international concern and solidarity."⁴⁸ The idea of the policies is to unify the protection system on a European level, while at the same time not undermining those already in existence. A description of Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG) schemes are presented on the European Commission's Agriculture and Rural Development website:⁴⁹

⁴³ A useful table and graph may be found in the Appendices on page 129.

⁴⁴ "CIAA Annual Report 2008," *Confederation of the Food and Drink Industries of the European Union (CIAA)*, 2008, <<http://www.ciaa.be/asp/index.asp>>, (accessed on October 29, 2009), 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴⁷ "Council Regulation (EC) No 510/2006 on the protection of geographical indications and designations of origin for agricultural products and foodstuffs," *EUR-Lex*, 20 Mar. 2006, <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>>, (accessed on November 05, 2009).

⁴⁸ Dominique Barjolle and Bertil Sylvander, "PDO and PGI Products: Market, Supply Chains and Institutions," *European Commission*, June 2000, <<http://www.origin-food.org/pdf/pdo-pgi.pdf>>, (accessed on May 05, 2009), 8.

⁴⁹ A useful chart may be found in the Appendix on page 128.

- **“PDO** - covers agricultural products and foodstuffs which are produced, processed and prepared in a given geographical area using recognized know-how.”⁵⁰
- **“PGI** - covers agricultural products and foodstuffs closely linked to the geographical area. At least one of the stages of production, processing or preparation takes place in the area.”⁵¹
- **“TSG** - highlights traditional character, either in the composition or means of production.”⁵²

Any product planned for human consumption may apply for registration. As listed on the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) website, this includes types of meat, dairy and fish products, honey, fruits and vegetables, bean, beverages made from plant extracts, bread, pasta, pastries, cakes, biscuits and confectionery.⁵³ Other products may also include:

- “PDO and PGI - natural gums and resins, hay, essential oils, mustard paste, cork, cochineal, flowers and ornamental plants, wool, wicker and scutched flax.”⁵⁴
- “TSG - pre-cooked meals, prepared condiment sauces, soups and broths, ice cream and sorbets, chocolate (and other food preparations including cocoa).”⁵⁵

In order to apply for a product registration, a group of producers or interested parties must get together and decide on strict specifications and all the technical aspects of the suggested product. This is generally the determining factor in whether a product will be registered or not. The name must also be agreed upon and is usually derived from or alludes to a certain region, place or country.⁵⁶ Article 4 of Council Regulation (EC) No 510/2006 has set up standards that

⁵⁰ “Agriculture and Rural Development,” *European Commission*, 2009, <<http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/>>, (accessed on May 10, 2009).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ “EU Protected Food Names Scheme,” *Defra: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*, 04 Aug. 2008, <<http://www.defra.gov.uk/foodfarm/food/industry/regional/foodname/index.htm>>, (accessed on November 04, 2009).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ “Fact Sheet: European Policy for Quality Agricultural Products,” *European Commission Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development*, Jan. 2007, <http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/publi/fact/quality/2007_en.pdf>, (accessed on May 13, 2009).

producers must meet in order to have their product registered. They must furnish proof of everything from physical evidence of its origin to descriptions of methods and the links between its characteristics and the geographical area. The application is then sent to the appropriate national authority for review, and finally scrutinized by the Commission. If a product has been deemed 'generic', it may not be registered, and registered products may never become generic. Anyone with an objection to a proposed name is also allowed to voice concerns within six months of a product's publication. If a legitimate argument is presented invalidating a proposed product name, the geographical indication is amended appropriately.⁵⁷

Once a product has been registered, it is protected from any misuse or imitation of the name throughout the EU. Article 13 of the Council Regulation states that even translated names or those using terminology such as 'style', 'type' or 'method' are prohibited. Furthermore, anything misleading consumers to the true product origin, including packaging and labels, will not be tolerated.⁵⁸ The enforcement of the policies is the responsibility of the Member States, who set up their own administrative offices to deal with applications and any infringement of EU law.⁵⁹ The schemes are constantly undergoing change, and there were recent attempts to simplify the procedures and make them more transparent. In 2006, complaints from World Trade Organization (WTO) members led them to be extended to non-EU countries for registration directly with the European Commission.⁶⁰ Furthermore, as of May 1, 2009 appropriate logos associated with their specific designation must appear on the product label.⁶¹

Moreover, the policies are intended to promote the high quality of products, which is often the result of originating in a specific territory or being produced in a traditional way. Though often regarded as a subjective issue, the European Commission Directorate General for Agriculture and Rural Development states in its 2007 "Fact Sheet" that there are certain definitive measures of quality. Quality is conceived of various dimensions and could be based on health, the usage of special ingredients or the observation of animal welfare standards.⁶²

⁵⁷ "Council Regulation (EC) No 510/2006"

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ "Fact Sheet: European Policy for Quality Agricultural Products."

⁶⁰ "Recent Changes to PDO and PGI Regime," *Shepherd and Wedderburn: E-Bulletins*, 31 Jan. 2006, <<http://www.shepwedd.co.uk/knowledge/article/558-570/recent-changes-to-pdo-and-pgi-regime/archive/?page=2>>, (accessed on May 13, 2009).

⁶¹ "EU Protected Food Names Scheme."

⁶² "Fact Sheet: European Policy for Quality Agricultural Products."

Additionally, it could cover the flavor; freedom from germs and disease; laws on additives and farming contaminants; sustainable environmental practices; trusted sources and brands, including certification and labeling; clear knowledge of ingredients; content and preparation; and other effects that imply freshness, exotic, luxurious, refined, or traditional properties.⁶³

A full list of PDO, PGI and TSG products may be accessed on the European Commission's Database of Origin and Registration (DOOR) website.⁶⁴ There were approximately seven hundred and eighty-two items listed in August 2008, consisting of products derived from all over the European continent. There are one hundred and sixty-five different types of protected cheeses, awarding cheese with the most total indications. Second to cheese are olive oils, with ninety-seven. To provide more examples, the most northern protected product is the Finnish Lapland potato *Lapin Puikula* that grows in the arctic. The westernmost item is the *maracuja dos Acores*, a passion fruit growing on the island of Sao Miguel in the Atlantic Azores. Finally, the product made the farthest south and east on the island of Cyprus is *Loukoumi Geroskipou*, or Turkish Delight in English.⁶⁵

2.3. Geographical Indications and the World Trade Organization (WTO)

There has been great interest in the EU concerning the extension of PDO, PGI and TSG schemes to third countries, with global enforcement and protection for the products being a priority issue in the WTO. However, according to Samar Verma, the Head of the Global Economic Justice Policy Team, Geographical Indications including PDO, PGI and TSG's have taken a 'back seat' in world trade negotiations with no resolution in sight. The European Union and Switzerland have placed enormous emphasis on this subject. Their motivation is obvious if judging by their diverse collection of an estimated six thousand protected GI's. Initially propositioned by the EU, since 2000 other countries such as India, China, Kenya, Nigeria, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Pakistan are supportive of the extension due to increasing awareness of the inadequacy of current protection. Those countries most opposed to the idea are the US,

⁶³ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 191.

⁶⁴ "DOOR-Database of Origin and Registration," *European Commission*, 15 Oct. 2008, <http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/database/index_en.htm>, (accessed on May 13, 2009).

⁶⁵ "European Union Makes a Meal of Regional Treats," *DW-World.de*, 23 Aug. 2009, <<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0.2144.3577789.00.html>>, (accessed on October 29, 2009).

Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Guatemala, leading to a deadlock in the WTO.

The issue at hand is the extension of the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) agreement, which was discussed during the Doha Development Round of trade talks beginning in 2001. The TRIPS agreement is important because it was the first step in discussing the possibility of protection on a global scale.⁶⁶ Under the agreement, Geographical Indications have entered international terminology and are defined as “...indications which 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.”⁶⁷ GI’s are broken into two categories of simple and qualified definitions. Simple GI’s do not connote linkage between product characteristics and geographical origin, while qualified GI’s include the linkage to origins and attributes including quality, characteristics and reputation. They can include geographical names such as a region, town, or country or symbols invoking a sense of being derived from a certain place. Regarding their definition, GI’s are not protected under international trademark law because they denote products that are not limited to one individual, but are a collective right that could be enjoyed by all enterprises within a designated geographical area.⁶⁸

The problem with the TRIPS agreement is that it distinguishes with a hierarchical manner between basic protection under Article 22 for all GI products, and additional protection in Article 23 that is available only to wines and spirits. This type of hierarchical protection is problematic, in that Article 22 does not provide sufficient protection to GI holders and producers in different regions could use the same indication. The product could therefore run the risk of becoming generic from overuse, and lose its economic potential and value. Article 23 prevents against translation and the usage of such terminology as ‘kind’, ‘type’, ‘style’ and ‘imitation’, similar to that of PDO, PGI and TSG’s. Kasturi Das states that there is no logical reason why there should

⁶⁶ Kasturi Das, “Protection of Geographical Indications: An Overview of Selected Issues with Particular Reference to India,” *Centre for Trade and Development (Centad)*, May 2007, <http://centad.org/download/WorkingPaper_FinalPDF_4June07.pdf>, (accessed on November 03, 2009).

⁶⁷ “URUGUAY ROUND AGREEMENT: Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS),” *World Trade Organization (WTO) Legal Texts*, 15 Apr. 1994, <http://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/legal_e.htm>, (accessed on November 03, 2009).

⁶⁸ Das, “Protection of Geographical Indications.”

be a difference in protection for wine and spirit GI's and those designating other goods. Those in favor would like Article 23 to be extended to include all other GI goods worldwide.⁶⁹

2.4. Arguments in Favor of the Policies

There are countless arguments that have been made promoting the necessity of PDO and PGI policies both in the EU and worldwide. The EU insists that by forming the policies they are "...reflecting the clearly stated democratic wish of EU consumers and citizens."⁷⁰ One of the most persistent and emphasized reasons for the policies has to do with the assurance of quality for consumers. Quality regulation is nothing new and began in the nineteenth century in response to fraud and adulteration of foodstuffs. The *Friedrich Accum Treatise* displays pages of descriptions of types of products and their acceptable and legally defined compositions that authorities could analyze to detect fraud and misleading labels:

“A Treatise on Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons, Exhibiting the Fraudulent Sophistications of Bread, Beer, Wine, Spiritous Liquors, Tea, Coffee, Cream, Confectionary, Vinegar, Mustard, Pepper, Cheese, Olive Oil, Pickles, and Other Articles Employed in Domestic Economy, And Methods of Detecting Them”⁷¹

-London, 1820

Due to recent food scares, people are wary when they are unsure where their food comes from. They seek the emotional contentment of food from a definitive location.⁷² This is one of the points highlighted in Council Regulation (EC) No 510/2006 and most written works concerning the policies. The amplified quest for quality is argued to lead to an increased demand for origin-based products, because registered products reassure customers of precise characteristics and ensures that the product is genuine.⁷³ Plus, the demand for European wines,

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ “Conclusions from the Consultation on Agricultural Product Quality,” *European Commission: Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development*, 2009, <http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/policy/consultation/contributions/summary_en.pdf>, (accessed on May 13, 2009).

⁷¹ Timothy Morton ed, *Radical Food: The Culture and Politics of Eating and Drinking 1790-1820* (London: Routledge, 2000), 287.

⁷² Georges Giraud, “Consumer Expectations Towards Origin-Claimed Food Products Compensation and Acceptance for Global Trading System,” *ENITA of Clermont, Food Quality and Economics Department*, 2006, <<http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/10036/1/sp06gi03.pdf>>, (accessed on November 04, 2009).

⁷³ “Council Regulation (EC) No 510/2006”

specialty drinks and gourmet products has been growing. One example shows sales of origin-protected products from Spain jumping one hundred and twenty-six percent from 1991-1999.⁷⁴

In addition, Ambassador John Bruton, Head of the European Commission's Delegation to the United States, explains that PDO, PGI and TSG's help build consumer confidence. The obvious experience and success of global regimes for wine and spirit designation, he says, assures that the policies will work to everyone's advantage. In a statement made concerning the Doha Rounds and the GI issue, he explains that it is unfair to mislead consumers using cheap marketing tricks that make products appear to be what they are not. It is the local factor of many products in Europe and around the world that have given them their reputation, and he says everyone will benefit because the EU is willing to make significant concessions in the WTO to have these products protected.⁷⁵

Further, the European Commission states that origin-protected products will add to the diversification of agricultural products and ensure fair competition. They will also be of considerable benefit to sustainable rural community development, which has been on the agenda as one of their most important goals since the mid-eighties.⁷⁶ The traditional methods help regenerate the physical environment of the countryside while also creating new jobs and supporting social cohesion.⁷⁷ In addition, Georges Giraud writes that in an urban environment, "Origin, fair-trade and organic helps them [consumers] identify lost roots, recall holidays, and resist ethical value decline. Origin foods give meaning to taste."⁷⁸ The characteristics cannot be reproduced out of their place of origin because they absorb physical and material components, such as soil, climate and environment. Plus, they involve immaterial components that include

⁷⁴ James Cox, "What's in a name?" *USAToday.com: Money*, 09 Sept. 2003, <http://www.usatoday.com/money/economy/trade/2003-09-09-names_x.htm>, (accessed on October 29, 2009).

⁷⁵ Anthony Smallwood and Kasper Zeuthen, "Statement by Ambassador Bruton on Geographical Indications: No. 38/08," *European Union: Delegation to the European Commission in the USA*, 24 Apr. 2008, <http://www.eurunion.org/eu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1741&Itemid=58>, (accessed on November 04, 2009).

⁷⁶ Andrea Marescotti, "Typical products and rural development: Who benefits from PDO/PGI recognition?" *Department of Economics, University of Florence*, Sept. 2003, <http://www.webalice.it/andrea.marescotti/Pubblicazioni/2003EAAE_Chania.pdf>, (accessed on November 04, 2009).

⁷⁷ "Fact Sheet: European Policy for Quality Agricultural Products."

⁷⁸ Giraud, "Consumer Expectations Towards."

social and cultural capital. The role of the local community, culture, identity and knowledge plays a large part in the production and essence of a product.⁷⁹

Furthermore, the ever-present economic arguments prevail. Borders have disappeared within Europe and international involvement is a constant concern. Various studies have shown quantifiable evidence in support of the policies. One study estimated that you could add an eighteen percent premium to origin-registered products.⁸⁰ A second study in the cheese sector showed that products with designations could claim a thirty percent premium over competing products. The added value of price greatly benefits producers.⁸¹ Finally, a consumer survey undertaken in the EU in 1999 found that forty percent of customers were willing to pay a ten percent premium for all products of guaranteed origin, not only wine.⁸²

Concerning the issue of extending the TRIPS agreement to encompass the protection of all products worldwide, those in favor have expressed that by using a designation in ‘bad faith’, re-labeling is an obligation and the long-term benefit would outweigh the re-labeling costs.⁸³ Re-labeling would only have to happen once and companies would also be provided with five to fifteen years of transition time to adjust their names, labels and designs and sell remaining products.⁸⁴ Plus, James Waggoner argues that there is more to a product than its name. Packaging, labeling, store placement and appearance can help consumers locate products and determine their worth.⁸⁵ Consumer confusion would be temporary, if at all.⁸⁶

The extension would also foster the development of rural communities around the world who otherwise could not compete. Many regions of the world could create new GI’s and benefit from economic advantages of worldwide protection, regaining consumer faith through trusted

⁷⁹ Marescotti, “Typical products and rural development.”

⁸⁰ Alix Kroeger, “EU reheats specialty food scheme,” *BBC News*, 14 Mar. 2004, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4804400.stm>>, (accessed on November 04, 2009).

⁸¹ “Fact Sheet: European Policy for Quality Agricultural Products.”

⁸² Das, “Protection of Geographical Indications.”

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Justin M. Waggoner, “Acquiring a European Taste for Geographical Indications,” *Brooklyn Journal of International Law* Vol. 33:2, 569-595, <http://www.brooklaw.edu/students/journals/bjil/bjil/bjil33ii_waggoner.pdf>, (accessed on November 05, 2009), 586-587.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 587.

⁸⁶ Das, “Protection of Geographical Indications.”

sense of place.⁸⁷ Consumer choice would be improved, as well as credibility.⁸⁸ In one example, he cited an agreement signed by Australia in 1994 to stop using European regional names. Rather than leading to the death of the industry, it literally created it and made it into a competitive and well-known industry. Australia relied on its own regional and local product names and their exports grew five-fold over the next decade.⁸⁹

Proponents also cited that there is no evidence that there would be an imbalance in GI registration numbers and that it was the responsibility of the rights holders themselves to invoke protection in third country courts, further lessening costs. In addition, the US benefits most from trademark protection numbers, so imbalance in numbers should not be used against GI's as an argument. At any rate, there would be no usurping of already existing trademarks. With regards to new or modified legislation and institutions, since Members were already obligated to protect GI's under the existing articles, any alterations would require minimum administrative changes, not necessarily leading to the new creation of institutions or increased costs and other burdens.⁹⁰

As well, the European Community would be willing to make other concessions for the extension of GI's and the agreement could be used to bargain in other negotiations. Finally, the conclusion of the argument would be one less issue to deal with in world trade talks. The advancement of the policies is vital for the health of economies and is in the interest of saving time and money. Both the Uruguay Rounds and Doha Rounds are expensive to implement.⁹¹ As the saying goes, time is money, and the longer the issue goes unsolved the more money is unnecessarily spent that could be more useful elsewhere.

In response to the issue of the preservation of cultural diversity, proponents argue that cultural heritages are at stake in every country seeking to extend the protection, and must be legally safeguarded.⁹² Without the economic advantages of the policies, small producers will be

⁸⁷ Waggoner, "Acquiring a European Taste," 589.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 592.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 590.

⁹⁰ Das, "Protection of Geographical Indications."

⁹¹ Waggoner, "Acquiring a European Taste" 591.

⁹² Das, "Protection of Geographical Indications."

unable to compete in a globalized business environment, will disappear and important aspects of culture will be lost.⁹³

2.5. Arguments Against the Policies

While one of the main arguments in favor of the policies is that of quality assurance, the issue of ‘quality’ is also one of the main factors for the opposition. In fact, in its 2006 ‘Annual Report’ the Confederation of the Food and Drink Industries of the European Union (CIAA) declared that the EU should keep food safety and quality policies separate. As stated in the report, the CIAA acknowledged:

“Food safety is a fundamental and noncompetitive principle founded on Community legislation. Once a product respects these standards, it is up to consumers to decide which product to buy depending on their income, habits, etc. Quality is therefore the responsibility of the private sector and should not be subject to compulsory regulatory measures.”⁹⁴

In addition, there is a glaring difference between the perceptions of ‘quality’ between Northern and Southern Europe. The North commonly views quality in terms of health, hygiene and occasionally nutritional properties. On the other hand, the South includes the senses related to the geographical and human environment (*terroir*) as related to the specific type of product, which is determined by the method of production and origin.⁹⁵

Moreover, the issue of quality is not the only disparity between Northern and Southern Europe. Member States are responsible for providing professional information and setting up specialized resource centers at regional and national levels. They also verify and approve applications, supervise and certify products and enforce protected names. But in a study conducted by Dominique Barjolle and Bertil Sylvander, it was evident that these obligations greatly varied across the Member States that were studied, reflecting the differences between northern and southern countries.⁹⁶

⁹³ David Holley, “Europe’s Food Regions Fight to Keep Their Good Names,” *Los Angeles Times*, 16 Sept. 2002, <<http://articles.latimes.com/2002/sep/16/world/fg-foodfight16>>, (accessed on May 04, 2009).

⁹⁴ Ahmed ElAmin, “Quality schemes should remain voluntary, EU food industry says,” *Foodnavigator.com*, 12 Apr. 2006, <<http://www.foodnavigator.com/Financial-Industry/Quality-schemes-should-remain-voluntary-EU-food-industry-says>>, (accessed on May 05, 2009).

⁹⁵ Barjolle, “PDO and PGI Products,” 26.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23-25.

The study looked into the institutional management of GI policies in France, Italy, Spain, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Greece and Switzerland. It was revealed that countries with already existing and broad notions of superior, traditional and specific quality had specialized administrations (France and Spain) or specialized administrations within general institutions (Italy, Greece and Switzerland) that dealt with the systems. Other countries had nothing set up (Great Britain and the Netherlands).⁹⁷ As well, there is a difference in application procedures among the countries, as the applications depend on the interpretation of national governments and some are much stricter than others.⁹⁸ This includes the interpretation of quality, specificity, link to region, institutions and inspection, which could lead to an imbalance and unequal treatment in some countries. For example, France and Spain were clearly stricter than Great Britain.⁹⁹

Furthermore, expert consultation varied, some countries receiving more attention than others. There appeared to be an inadequate definition for required qualifications of professionals, who in turn often lacked guidelines and training. Public inquiry was also made less transparent by the absence of national inquiry in most cases, with the existence of inquiry only at local and regional levels.¹⁰⁰ What's more, costs of control varied greatly according to country, type and product. There were also different degrees of enforcement that could lead to unequal protection, with France being the only country with an effective legal enforcement institution. There is also no enforcement at the community level, but only the national level.¹⁰¹

To continue, it has primarily been the work of countries with strong agricultural heritages, such as the Mediterranean countries, that have been instrumental in establishing the current PDO, PGI and TSG schemes. Many newly initiated countries from Central and Eastern Europe with strong agricultural heritages also to a certain extent support the system. But those northern countries with less of a bond to agriculture are disinterested and often out right skeptical. One example cited that France received twice as much as Germany in EU agricultural

⁹⁷ Ibid., 15-20.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 28.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 23-25.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 29-30.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 31.

subsidies in 2003, a possible cause of German wariness.¹⁰² Thus, the disagreement of general principles and disparity between states leads to weak policies.¹⁰³

On an international level, those opposed to the extension of PDO, PGI and TSG's worldwide have argued that proponents have not adequately shown concrete examples of the insufficiency of protection on an international scale. They also fear the increased costs and burdens in marketing, labeling and consumer awareness, with the possibility of consumer confusion and loss through alienation, should the article be extended. Decreased supply would also lead to a rise in prices and leave consumers in a worse position.¹⁰⁴ Some US officials also believe that the EU has more of an agenda under its belt that is hidden in the quest for international GI protection. The EU could then make more demands and begin asking for, as one example stated, the preposterous right to certify Italian restaurants in the US and make sure they are "...adhering to proper cooking techniques."¹⁰⁵

Those opposed to the policies also state that they would not be beneficial for small producers because the hard work of establishing and promoting a quality product in the market is what turns the product into a valuable marketing tool, not just the origin itself. Champagne was not always known and respected; it took over a hundred years to build its reputation.¹⁰⁶ Also, many companies have already spent billions of dollars popularizing their products.¹⁰⁷ Ordinary EU consumers also state that the marketing effect of the logo would be modest at best.¹⁰⁸ As well, with increased numbers of designated products there could be an imbalance in the obligation to protect GI's from countries with more registered products, thereby increasing the burden of costs to do so. Furthermore, complicated implementation would be necessary and costly new institutions created. Registration and enforcement is very complicated in other countries, and exorbitant costs could incur in creating 'watch-dog agencies' as well as huge

¹⁰² Annette Kur and Sam Cocks, "Nothing but a GI Thing: Geographical Indications under EU Law," *Max Planck Institute for Intellectual Property*, 05 Aug. 2007, <[http:// law.fordham.edu/publications/ articles/ 200flspub8031.pdf](http://law.fordham.edu/publications/articles/200flspub8031.pdf)>, (accessed on May 10, 2009).

¹⁰³ Barjolle, "PDO and PGI Products," 29.

¹⁰⁴ Das, "Protection of Geographical Indications."

¹⁰⁵ Cox, "What's in a name?"

¹⁰⁶ Das, "Protection of Geographical Indications."

¹⁰⁷ Cox, "What's in a name?"

¹⁰⁸ Kur, "Nothing but a GI Thing."

financial resources for fighting legal battles.¹⁰⁹ The question was raised whether or not the cost benefits of PDO, PGI and TSG's would even be worth the costs of implementing and maintaining such a complex system.¹¹⁰

As for the support of non-EU countries, the assertion about the benefits to the economies of developing countries from the extension of the TRIPS agreement seems exaggerated. They would serve little purpose for producers in these countries unless there is a demand from a brand name that is already internationally known, and wealthier foreign customers are willing to pay more for them. Further, recognition of their products would not happen automatically and much time and money would be involved in promoting their products.¹¹¹ The benefits of stringent protection clearly favor the EU because of the sheer number of previously protected items and well-known reputations in international markets. Little is known about the stakes of other countries, should the agreement be extended. As well, it is generally a niche segment of consumers in developing countries who are willing to pay more for GI-protected products.¹¹²

Additionally, an argument was put forth concerning the preservation of cultural identity, considering a number of those countries opposed to the extension received countless numbers of immigrants who brought their cultural traditions with them, including names and terms. It could be deemed 'culturally insensitive' to reclaim terms that have been used for decades as acquired rights.¹¹³ There is disagreement about whether or not these products have become generic, handed down through generations of European immigrants.¹¹⁴ Future generations are proud of their heritages and this is illustrated in a study by Mary Waters of white ethnic groups in the US (mainly of Irish, Italian and Polish descent). The results showed the delight and seriousness many of them took in holding onto their extended ethnic identities including the celebration of ethnic holidays, cooking and fragments of the old language. What was perceived as their own ethnic identity was of great importance, personal choice and pleasure.¹¹⁵

2.6. Promotion of PDO, PGI and TSG's

¹⁰⁹ Das, "Protection of Geographical Indications."

¹¹⁰ Kur, "Nothing but a GI Thing."

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Das, "Protection of Geographical Indications."

¹¹³ Kur, "Nothing but a GI Thing."

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Anne Phillips, *Multiculturalism Without Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 55-56.

Regardless of the ample amounts of arguments for and against the PDO, PGI and TSG policies, they are here to stay. It is important to note the steps the European Commission is taking to increase knowledge about them. Considering the implied importance of the policies, the Commission has taken few promotional steps both in the Member States and throughout the world. A small amount of communication studies were revealed that attempted to quantify the interest of consumers and citizens on a Europe-wide basis, and few opinion polls and studies are recent. This is surprising considering the priority given to the issue on both European and international levels. One study entitled “Products with a history” was instigated by the European Commission and presented in fifteen countries from June 1996 to March 1998. It aimed to encourage producers, heighten awareness among distributors and inform European consumers about the protected name schemes. Various methods were used including the creation of small posters and brochures, press inserts, a free information telephone number, conferences, an editorial publication, competitions in each Member State, twenty-six reports on television and a traveling exhibition.¹¹⁶

However, the study was constrained by certain issues. The PDO, PGI and TSG logo was not yet visible on the market and products were not registered, and therefore no frame of reference existed. Fair promotion was also difficult, in order not to emphasize one country or product over another. They also used too much legal and technical vocabulary, lessening the distinction in the minds of consumers to the benefit between registered products and others. Thus, the campaign had a minimal effect in increasing awareness among consumers. It showed that in 1995 seven percent of people recognized the full name ‘Protected Geographical Indication’, which increased to seven point five percent in 1998. Concerning the abbreviated version ‘PGI’, five percent recognized it in 1995 compared to three point six percent in 1998. The usage of ‘Protected Designation of Origin’ was known by fourteen percent of those polled in 1995, decreasing slightly to thirteen point five, while the abbreviated version ‘PDO’ increased from six to six point three percent.¹¹⁷

These numbers also varied between countries, with twenty percent of people in Portugal and Luxembourg recognizing the terms, and only one percent in Sweden and Denmark. This difference in awareness was also not taken into account, consequently weakening the campaign’s

¹¹⁶ Barjolle, “PDO and PGI Products,” 36.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

effectiveness. Producers in northern countries were almost entirely unaware of the systems at the beginning of 1995, while in southern countries such as Spain, Portugal, France and Greece it was quite well known. They also focused too much on the system and not the products behind it, so consumers could not associate products with the complex system. Since then, campaign information is only available from the European Commission, Member State institutions, and Internet sites.¹¹⁸

More recently, from the 15th of October to the 31st of December in 2008, the European Commission adopted a ‘Green Paper’ on agricultural product quality that included standards and quality schemes. The Commission is attempting to make the system more transparent, and by doing so provided this opportunity for all stakeholders to express their opinions on how to make the regulations efficient without additional costs or burdens. This was not a promotional campaign, but rather a questionnaire to help determine future legislation and changes in the systems. The questionnaire was formulated in twenty-two languages, and the results were published in May 2009. Of the five hundred and sixty responses, twenty-six came from member states and five from third countries (Argentina, Australia, Norway, Switzerland and the US). What is really interesting is that almost fifty percent of the contributions came from only three EU countries (France, Poland and Italy), and another twenty-five percent of the contributions from five EU countries.¹¹⁹ However, the European Commission Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development reminds us that seventy-five percent of the EU’s population lives in these eight countries.¹²⁰ Though it is not surprising that France offered the loudest voice in this Green Paper, the results actually show budding interest in many countries.

Due to the variety of questions and lengthy responses, I will discuss only a few to create a picture of what stakeholders think about the policies. When asked about the advantages and disadvantages of obligatory indication, consumer protection and information, fair competition and market transparency were said to be benefits. Drawbacks included increased costs, reduction of choice for consumers, increase of waste, bureaucracy and the need for flexibility. To continue, most supported the enforcement; though half thought it best to indicate country labels rather than ‘EU’. However, the majority stated the policies should remain as they are. Difficulties of

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 38.

¹¹⁹ Useful graphs demonstrating the breakdown of respondents can be found in the Appendices on pages 130-131.

¹²⁰ “Conclusions from the Consultation on Agricultural Product Quality.”

traceability and costs were also cited, as well as actual consumer interest and protection. What is interesting to note is the consistency of response with promoting one's own interests, depending on which area the respondent came from. For instance, concerning the extent to which the schemes were thought to meet societal demands, the producers, processors and others cited the positive factors of the schemes in creating demand and increased confidence with consumers, which would greatly benefit producers. However, consumers responded that it was not logical to answer societal expectations through labeling, which would be more realistic for consumers.¹²¹

What is more, there were requests for better administrative enforcement and protection within Member States, but less support for it in third countries. Although some agricultural producers and consumers, mainly from France, expressed concern for this issue. However, most respondents expressed interest in expanding the scope of the protection to include non-agricultural products such as textiles, wood, water and cigars to name a few. It was cited that the lack of communication weakens the system, rather than the overload of product. It is necessary to correct the communication issues before adding further elements to the systems. When asked whether the systems governing wine, spirits and agricultural products should be harmonized, the majority responded favorably. There was also a belief from most respondents that EU guidelines are sufficient to developing more coherent schemes. Finally, it appeared that one of the most persistently mentioned issues was that of communication and educating the public through promotional campaigns about the schemes. Simplification and harmonization were also reoccurring themes.¹²²

2.7. Chapter Summary

To wrap up the first chapter, I am including a short summary of the issues covered. I discussed the emergence of French AOC policies as an important struggle for identity during the formation of the French nation, from which an idea of 'Frenchness' was defined as inextricably linking soil, wines and the souls of individuals and the nation. I followed this opening with the development and process of PDO, PGI and TSG policies. After a thorough examination of the application process and features of the policies, their presence at the center of a global dispute was noted. The global debate has incited arguments both for and against the policies, mainly

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

centering on detailed political and economic issues. It was in this section that the absence of cultural arguments could be noticed. Culture is considered a given for the policies, and few detailed accounts have been attempted. The final section of the chapter outlined the attempts the European Commission has made in promoting the policies.

3. Perspective I: The Self as Identifier

Now that a thorough examination of PDO, PGI and TSG policies has been made, the first perspective of self may be discussed. The first claim assumes that the EU views the people of Europe as masters of their identities, and that they align their cultural identity with food, place and traditional production. Food in this regard fuels not only their bodies, but also subjective sense of self as an integral aspect of culture that must be protected.

3.1. The Symbolic Nature of Food and Identity

It seems that today cultural identity has become the buzzword of present scholarly works. Often historically overlooked, identity is a crucial reality in human life and must not be underestimated. The turn to “identity politics” occurred in the 1960’s and has become more prominent since the 1980’s to explain new identifications and cultural differences.¹²³ PDO, PGI and TSG policies are unwittingly an effect of a modern social convention of identity politics, which grew out of increasing individual consciousness and the realization of the finite nature of economics.¹²⁴ Identity is now recognized as creatively constructed through the cultural sphere, rather than as an inherent given.¹²⁵ Regional and local foods are consistently being targeted as a means to discuss wider forms of social transformation and identification. As one Italian puts it, “Food is part of the cultural identity of a people...if you're in a global world, your personal identity has to be defended.”¹²⁶

In contemporary times, diversity is an inescapable reality and identity crisis is more likely to occur than identity contentment.¹²⁷ Author Ulrich Beck states that we live in an age when the order of nation-states, tradition, class and family are all in decline. He cites various points that are crucial to the creation of individual identity in what he calls our ‘runaway world.’¹²⁸ People

¹²³ Eli Zaretsky, “The Birth Identity Politics in the 1960s: Psychoanalysis and the Public/Private Division,” in *Global Modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, 244-259 (London: SAGE, 1995), 244.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 247-248.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 257.

¹²⁶ Holley, “Europe’s Food Regions Fight to Keep Their Good Names.”

¹²⁷ Bhikhu Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity: Political Principles for an Interdependent World* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 80.

¹²⁸ Ulrich Beck, “Living Your Own Life in a Runaway World: Individualisation, Globalisation and Politics,” in *On the Edge: Living With Global Capitalism*, ed. Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens, 164-174 (London: Jonathon Cape, 2000), 165.

are now part of a global network and no longer tied to one place.¹²⁹ In a highly differentiated society, the compulsion to lead one's own life emerges.¹³⁰ A person is not helpless but is an active shaper of their own life, which is a product of individual decisions, capacity, achievements and compromises.¹³¹

We all live by habits, rules and traditions that are both conscious and unconscious. The construction of individual and group identities is the result of the complicated classification process of the world.¹³² It can be aligned with anything from a nation, class or ethnicity to language, religion or the type of food consumed; and food happens to be a vitally important part of the subjective self. Through identity construction one may guide their food choices and habits; structure and plan their life; and ensure continuity and consistency in their everyday experience.¹³³ It embodies a feeling of belonging and inclusion, and one sociologist suggested that maintaining social bonds is perhaps "our most crucial human motive."¹³⁴ Tradition also has a powerful connection to feelings of well-being, belonging and identity. It offers a connection to an age of comfort and security. It is noted by Zdzisław Mach that, "Social change must be conceptually rooted in principles which are solid, unchanged, valuable and sacred, such as a glorious past, national character, or tradition."¹³⁵ This is present everywhere and important for most everyone.¹³⁶ If identity were a tree, tradition would be one of the vital roots that ensured its health and survival.

There is a rising interest in food's relation with identity and its powerfully communicated cultural meanings. Anthropologists initially established the impact of food and eating on groups in defining gender identity, celebrating social cohesion and performing rituals.¹³⁷ Foods consumed express messages about individuals, groups and cultures throughout the world.¹³⁸ Through food, the vision of community is displayed, its values, assumptions and normative

¹²⁹ Ibid., 168.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid., 167-168.

¹³² Zdzisław Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity: Essays in Political Anthropology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 5.

¹³³ Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity*, 12.

¹³⁴ Robin Cohen and Paul Kennedy, *Global Sociology* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 2000), 340.

¹³⁵ Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity*, 63.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 64.

¹³⁷ Tobias Döring, Markus Heide and Susanne Mühleisen eds, *Eating Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Food* (Universitätsverlag Winter: Heidelberg, 2003), 2.

¹³⁸ Theodore C. Humphrey and Lin T. Humphrey, *"We Gather Together": Food and Festival in American Life* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1998), 1.

behaviors.¹³⁹ It incites strong positive feelings in us, and the sensual experience becomes a part of our memory.¹⁴⁰ Anthropologist and food scholar Ravindra Khare suggests that viewing food solely for its functional properties is incomplete. More attention should be paid to its symbolic, moral and communicational aspects.¹⁴¹ In addition, Sidney Mintz declares, “As a species that deals continuously in things that stand for something else, in ‘representations’, we have burdened the food we eat-and some would say all else in life, as well-with a backbreaking symbolic load.”¹⁴² Backbreaking or not, the symbolic nature of food is one we must bear.

It is also not possible to talk about the issue of identity without discussing its relationship to distinguish cultural otherness. While identity appears to be based on inclusion, it must simultaneously exclude in order to distinguish itself. Identity is always constructed and confirmed in opposition to others.¹⁴³ James Belasco and Philip Scranton exhibit this nicely when they state: “If we are what we eat, we’re also what we don’t eat.”¹⁴⁴ Through ceremony and everyday life, it separates those who do, and do not, belong; draws lines between individuals and groups; and confirms statuses. In this regard, the ‘us’ and ‘them’ is defined.¹⁴⁵ Food is certainly an area where it is difficult to accept how, what and why other people eat the way they do. Often when something is done in a way that we are not used to, we deem it as strange, peculiar, unnatural or even just plain wrong.¹⁴⁶ Our behavior is affected by the dislike of the new, often because it goes beyond our image of appropriateness and “...beyond the limits of our socially-constructed taste.”¹⁴⁷

3.1.1. Critical Analysis: Adaptable Identity

¹³⁹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁴⁰ Sidney W. Mintz, “Eating Communities: The Mixed Appeals of Sodality,” in *Eating Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Food*, ed. Tobias Döring, Markus Heide and Susanne Mühleisen, 19-34. (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003), 104.

¹⁴¹ Humphrey, “We Gather Together,” 3.

¹⁴² Sidney Mintz, “Eating and Being: What Food Means,” in *Food: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Barbara Harriss-White and Sir Raymond Hoffenberg, 102-115 (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 103.

¹⁴³ Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity*, 6.

¹⁴⁴ James Belasco and Philip Scranton, *Food Nations: selling taste in consumer societies* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), Introduction, 2.

¹⁴⁵ Sidney Mintz, “Food and Eating: Some Persisting Questions,” in *Food Nations: selling taste in consumer societies*, ed. James Belasco and Philip Scranton, 24-33 (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 26.

¹⁴⁶ Sara Delamont, *Appetites and Identities: An Introduction to the Social Anthropology of Western Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 4.

¹⁴⁷ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 301.

Many difficulties arise with the usage of identity as a legitimate inspiration for PDO, PGI and TSG policies. A main problem is that identity involves choice, deliberation and reflexive organization of one's own social world.¹⁴⁸ Identity is adaptable, contextual and malleable. It can change depending on past, present or future fears, and can be exacerbated by perceived conflict, differences and 'enemies' in the form of 'others'.¹⁴⁹ To state plainly, identity is not stable. It is an ongoing negotiation between individuals and groups on local, regional, national and global levels, leading to a complicated process of enormous magnitude.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, in response to an unfeeling, indifferent and ever changing global economy, people often will stick to the past, what they had and what they were, as an act of defense. Life-narratives are constructed and must be used to continuously explain the self and adjust to changes.¹⁵¹ Most people also have a collection of different identities they use to explain themselves, depending on specific situations and points they would like to make.¹⁵² Food as an aspect of identity formation is in constant flux.

In addition, people both passively and actively assure their own identities. They think and react in relation to symbols, their own views and interpretations of what constitutes reality. Thus, reality no longer serves as an objective standpoint to judge one's actions and choices.¹⁵³ People build boundaries between each other's cuisines and culinary practices is characteristically both material and symbolic, able to produce emotional and subjective responses.¹⁵⁴ It could become an issue with viewing food through symbolic lenses that the symbolism is not always interpreted in the same way. People react to their symbolic perceptions in an intense and emotional manner, when they feel that they are being threatened. But the same object, such as a type of food, can have multiple meanings among different people and even for the same person. The meaning depends on its context and situation, and can change to serve the person best at the time.¹⁵⁵ For example, producers of PDO-certified Gorgonzola cheese may view themselves as part of its

¹⁴⁸ Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity*, 6.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 4, 9 and 10.

¹⁵⁰ Rüdiger Kunow, "Eating Indian(s): Food, Representation and the Indian Diaspora in the United States," in *Eating Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Food*, ed. Tobias Döring, Markus Heide and Susanne Mühleisen, 151-173 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003), 153.

¹⁵¹ Richard Sennett, "Street and Office: Two Sources of Identity," in *On the Edge: Living With Global Capitalism*, ed. Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens, 175-190 (London: Jonathon Cape, 2000), 175-177.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 189.

¹⁵³ Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity*, 6.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

process, producing it in the same way for countless years to create a distinct taste.¹⁵⁶ However, when invaded by imitations and perceiving their livelihoods at risk, these same producers could claim to be protecting Italian culture or even cultural pluralism as a whole, whereas before no threat warranted a cultural argument. The link to culture in this example is ambiguous and rooted in perceived traditions, agreed upon through cultural understanding, but still could be interpreted differently.¹⁵⁷

Therefore, the symbolism and importance for identification with PDO, PGI and TSG products will differ across nations, regions and localities. Though food is always an important part of cultural identity, its legal protection could be considered as more beneficial for stakeholders and professionals than an actual preservation of collective identity. The food products that are seen as important today may not be in future generations, and will change according to real or imagined threats. The policies could also contribute to and emphasize the creation of different types of ‘others’ for Europeans and for Europe. Within Europe, patriotic identities surrounding food cultures could lead to protectionism rather than the free movement of goods. Instead of caring about supporting European specialty products, people may revert to only supporting products that come from their own nation-states. Nation-states could again become internal ‘others’ for food inside the European Union. As well, countries outside of the European continent could be demonized for impinging on the cultural sovereignty of Europe and polarizing Europe as ‘us’ and outside countries as ‘them’.

3.1.2. Critical Analysis: Malleable Tradition

On a related point, traditions are equally as unstable as identities. People are continuously and consciously the cultivators of their own perceived personal and group traditional values, especially when they feel threatened.¹⁵⁸ In a global world, traditions must be chosen and often invented in reaction to cultural change. They survive based on the decisions and experiences of the individuals that create them. In a multicultural world, the security is being lost and both identity and tradition must be reevaluated. Old classifications are being thrown out and new ones

¹⁵⁶ “Gorgonzola,” *Consortium for the Protection of Gorgonzola Cheese*, <<http://www.gorgonzola.com/en/default.asp>>, (accessed on December 13, 2009).

¹⁵⁷ Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity*, 30.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

being made, and life is lived as a conflict between different cultures.¹⁵⁹ These cultures are set apart and molded by an agreed upon common heritage that distinguishes their glorious past from that of others. To achieve certain outcomes, in these instances certain facts conveniently disappear or are interpreted in a new way.¹⁶⁰ To return to the example of Gorgonzola cheese, one may notice that on the *Consortium for the Protection of Gorgonzola Cheese* website it is admitted that the ‘true’ origin of the cheese is unknown and that “many legends and hypothesis exist on its origins.”¹⁶¹

Next, Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger discuss this common social practice as the invention of tradition, whereby new activities are legitimized under the pretence that they are timeless. This practice serves both political and social functions and has been greatly enhanced by growing tourism, which creates an impression of local and regional customs to attract and entertain visitors. The promotion of the tradition could involve commercial gains or contribute to a more secure feeling of social belonging. The tradition appears as familiar, which could refer to part of a national cuisine; valuable for its longevity, or old but nostalgic; improvised, meaning sustainable, continuous but sometimes embellished or adapted, ‘improved’; and authentic.¹⁶² The deliberate creation of tradition is also generally untraceable.¹⁶³ Once traditions are in existence, they are often vehemently defended. It is also conveniently forgotten that they are not eternal and were not there to begin with. This makes it difficult to enact laws for them, because the reassertion of tradition is sometimes disguised under other pretences, such as health, order, safety and quality.¹⁶⁴

Myths can also be used to transmit “values, norms, and patterns essential and fundamental for a given culture.”¹⁶⁵ These stories are often not interpreted using rational logic. They serve the purpose of appeasing the human mind and are often not linked to common sense. This is especially the case if identity is threatened or there is a contradiction with the norms, values and social structures of a society. They are based on belief, not knowledge and could

¹⁵⁹ Sennett, “Street and Office: Two Sources of Identity,” 168-169.

¹⁶⁰ Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity*, 64.

¹⁶¹ “Gorgonzola”

¹⁶² Paraphrased in Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 63-64.

¹⁶³ Elies Steyger, *National Traditions and European Community Law: Margarine and Marriage* (Aldershot and Brookfield: Dartmouth Publishing Company, 1997), 7.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁶⁵ Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity*, 58.

create conflict if considered according to literal truth.¹⁶⁶ This creation of myth is essential for the identity of ethnic groups and nations.¹⁶⁷

Belgium is a good example of the usage of myths to describe a glorified past occurrence. It is said that endives were discovered in the country by chance during the Revolution to acquire independence in 1830. A farmer named Jan Lammers fled his lands and upon returning noticed the white endive leaves growing from a root in his cellar, commonly referred to as ‘Belgium’s white gold.’¹⁶⁸ The telling of the story often changes, along with the name of the farmer depending on where it is told. It is part of a tendency for fictional stories to materialize from national folklore connected with the origins of a State, and in this case it involves a particular type of cherished food. There are many other foods that are posted on websites or tourist guides that are a mix of historical fact and fiction, but are praised as an important aspect of a nation’s historical founding and development.¹⁶⁹

It is interesting to note that the number of Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG) products has remained very low on the European level. There have been only twenty registrations since the scheme began in 1992 and include a type of Finnish pasty and Italian Mozzarella. In May 2009 the European Commission announced that it was considering abolishing TSG labels as part of the system, due to its minimal enrollment and the appeared lack of interest.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps the low numbers are a reflection of the difficulty in proving the legitimacy of certain traditions throughout Europe. As mentioned before, traditions can often be invented and promoted as timeless depending on certain perceived threats, social changes and situations.

3.2. Food and Culture

With the focus now on identity, the birth of new political initiatives has placed its emphasis squarely in the cultural realm. The role of culture has changed from a mere representation of social life to an organizer of it. Concerns that were previously considered to be

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 58-59.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 62-63.

¹⁶⁸ Marc Jacobs and Jean Fraikin, “Belgium: Endives, Brussels sprouts and other innovations,” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 75-85 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 79-80.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 80.

¹⁷⁰ “Food labels revisited,” *European Commission*, 29 May 2009, <http://ec.europa.eu/news/agriculture/090529_en.htm>, (accessed on November 4, 2009).

obligations of the private sphere became public, and culture has been given an independent existence of its own.¹⁷¹ It is difficult to speak about protecting culture, considering that the term is used to describe a process rather than a substance.¹⁷² You cannot hold culture in your hand, box it up and lock it in a vault for safekeeping. Yet, culture has even been asserted to be more dynamic in our civilization than technology.¹⁷³ A fundamental human right, Antoni Kukliński suggests that it should become the First Pillar of the EU, pushing the economic and monetary union into second place.¹⁷⁴

Culture is widely debated, and various definitions exist. However, for the purpose of this research two definitions are most appropriate. The first is presented by Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington "...in its conventional social scientific sense: [culture is defined] as the beliefs, values, and lifestyles of ordinary people in their everyday existence."¹⁷⁵ The second definition of culture is more elaborate and includes the necessary aspect of history and past experience. As explained by Parekh Bhikhu, culture is "...a historically inherited system of meaning and significance in terms of which a group of people understand and structure their individual and collective lives." Through culture, meaning is given to human activities, relations and life in general and is displayed in the various beliefs and practices of people, creating a collectively 'fuzzy' but recognizable identity.¹⁷⁶ And each cultural world functions based on the written and unwritten laws, principles, values and norms that distinguish it from that of others.¹⁷⁷

Both food and culture have been overlooked and taken for granted in the past. Berger and Huntington's definition of culture as specific factors constituting one's everyday existence creates a perfect opening for the discussion of food. When considering areas of culture to be protected, one most often considers music, art, film or literature. But one may ask, what about

¹⁷¹ Zaretsky, "The Birth Identity Politics in the 1960s," 252-253.

¹⁷² Jonathon Friedman, "Global System, Globalization and the Parameters of Modernity," in *Global Modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, 69-90 (London: SAGE, 1995), 87.

¹⁷³ Józef Niznik, "European Culture in a Global Perspective: Initial Remarks," in *Europe in the Perspective of Global Change*, ed. Antoni Kukliński and Bogusław Skuza, 243-246 (Warsaw: The Polish Association for the Club of Rome, 2003), 244.

¹⁷⁴ Antoni Kukliński, "The First Pillar of the European Union (A note for discussion)," in *Europe in the Perspective of Global Change*, ed. Antoni Kukliński and Bogusław Skuza, 289-291 (Warsaw: The Polish Association for the Club of Rome, 2003), 290.

¹⁷⁵ Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington, *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2.

¹⁷⁶ Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity*, 80.

¹⁷⁷ Edward T. Hall and Mildred Reed Hall, *Understanding Cultural Differences: Germans, French and Americans* (Yarmouth and London, 1990), 3.

food? As an integral aspect of culture, food has yet to be considered a worthy contender for cultural preservation. On the European Commission website, food and PDO, PGI and TSG policies are found separate from culture under the “Agriculture, fisheries and food” heading.¹⁷⁸

Food remains an aspect of an officially deemed separate realm, though unofficially food is a crucial part of every culture and it is still possible to discuss the protection of culinary traditions, cuisines and products as an aspect of cultural protection. According to a legal advisor for the *Consortium of Prosciutto di Parma* ham, more than a share of the profits is lost if products are not protected and instead, “We lose a culture, because the typical product is not just a quality product. It's a product coming from a region, from a culture, from a human experience...For sure, if you lose this kind of product, you will lose a little part of Italian, Spanish, French, Greek culture.”¹⁷⁹

We are the only species on Earth that does not merely accept the necessity of food for survival and sustenance, but wonders what its food *means*.¹⁸⁰ Authors Wojciech Kalaga and Tadeusz Rachwał express this relationship wholly when they say, “There is no sapient question: to eat or not to eat? Eating comes before culture, but with culture it becomes more than just eating.”¹⁸¹ With the basic need for sustenance of European citizens met, the cultural autonomy of food is a constant concern. PDO, PGI and TSG policies are a way to cultivate and reinvigorate the differences, uniqueness and heritage that set European cultures apart.

3.2.1. Critical Analysis: Cultural Convenience

The other side of the argument for the usage of cultural arguments for the furtherance of PDO, PGI and TSG policies is that culture can be used as a tool for manipulation. Cultural differences are used as a basis to classify one's world into groups and categories in order to preserve individual and group sense of self. But they can also be used to maintain political or economic interests.¹⁸² There is a tendency for culture to be transformed into an essential aspect of life.¹⁸³ People are becoming more aware of their differences and the ‘other’ is continuously

¹⁷⁸ “European Commission,” 2009, <http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm>, (accessed on May 10, 2009).

¹⁷⁹ Holley, “Europe's Food Regions Fight to Keep Their Good Names.”

¹⁸⁰ Mintz, “Eating and Being,” 102.

¹⁸¹ Wojciech H. Kalaga and Tadeusz Rachwał eds, *Feeding Culture: The Pleasures and Perils of Appetite Vol. 19* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2005), 7.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁸³ Friedman, “Global System, Globalization,” 80.

defined. When a culture is perceived as being threatened, the human experience becomes polarized between right and wrong, pure and impure, good and evil. This can also be used to justify quarreling with others or incite reasons to implement protectionist policies.¹⁸⁴

One of the problems with culture is that it does not show how otherness is generated or maintained. Therefore, culture can be used and abused as a modern tool for the advancement of economic, political and social aims, depending on the historical period, perceived identities and configurations of cultures, ethnic groups or races of the identifiers.¹⁸⁵ For someone involved with the production of *Prosciutto di Parma* ham, the product could take on a more significant meaning because it is also a way of life and a means for making a living. Problems begin to arise when production of the ham is promoted as an essential aspect of Italian culture. It cannot be assured by the opinions of those deeply involved with production that the ham constitutes an integral part of Italian culture. Their opinions could be self-interested and highly motivated by immediate experiences in order to define social contexts, changes or conditions in modern living.¹⁸⁶

Furthermore, cultures have changed throughout history and no culture can be considered pure. Meals and foodways are the product of the displacement, translation and alteration of culture. As people have traveled, food has traveled with them and so has its meanings.¹⁸⁷ When looking at products' histories, many that are exported by the West are already of a culturally mixed character. Culture has flowed from one geographical location to another; and over time it has been adapted to local tastes and symbolic needs, sometimes changing beyond recognition, being shaped and reshaped time and time again.¹⁸⁸ This argument could support the case that countries with strong histories of immigration, including the US, Australia and Canada, are justified in opposing policies that would endanger traditions that long ago were transported and refigured and have become part of new identifications. It is not product stealing but the natural flow of goods throughout the process of history that has made generic and altered products what they are. Both immigrants and the majority group in any location are responsible for creating new types of food. For example, the colonial history of Portugal spread European culture and

¹⁸⁴ Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity*, 15.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁸⁷ Döring, *Eating Culture*, 7.

¹⁸⁸ Waters, *Globalization*, 53.

ideas all around the world, and in turn influenced their culinary tastes and cuisines through access to a huge variety of exotic products.¹⁸⁹ The same could be said for Spain, who throughout history visited many places and cultures. They also adapted borrowed traditions and products to the local Spanish soil, climate and culture and integrated them into regional foods.¹⁹⁰

In order to be successful in a new land, the constituents and marketing of a food must revolve around local tastes and somehow be integrated into their daily eating habits.¹⁹¹ Cultures are constantly converging, which is evidenced by British Foreign Secretary of State Robin Cook's daring and controversial declaration that 'Chicken Tikka Masala' had replaced 'Fish and Chips' as the favorite convenience food in the United Kingdom. This is a major example of the acculturation or "cultural syncretism" of British and Indian cultural exposure, despite its lack of authentic Indian taste.¹⁹² Often referred to as 'localization', transmitted cultures are often accepted, but subject to significant modifications, adaptations and indigenous revitalization.¹⁹³

Further, the conceptions we have of what constitutes locality is frequently contingent upon cultural encounters from the past, often leading to the invention of localities.¹⁹⁴ But, cultures are not and never have been totally binding.¹⁹⁵ Through history, new elements have been constantly introduced into different cultures all over the world and are refigured through the process of hybridization.¹⁹⁶ The term itself indicates "...the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices, extending to social organization."¹⁹⁷ Hybridization purposefully brings together the exotic and familiar, which includes cultures, nations, ethnicities, classes and genres and blurs the differences between and

¹⁸⁹ Ana Perroae Costa, "Portugal-A dialogue of culture," in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 347-356 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 347.

¹⁹⁰ Diego Valverde Villena, "Spain: Agape and conviviality at the table," in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 411-421 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 421.

¹⁹¹ Ching Lin Pang, "Beyond 'Authenticity': Reinterpreting Chinese Immigrant Food in Belgium," in *Eating Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Food*, ed. Tobias Döring, Markus Heide and Susanne Mühleisen, 57-68 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003), 57-68.

¹⁹² Susanne Reichl, "Like a Beacon Against the Cold: Food and ther Construction of Ethnic Identities in British Black Novels," in *Eating Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Food*, ed. Tobias Döring, Markus Heide and Susanne Mühleisen, 178-192 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003), 178.

¹⁹³ Berger, *Many Globalizations*, 10.

¹⁹⁴ Roland Robertson, "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity," in *Global Modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, 25-44 (London: SAGE, 1995), 38, 30.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁹⁶ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Globalization as Hybridization," in *Global Modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, 45-68 (London: SAGE, 1995), 57.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

among them, which are often of a relative nature.¹⁹⁸ This is also evidenced in second generation immigrants who show a pattern of cultural mixing that is composed of elements from home, or place of origin and the new culture of residence.¹⁹⁹ Cultural experiences both in the past and present have been subjected to hybridization, rather than the uniformity that is feared from global forces. They are often looked upon with regret and loss, a loss of the purity, wholeness and authenticity of cultures. However, Jan Nederveen Pieterse suggests that perhaps they should be seen as positive formations rather than undesirable mutations.²⁰⁰

The process can also refer to the creolization of cultures, where meanings from different places meet, mix and fuse into new forms. The maintenance of the mixed identity is often a social act that is proclaimed to be a cultural fact. Actors are constantly identifying their own worlds and establishing their own identities, whether it is the product of a mix or not. The content of the mix is only realized when self-characterization brings it to the forefront of people's minds.²⁰¹ Pasta was brought to Italy from China and became Italian. The relevancy of Chinese origin was forgotten. Whether or not an origin is maintained is part of the practice of forming identities.²⁰² In Lithuania, one of the most popular meals is a type of potato cake that originated in Germany, but is now thought of as a traditional Lithuanian dish. When something is recognized as suitable for one's taste, it is common to adapt it and consider it as one's own.²⁰³ Many other plant species including tomatoes and potatoes were brought to Europe from other countries. It would be unreasonable to demand that Europe give back these aspects of culture that have been morphed over time and integrated into their customs, traditions, foods and soil.

3.3. The Importance of Names

“What's in a name? A rose by any other name, would smell as sweet”

-*Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Scene II²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 60.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 56.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 54-55.

²⁰¹ Friedman, “Global System, Globalization,” 83-84.

²⁰² Ibid., 74.

²⁰³ Biruté Imbrasienė, “Lithuania-Rituals and feasts,” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 265-279 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 267.

²⁰⁴ “Shakespeare Quotes,” *Absolute Shakespeare*, 2000-2005, <<http://absoluteshakespeare.com/trivia/quotes/quotes.htm>>, (accessed on December 13, 2009).

These two short lines from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* encapsulate the central struggle between the two lovers in the play. However, they also summarize one of the main conflicts in the PDO, PGI and TSG debate. Perhaps a name could appear artificial and insignificant on the surface, but as with many aspects in life, carry with it another unbelievable load of symbolism. Though the present day situation is not one that concerns a pair of lovers, it can be considered on an equally emotional status for many of those involved. It is names that have taken a central position in the struggle for worldwide protection of origins. Upon this name rests the preservation of tradition and identity, a connection with place and the fear of the loss of cultural pluralism, lest the name not be protected.

It seems difficult to be able to discount the importance of a name in any situation. We are endowed with a name that we identify with throughout our lives from the moment of birth. We give names to animals and objects, animate and inanimate, and the name gives them a personality, identity, or perhaps a sense of sentient awareness. Throughout history, streets, squares and buildings have been bestowed with names and re-named to reflect the historical situation. Boulevards formerly celebrating Nazism and Socialism were quickly replaced, as they represented an unwanted and negative symbol of repressive regimes and memories worth forgetting.²⁰⁵ While these types of negative connotations concerning collective memory could be considered less powerful with food, the names nevertheless pronounce a large degree of significance.

Food names have been used to characterize groups and populations in both negative and positive ways, and often appear to stand for particular cultures. In Western Europe, the French have been labeled 'Frogs', the Germans as 'Krauts' and the Irish as 'potato people'.²⁰⁶ Another example involves the no longer accepted use of the word 'Eskimo' to speak about arctic tribes because it literally means 'the people who eat their meat raw'. Instead, 'Inuit' is the politically correct term.²⁰⁷ While this may have originally been regarded as a mere description of a group of

²⁰⁵ "What's in a name?" *Sydney Streets*, 2003, <http://www.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/history/SydneyStreets/Whats_in_a_Name/default.html>, (accessed on December 13, 2009).

²⁰⁶ Peter Scholliers, "Meals, Food Narratives, and Sentiments of Belonging in Past and Present," in *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Scholliers, 3-22 (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 4.

²⁰⁷ Mintz, "Eating Communities," 24.

people, it nevertheless characterized them solely by eating habits, which were viewed as strange and foreign.

For PDO, PGI and TSG policies, names and the symbols they are connected with are not meaningless or innocent. Structuralist thinker Ferdinand De Saussure established a process by which the symbolic meaning of language, including food names, could be deciphered by using the relationship between a 'signified' word and 'signified' concepts derived from them, creating an arbitrary link.²⁰⁸ Post-Structuralist French theorist Roland Barthes was influenced by Saussure's theory. However, he interpreted the link between the word and concept differently and used it in social contexts. Barthes argued that man's experience and language should not be pitted against one another. Reality should not be dependent upon how it is expressed in language, as was suggested by Saussure's theory.²⁰⁹ For Barthes, the link between the 'signifier', the objective word itself and 'signified' concepts it produces are not arbitrary. The messages conveyed by an object and one's ability to interpret their meaning are not random, but the result of cultural exposure, learned social codes and conventions or ideologies. They are embedded in shared pasts and a particular social environment.²¹⁰

To continue the argument, Paul De Man argues that it is natural for human beings to value cultural experience over language. Language can be used to represent, express or even transform experiences and events from which meaning must be interpreted. Thus, despite its ability to color situations, language remains dependent on that "...in whose service it operates."²¹¹ Roland Barthes scrutinized social and cultural facts and representations that manifest concepts through visible cultural items, such as flags; or in the case of PDO, PGI and TSG's, foods. Society is laden with the presence of manufactured fictional signs and myths that are projected to be real and used to manipulate. The images and messages then make it difficult to interpret the signs and cultural meanings in alternative ways.²¹²

For the purpose of clarification, I will use the example of *Parmigiano-Reggiano* cheese, a Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) product from the region around Parma and Reggio

²⁰⁸ Cohen, *Global Sociology*, 233.

²⁰⁹ Paul De Man, "Roland Barthes and the Limits of Structuralism," *Yale French Studies*, No. 77, Reading the Archive: On Texts and Institutions (1990), in JSTOR, <www.jstor.org>, (accessed on December 05, 2009).

²¹⁰ Cohen, *Global Sociology*, 234.

²¹¹ De Man, "Roland Barthes and the Limits of Structuralism," 180.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 182-183.

Emilia region in Italy that has been registered since 1996. There was a battle in the European Court of Justice concerning the use of Parmesan as a translated version of *Parmigiano-Reggiano*. The German government argued that Parmesan had become a generic term for hard cheese in many countries, despite originating in an Italian region. Italian producers argued that it was a violation of their protected name status, and that their heritage was being lost because of it.²¹³ The name *Parmigiano-Reggiano*, or generically Parmesan cheese, serves as the signifier in this situation. The name *Parmigiano-Reggiano* could create an image in one's mind of the hard cheese and at the same time determine a product of authentic quality that is handcrafted and cured for twelve months to produce its distinct flavor. Italians learn through upbringing and the experience of being exposed to original *Parmigiano-Reggiano* flavor that, unless it came from a producer in the region, it is not the real thing.

So when *Parmigiano-Reggiano* is sold in German supermarkets as Parmesan, it is invoking a false sense of being derived from Italy. Therefore, manufacturers are manipulating the German consumer. The name Parmesan symbolizes and transforms the experience through the impression of eating an ethnically Italian product. No consideration is taken for proper origin, or the fact that the product was industrially manufactured in Germany and cured for a shorter time. German producers may also profit from fraudulent claims of authenticity by making it sound better than it is. This tool of 'bettering' a food through its name has been used throughout history, and was demonstrated in World War II Europe. In one example, during the war people were sometimes forced to eat cats because of scarcity problems. They referred to them instead as 'country rabbits'. As well, in German, minced meat is still called *falscher Hase*, or 'false rabbit.'²¹⁴ Names are also invented to sound more authentic or create a cosmopolitan image. For instance, using the French word *escargot* sounds more appetizing than using the word snail.²¹⁵

It must be understood that, in this context, *Parmigiano-Reggiano* by any other name was unacceptable. In the dispute for protected name status, the rules outlining the regulations state that foreign translations will not be acceptable. Because of free riding on the reputation of *Parmigiano-Reggiano*, producers were struggling to compete with low-quality alternatives. It has

²¹³ Merrett, Neil, "Ciao for now to Italian Parmesan claim," *Foodnavigator.com*, 29 Jun. 2007, <www.foodnavigator.com>, (accessed on October 29, 2009).

²¹⁴ Mühleisen, Susanne, "Globalized Tongues: The Cultural Semantics of Food Names," in *Eating Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Food*, ed. Tobias Döring, Markus Heide and Susanne Mühleisen, 71-88 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003), 78.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

been estimated that, of two thousand producers of the cheese after World War II, the number dropped to five hundred in 2005, and eight more were lost in 2006.²¹⁶ In 2008 the European Court of Justice declared Parmesan to be both “phonetically and visually similar” to *Parmigiano-Reggiano*, and can no longer be used to describe the product.²¹⁷ This is considered a great success for PDO, PGI and TSG products.

3.3.1. Critical Analysis: The Unimportance of Names

A return to Shakespeare’s short lines illustrates the other side of the debate for PDO, PGI and TSG schemes. Indeed it could be said, a food by any other name, would taste as delicious. That is, unless economic advantages and market share benefits for European producers are involved. Opponents may argue as Juliet did, for the nature of an object not losing its unique character and taste without full rights to the name. If a specialty product really is higher in quality, people will be able to distinguish it themselves, making it is unnecessary to go to the extreme measure of copyrighting names all over the world.

Names have indeed been used to alter one’s experience of reality, to better a situation or product, or to further political, economic and political aims. One cannot forget the United States governments attempt to rename french fries ‘freedom fries’ in wake of the lack of support from France after the invasion of Iraq, in order to express displeasure with France. Clearly a symbolic gesture, this example displays the manipulation of food names in order to support a purpose or ideology. The conscious alteration of food names as a tool of manipulation is nothing new, and has occurred throughout history for both raw and cooked foods. Both types have also appealed for protection from the EU. Susanne Mühleisen writes about the importance of reading into the history and deeper meanings of food names. She states that colonial explorers used to re-name both the place and the edible plants in the territories they occupied as an ‘act of empowerment.’²¹⁸ But this process did not completely erase names of indigenous origin. Some examples survive in different forms in various languages today, including cashew, guava and

²¹⁶ Merrett, “Ciao for now to Italian Parmesan claim.”

²¹⁷ Merrett, “Court says nein to German Parmesan claims,” *Foodnavigator.com*, 28 Feb. 2008, <www.foodnavigator.com>, (accessed on October 29, 2009).

²¹⁸ Mühleisen, “Globalized Tongues,” 73.

maize (Caribbean Amerindian origin) and avocado, cocoa and tomato (Central American Amerindian origin).²¹⁹

With regards to cooked and prepared food, Mühleisen states that these practices and dishes are associated with nations, regions and ethnicities. They are “...highly indicative of the images, desires and alliances which are culturally connected with that group. It is clear that such associations are not manifestations of individual dispositions but are part of a collective imagination...”²²⁰ These messages are often used by the media to sell products and opponents could argue that the European Union is capitalizing on PDO, PGI and TSG policies by using arguments that support an imagined and unrealistic threat to cultural heritages. Those producers fighting to preserve *Parmigiano-Reggiano* cheese equated the loss of heritage with the lack of name protection, and as a consequence others were able to free ride on its reputation. What they did not mention was that though producers seemed to be disappearing there was actually a rise in export numbers. There were 15,000 more tons of Parmesan sent abroad in 2005, up from numbers taken in 2001.²²¹

Cultures have been borrowing and adapting words throughout history. In fact, the names of foods and dishes are the most borrowed words into English from other languages. Some of these include ‘pretzel’, ‘pumpernickel’, ‘liverwurst’, ‘spaghetti’ and ‘schnitzel’.²²² However, English is not the only language that has adapted or borrowed foreign words for food names. According to PDO, PGI and TSG legislation, translations are a violation of protected name status. This was evident in the ruling against the generic nature of Parmesan cheese, which the European Court of Justice ruled to be too close to the original protected name. Because of this ruling, many people are worried that vigorous intolerance will prevail and over-exaggerated legal claims could be taken too far. One case brought to the European Court was against a beverage manufacturer in Germany who used the words “aus der Champagnerbirne” (“out of Champagne pears”) on one of its product labels. The German Federal Court of Justice sided with France, home to the Champagne protected name region, and ruled that “champagner” could no longer be used on any beverage products at any time. The irony in this situation is that Germans have

²¹⁹ Ibid., 77.

²²⁰ Ibid., 79.

²²¹ Merrett, “Ciao for now to Italian Parmesan claim.”

²²² Ibid., 83.

referred to this type of pear as “champagne pears” for over a century, and German law recognizes it as a protected plant variety.²²³

Moreover, Roland Barthes’ theory may be applied to the other side of the PDO, PGI and TSG name battle. For this example *Prosciutto di Parma*, a PDO protected ham from Italy, will be used. The name *Prosciutto di Parma* describes the specific PDO protected Italian ham, while Parma ham is the generic term used all over the world. Both names act as signifiers and produce a concept or ‘signified’ mental image carried by the name. For a small family producer, the Italian term produces an image of a specific type of dry cured ham. For a consumer in an American supermarket searching for the ham, the generic term invokes the same image. Together as the signifier and signified, a sign is formed and interpreted, learned and de-coded and can be attributed with meaning. These are often complex and differentiated, depending on who is interpreting the sign.²²⁴ Parma ham has come to mean the same type of product in English as *Prosciutto di Parma* in Italian.

Yet, the connection is contingent upon the historical and past experience of those involved that creates different interpretations. The producer will connect the image of the ham with its place of origin in Parma Italy, the extensive curing and aging process and the human experience that goes into the finished product to create a distinct and individual flavor. In their opinion, the same flavor could not be produced if it is not subject to particular environmental and human conditions that are present in the specific Italian region. However, for the American consumer the ham probably will not be connected with the region or process that is involved in its production. It might be connected with the country, Italy, and the certain learned flavor that comes in a specifically designed package or sliced meat available at the deli counter. But for the average American consumer the availability of similar taste in the supermarket will be more useful than the specialty environment in which the original is produced. In this regard the name of origin of the product becomes unimportant for the consumer but not for the producer who feels that the name should be defended, that only ham originating in Parma should have the privilege of using the title. Again, opponents could be justified in arguing that because of the social environment and experiences of consumers in other countries, no frame of reference for

²²³ Kur, “Nothing But a GI Thing.”

²²⁴ Cohen, *Global Sociology*, 233.

authentic *Prosciutto di Parma* exists. They should be able to continue buying a product that is good enough to satisfy their needs due to its similar nature and taste, not its origin.

3.4. What's in a Place?

In the PDO, PGI and TSG debate, the issue of product provenance has taken on a more intensified meaning. Literally the place of origin or earliest known history of a food, it embraces spatial, social and cultural dimensions.²²⁵ Proponents emphasize place because they believe it alters the outcome of specialty food products. The specific soil, environment, landscape and its interaction with human inhabitants all influence the taste and quality of products. Place is also connected to names because products generally derive their names from the location or region that they are produced. Anthropologists have been interested in the study of linking food habits to collective identity in a place. They believe it is mainly based on a combination of sensory experience (*terroir*) and memory that create a shared cultural experience.²²⁶

Today we are not only affected by what we eat but where we eat it and where it comes from.²²⁷ The constantly shifting nature of a global world often confuses the individual and disturbs their fixed sense of self, identity and place. Place can be indicative of a national, regional or local identities, or anything that provides individuals with a frame of reference and secure place to orient themselves in the world.²²⁸ The idea of place, 'home' or belonging in the world is constantly being reevaluated.²²⁹ For proponents of origin protection, there are never foods of a country but foods of a 'place' or collection of regions, and these are vital for culture and identity.²³⁰

One of the most interesting aspects of 'place' is its ambiguously symbolic nature. It is not necessarily confined to set boundaries and can incite multiple feelings in each person, depending on their situations. For immigrants in a new land, food often serves as a sense of 'home away from home', even for those who have never been to their parent's place of origin.²³¹ Edward

²²⁵ Kevin Morgan, Terry Marsden and Jonathon Murdoch, *Worlds of Food* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2006), 4.

²²⁶ Leynse, "Journeys Through 'Ingestible Topography'," 132.

²²⁷ David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Consuming geographies: We are where we eat* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), Introduction, 3.

²²⁸ Robertson, "Glocalization," 34.

²²⁹ Sennett, "Street and Office: Two Sources of Identity," 175-176.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 94.

²³¹ Reichl, "Like a Beacon Against the Cold," 192.

Steiner asserts that, “I am inclined to believe that noodle soup, with the right kind of seasoning, touches more channels of memory than-say, a lullaby or even a picture of the homeland.”²³² Amongst first generation migrants, the language of origin may change before the diet. And for third generations, though assimilation is often unavoidable, ethnic foods provide a link with parents’ or relatives’ place of origin and a link to roots of the past.²³³ For the Basque diaspora in Barcelona, Basque bars, taverns and wine is an important aspect of identification in strengthening social ties and connecting people to their home territory in the Basque country.²³⁴

These dimensions of place are being further linked to the idea of local and regional spaces as connected with certain products. This is a response to the ‘ideology of home’ that plagues us in our homeless and rootless global condition.²³⁵ In a global world it is becoming more important to connect with smaller entities, a nation, region or locality. Culture is never without a place and is actually very territorial in nature.²³⁶ The territoriality of culture celebrates its development from a distinct place. It is suggested that aspects of the culture are known and have passed through sequential periods to become as they are. Thus, looking back in time can link a product’s history with its cultural origin. Therefore, if food is not without culture and culture is learned from exposure to social factors in a particular place, then food and place are ultimately connected and PDO, PGI and TSG policies are needed to protect this link.

3.4.1. Critical Analysis: Changes of Place

Though a sense of ‘place’ is very important for a feeling of rootedness in the world, it must also be remembered that places change over time. Plant species and foods brought through the movement of people from different geographical areas have greatly changed the landscapes and climate throughout of Europe. A study performed by Professor Paul Cartledge suggests that France’s successful wine industry, and distinction of *terroir* may not have even been started if it had not been for Greek explorers who settled in the area in southern France around 600 B.C.

²³² Quoted in *Ibid.*, 178.

²³³ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 273-274.

²³⁴ Xavier F. Medina, “‘Social Wine’: Ethnic Identity and Wine Consumption in the Basque Diaspora in Barcelona (Spain),” in *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe*, ed. Thomas Wilson, 111-127 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi), 124.

²³⁵ Robertson, “Glocalization,” 35.

²³⁶ Pieterse, “Globalization as Hybridization,” 60-61.

New evidence shows that Greeks brought their wine trade and ideas with them when they came.²³⁷ In addition, climate change could present a threat to all locations if it continues as some scientists predict. With the alteration of environments, the essential sensory aspects of taste could also change and place of origin will no longer be sufficient to guarantee a product's specific composition.

Next, borders have changed countless times, depending on historical situations, wars, invasions, crusades and the formation of nation-states. National cuisines were invented during crucial periods of nation formation. At the time cultural achievements including cuisines and products were attributed to the glory of nations.²³⁸ Though, Sidney Mintz states that it is only when a group of people "...eats [a] cuisine with sufficient frequency to consider themselves experts on it" that it gains social roots and becomes the food of a community.²³⁹ Today, PDO, PGI and TSG products are serving to further territorialize regional and local products to the glory of culture. There is no assurance that the population outside of certain regions consumes specialty products enough to become so-called 'experts' that tie them to their place of origin. It could be producers and other professional beneficiaries who become motivated by the territorial link between a product, culture and place in order to increase their profits.

3.5. Chapter Summary

In the second chapter I introduced the first of the 'Four Perspectives of Self', the identifying self. The importance of identity and culture has taken a central role in most current discourse surrounding food and culinary cultures because they help create a feeling of belonging for the individual. I discussed the symbolic nature of food and its propensity for creating a feeling of cultural otherness in order to help distinguish one's identity; and the difficulties in forming complicated policies such as PDO, PGI and TSG's that are based on an adaptable, subjective and unstable construction of identity, culture and tradition. An argument was also made to focus more on the cultural protection of food, rather than condemning it to remain in the political and economic realms. This focus would ensure that culture would not be used as a

²³⁷ Andrew Hough, "Ancient Greeks introduced wine to France, Cambridge study reveals," *Telegraph.co.uk*, 23 Oct. 2009, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk>>, (accessed on October 29, 2009).

²³⁸ Pieterse, "Globalization as Hybridization," 63.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 96.

convenient argument to pursue ulterior goals and create otherness based on a false assertion of the existence of being 'pure', when it is known that cultures have been mixing for centuries.

I continued by highlighting the cultural importance and unimportance of names. I displayed that based on Barthes' theory, the symbolic nature of names is contingent upon one's social environment and upbringing and will ultimately be perceived differently between cultures. Names are linked to places, and a description of the importance and irrelevance of origin with regards to PDO, PGI and TSG's was made. The differences in affinity towards origin products were supported by various examples and court cases.

4. Perspective II: The Self as Consumer

The second assumption of PDO, PGI and TSG policies is that individual identity is connected to consumption, which motivates the citizens of Europe to distinguish themselves based on the products they consume. Today's world is characterized by a myriad of choices, and protected local and regional specialty products ensure the high quality and authenticity that consumers demand. At the same time, they become a symbol of cultural survival that consumers are willing and eager to support.

4.1. Consuming Identity

As was mentioned previously, there is no longer a need for most people in Europe to struggle for their daily sustenance. There is an interesting article written by Michael Wildt where he compares old shopping lists and magazines to show the changes in tastes of working-class families in Germany during in post World War II. In earlier years, shopping lists consisted of a few moderate items and magazine articles taught the average housewife to be creative and make more out of less.²⁴⁰ Around 1955 there was a marked change in preferences, lists became lengthier and regularly included luxurious and brand name items. Recipes in magazines reflected this change by recommending international dishes and expensive cuisines. Money was less of an issue and parties became opportunities for competitive consumption.²⁴¹ The purchasing of industrial canned foods signified a move from an old to new way of doing things, and an affluent society became the norm.²⁴² With an increase in choices, consumers had to learn to choose between a multitude of items and “where in former times and for long years preparing meals meant making much out of little, now it was a question of learning to construct individuality out of plenty.”²⁴³

In post-war Europe, individualism and the search for personal identity and validity took on new meaning for the usage and purchase of consumer goods that continues today.²⁴⁴ Identity

²⁴⁰ Michael Wildt, “Promise of More. The Rhetoric of (food) Consumption in a Society Searching for itself: West Germany in the 1950s,” in *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Scholliers, 63-80 (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 69.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Alan Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1997), 7.

has often been overlooked in economic discourse of consumption, but symbolic value is undeniably important to food patterns.²⁴⁵ For consumption purposes, goods are wired with dual components that include the material and utilitarian value or ‘hardware’ of society and culture, and the ‘software’ of everyday life, the symbolism, significance and meaning that are attached to them. The cultural meanings of goods make them highly desirable for both market value and for their own existence.²⁴⁶ To connect the idea of culture with consumption, there is also an initiative motivated by the Italian ‘Slow Food’ movement to refer to individuals as a ‘co-producers’ rather than market-driven consumers. The organization states, “...by being informed about how our food is produced and actively supporting those who produce it, we become a part of and a partner in the production process.”²⁴⁷ PDO, PGI and TSG policies create a feeling of solidarity in supporting a good cause and turning consumers into active protectors of culture. They also connect people into so-called ‘affiliated communities’ that reach beyond local and regional origins, binding people through a shared concern for endangered products.²⁴⁸ Pressure from these communities can also influence policy changes and economic action.²⁴⁹

To continue, food sustains identity through a consumer’s asserted style, status and group identification. This may be based on a distinction of hierarchy or to express different group memberships. As well, the covetous nature of identity may often be a narcissistic distancing of the ‘self’ from the ‘other’, thereby confirming one’s own self-image and personal alignment.²⁵⁰ In contemporary times, identity confirmation could be sidetracked by what Pierre Bourdieu refers to as the “Omnivore’s Paradox,” when tension is heightened between the need for biological sustenance and culturally conditioned taste. Because of the increased range of choices and need for variety, people are skeptical and suspicious about new foods, but are often drawn to try them.²⁵¹ Therefore, food is a source of sustenance and pleasure, but also weighs people down with anxiety.²⁵² PDO, PGI and TSG policies are a way to alleviate this anxiety by helping buyers purchase products by people and from places they can be assured to know.

²⁴⁵ Cohen, *Global Sociology*, 231.

²⁴⁶ Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 7.

²⁴⁷ “Slow Food,” 2009, <www.slowfood.com>, (accessed on October 29, 2009).

²⁴⁸ Bell, *Consuming geographies*, 109.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 198.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 272-273.

²⁵² Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 30.

The rise in standards of living and disposable income has enabled many people to demand certain features from the products they consume. They have begun to call for "...taste, tradition and authenticity as well as the application of higher animal welfare standards."²⁵³ There has been a change in the last decade from mass demand to an individualized lifestyle that emphasizes local differences and is accessed through differentiated products, services, diversity, originality and expected higher quality standards.²⁵⁴ The European Commission and retailers are moving to fill these niches, and PDO, PGI and TSG policies can be considered akin to the appearance of popularized organic and fair trade products. The European Commission argues if other parts of the world can produce cheaper food, the EU assures that it can provide quality consumer products and preserve cultural heritages.

For consumers, quality goes hand in hand with authentic cultural experiences. Brian Ilbery and Moya Kneafsey observe that the objective and subjective nature of quality is composed of four different aspects that I will connect to PDO, PGI and TSG policies. First, a product is objectively judged by its 'Certification'.²⁵⁵ This is regulated and set by PDO, PGI and TSG official symbols that must be visibly present on a product's label. Second, the 'Association' or link with the product's place of origin complements 'Certification'.²⁵⁶ A consumer who sees an origin label will be assured that the product is the result of specific environmental conditions of a distinct place. Third, the 'Specification' involves the nature of the production process through traditional recipes or skills.²⁵⁷ The human interaction with environment and culture are essential for a product's outcome, so a consumer will be assured of its authenticity. Finally, the 'Attraction' is based on the importance of physical properties of taste, texture and appearance.²⁵⁸ For PDO, PGI and TSG products, attraction will be enhanced by the knowledge of the other three quality indicators. What I find interesting about these four indicators of quality for consumers is that Ilbery and Kneafsey ordered them unintentionally in such a way that the mnemonic lettering spells the word 'casa', the Spanish word for 'house' or 'home'. Thus, the place of origin or 'home' of products is an important factor of both objective and subjective

²⁵³ "Agriculture and Rural Development."

²⁵⁴ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 99.

²⁵⁵ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 190-191.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

measures of quality. As a result, consumers experience a more connected and personal affinity towards the whole cultural process products are created from.

4.1.1. Critical Analysis: The Manipulated Consumer

The European Commission is attempting to satisfy the needs and wants of consumers today. However, opponents could argue that consumer power only goes so far and as Will Hutton states, only as far as “to buy or not to buy.”²⁵⁹ Easily manipulated, consumer power is not enough to sustain a complex policy structure like PDO, PGI and TSG’s. We can use the sugar lobbies in France in the 1860’s to show the tradition of outside forces duping consumers. An interesting article written by Martin Brügel discusses the multiple attempts of sugar lobbyists to try and convince the population that sugar was an essential item in their diets.

It is often taken for granted that goods we cherish today have always been cherished, and this is not always historically the case. As well, sugar is one of those items that we more often than not view as being rationed because of scarcity problems. Except in the 1860’s in France, overproduction was the real problem and not enough sugar was being eaten.²⁶⁰ At the time sugar was only consumed by elites and the working class was indifferent to it, which shocked manufacturers and grocers who attributed it to their lack of ‘education’. Lobbyists tried everything from praising sugar for its nutritional properties to declaring that it improved athletic endurance.²⁶¹ What’s more, they convinced producers to add it to everyday foods and alter traditional meals including bread and drinks. However, this resulted in much opposition. Lobbyists then resorted to promoting sugar to members of the army, making it mandatory along with daily coffee rations. This also failed because men in the army disliked the flavor.²⁶² It is interesting that the sugar lobbyists went through so much effort to transcend the social hierarchy, but were met with so much resistance. In fact, it would not be until thirty years later in the 1890’s that sugar became an important marker for bourgeois identity.²⁶³

²⁵⁹ Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens eds, *On the Edge: Living With Global Capitalism* (London: Jonathon Cape, 2000.), 47.

²⁶⁰ Martin Brügel, “A Bourgeois Good? Sugar, Norms of Consumption and the Labouring Classes in Nineteenth-Century France,” in *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Scholliers, 99-118 (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 101.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 105.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 108.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 101.

The article about sugar consumption in France is meant to demonstrate that consumers are and long have been influenced by self-interested and professionally motivated external actors to convince them that certain goods are a natural part of human consumption, or perhaps an integral part of culture. I am suggesting that opponents of PDO, PGI and TSG policies could plausibly argue that focusing on the importance of consumer identity has been overemphasized because consumers are the victims of producers, advertisers and the market. For origin products, we discussed in chapter two that many consumers who were questioned stated that the quality label's influence in convincing them to buy the products is only modest at best.²⁶⁴ Producers, advertisers and other stakeholders are trying to convince consumers that regional and local protected goods are essential aspects of cultural identity. Through conflicting signs and portrayed images, they are confused and duped into purchasing products that they perceive to want, or are coerced and manipulated into wanting.²⁶⁵

Origin products are imagined to possess non-existent meaning and significance that they cannot actually possess, as a reaction to the extremely de-personalized nature of the global economy. The era of mass consumption convinces us to want more than we need, or what we think we need. Advertisers appeal to exotic, nostalgic, desirable, romantic, traditional or beautiful images that entice the defenseless consumer.²⁶⁶ Now, advertisers will be able to appeal to regional and locally protected products. Consumer traditions, like nations and identities, are often tailored and invented and take root in the shared symbolic consumerism that is represented by food.²⁶⁷ Nationalist agendas are in danger of being reasserted by a feeling of 'gastronomic superiority' and a selective patriotic preference for local and certified foods.²⁶⁸

The consumer culture as discussed by Eugene Halton is "...the chief socializing agent of the modern ghost of the machine, promising freedom and autonomy and immediate gratification while relentlessly colonizing both the civic community and the very structure of the self, from infancy on, like a retro-virus: a retro-virus which says, 'Buy me, drink me, eat me, dream me,

²⁶⁴ Kur, "Nothing but a GI Thing."

²⁶⁵ Cohen, *Global Sociology*, 235.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Erick Castellanos and Sara M. Bergstresser, "Food Fights at the EU Table: The Gastronomic Assertion of Italian Distinctiveness," in *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe*, ed. Thomas Wilson, 179-202 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006), 197.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

desire me, and you will be yourself’.”²⁶⁹ Consumption becomes a way of life, causing the self to be re-described and formulated based on consumer wants. Focusing on consumer culture could lead to an invasion and control of individual identity. Capitalism is said to turn people into consumers, re-structure their sense of ‘want’ and self-images in order to serve capitalist goals of accumulation.²⁷⁰ In this regard, PDO, PGI and TSG policies could contribute to the characterization of the individual as merely part of a collective consumerism to which traditional products may be commoditized and marketed for profit, losing their cultural significance.

Further, there are no universal guidelines to judge consumer habits and behaviors. It is difficult to distinguish between the survival needs and personal wants that guide one in the direction of preferring certain material goods.²⁷¹ When a food as a good is desired and not necessarily needed, it can be associated with emotional security and familiarity, childhood memories or a sense of belonging. In cultural terms, these goods are often viewed as essential.²⁷² Proponents could experience a problem by basing PDO, PGI and TSG policies on consumer patterns and desires, which are constantly changing. What is valued today may not be valued a few years from now, or even tomorrow and unless they are convinced, could present a problem in the near or late future. Consumers belong to groups that have different needs and wants according to their class, education, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation and family responsibilities. Age and generation can also be a factor along with marital status, and preferences vary and evolve over time.²⁷³ Different rationales constitute different areas of material culture and types of products.²⁷⁴

Furthermore, consumer preference frequently depends on the interplay between three types of goods, which I have again connected to PDO, PGI and TSG products. ‘Search goods’ are objects a consumer searches for or inspects before buying and is based on a preconceived notion of quality. With ‘experience goods’, quality is determined after a product is purchased and tasted. Finally ‘credence goods’ do not provide notions of quality through either preconceptions

²⁶⁹ Eugene Halton, “The Modern Error: Or, the Unbearable Enlightenment of Being,” in *Global Modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson (London: SAGE, 1995), 272.

²⁷⁰ Waters, *Globalization*, 142.

²⁷¹ Cohen, *Global Sociology*, 232.

²⁷² Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 199.

²⁷³ Cohen, *Global Sociology*, 237.

²⁷⁴ Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 180.

or usage. What a consumer wants is based on unpredictable combinations and can greatly differ.²⁷⁵ A PDO, PGI or TSG symbol on a label is one method of turning the products into ‘search’ goods. Many products are not well known because they are particular to a small area and must rely on the promotion of their quality purely by this mark. It seems that the European Commission is using this method as the first step in creating a consumer want for the products. It will not be useful to focus on them as ‘experience goods’ unless they are derived from a specific country or area that has already established them as part of their regular consumption. To be considered ‘credence goods’, such qualities as *terroir* and a product’s importance for culture would need to be appropriately recognized. For outsiders either preconceived notions of quality or experiencing the taste probably cannot determine this.

4.2. Consumption and Modern Social Forces

Another theory that discusses the interaction between consumerism and identity that I will apply to PDO, PGI and TSG products is Alan Warde’s ‘Four Social Forces’ theory. He labels the forces that influence modern consumption as: ‘Individualization’, ‘Communification’, ‘Stylization’ and ‘Informalization’. As the first force, ‘Individualization’ plays a crucial and consistent role in consumer choice.²⁷⁶ Margaret Thatcher once declared that, “There is no such thing as society, only individual men and women and their families.”²⁷⁷ The first force is a reflection of this statement. The demise of class and national alignments and disintegration of certain aspects of family structures leads the individual to emphasize personal decision-making, self-discipline and choice. More women work outside the home and individuals must figure out new ways to orient their food choices, because in previous years women were more important for being the so-called gatekeepers of their family’s diet.²⁷⁸ The appearance of origin-guaranteed products provides the individual with a unique experience to support local and regional cultures of Europe and helps protect cultural pluralism, merely by purchasing products with PDO, PGI and TSG labels.

²⁷⁵ Das, “Protection of Geographical Indications.”

²⁷⁶ Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 180.

²⁷⁷ James H. Mittelman, *The Globalization Syndrome: Transformation and Resistance* (Princeton University Press, 2000), 223.

²⁷⁸ Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 180.

When discussing ‘Communication’, Warde is referring to the intense aspiration of everyone to be part of a community. The global society destroys the rootedness and sense of belonging that individuals once had in traditional societies. Therefore, there is a constant attempt at the restoration, re-creation and invention of communities. With Individuation, a person searches for novel experiences and ways of distinguishing themselves. But a paradox is apparent because the need for community persists, despite the fact that it is hard to define. Food is an especially embedded aspect of the social sphere, and family is often the main method of reassuring and confirming standards of judgment with regards to taste, diet and cuisine.²⁷⁹ The appeal to regional and local cuisines and the reflection on authenticity and preservation of national culinary traditions are aspects of the appeal to community that is characterized by PDO, PGI and TSG policies. People are reminiscent and nostalgic for a past life of simple character, where the production of food from farm to plate was well known and personal. There is an attempt to re-embed culinary traditions into normal lifestyles in order to preserve bonds and provide a community-defined context to orient oneself in an international environment. As well, the previously discussed ‘affiliated communities’ are a side effect of people motivated through a solidarity of concern for PDO, PGI and TSG products.

To continue, ‘Stylization’ is another aspect of consumer culture. It can be defined as the usage of certain items to express group membership through active participation and a maintained appearance. These items imply rules, codes and norms of the group, which must be observed in order to belong and differentiate oneself from the normal populace. Through the stylized group, the person is offered “...social meaning, known standard of behavior, sense of belonging, but lacks permanent and unreflexive character.”²⁸⁰ Media exposure and advertising is a main basis for expanding knowledge and contributing to the preservation of supposed styles. These styles can include a life oriented towards vegetarianism, veganism, the usage of boycotting, fashion and the purchasing of organic and fair trade foods, or a combination of several. This list can now include a life oriented towards PDO, PGI and TSG products as well as supporting regional and local products and production. A person often feels obliged to be knowledgeable about many areas in order to appear well informed and motivated by positive moral choices.²⁸¹ Declaring oneself as part of an origin-centered style has already become

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

fashionable and important to scores of people in Europe. Through this style, the emphasis on supporting culturally, socially and environmentally beneficial local practices and traditions contributes to the greater good of the world as a whole because it supports humane animal treatment, sustainable environmental practices, small farmers and helps prevent the extinction of cultural tradition. As well, by paying more for genuinely authentic products, a person's wealth and ability to afford higher quality goods is displayed. By promoting the policies as purely beneficial, the European Commission is creating a symbolic style group of regional and local orientation.

The final force presented by Warde is that of 'Informalization'. This force is based on the suggestion that the "...observance of social rules and conventions are less predictable, widespread and enforceable than in the past."²⁸² In short, society is becoming more tolerant of a diversity of food habits and choices since the cultural revolution of the 1960's. Rules are being relaxed that used to stringently govern eating patterns, choices and food-centered events. Less formal and demanding eating patterns are preferred, and include a greater irregularity, frequency and varied location. More attention is being paid to personal preference of the young and old alike, and family meals are less regimented. Universal tastes and ideal cuisines are no longer asserted, but are instead replaced by a broader definition of accepted practices. Variety is the fuel that sustains the fire of informality, but not all standards disappear. The media still emits certain criteria that affect personal judgment.²⁸³ While PDO, PGI and TSG policies may appear to go against the idea of informality with their connection to standardized practices, ingredients and tastes; they do contribute somewhat to the informalized nature of society. By assuring greater differentiation between the varieties of available goods, origin-centered products do not coerce or demand to be purchased. They add to the numerous choices available and their significance is highlighted and promoted by their certification. However, it is still ultimately the choice of the individual consumer whether or not to buy them.

While consumption patterns are still difficult to discern, Warde suggests that certain conclusions can be made that are based on the 'Four Forces of Consumption'.²⁸⁴ He observes that the behavior of individuals is not uniform. People make their own selections and often share

²⁸² Ibid., 181.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

patterns of diet with others. Some people base their choices on religious affiliation, ethics, social movements or style groups.²⁸⁵ Further, many of the forces work together to orient food choices and include media representations of taste, socio-demographic conditions, gender, generational and class differences, which have not changed much since the 1960's. While 'Individualization' and 'Informalization' seem to be the dominating tendencies of modern times, the other forces are still important and individual tastes are often exaggerated. Community and groups still play a role in foodways. The world is full of contradictions of what should and should not be eaten, purchased or supported and is transmitted through the voices of regulatory laws, experts and the media.²⁸⁶ PDO, PGI and TSG policies can be aligned in certain ways with each of the forces.

4.2.1. Critical Analysis: The Overemphasized Consumer Identity

Warde's 'Four Social Forces' theory can also be related to an argument against PDO, PGI and TSG policies. He states that the dominating tendencies in modern times are 'Individuation' and 'Informalization'. Though the policies contribute somewhat to the amplification of these two forces, I believe they also damper them in many ways because they are strongly rooted in accepted traditions, tastes and practices. PDO, PGI and TSG's will find their importance more in the realms of 'Communitification' and 'Stylization'. They are a backlash against changing tastes, social behaviors and eating habits that characterize today's living. In order to be successful, the policies will have to appeal to the longing for roots to smaller communities and the importance of maintaining the communities for the health of cultural pluralism. They will also have to be promoted outside the sphere of stylized niche markets, because these areas generally constitute a minority of interest of the population. Though products such as organic and fair-trade items are becoming more popular, they can be overlooked in favor of lower-priced items. Styles can also be temporary and fleeting, such as a person who devotes themselves to a vegan lifestyle. They may only remain vegan for a limited number of years and eventually change their habits. Specialty products require a more devoted following of average consumers, rather than relying on a regression to simpler times or appealing to fashionable eating habits. The policies could also hinder the process of 'Informalization' because they doom consumers to become lost in a sea of acronyms, turning a shopping experience into a complicated search for meaning in all the various designations and cultural contexts.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 188.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 188-190.

Additionally, it might be forgotten that consumption of food products is guided by three values that Warde describes as ‘Exchange value’, ‘Use value’ and ‘Identity’. ‘Exchange value’ refers to a product’s price and ‘Use value’ to the satisfaction of needs or wants through delivered services or eating the food. The perception of need changes over time and is sometimes satisfied by the purchase of goods and services linked to their symbolic value. He states that the other forms are being ignored and too much emphasis is being placed on consumption as an expression and symbolic factor of the third value, ‘Identity’. For him, ‘Use value’ is essential because it is functional. People must sustain their bodies through food in order to maintain health, and price is often a factor of this.²⁸⁷ As has been mentioned, PDO, PGI and TSG products often cater to higher income and niche market customers because they charge higher premiums. Identity is irrelevant if a person is not wealthy or healthy enough to construct it.

Therefore, the promotion of non-industrial specialty products could further stratify society and influence a hierarchical presence because elite consumers at a higher price often support them.²⁸⁸ Warde argues that class-based style survives in consumption patterns.²⁸⁹ If PDO, PGI and TSG items mark an emblem of one’s identity, individuals may use the products in a negative way to distinguish themselves as having culturally superior tastes to those who cannot appreciate or afford local and regional products. Pierre Bourdieu called this phenomenon the “Habitus and distinction.”²⁹⁰ He theorized that consumption practices could be an assertion of class position based on learned behavior. A desire to possess certain commodities, highly refined taste and knowledge are necessary to maintain one’s status. Through consumption, classes display their ‘cultural capital’ to distinguish them in a hierarchical social system.²⁹¹ The modern habitus could be contributing to what Diane Simmonds calls ‘foodie-ism’ or an outburst of food snobbery that has hit the scene, similar to that of the fashion industry. But as she says, those with more economic capital do not necessarily possess more cultural capital.²⁹²

Thus, perhaps the importance attached to the creation of personal identity and expression as based on the consumption of certain goods has been exaggerated. Alan Warde argues that there are other aspects of identity formation that are overlooked in favor of a connection to

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 198.

²⁸⁸ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 100.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 9.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 10.

²⁹² Quoted in Bell, *Consuming geographies.*, 43.

consumption.²⁹³ Food is also an area where consumption plays a marginal role in identity construction. Many consumption acts have no symbolic significance. Or, the symbolism is merely superficial and has no deep effect on beliefs, values or behaviors. Peter Berger describes the difference between what he calls ‘sacramental’ and ‘non-sacramental’ consumption. To describe non-sacramental consumption, he paraphrases Freud by saying, “sometimes a hamburger is just a hamburger.” But, in some cases the hamburger is eaten “...under the golden icon of a McDonald’s restaurant, is a visible sign of the real or imagined participation in global modernity.”²⁹⁴ This experience is indicating that a hamburger portrays a symbolic value encompassing far more than its nutritional and taste properties. However, there is no way to conclude which element prevails at any moment in time and it will always be an issue of debate.²⁹⁵

Further, to project one’s self-identity they must be aware of and correctly read signs connected within various acts of consumption. They must recognize the meaning of symbols and discriminate between them. However, different people of different ethnicities, ages and social backgrounds, often interpret symbols differently.²⁹⁶ I discussed in the last chapter the examples of *Parmigiano-Reggiano* cheese and *Prosciutto di Parma* ham. Producers and many Italians have been exposed to the authentic products throughout their lives. This enables them to place higher significance on the region of origin as an essential aspect of Italian culture. However, consumers outside of Italy will determine the symbolic value of the products based on their experience with generic varieties. The name and perhaps an Italian flag on the package is enough to convince them that the product is symbolic of Italian culture, without focusing on its exact place of production. In addition, judgment is repeatedly based on general classifications and not an attempt at asserting individuality. Warde also believes that it is not possible to conclude that identity value is invested more in food consumption in modern times than in previous years.²⁹⁷ Personal and social identity is achieved more through social learning and demonstrated through family, friends, occupational and religious groups and clubs. Identities created as a result of

²⁹³ Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 197.

²⁹⁴ Berger, *Many Globalizations*, 7.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 200.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 200.

consumer behavior is often overemphasized, shallow and not a product of the possession and purchase of commodities, including PDO, PGI and TSG products.²⁹⁸

4.3. Chapter Summary

The second perspective of self was discussed in chapter three and focused on the self as aligning with its consumer identity. Consumption has joined the ranks of cultural, symbolic and identity discourse since the arrival of affluence after World War II. I elaborated on the modern demands of consumers and the symbolic nature of goods as a motivating factor in supporting PDO, PGI and TSG's. The differentiation of assured quality created by the policies thus enables the individual to further assert their affiliations and confirm their self-image in a world of unending choices. In addition, I showed that Brian Ilbery and Moya Kneafsey's four objective and subjective measures of quality serve to link a product with its place of origin. However, I addressed the counterarguments to the possibility of consumer manipulation and difficulty in judging consumer tastes, as a means for self-interested actors to draw attention to non-existent symbolism and significance of goods in order achieve desired effect and sell products.

Furthermore, I used Alan Warde's 'Four Social Forces' theory of the influences of 'Individualization', 'Communification', 'Stylization' and 'Informalization' on modern consumption, and their connection to PDO, PGI and TSG policies. I finished discussing the limitations that could be presented by neglecting to appeal niche specialty products to average consumers, in that it could create a hierarchical divide between those who can afford to assert cultural and culinary superiority. As well, I echoed Warde's assertion that perhaps identity is being overemphasized in modern consumer practices and that more attention should be paid to other factors.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 203.

5. Perspective III: The Self as European

The third ‘Self’ assumes that citizens of European Member States view origin-linked products as important for the preservation of identity, tradition, cultural pluralism and cultural sovereignty both inside and outside the European Union. Thus, citizens trust that they are in the best interest of the economic and cultural well being of the continent as a whole in order to counter the homogenizing forces of globalization. Therefore, citizens are willing to allow policies such as PDO, PGI and TSG’s to be centrally harmonized and managed by the European Commission on an international level.

5.1. Fading Nations, Emerging Europe

The European Union is an example of one of the most important, unique and influential feature of today’s world, the internationalization of national economic, social and cultural policies.²⁹⁹ Anthony Giddens believes the EU is the “...most important and promising experiment in transnational governance now going on.”³⁰⁰ Regarding transnational policy coordination, PDO, PGI and TSG schemes are one example of the attempt to harmonize national origin regulation policies on a European level, thereby simplifying processes and strengthening them for global competition. With further European integration, State jurisdiction has been lessened and the people of Europe are increasingly influenced by the European Union. National sovereignty has been narrowed, though not forgotten, and regionalism contributes further to the eroding of the nation-state.³⁰¹ The nature of weakened state control has been amplified by increasing economic and cultural interdependency of governments all over the world. Thus, the power and effectiveness of the State is reduced, unable to control the huge flows of goods and ideas into their borders. States have therefore become obligated to submit a certain degree of sovereignty to larger units, such as the European Union, and coordinate more areas of control on an international level.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ Khor, *Rethinking Globalization*, 10-11.

³⁰⁰ Hutton, *On the Edge*, 51.

³⁰¹ James Anderson and James Goodman, “Regions, States and the European Union: Modernist Reaction or Postmodern Adaptation?” *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 2, No. 4 (1995), JSTOR, <www.jstor.org>, 601.

³⁰² David Held, “Democracy and the Global System,” in *Political Theory Today*, ed. David Held, 197-235 (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 197-235.

The fact that the power of the nation-state is fading has resulted in the strengthening and promoted existence of traditional specialty products through regional and local variations. This could be an effect of the so-called ‘Europe of the regions’ that many argue is replacing ‘Europe of the States.’³⁰³ Support for PDO, PGI and TSG policies shows that there is more interest in local and regional varieties of foodstuffs. The EU supports the policies for both economic and cultural reasons and they contribute further to the EU motto ‘Unity in Diversity’. They unify State policies to preserve small-scale and unique production derived from Europe’s numerous diverse locales, regions and nations.³⁰⁴ Perhaps as a shared and unique symbolic culture, origin products may spur feelings of affinity and togetherness among citizens of Europe, despite the multitude of differences.³⁰⁵

Subsequently, the EU as a whole must utilize this consolidation of State resources and legislation, as well as the eastern expansion and further integration, in order to compete in the rapidly globalizing world.³⁰⁶ Europeanization could present Europe as a unique and powerful affront to the threat of globalization.³⁰⁷ The implementation of PDO, PGI and TSG policies is strengthened by further European integration and the re-evaluation of identities. They are only one example of the slew of food safety legislation that will standardize the European food industry. But they are also some of the only food policies that could be considered as protecting the economic *and* the cultural well being of products, producers and cultural pluralism as a whole. Other currently discussed topics on the agenda include issues like health, GMO’s, labeling and traceability, with further provisions being announced daily. The European Commission even announced an eighty-four-page proposal consisting of fifty-three articles outlining key information that must be present on pre-packaged products and restaurant foods. This includes allergens and fat, salt and carbohydrate information that must be clearly represented on a label, more than that of marketing and design features.³⁰⁸ The European Union is clearly motivated by a desire to help consumers make good choices, while at the same time

³⁰³ Anderson, “Regions, States and the European Union,” 601.

³⁰⁴ Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity*, 98.

³⁰⁵ Niznik, “European Culture in a Global Perspective,” 246.

³⁰⁶ Gerhard Wagner, “Nationalism and Cultural Memory in Poland: The European Union Turns East,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* Vol. 17, No. 2 (2003), JSTOR, <www.jstor.org>, 191.

³⁰⁷ Niznik, “European Culture in a Global Perspective,” 246.

³⁰⁸ “Proposal for a regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on the provision of food information to consumers,” *European Commission*, 30 Jan. 2008, <http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm>, (accessed on November 05, 2009).

protecting certain products and traditions from extinction. It could also be a way for them to help people promote lesser-known regional specialties on the “cultural world map.”³⁰⁹

5.1.1. Critical Analysis: To Be or Not to Be...European

The influence of individual nation-states is fading and many people in Europe are experiencing what Polly Toynbee calls “patriotic panic,” the loss of national identity from Europeanization.³¹⁰ I would argue that people are also facing a phenomenon of “culinary panic,” that runs parallel to the fear of increased EU control. But, opponents to PDO, PGI and TSG policies could argue that this should not matter since, as Benedict Anderson puts it, nations are imagined communities.³¹¹ Not only are nations imagined, they are also the result of cultural hybridization.³¹² Those invested in spreading ideologies of nationalism worked to present the nation socially, spatially and historically. Their arguments were given as timeless facts, both real and meaningful. Stories were told of the nation, of triumph, struggle and common experience. Assertions were constantly made about national character and new symbols invented to collectively express the existence of the nation. Myths and legends were also revived to give it originality.

Marc Jacobs and Jean Fraikin write that nations are ‘born’ as soon as a certain number of people declare they exist.³¹³ The same goes for national cuisine. The decisive formation of nation states led to histories with glorified heroes, legends, languages, traditions, sites and symbols.³¹⁴ National cuisines and culinary specialties were among these features. New states crafted their cuisines through distinguishing themselves from others and reevaluating their traditions.³¹⁵ The same goes for the creation of regions. David Bell and Gill Valentine state, “Regions differ because people have made them so.”³¹⁶ Thus, regional cuisines and products are another example of invented traditions that are overloaded with meaning, often romanticized, politicized and

³⁰⁹ Peter Scholliers ed., *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe Since the Middle Ages* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), Introduction, 4.

³¹⁰ Polly Toynbee, “Who’s afraid of Global Culture?” in *On the Edge: Living With Global Capitalism*, ed. Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens, 191-212 (London: Jonathon Cape, 2000), 197.

³¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

³¹² Waters, *Globalization*, 125.

³¹³ Jacobs, “Belgium,” 75.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ Bell, *Consuming geographies*, 153.

patriotically defended.³¹⁷ By selling regional products and cuisines, regional distinctiveness is given a main role amidst further European integration and a growing global consumerism.³¹⁸ Thus, the impetus for PDO, PGI and TSG policies could have been based on a reaction against European and global ‘others’ rather than a well thought out attempt to protect cultural identity.

With the lessened power of nations, is it possible that there will be a new “United States of Europe?”³¹⁹ Study of the European Union is problematic because it is lacking in meaningful symbols and a sense of identity and belonging to Europe, despite its increased role in the lives of citizens. There are no foods that are symbolic of Europe as a whole, but only Europe as a collection of Member States. Though there is a new and deep focus on culture, the idea of ‘Europeanness’ is the product of a political and economic union, and it is debatable whether this concept will ever be truly meaningful.³²⁰ Therefore, PDO, PGI and TSG policies can only be viewed as a European attempt to protect and appease interested nation-states and not a symbol of the individual self’s acceptance of a European identity.

To continue, many problems have arisen through further EU integration and the discussion of what exactly constitutes Europe, both geographically and culturally. Joining ‘Europe’ always leads to questions of identity, while talk of ‘Europe’ always leads to a discussion of persisting national and local identities, through which a European identity would be hard pressed to surface.³²¹ The popular acceptance of EU expansion has declined in Western Europe, where economic and social fears persist, as well as Eastern Europe, where political and national sovereignty is an issue.³²² The modernization of the EU is seen by many countries as an attractive opportunity, but looked at by others as a negative, materialistic and capitalistic force. This has led to the defense and reinforcement of cultural and national identities.³²³

³¹⁷ Ibid., 151-152.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 161.

³¹⁹ T.R. Reid, *The United States of Europe: From the Euro to Eurovision-The superpower nobody talks about* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2004).

³²⁰ Stacia E. Zabusky, “Food, National Identity, and Emergent Europeanness at the European Space Agency,” in *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson, 203-236 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi B.V., 2006), 209.

³²¹ Menno Spiering, “Food, Phagophobia and English National Identity,” in *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson, 31-48 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi B.V., 2006), 42 and Zabusky, “Food, National Identity,” 210.

³²² Wagner, “Nationalism and Cultural Memory in Poland,” 191.

³²³ Ibid., 192.

The EU comes at a time when local, regional and national identities are being questioned within a united Europe.³²⁴ With that the European paradox emerges: with the disappearance of borders, old and new identifications are reaffirmed, discovered and even invented.³²⁵ From this perspective, food and identity become "...like the 'Euro'-a single common discursive currency through which to debate Europeanness and the implications of economic globalization at the beginning of the twenty-first century."³²⁶

5.1.2. Critical Analysis: Food and Euroscepticism

The European Union may have devoted itself to the protection of foodstuffs, but many people believe that the EU has ulterior, self-interested motives guiding its decisions. New European food legislation and restrictions make people uncertain about not only rising prices, but their national identities, providing them with reasons to be opposed to further EU integration.³²⁷ There is a presence of food and drink related issues in national media all over Europe, as attempts are being made to reinvigorate or reinvent an interest in the food of nations, regions and localities. The media also works to publicize the threat of EU and are sponsored by individuals, organizations and governments.³²⁸ Examples from a few European countries will be given, including the UK, Italy and Croatia.

In the UK, the press releases scare stories about the invasion of the EU into everyday life. Of one hundred and twenty-nine stories devoted to this topic between 1995 and 2004, thirty percent concerned food and drink. Many issues have been targeted including EU threats to milk in bottles and the traditional production of cheese, mince pies and crisps.³²⁹ The British *Sun* newspaper also published an article describing the EU as a "beast, which aims to devour our national identity."³³⁰ This was demonstrated by illustrations of the UK being swallowed by the European 'beast' and continuous imagery of Europe 'eating' or 'devouring' it.³³¹ As well, the UK

³²⁴ Castellanos, "Food Fights at the EU Table," 182.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 198.

³²⁶ Alison Leitch, "Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity," in *Food and Culture: A Reader 2nd Edition*, ed. Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, 381-399 (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 384.

³²⁷ Spiering, "Food, Phagophobia and English National Identity," 42.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

Independence Party website states that the “future of ‘Britishness is at stake.’”³³² Typical English fare is in danger, and Eurosceptic campaigns abound.³³³

The same phenomenon is present in the case of Italy. Italians are increasingly skeptical about the EU’s role in food regulation. They see it as an attack on the Italian way of life.³³⁴ In comparison to other European states, Italians often lack a feeling of national devotion, yet local loyalties survive. Italians therefore struggle in a contradictory situation that involves local ties and the desire to become more cosmopolitan, European and international, a feeling stemming from the need to be taken more seriously in the world.³³⁵ EU policies are said to neglect and ignore the cultural norms and balance of the delicate interplay between local and national identities in Italy.³³⁶ The idea of becoming more European is constantly questioned and the realization is setting in that Europe is not all it was cracked up to be.³³⁷ Any changes or homogenizing effects are often attributed to invading Europeanization.³³⁸ From the perspective of many Italians, the EU turns the pleasure of eating into a risk with its safety legislation.³³⁹ Thus, endangered PDO, PGI and TSG products are targeted because they are perceived to be in danger of extinction because of impending EU laws.

To continue, the idea of entering the EU is seen as unsettling for aspiring Members. An opinion poll conducted in Croatia in 2008 showed that ninety percent of those questioned favored joining the EU. Nonetheless, after learning that EU accession would endanger its national dish, the number decreased by half. The highly prized dish is a type of homemade cheese that is sold fresh in the markets and eaten by millions of Croats every day. EU food regulations would require small producers to transport the cheese in more sanitary conditions, creating huge cost burdens because of the acquisition of new equipment. Most small producers cannot afford this change and would instead be forced to stop production. A concerned government has even asked that there be a special provision under EU law that would allow these family producers to continue to bring their cheese to market. There is also a fear of other

³³² Ibid., 43.

³³³ Ibid., 46.

³³⁴ Castellanos, “Food Fights at the EU Table,” 181.

³³⁵ Ibid., 182.

³³⁶ Ibid., 191.

³³⁷ Ibid., 196.

³³⁸ Ibid., 194.

³³⁹ Ibid., 195.

products being banned under the EU, such as a traditionally produced and potent alcoholic drink called ‘raki’.³⁴⁰

The examples show that individuals are becoming more skeptical of the European Commission’s effort to present new food regulation policies as in the best interest of Europeans, creating another paradoxical situation. As an example of such policies, PDO, PGI and TSG could also create more skepticism of EU motives than reassurance of protection for cultural pluralism.

5.1.3. Critical Analysis: European Hegemony

Real or imagined, the cases concerning food and drink have made Eurosceptics out of many citizens, and EU enthusiasm has lessened. There is also a fear among Member States that European countries will be dominated by a hegemonic European Union that will invent or legitimize the existence of a continent-wide shared culture in order to fulfill its goals. I will show how Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony may be applied to PDO, PGI and TSG policies. It involves the presentation of particular interests of a social group as the universal interests of the society as a whole, through which a type of consensus is reached. In essence, according to the theory everyone appears to support the values, ideals and objectives and cultural and political meanings that integrate them into the recognized structure of power.³⁴¹ In this case, the structure of power is the European Union.

When applied to food culture, the dominant EU could be seen as using taste education, advertising and marketing to make PDO, PGI and TSG products seem like a natural of the varied cultures that inhabit the European continent. Centralizing the policies transcends all aspects of the culture, including histories, and they are legitimated as a value of European consensus. Furthermore, Gramsci discusses differences between what he refers to as ‘dominant’, ‘residual’ and ‘emergent’ forms that constitute the hegemony. ‘Residual’ cultures maintain old meanings and practices that are still influential, but not dominant, and ‘emergent’ cultures are propagated or incorporated by new dominant classes.³⁴² Thus, PDO, PGI and TSG’s could be considered “a privileged terrain of hegemony” that incorporates them as a new necessary feature of European

³⁴⁰ Harry De Quetteville, “EU Threat to National Dish Angers Croats,” *Telegraph.co.uk*, 13 July 2004, <www.Telegraph.co.uk>, (accessed on May 14, 2009).

³⁴¹ John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction, 4th Edition* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2006), 63-64.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

life that is grounded in old influential traditions.³⁴³ This is because they hold up certain interests with regards to local and origin-linked products as transcending local, regional, national and international boundaries. They are promoted as being in the best interest of Europe and the European consumer.

5.2. The Preservation of Taste, Tradition and Cultural Pluralism

Austria is described as “A country of people who like to eat.”³⁴⁴ This involves large quantities of food that, though perceptibly composed of unhealthy ingredients, mark their sophistication by various regional specialties. The Finns have a vivid and proud food culture that is transmitted by local foods that have historically acted as its culinary ambassadors.³⁴⁵ Spain has a particularly large number of restaurants per capita for every possible occasion, and as written by Diego Valverde Villena, “All Spaniards agree on the great importance of eating in their lives.”³⁴⁶ In Germany, particularistic traditions and regional cuisines continue to be popular and are emphasized in order to convince outsiders that there is more to the country than sauerkraut, beer and bratwurst.³⁴⁷ Moreover in Poland, the return to one’s roots through regional cuisine is said to nourish both one’s body and soul.³⁴⁸

Food is central to the discursive topic of Europeanness, and is one of the most important bearers of identity for people in Europe. In the UK, a 2004 BBC poll asked, “what people, places, activities or characteristics set your country apart?”³⁴⁹ Of those who answered, seventy-three percent stated roast beef, which has been a symbol of Britishness since the sixteenth century, Yorkshire pudding and fish and chips.³⁵⁰ In Italy, interviewers researching for an article about Italian identity asked people what they think unites Italy. Many people were questionable

³⁴³ Miller, *Cultural Policy*, 7.

³⁴⁴ Rainer Mmetzger, “Austria: Contemporary art and the essence of eating,” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 53-63 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005) 53.

³⁴⁵ Johanna Mäkelä, “Finland: Continuity and change: The Modernisation of the Finnish diet” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 147-156 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 149.

³⁴⁶ Villena, “Spain: Agape and conviviality at the table,” 411.

³⁴⁷ Gunther Hirschfelder and Gesa U. Schönberger, “Germany: Sauerkraut, beer and so much more,” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 183-194 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 183.

³⁴⁸ Kazimierz Krzysztofek, “Poland: Cuisine, culture and variety on the Wisla river,” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 333-346 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 342.

³⁴⁹ Spiering, “Food, Phagophobia and English National Identity,” 39.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 39, 46.

about it, but the first thing that materialized in their minds was ‘spaghetti’.³⁵¹ Italy is known for having a weak national identity, but despite their differences, food is one of the few uniting symbols for them.³⁵²

The European continent provides a dynamic variety of different foods, regional cuisines and an amazing array of culinary traditions and histories; and is consistently perceived both within and outside of the continent to embody a distinct and symbolic culture. Gerhard Wagner points to the success of European integration as being dependent on the awareness and acceptance of national differences. Europeans will never achieve an independent identity if they fail to understand the identities of their nations.³⁵³ He quotes Georg Herbert Mead who wrote “... we cannot attain international-mindedness until we have achieved a higher degree of national mindedness than we possess at present.”³⁵⁴ Mead said this in 1929, before the existence of the European Union. But Wagner believes this still holds true today.³⁵⁵

The process of European integration is focusing more on the ‘national mindedness’ of its foodstuffs, ensuring that national, regional and local tastes are taken into account “...in order to broaden the palate, and with it, the meaning of Europe.”³⁵⁶ For Europe Day during the Austrian presidency in 2006, cafés in each Member country displayed and promoted different types of cakes from all over the continent in order to demonstrate Europe’s remarkable diversity. The twenty-seven Member States were represented with a slogan “Sweet Europe, let yourself be seduced...”³⁵⁷ The Café d’Europe initiative was an attempt to inspire a feeling of solidarity in Europeans while still highlighting its culinary differences and sharing them with the whole continent. Austria's Foreign Minister Ursula Plassnik stated, “The best way to awaken affections for Europe is to discover the emotional and cultural diversity for yourself.”³⁵⁸

Additionally, through the organization of cultural policies, the EU is attempting to show that they are adding to a European heritage, not inventing a new one.³⁵⁹ The “Treaty of

³⁵¹ Castellanos, “Food Fights at the EU Table,” 184.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 182, 187.

³⁵³ Wagner, “Nationalism and Cultural Memory in Poland,” 194.

³⁵⁴ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 194.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ Zabusky, “Food, National Identity, and Emergent Europeanness,” 234.

³⁵⁷ Stephen Mulvey, “Cakes and Jokes at Café d’Europe,” *BBC News*, 15 May 2006, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4755659.stm>>, (accessed on December 04, 2009).

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ Miller, *Cultural Policy*, 181.

Maastricht on European Union” that went into force in 1993 has expressed the need to maintain national diversity and continental identity through a commitment to the preservation, promotion and protection of cultures.³⁶⁰ The EU is also responding to the growing interest in local and regional food products and dishes with policies such as PDO, PGI and TSG’s. The endangerment of traditional products may be a symptom of social, economic and cultural changes.³⁶¹ The idea that tastes, habits and other changes are occurring is unsettling to the average European because it signifies more than just a preference for other types of food. Taste can be defined as “people’s food preferences and capacity to discriminate aesthetically among different ingredients, dishes and cuisine.”³⁶² Or, I would add, simply what is pleasurable to the individual’s senses and palate. They are personal and shared group or culturally learned habits that form throughout one’s life, becoming second nature.³⁶³ By protecting the small artisan and specialty food producers, their products and the cultural landscapes they are attached to, the EU is showing that it is standing up to the global battle with fast food, capitalism, GMO’s and corporate food control that endanger the food cultures and identities of European citizens.³⁶⁴ It is, at the same time, providing a safe haven for cultural goods that may not otherwise survive.

At the same time, the existence of such policies turns the anonymous and vague journey of food from farm to plate into a connected experience. If people can be sure of the origin of their food, an affront will be launched against what farmer Wendell Berry poetically refers to as the ideal corporate customer today, the “industrial eater...who does not know that eating is an agricultural act, who no longer knows or imagines the connections between eating and the land, and who therefore is necessarily passive and uncritical.”³⁶⁵ New movements are surfacing including the *Organisation for an International Geographical Indications Network* (OriGIn), that promotes GI linked foodstuffs and the International Slow Food Movement that began in Italy.³⁶⁶ In Britain, “Taste of the West” part of “Food from Britain” helps small specialty producers market and increases the quality and value of products, contributing to local

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 180.

³⁶¹ Stephen Mennell, “Conclusions-Culinary transitions in Europe: an overview,” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 469-488 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 470.

³⁶² Ibid., 469.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Leitch, “Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat,” 394.

³⁶⁵ Quoted in Belasco, *Introduction-Food Nations*, 9.

³⁶⁶ “Organisation for an International Geographical Indications,” *OriGIn*, 2005, <<http://www.origin-gi.com/index.php>>, (accessed on October 30, 2009).

employment and interest in regional associations.³⁶⁷ In addition, in Poland regional cuisines are starting to be catalogued and the newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* is trying to inform Poles about the issues in the move to preserve regional and local foods.³⁶⁸

As well, certain circumstances have surfaced that could legitimize the EU's measures to protect European foodstuffs. Many foreign cultural products have an advantage over smaller ventures in European countries. PDO, PGI and TSG policies help small producers compete equally. They also give a feeling of control and confidence over the affairs of smallholders and consumers alike. There is also a danger of Europe being flooded with cheap cultural imports that proclaim to be originals and only dominate because of their cheap popularity.³⁶⁹ Author Parekh Bhikhu believes that "Fostering good taste and cultural sophistication is a worthwhile public objective and may require appropriate restrictions."³⁷⁰ Therefore PDO, PGI and TSG's present a valid and necessary move to preserve the rich content of local specialty goods in order to develop local talents, economic interests, employment and pride throughout the continent.³⁷¹

5.2.1. Critical Analysis: Regional Disparities

The European Union is committed to harmonizing PDO, PGI and TSG policies on a European level while continuing to highlight regional distinctions. However, the particularistic features of European nations are still being overlooked in favor of countries with more established interests in the importance of origin as an important indicator of quality and authenticity. Countries such as Italy and France have long ties with the conception of connecting food to a distinct place. However, for other countries, regionalism is less of a concern and this strong tie has been substituted by the anonymity of foodstuffs.³⁷² This difference is obvious when comparing the number of already registered PDO, PGI and TSG products. An article in *Deutsche Welle* in August of 2008 showed Italy with the most designations at one hundred and sixty-nine. France was second with one hundred and fifty-six, followed by Spain, Portugal and Greece. Of all the products listed the Mediterranean countries comprise six hundred and twenty-eight of the seven hundred and eighty-two entries. When heading north, Britain, Ireland, the Benelux and

³⁶⁷ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 193.

³⁶⁸ Krzysztofek, "Poland," 343.

³⁶⁹ Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity*, 199-201.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 201.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² Morgan, *Worlds of Food*, Introduction, 4.

Scandinavian countries had only fifty-six. Germany had a total of sixty-two, but twelve are beers and twenty-four are mineral waters.³⁷³

Additionally, Europanel opinion polls show large differences in perceptions of the quality of products in the various European countries. The importance of the ‘natural’ character of a product, for instance, is in first place for determining quality in Spain, second in France and Greece, and less important for other countries. Studies showed that this aligns with the emphasis southern countries place on quality as derived from non-industrial production. Polls also showed that only six percent of Europeans recognized PDO abbreviations. In France, sixty-five percent recognize AOC labels, eighty-percent of Italians recognize established DOC origin protection and only two-percent of Swedes had ever heard of PDO’s. The small amount of European consumer surveys that have been performed reflect the national differences in terms of already established organizations and regulatory traditions for safe guarding the names of origin products, which are present mainly in southern European countries.³⁷⁴

The risk of centralizing PDO, PGI and TSG policies is that it reigns over countries that may otherwise not be interested in such legal protection. Certain countries may become more skeptical or resentful of further European initiatives. This idea may be examined further by the lengthy legal struggle over the rights to ‘Feta’ cheese. The official battle began in 1996, awarding rights of the name to Greece. Greek ‘Feta’ must be composed of all sheep’s milk, or the correct ratio of sheep and goat’s milk. Special codes declare that it must be aged for two months in environmentally controlled chambers using no preservatives. Archaeologists have found evidence that ‘Feta’ has been produced this way in Greece since the times of the *Odyssey*, though it would be difficult to know what they called it.³⁷⁵

After the initial decision to certify ‘Feta’, it was overturned three years later in response to angry French, German and Danish producers. Denmark produces more of the cheese than Greece, and has been doing so since the 1930’s. Germany has legally produced it since 1985. In 2002 Germany and Denmark, supported by France and the UK, argued against Greece’s assertion that ‘Feta’ had not become a generic product name and applied for a total annulment of

³⁷³ “European Union Makes a Meal of Regional Treats.”

³⁷⁴ Barjolle, “PDO, PGI and TSG Products,” 39.

³⁷⁵ “Will the Real Feta Cheese Please Stand Up?” *DW-World.de*, 18 Oct. 2002, <<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,656607,00.html>>, (accessed on October 29, 2009).

the designation.³⁷⁶ A British producer from *Shepherds Purses Cheeses* in the UK also joined the opposition against the rights to ‘Feta’.³⁷⁷ A decision about the cheese was not reached again until 2005. The court ruled that many producers use labels that create a connection with the Greek origins of ‘Feta’ and citizens of Europe still view it as derived from Greece.³⁷⁸

Though this conflict was resolved, the battle shows that many European countries have developed traditions borrowed from other Member States, and are not willing to easily give them up. Such rulings seem to forget that new identities and cultural production have been formed from producing ‘Feta’ cheese in countries outside Greece. This situation could be viewed as an attack from a meddling European Union, favoring the cultural tradition of Greece and ignoring that of other countries that have adapted it to their own tastes and procedures. Rulings such as these could also risk alienating Member States from one another, rather than bringing them closer together. As was already discussed, many countries have more well-developed systems for managing GI’s, and are well prepared and motivated to defend them. They also have the advantage of warmer climates that are hospitable to many plant species and modes of production that are absent in, say, northern countries who ultimately have to look elsewhere for certain types of goods.

The previous cases show varying interest concerning PDO, PGI and TSG policies between European countries, and the legal conflict that has erupted because of it. However, it must be noted that differences also exist at the regional level, amongst producers themselves. In June of 2009, *BBC News* reported that the ‘Pizza Napolitana’, an ancient and important culinary tradition, was declared an Italian regional specialty. The True Neapolitan Pizza Association (*Associazione Vera Pizza Napoletana*) laid out rules as to the exact measurements and ingredients that must be used in order to use the term. The director of the organization has said that they will take anyone to court for breaking the rules, for not making the pizza as it ‘should’ be made. The ingredients, including San Marzano tomatoes and buffalo mozzarella, must all come from the Campania region and be baked in a wood-fired oven for less than two minutes. These ingredients are now at the center of a dispute that asks, are these really the *true* ingredients

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ “Feta-compli for big cheese name,” *BBC News*, 20 Apr. 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/north_yorkshire/6606779.stm>, (accessed on May 14, 2009).

³⁷⁸ Ahmed ElAmin, “Feta ruling emphasizes danger of branding local foods,” *Foodnavigator.com*, 26. Oct. 2005, <www.foodnavigator.com>, (accessed on October 29, 2009).

of ‘Pizza Napolitana’? Over time the pizza has been altered. The article states that the *Da Michele* restaurant, which has been creating them since the nineteenth century, makes them bigger, uses cheaper oil and even a different type of cheese.³⁷⁹ Along with Member State disputes, it is instances like these that serve to further discredit the actual necessity and legitimacy of PDO, PGI and TSG policies. If producers themselves cannot agree, one may wonder if the policies are merely supporting those who are the most persistent and will reap the most benefits from them. If it is known that ingredients and practices change over time to produce an equally delicious outcome that is accepted by the population, then these types of situations should be examined further.

5.2.2. Critical Analysis: Differing Tastes

The promotion of PDO, PGI and TSG policies supposes that all European countries share in parallel standards of taste. However, opposing arguments demonstrate that this is not the case. Again, let me reiterate that taste refers to food preferences and one’s ability to differentiate among ingredients, dishes and cuisines.³⁸⁰ It is not a fact that each person appreciates the *terroir* qualities of products from other European countries. PDO, PGI and TSG policies suggest that certain tastes that connect quality to a place of origin can be expressed as being legitimate and become part of the public sphere. But as expressed by Toby Miller and George Yúdice, “The tasteful citizen has...never been universal in practice.”³⁸¹ This is quite evident when researching the connection between food and identity with various European countries. By using examples from France, Italy, Finland, the Netherlands and Norway, I will illustrate the differences in perceptions of taste across Europe.

In France, children are taught from a young age to appreciate the distinct regions and flavors of French foods as connected with their own unique identity. Wendy Leynse states that they are being “Socialize[d]...to become informed ‘situated’ eaters.”³⁸² Children are taken on field trips to meet producers, learn about production, taste different foods and explore different landscapes.³⁸³ Leynse participated in a four-day bicycle fieldtrip in which the kids learned about

³⁷⁹ Christian Fraser, “Protection for pizza sparks row in Naples,” *BBC News*, 05 Jun. 2008, <<http://www.bbcnews.co.uk/2/hi/7435480.htm>>, (accessed on May 10, 2009).

³⁸⁰ Mennell, “Conclusions,” 469.

³⁸¹ Miller, *Cultural Policy*, 12.

³⁸² Leynse, “Journeys Through ‘Ingestible Topography,’” 131.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 130.

French strawberries, white asparagus and red wine.³⁸⁴ These discovery field trips are quite common in France.³⁸⁵ The focus on geography was clear, its regions and terrain has always been part of the school core curriculum.³⁸⁶ French cuisine has set models and standards throughout the Europe and the world for eating. This is a history to be proud of and one that is ingrained in French children from a young age and emphasized throughout their lives.³⁸⁷

In addition, Italy has a special connection with a certain idea of taste and its link to place of origin. It is generally agreed and defended in Italy that they eat better than other Europeans.³⁸⁸ Italians learn from an early age the role of food in their culture. They are encouraged to develop their own individual tastes; compare what they do and do not like in a meal; and recognize the pleasure of food as a fundamental aspect for the health of the body *and* the soul.³⁸⁹ As discussed earlier, national identity is weaker in Italy and is therefore supplemented by a strong attachment to localism that is supported by the wide usage of local products and traditional practices.³⁹⁰

Moreover, an interesting battle of taste also took place at the EU Summit in December 2002 between Italy and Finland. This instance has been known from then on as the ‘Prosciutto War’.³⁹¹ The topic of dispute was the future location of the European Food Safety Agency, with Parma and Helsinki as top contenders. Former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi was shocked when it appeared that the Finns would be the winners. Berlusconi asserted the Italian consensus of culinary superiority when he exclaimed, “Parma is synonymous with good cuisine! The Finns don’t even know what prosciutto is. I cannot accept this!”³⁹² After the outburst, six months went by, during which time the argument was not forgotten. Articles appeared in one of the main Finnish newspapers with a full-page advertisement that expressed “Prosciutto is Ham. Now 1.2 million Finns know this. Is that enough for Berlusconi?”³⁹³ The Italians would eventually win the title, but this story is only one displaying the perceived importance of cuisine for one’s identity, and differences between southern and northern European culinary tastes.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 133.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 144.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 143.

³⁸⁷ Mennell, “Conclusions,” 476.

³⁸⁸ Castellanos, “Food Fights at the EU Table,” 181.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 188.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 182.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 180.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid,

When exploring the North, many articles also show a very different approach to taste. For the Dutch, Michael Wintle admits that they are “food obsessed.”³⁹⁴ Though, the evolution of the Dutch diet can be seen in a more mixed and borrowed cosmopolitan light. Most Dutch have relied on products from outside the country rather than being particularly proud of ‘Dutch’ cuisine.³⁹⁵ The Dutch pride themselves on their multicultural tastes, which throughout history was emphasized by acquiring foreign ingredients and techniques.³⁹⁶ The Norwegians have also had a poor culinary reputation for hundreds of years. In the past, foreign visitors were warned about the poor food and drink they would encounter in the country, though they were often pleasantly surprised.³⁹⁷ Today, Norwegian cuisine is a combination of foods introduced and altered. Foods originating from far away such as pizza and pasta have replaced many traditional dishes. Variety, ethnic shops and fast food have led to a change in cuisine, and traditions are generally kept alive for holiday celebrations, rather than in everyday lifestyle.³⁹⁸

Furthermore, in the Polish case, along with many other countries, traditional cuisine is often promoted as a draw for tourists and protected as a taste to suit a tourist’s desire for an authentic experience.³⁹⁹ Lower classes in Poland concentrated on holiday celebrations, rather than the everyday celebration of regional foods. Today they eat what is cheap, not necessarily what is regional or in good taste. Fast food filled a gap after the fall of the iron curtain, and only those with very strong feelings of cultural identity are said to actively support the survival of local cuisines.⁴⁰⁰ Poland is one country that is only just beginning to recognize the need for appellation policies such as PDO, PGI and TSG’s.

The purpose of the previous examples is to show that PDO, PGI and TSG policies could be emphasizing a particular quality measure of products as based on shared tastes from selected European countries. The policies ignore the regional disparities that are evident when comparing

³⁹⁴ Michael Wintle, “Diet and Modernization in the Netherlands During the Nineteenth and Early 20th Centuries,” in *Food and Culture: A Reader 2nd Edition*, ed. Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, 63-84 (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 63.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

³⁹⁶ Bert Natter, “Netherlands-Twenty-two minutes at the table,” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 311-318 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 317.

³⁹⁷ Henry Notaker, “Norway-Between innovation and tradition,” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 319-331 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 319.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 327-328.

³⁹⁹ Krzysztofek, “Poland,” 341.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 342.

countries from the North and South of Europe. It is admitted in a Polish saying that “The hay smells different to a lover and to a horse.”⁴⁰¹ The secret to tastes will probably never be fully revealed and perhaps governments are not the best judges of taste, nor should they necessarily be trusted to promote it. According to Parekh Bhikhu, people should “...be wary of measures to protect society’s culture,” which sometimes is the result of “...false anxieties, or are engineered by vested interests and self-proclaimed guardians of national culture.”⁴⁰² Or in this case, a select number of shared national cultures that are heralded as guardians of all cultures in Europe.

5.2.3. Critical Analysis: History Overlooked

PDO, PGI and TSG schemes imply a suggested behavior and materialize the unity of regions and localities based on a sense of cultural specificities.⁴⁰³ However, the history of how these specificities were formed and how they relate to modern identities is commonly overlooked. Author Peter Scholliers notes that interest in identity only hit historians in the second half of the 1990s, but its presence has pervaded history. Few historians have searched for reasons why food was essential in constructing identities in the past, which contributes to how they are emphasized in the present.⁴⁰⁴ French naturalist Jean-Henri Fabre (1823-1915) wrote: “history celebrates the battlefields whereon we meet our death, but scorns to speak of the plowed fields whereby we thrive; it knows the names of the King’s bastards, but cannot tell us the origin of wheat.”⁴⁰⁵ I will again be presenting various examples from France, Italy, the Netherlands and Norway to better demonstrate that different historical experiences have led to varied tastes and interests in PDO, PGI and TSG policies.

There are long histories underlying certain countries to explain their affinity and support for origin products. For the French, this importance was highlighted in the construction of French identities through linking wine to the soil, which in turn led to the creation of AOC origin policies in the early 20th century. But there is even more to it than that. Gastronomy was vitally important for the development of French identity, and aristocratic chefs educated the middle

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 333.

⁴⁰² Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity*, 201, 199.

⁴⁰³ Miller, *Cultural Policy*, 21.

⁴⁰⁴ Scholliers, “Meals, Food Narratives,” 11-12.

⁴⁰⁵ Quoted in Belasco, *Food nations*, Introduction, 5.

classes about the concept of ‘good taste’.⁴⁰⁶ The French way of life guaranteed sophistication and superiority, and was copied by many throughout Europe.⁴⁰⁷ Eating good food was linked to the bettering of the self and to human progress, and chefs of the eighteenth and nineteenth century pursued a flavor that was influenced by the search for ‘edible gold’.⁴⁰⁸ After the French Revolution, the first elite food critics educated the bourgeoisie on fine food and drink, under the assumption that they lacked the criteria to do so themselves.⁴⁰⁹ Finally in 1923 and 1924, Austin de Croze organized a week of regional French gastronomy, attracting chefs from all over the country. Four years later a collection was made of regional cooking traditions and led to an emerging regional gastronomy that is being rediscovered today.⁴¹⁰

The Italians have an equally interesting history that might explain their tendency to prioritize local food products and traditions. The Mediterranean diet is considered to be a model of healthy and sophisticated eating, and as said before, many Italians agree that their cuisine is the best in Europe. But Paulo Sorcinelli writes about how the Italians were not always praised for their average eating habits. In earlier years, frugality was the norm and quantity was more important than quality, an idea that has taken the opposite turn today.⁴¹¹ It was only in 1891 when Pellegrino Artusi wrote *La scienza in cucina e l’arte di mandiare bene* or “The science of cooking and the art of eating well” that the focus turned towards pleasurable eating. This famous work helped unify regional cuisines and added certain dishes to the everyday menu, including potato gnocchi. As well, it was then that tomato sauce started to be used on pasta, when before they were eaten raw or used in meat, egg, fish and chicken dishes.⁴¹² However, the success of Italian food today is considered a given. In 1938 Italy was ranked eighteenth in Europe for quality of diet. This was further altered by the emphasis placed on influencing the Italian diet during the Fascist period, when an ‘Italian way of eating’ was founded.⁴¹³ This structured eating was based on products that could be exclusively found within Italian borders. Certain foods were

⁴⁰⁶ Jean-Pierre Poulain, “France-French gastronomy, French gastronomies,” in *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue*, ed. Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle, 157-169 (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), 159.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 160.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 164.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 167.

⁴¹¹ Paulo Sorcinelli, “Identification Process at Work: Virtues of the Italian Working-Class Diet in the First Half of the Twentieth Century,” in *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Scholliers, 81-97 (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 83.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 87.

greatly stressed and propaganda accounts were common. The goal was for Italians to unite around the table and only buy products from inside Italy.⁴¹⁴ The example is cited because it shows the power of States in using food to build national collective feelings.⁴¹⁵ This is not to say that Italians are still being influenced by a Fascist ideology or frugal diet, but that aspects of that history could account for their interest in local Italian products.

To go back to a discussion of the evolution of the Dutch diet, it is clear that their colonial and traveling history greatly influenced what they eat today. For the Norwegians, the lack of elite and nobility traditions or a middle class to further the existence of restaurants, all of which were present in France, could explain why their cuisine has always been influenced by foods coming from far away, rather than sticking to Norwegian regions.⁴¹⁶ One final point to make about these examples concerns the availability of literature that focuses on the culinary cultures, history and development of eating in various European countries. There is a plethora of resources to be found for the French or Italian cases, and the majority aligns with their modern support of PDO, PGI and TSG policies. Until recently, much less attention has been focused on countries that are less vocal in promoting local foods, such as the Netherlands and Norway, as central to their historical development and modern culture.

5.3. Chapter Summary

In chapter five, I illustrated important aspects of the self as European. I showed how the lessening power of nation-states has necessitated the involvement of the EU in coordinating national policies such as PDO, PGI and TSG's, in order to be competitive in a global arena. The frequent appearance of new food regulation policies shows that the EU is devoted to ensuring the well being of individuals and cultures. On the European arena, further EU integration has also strengthened local and regional affiliations and created a sphere where specialty products and cultural pluralism have a chance to survive modern social changes. However, I included various opposing arguments to the EU's supposition that PDO, PGI and TSG policies should be harmonized on a European level. I presented the argument that, since nations and regions are all the products of imaginary social constructs, this in itself should be enough to discredit the policies. As well, many individuals are not passively accepting the EU's involvement in their

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 86.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 95.

⁴¹⁶ Notaker, "Norway," 319.

daily lives and believe there are ulterior motives at work to create a homogenous European identity and erase unique culinary distinctiveness. I examined the continuous appearance of Euroscepticism in the media and discourse of various European countries and applied Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony to PDO, PGI and TSG policies.

Furthermore, in the second section I emphasized the importance of food cultures to individual Member States and the EU attempts to preserve its culinary diversity, while still unifying its resources. The EU is reassuring citizens that---through such programs as Café d'Europe and PDO, PGI and TSG policies---tastes, traditions and culinary cultures are being defended and promoted in the EU and abroad. At the same time, I presented evidence using examples and polls from various European countries that regional disparities of European nations are still being overlooked in favor of countries with more established interests in the importance of origin as an important indicator of quality and authenticity. I also included a court case that shows nations being pitted against one another because of these regional differences. Finally, I argued that European nations do not share in an origin-linked standard of taste or *terroir* and that these notions may be supported by differing historical experiences. I supported this argument by presenting examples of taste perceptions and historical foundations in multiple countries.

6. The Self as Victim of Globalization

The fourth assertion for the implementation of PDO, PGI and TSG policies is that the people of Europe view themselves as powerless to the global force that will ultimately homogenize and erase cultural pluralism, authenticity, tradition and food identities. The establishment and extension of the policies will mitigate this threat.

6.1. The Global Beast

“Global culture and its detritus wash up everywhere, nothing sacred, nothing wild, nothing authentic, original or primitive anymore”⁴¹⁷

-Polly Toynbee, 2001

The world is facing an identity crisis. A so-called “cultural earthquake” has hit each area of the globe, and each will respond in its own way.⁴¹⁸ The phenomenon of cultural globalization has been referred to as “The new world chaos.”⁴¹⁹ The fear of an emerging global culture wiping out all traces of uniqueness and personal identity is on the forefront of the minds of millions. Whereas in previous years this sense of self-doubt was inconceivable, many are suddenly faced with a debate about who they are. Author Polly Toynbee would diagnose this phenomenon as a case of “culture panic.”⁴²⁰ This panic causes deep pessimism about the future of culture and its descent into the homogenous bowels of a global digestive system, which excretes its contents to produce an unrecognizable, indistinctive form. Globalization affects almost every area of the planet, and Europe is no exception. There is a fear that has led the people of Europe to wonder about the extinction of distinct cultures within the context of, and opposition to, a growing global culture. A source of extreme discomfort, Europe “...strives for recognition of its specificity and uniqueness in order to prevent the perceived inevitable construction of a universal culture.”⁴²¹ For Europe, globalization is like an unwanted weed, growing wherever it pleases regardless of the variety of species it invades. The global weed, according to Jozef Niznik, “...pays no attention to specifics such as regions, ethnicity or nationalities.”⁴²²

⁴¹⁷ Toynbee, “Who’s afraid of Global Culture?” 192.

⁴¹⁸ Berger, *Many Globalizations*, 9.

⁴¹⁹ Waters, *Globalization*, 124-157.

⁴²⁰ Toynbee, “Who’s afraid of Global Culture?” 192.

⁴²¹ Niznik, *European Culture in a Global Perspective*, 243.

⁴²² *Ibid.*

The word ‘globalization’ tends to strike a nerve in recent public discourse. An extremely sensitive and emotional topic, it can be agreed that globalization is here to stay and we are facing a new stage in the development of history.⁴²³ While postmodernism was said to be the dominating concept of the 1980’s, globalization has surpassed it to become the dominating concept of the 1990’s and beyond.⁴²⁴ Author Malcolm Waters defines globalization as, “A social process in which the constraints of geography in social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding.”⁴²⁵ The world is becoming increasingly interdependent, and the all-encompassing inevitability is being recognized more and more as “Almost the new common sense.”⁴²⁶ Through economic, political and cultural changes, the global force becomes ever more powerful.⁴²⁷

Globalization is associated with amplified risks and threats to many areas of life, including food. No one knows what direction it will take in the future.⁴²⁸ French writer Vivienne Forrester predicts that it will cause mayhem and social disruption.⁴²⁹ The threat to food supplies will be indiscriminating and dangerous for both rich and poor, derived from health problems, the spread of disease, toxins and the unknown nature of genetically modified organisms.⁴³⁰ What is more, food culture, pluralism and personal identity are at risk. It was already established that food represents a vital part of one’s subjectivity and sense of self, and is an integral part of every culture. Food and culture go hand in hand, and a threat to one is simultaneously a threat to the other. The European Commission has recognized that without important adjustments, such as PDO, PGI and TSG policies, globalization will become “a brakeless train wrecking havoc.”⁴³¹

Should the global train continue on its present course, Vandana Shiva forecasts that the biggest threat to life will come from the pollution, contamination and control over food and water resources.⁴³² For PDO, PGI and TSG policies, one of the biggest threats to cultures could

⁴²³ Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash, “Globalization, Modernity and the Spatialization of Social Theory: An Introduction,” in *Global Modernities*, edited by Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, 1-24 (London: SAGE, 1995), 1.

⁴²⁴ Waters, *Globalization*, 1.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴²⁶ Hutton, *On the Edge*, 2.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, Preface, vii.

⁴²⁸ Waters, *Globalization*, 45.

⁴²⁹ Hutton, *On the Edge*, 2.

⁴³⁰ Waters, *Globalization*, 61.

⁴³¹ Mittelman, *Globalization Syndrome*, 235.

⁴³² Vandana Shiva, “The World on Edge,” in *On the Edge: Living With Global Capitalism*, ed. Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens, 112-129 (London: Jonathon Cape, 2000), 121.

be the endangerment and extinction of local specialty products. Specialty food producers continue to run small enterprises that use non-industrial technology and contribute to the well being of the natural and human environments of rural areas. But these diverse and small systems are being undermined by the global push for efficiency and mass production. Species are becoming extinct and overproduction is a continuous problem. Shiva presents an example that shows that India previously grew 200,000 varieties of rice, the U.S. had 7,000 different types of apples and the farmers of China cultivated 10,000 varieties of wheat.⁴³³ Europe's huge variety of cheeses, meats, fruits, vegetables and other goods are in danger of following the global extinction trend. Not to mention that life is being extinguished in the race to turn every aspect of the planet into something that can be marketed, traded and sold for profit. Shiva asserts that, "The reduction of all value to commercial value and the removal of all spiritual, ecological, cultural and social limits to exploitation is a process that is being brought to completion through globalization..."⁴³⁴

6.1.1. Critical Analysis: A Global History

It must be noted that globalization incites both intense pessimism and supportive optimism, each side often being exaggerated.⁴³⁵ Globalization is not new and throughout history societies have found ways to accept, reject, coexist with or synthesize it.⁴³⁶ Roland Robertson says that it even predates modernity and began in Europe in the 1400's. Since that time it has gone through various phases, culminating in the accelerated version we know today.⁴³⁷ Food has been part of this traveling history as well and has been transferred across continents by explorers, conquerors, colonizers, settlers, migrants and corporations.⁴³⁸

European powers once based their wealth and might on the exotic goods they procured.⁴³⁹ In the seventeenth century in Holland, one-third of all foodstuffs came from abroad. Further, in the nineteenth century food trade was already an integral part of the global economy. Finally, by 1913 food constituted twenty-seven percent of world exports.⁴⁴⁰ This migration of food was an

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 128.

⁴³⁵ Berger, *Many Globalizations*, 2.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Waters, *Globalization*, 43-45.

⁴³⁸ Döring, *Eating Culture*, 4.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 6.

important aspect of redefining ethnic relations, cultural identity and national characterizations.⁴⁴¹ As capitalism expanded, cultural institutions were transmitted all over the world. Malcolm Waters explains that no countries could maintain an autonomous national culture without referencing themselves to the highly regarded European culture, spread by new forms of transportation all over the globe.⁴⁴² To reiterate, no culinary cultures are pure because they have been a main part of the global experience throughout history. Threats to them are also subjectively perceived. Today, tourism helps maintain the flow of food. Rather than being a negative influence, tourism may even help to preserve specialty products as they are often promoted because they draw tourists with the lure of an ‘authentic’ cultural experience.

One must also consider the different histories of countries that are becoming increasingly in favor of PDO, PGI and TSG policies. Samuel Huntington describes the difference between ‘strong’ cultures such as China, Japan, India, France and ‘weak’ cultures, where he gives Africa as an example. Depending on their characterizations, certain countries in Europe may better adapt to origin policies or be more accepting of outside cultures. Take for example Germany. Many people are surprised to learn that Germany is a weak culture, when most would suppose it to be strong. This is because Germans are not willing to express as much cultural self-confidence for a fear of reawakened nationalism and conscious consideration of their traumatic and turbulent history. They therefore become more passive in the face of globalization. When comparing it to other European countries, such as France, this helps explain why Germany appears to be one of the most globalized or ‘Americanized’ countries in Europe. Regionalization is present but to a much lesser degree than countries such as Spain, France and the UK.⁴⁴³ These historical factors are crucial in determining why some countries accept PDO, PGI and TSG policies wholeheartedly and others are disinterested or sometimes skeptical.

6.1.2. Critical Analysis: The Autonomous Individual

⁴⁴⁰ Frank Trentmann, “Before Fair Trade: Empire, Free Trade and the Moral Economies of Food in the Modern World,” in *Food and Globalization: Consumption, Markets and Politics in the Modern World*, ed. Alexander Nützenadel and Frank Trentmann, 253-277 (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2008), 254.

⁴⁴¹ Nützenadel, *Food and Globalization*, 9.

⁴⁴² Waters, *Globalization*, 142-143.

⁴⁴³ Hansfried Kellner and Hans-Georg Söffner, “Cultural Globalization in Germany,” in *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*, ed. Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington, 119-145 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 119-145.

Another point about the supposed unstoppable global force is that people do not always accept everything that comes with it. Peter Berger and Samuel Huntington make a fundamental point when they say "...the idea of a mindless global homogenization greatly underestimates the capacity of human beings to be creative and innovative in the face of cultural challenges."⁴⁴⁴ People do not passively accept products and their symbolism from the other parts of the world, and everyone interprets goods differently. In this respect, "...although goods, technologies, and symbols created within the US certainly 'carry' a great deal of cultural baggage as they cross borders, they are often, upon reception, subject to the forces of indigenization and hybridization."⁴⁴⁵ This is a fundamental paradox of globalization, which seeks to control but at the same time enhance local reactions.⁴⁴⁶ It recognizes that people are ultimately autonomous and rational individuals.⁴⁴⁷

Further, global forces do not coerce but rather work to attract customers. Individuals still exercise choice and are the final judges of meaning and distinction in the products they acquire. Thus, it is the people who set the standards that a successful business needs to meet in order to prosper.⁴⁴⁸ The extent of change is also exaggerated, and sociologists state that it is very difficult to change fundamental eating habits rapidly.⁴⁴⁹ Globalization does challenge cultural pluralism. But, the likelihood is that most people will take a middle stance on the issue, somewhere between continuous relativism and reactive fanaticism.⁴⁵⁰

6.2. America: Feeding the Beast

The United States is one of the main opponents to the extension of PDO, PGI and TSG's worldwide and currently presents the biggest threat to their success. Many articles dedicated to the extension of the policies pit the US against Europe, or describe how the US should take a European look on the matter, or vice versa. Thus, as a main driving force of globalization generic American products parading as their authentic counterparts are continuously symbolic of a

⁴⁴⁴ Berger, *Many Globalizations*, 11.

⁴⁴⁵ Hunter, "In the Vanguard of Globalization," 325.

⁴⁴⁶ Waters, *Globalization*, 144.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 339.

⁴⁴⁸ Melissa L. Caldwell, "Domesticating the French Fry: McDonald's and Consumerism in Moscow," in *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader*, ed. James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell, 180-192 (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 192.

⁴⁴⁹ Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste*, 58.

⁴⁵⁰ Berger, *Many Globalizations*, 16.

greater move to erase cultural pluralism and culinary uniqueness. There is much talk about the phenomenon of ‘cultural globalization’, which is often a synonym for the ‘Americanization’ of the world.⁴⁵¹ During the Seattle WTO protests in December 1999, violent conflict erupted over issues concerning global capitalism. One protestor described the U.S. as “the belly of the beast [globalization],” dominating the world and choosing profits over the well being of human beings.⁴⁵² It is the will of the global beast, being fed by American might, to ensure its survival by promoting efficiency, expanding markets, making profits and ensuring maximal benefits.⁴⁵³ With regards to culinary cultures, Americanization has also been described as the ‘destruction of taste’ and the industrial and indiscriminating nature of the American diet is used as a symbol for the downfall of capitalism and modernization.⁴⁵⁴ What cannot be denied is that the emerging global culture is heavily laden with products, ideas and values emanating from America.⁴⁵⁵ As a result, much of the debate about cultural globalization is also a debate about an infesting American culture.⁴⁵⁶

With no rival in sight, America is often cited as the source for the intellectual, cultural and moral decline of the world, spreading to destabilize other cultures as “...an [American] economic and political hegemony, with its cultural consequences being a homogenized world resembling a sort of metastasized Disneyland (charmingly called a “cultural Chernobyl” by a French government official.”⁴⁵⁷ Americans are also considered to be the most important ‘globalizers’, traveling easily from place to place in a type of protective ‘bubble’. In their eyes, the world is appreciative of their presence and influence. The world is seen through this ‘bubble’, causing them to be oblivious to the effects they have on the cultures they invade.⁴⁵⁸ This could be due to the fact that many working in international business have no face-to-face contact with local cultures, instead dealing with elites and political leaders and staying in hotels or airports.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵¹ Toynbee, “Who’s afraid of Global Culture?” 191.

⁴⁵² James Davison Hunter and Joshua Yates, “In the Vanguard of Globalization: The World of American Globalizers,” in *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*, ed. Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington, 323-357 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 327.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 340.

⁴⁵⁴ Belasco, *Food Nations*, Introduction, 5.

⁴⁵⁵ Berger, *Many Globalizations*, 2.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁵⁹ Hunter, “In the Vanguard of Globalization,” 337.

Americans could also be considered one of the world's most important global product 'thieves' in that they try to use the names and reputations of ethnic products to their own advantage. This pilfering can be seen on the shelves of American supermarkets, in delis, and restaurants where fraudulent Parma Hams, Parmesan and Feta cheeses, Pizza Napolitanas and other European protected products are mimicked for profit, suffering from the absence of worldwide protection. This is why the extension of PDO, PGI and TSG policies worldwide has been cited as crucial for protecting this. America is not only stealing ideas from Europe, but countries all over the globe. In one example, a biologist in Texas invented a more productive type of Indian basmati rice, calling it 'Texmati'. Indians were angry that a product of Indian culture was being stolen. As well, another example shows the same problem occurring in 1995. The U.S. attempted to patent Turmeric spice for medical use, claiming full legal rights for a spice that is derived from India. India responded by hiring different legal experts to fight the attempt in international courts. The case was withdrawn, but it is evident that a new international expertise must be developed that transcends state boundaries and can deal with these types of issues.⁴⁶⁰ If the policies are extended, every country in the world will be able to protect their cultural goods globally.

6.2.1. Critical Analysis: Cooperation Globalization

In response to the idea of globalization as a purely American-based phenomenon, Anthony Giddens explains that globalization cannot be purely an American or Western dominated concept because it is indicative of a complex set of changes, not a single one. No single country, or group of them, could control it entirely by themselves.⁴⁶¹ These countries could be considered dominant 'from above', controlling finance, trade and technology. However, he believes NGOs, interest groups and other pressure groups that act as a sort of check system on governments and corporations relatively balance them from below.⁴⁶² This is also noticed in the rise of local and regionalism in many countries and support for cultural protection policies. Several companies also suggest that America is not trying to conquer the world, but merely offer products that transcend borders and cultures. They see the world only as a free market open to a

⁴⁶⁰ Tulasi Srinivas, "'A Tryst with Destiny': The Indian Case of Cultural Globalization," in *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*, ed. Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington, 89-116 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 112.

⁴⁶¹ Hutton, *On the Edge*, 46.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 47.

first come first served basis.⁴⁶³ It could also be the case that those benefiting less from globalization turn their frustrations into anti-capitalist and anti-American feelings. Berger and Huntington explain that sometimes, “Social resentments can be channeled into cultural resistances.”⁴⁶⁴ This is evident in many cases where McDonald’s is used as a hated symbol of Americanization, or when PDO, PGI and TSG policies are heralded as symbols of endangered cultures.

Next, John Storey expresses that there are problems with associating globalization with the spread of American ideology, and this can be applied to PDO, PGI and TSG policies. Firstly, it is assumed that economic success is the same as cultural success by operating with a “reductive concept of culture.”⁴⁶⁵ This concept suggests that culture is only composed of material goods and commodities, such as generic and imitation food products versus authentic and specialty handmade ones. Many objects may be used to promote, say, Americanism, but the penetration of markets cannot be assumed to be a coercive form of Americanization.⁴⁶⁶ Products are not only derived from America but all over the world. German products can be found in Polish stores, Chinese products in French stores and Italian products in Belgian stores, to name a few.

Second, there is an assumption that commodities possess single innate value or symbols that are imposed on passive and unsuspecting consumers. This means that weaker local cultures will be powerless in the face of a dominant global force. However, consumers are not passive and meanings are not straightforwardly interpreted.⁴⁶⁷ In the last chapter I discussed the regional disparities of interest in PDO, PGI and TSG policies. The variations between countries are also a factor in determining whether food products are subjected to negative or positive symbolic interpretations. Returning to the *Parmigiano-Reggiano* example, in Italy generic Parmesan is an attack on Italian culture while in Germany it was argued to be only another generic brand of hard cheese. This aspect also functions based on a limited understanding of what is actually considered ‘foreign.’ For example, it assumes that foreign means differences in nationalities and does not question other aspects like class, ethnicity, etc. Objects imported from other countries

⁴⁶³ Hunter, “In the Vanguard of Globalization,” 350-351.

⁴⁶⁴ Berger, *Many Globalizations*, 15-16.

⁴⁶⁵ Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, 147.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

may be less foreign than differences that already exist in the country from the perspective of class, generation or race.⁴⁶⁸

Finally, Storey's third point assumes that American culture is 'monolithic'. However, as we have discussed in previous chapters, no cultures are pure. America is a mix of hundreds of different ethnicities, and even has the third largest Hispanic population in the world. This assumption overlooks non-Western influences and Western influences on each other, including the influence of European nations on each other. It does not factor in the reception of Western culture, or the fact that much that is exported is already mixed. People choose what they will consume and gain different insights into what they see as 'American' culture.⁴⁶⁹ Globalization is much more complex than simply being the result of a coercive American culture.⁴⁷⁰

To continue on a different note, an explanation for the targeting of America as a symbol of cultural globalization may be derived from its history. As one of the main opponents to PDO, PGI and TSG policies, Paul Heike expresses that the US has been the target of a so-called war on culture since its early beginnings. Nineteenth century writers critiqued different aspects of American life, with a specific target focused in the culinary sphere.⁴⁷¹ Frances Trollope popularized critiques of American society and manners in 1832 England in her book *Domestic Manners of the Americans*. The book received positive acclaim and was widely received and translated into many different languages. In fact, her last name led to the creation of a new English verb, "to trollope" or "to abuse the American nation."⁴⁷²

In the book, culinary issues were used as a way to relate the strange cultural customs and manners that European travelers observed in the new country to other traits of American character, social and political systems and a frame of reference to speculate about the culture as a whole.⁴⁷³ This is still being seen today, with the usage of fast food as a well-known symbol of American culture and erasure of culinary distinctiveness in the countries it invades. American

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 148.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 150.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 151.

⁴⁷¹ Heike Paul, "Tasting America: Food, Race, and Anti-American Sentiments in Nineteenth-Century German-American Writing," in *Eating Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Food*, ed. Tobias Döring, Markus Heide and Susanne Mühleisen, 109-132 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003), 109.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 110.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 111-112.

manners were referred to as ‘unpolished’, ‘chaotic’ and ‘unordered’ as showing ‘culinary immaturity’.⁴⁷⁴ A particular passage written by Ferdinand Kürnberger illustrates this quite well:

“In both cases the sight of such a table appeared as outlandish, yes, truly overwhelming, brusque. Imagination was cut off from all perspectives and forced to take in the whole area of pleasures at one glance; instead of the courses and pauses of a European dinner which proceed, just as chapters of a novel, just as acts of a drama with increasing suspense and which allow the guest poised between hope, illusion, surprise, even fear and remorse the interesting play of his human passions. [...] Here, appetite did not run the risk of starving from misunderstood deeper thoughts [...]: the quick deed, the sharp immediacy of American stood out in this arrangement”⁴⁷⁵

One may notice the way he dramatizes and poeticizes the European meal and swift carelessness of the Americans. These standards were based on a European tradition that at the time defined a person as part of a certain class, group or nation.⁴⁷⁶ In fact, Kürnberger had never been to America but used the experience of another to provide material for his book, *Der Amerikamüde (The Tired American)*. He also plagiarized from German literature on America. But, the novel was still a success and possibly indicative of emerging anti-American sentiments of society and culture.⁴⁷⁷

Descriptions of eating as part of work and engagement could lead one to interpret it as a sign of American modernity. One writer explains how Americans ate in silence, choked down and gorged their food as fast as they possibly could. This haste is explained in the interest of time because in America, time was money and every man relied on himself.⁴⁷⁸ Yet, the consistent criticism and dismissal of American manners and eating culture from written accounts points to more than an elitist, arrogant and culturally superior European mindset. It addresses a larger picture and maintenance of cultural otherness and perceptions of early American society and modernity.⁴⁷⁹ This is a modernity and cultural otherness that people are still finding it difficult to identify with. But instead of convivial practices at the table, non-industrial handmade specialty products are being used to ‘trollpize’ fast food and other industrial cultural food symbols emanating from America.

6.3. Hamburger Imperialism

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 113.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 112.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 113.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 114.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 115.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 117.

The effect of Americanization on other cultures is especially targeted with regards to fast food, one of the main threats to culinary cultural pluralism that PDO, PGI and TSG policies are trying to mitigate. Fast food, with special focus on McDonald's, has become the epitomized symbol of one of the most visible and successful modes of American cultural imperialism and declining cultural tastes.⁴⁸⁰ It represents a threat to the one of the most basic yet vital aspects of cultural identity: food, cuisine and culinary culture. This is of utmost importance because, as eloquently stated by George Orwell, "It could plausibly be argued that changes of diet are more important than changes of dynasty or even religion."⁴⁸¹ Since its origin in 1955, McDonald's spread to one hundred and seventeen countries by the end of the twentieth century. It is noted that they opened one store somewhere in the world every eight hours in the mid 1990's. By the early 2000's McDonald's, KFC and Coke were prime targets of anti-globalization demonstrations.⁴⁸² The emotional charge of cultural imperialism is indicated in a 1996 *New York Times* article:

"It was never the Soviet Union, but the US itself, that is the true revolutionary power...we purvey a culture based on mass entertainment and mass gratification...the cultural message we transmit through Hollywood and McDonald's goes out across the world to capture, and also to undermine, other societies...Unlike traditional conquerors, we are not content merely to subdue others: We insist they be like us."⁴⁸³

-Ronald Steel, *The New York Times*

McDonald's has also been a target of violent protests and bombings in over fifty countries, including Rome, Prague and London.⁴⁸⁴ They are an especially important symbolic location of resistance in France, where farmer Jose Bové protested by driving his tractor through a restaurant that was nearing completion.⁴⁸⁵ He has been active in many forms of nonviolent symbolic protest including dumping manure on a McDonald's floor, and filling one with geese, chickens and other fowl.⁴⁸⁶ Though they may not necessarily agree with his methods, many

⁴⁸⁰ James L. Watson, "Big Mac Attack," in *Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader*, ed. James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell, 70-79 (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 71.

⁴⁸¹ Quoted in Atkins, *Food in Society*, 272.

⁴⁸² James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell eds., *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader* (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), Introduction, 2.

⁴⁸³ Watson, "Big Mac Attack," 71.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴⁸⁵ David Morse, "Striking the Golden Arches: French Farmers Protest McD's Globalization," in *McDonaldization-The Reader*, ed. George Ritzer, 245-249 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002), 243.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 246.

French do disagree with ‘American corporate hegemony’.⁴⁸⁷ Mr. Bové states that there is more to the protest than meets the eye. The livelihoods of farmers are at stake, but so is culture.⁴⁸⁸ He then proceeded to state in response to his actions that, “...cooking is culture. All over the world. Every nation, every region, has its own food cultures. Food and farming define people. We cannot let it all go, to be replaced with hamburgers. People will not let it happen.”⁴⁸⁹ Mr. Bové’s popularity has grown, and he even co-founded the second largest farmer’s union in France, an organization that grew from ten thousand members in 1987 to over forty thousand and is still growing. By protecting farmers, they are protecting identity; French soil and what it represents is one of France’s most important and cherished cultural commodities.⁴⁹⁰

France is not the only country that has been vocal in expressing its suspicions and anger towards fast food culture. The “Slow Food” organization arose in Italy in response to the arrival of McDonald’s at the end of the 1980’s.⁴⁹¹ The organization has since spread worldwide, encompassing a devoted following of over one hundred thousand members in various countries. These members make up diverse ‘convivia’ or local communities linked by a common interest in making a difference in foodways.⁴⁹² Their task is to strengthen local cuisine in Italy and around the world by organizing publications, tastings, talks, conventions and backing local cuisines to get them noticed and into the market.⁴⁹³ In addition, they have founded the ‘University of Gastronomic Science’ in order to teach the science and culture of food and provide taste education to help people “...rediscover the joys of eating and understand the importance of caring where their food comes from, who makes it and how it’s made.”⁴⁹⁴ Their philosophy is devoted to the protection of food heritage, tradition and culture, which they believe is the responsibility of everyone in order to preserve the ‘fundamental right to pleasure’. The *Slow Food International Statute* outlines precisely what they endeavor to do, including respecting and promoting cultural diversity; encouraging ecological and sustainable environmental practices; helping to preserve culinary traditions; and influencing the enjoyment of food to its highest

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 245.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 243.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 247.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Mara Miele and Jonathon Murdoch, “Slow Food.” In *McDonaldization-The Reader*, ed. George Ritzer, 250-254 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002), 253.

⁴⁹² “Slow Food.”

⁴⁹³ Miele, “Slow Food,” 252-253.

⁴⁹⁴ “Slow Food.”

potential.⁴⁹⁵ Founder Carlo Petrini was even nominated in *The Guardian* newspaper as one of the “50 people who could save the planet.”⁴⁹⁶

6.3.1. Critical Analysis: Creative Responders

There are problems that arise when basing policy choices on a fear of the global force symbolized by fast food because it neglects the fact that globalization is both destructive and creative.⁴⁹⁷ Globalization assumes the death of locality, tradition and identity. But it does not make sense to speak about the global without including the local, which composes its foundation.⁴⁹⁸ Negotiations between global and local forces actually lead to the creation or invention of authenticity, identity and tradition.⁴⁹⁹ Writer Hsin-Huanh Michael Hsiao observes that, “...local responses really matter for the way globalization finally ends up, just as globalization matters for the manner in which local cultures eventually transform.”⁵⁰⁰ For example, in Finland the centuries are characterized by the introduction of new culinary trends that have spread quickly and been easily incorporated into the Finnish diet. Despite these changes, foods are remolded to suit Finnish taste. You can even order a pizza in Finland with reindeer topping.⁵⁰¹

Therefore, to be successful fast food companies and products must somehow connect or appeal to host cultures to fit local tastes. This phenomenon is often referred to as ‘glocalization’ and entered into business terminology in the 1980’s. In short, businesses, which tailor their goods and services to fit into local markets, must consider, “...all conditions including civilization, region, society, ethnic and gender (variety).”⁵⁰² It is a combination of global aspects with particularistic ones in each society. McDonald’s does this by declaring itself to be a ‘multilocal’ company that is owned, run, staffed, marketed and provided for by locals.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁵ “SLOW FOOD INTERNATIONAL STATUE,” *Slow Food*, 8-11 Nov. 2007, <http://www.slowfood.com/slowftp/eng/STATUTE_ENG.pdf>, (accessed on November 02, 2009).

⁴⁹⁶ “50 people who could save the planet.” *GuardianUnlimited: Print Version*. 05 Jan. 2008. <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2008/jan/05/activists.ethicalliving>>. (accessed on November 04, 2009).

⁴⁹⁷ Hutton, *On the Edge*, 45.

⁴⁹⁸ Robertson, “Glocalization,” 33-34.

⁴⁹⁹ Hsin-Huanh Michael Hsiao, “Coexistence and Synthesis: Cultural Globalization and Localization in Contemporary Taiwan,” in *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*, ed. Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington, 48-67 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 49.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰¹ Mäkelä, “Finland,” 154.

⁵⁰² Robertson, “Glocalization,” 28-29.

⁵⁰³ Hunter, “In the Vanguard of Globalization,” 342.

Thus, I must return to the inevitable question of the chicken and the egg: which came first? Fast food has been shown to arise at a time when there was already a noticeable change in tastes and social structure.⁵⁰⁴ So which came first, fast food or cultural change? Can fast food be blamed for altering cultural tastes, or is it a reflection of the inevitable changes that comes with the passage of time? Though there can be no definitive yes or no answer to these questions, there is much evidence to suggest that cultural and taste changes were already occurring; fast food was merely acting as a natural reaction to these changing tides. In the words of James Watson, “The arrival of fast food goes hand in hand with the trend of culinary adventurism associated with affluence.”⁵⁰⁵ Today there is more of a demand for casual dining and entertainment by a larger proportion of society. Social life and personal time is now under more pressure, and with the increase of women working outside the home, eating out has become a simple way to increase family interaction.⁵⁰⁶ Fast food can hardly be wholly responsible for the change in local cuisines, endangerment of specialty small-scale production and declining tastes.

6.3.2. Critical Analysis: “Sometimes a Hamburger is Just a Hamburger”⁵⁰⁷

To continue, there has been much insight into the perception and effect of McDonald’s on local cultures. It is important to discuss McDonald’s in the PDO, PGI and TSG dispute because it is often used as the ultimate symbol of fast food, Americanization and globalization all in one. It is because of McDonald’s that ‘Slow Food’ was started, and the arrival of McDonald’s might be seen as the beginning of the end of culinary cultural pluralism. However, articles by a slew of authors display that, perhaps the demonization of McDonald’s is exaggerated and that globalization is subtler than many people think.⁵⁰⁸ In 2003, McDonald’s was forced to pull out of Ecuador, Paraguay and Trinidad. They have also saturated Japanese, German and U.S. markets, leading to an image problem.⁵⁰⁹ The point is that McDonald’s is not a hegemonic unstoppable entity, but can only be successful if they are well received and alter to fit local situations. In the

⁵⁰⁴ Yunxiang Yan, “Managed Globalization: State Power and Cultural Transition in China,” in *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*, ed. Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington, 19-47 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 95.

⁵⁰⁵ Watson, “Big Mac Attack,” 75.

⁵⁰⁶ Atkins, *Food in Society*, 98.

⁵⁰⁷ Berger, *Many Globalizations*, 7.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁹ Watson, *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating*, 2.

following examples from various countries around the world, I will demonstrate that McDonald's often becomes a normal part of the local landscape and is localized over generations. Rather than leading a crusade to homogenize tastes and food culture, it is perhaps responding to the need for new approaches to global realities.⁵¹⁰

In Spain, family restaurants serving traditional dishes and tapas dominate the plethora of restaurant choices. Fast food has fought to break into the Spanish market but serves mostly to tourists.⁵¹¹ On the opposite side of Europe, Cracow, Poland has seen the opening of McDonald's on one of the main and most beautiful streets leading off the main square. For the Poles, this was an unavoidable opening to the world after decades of Communism. They also did not have a long history of high-quality, popular restaurants, but had many unattractive pubs and canteens. Fast food filled the new niche and initially McDonald's was quite captivating. Over time people began to seek familiar foods, and McDonald's even began selling a 'wiesmac' (village-mac) burger, implying that it came from Polish villages and was made with healthy local ingredients.⁵¹² The open market allowed the appearance of fast food to surface in Cracow and contribute to the diversity of food choices, but ultimately acted to reignite an interest in traditional foods.⁵¹³

In China, instead of competing with Chinese restaurants, McDonald's was promoted as a place embodying American culture. Research conducted in McDonald's in Beijing showed that people used the restaurant as a social space and experience, rather than for the food itself.⁵¹⁴ The restaurants are a sharp contrast to traditional Chinese ones, offering such attractions as stylish décor, American-style quick-and-friendly service and a comfortable place to enjoy one's leisure time. Many people even use the space for personal and family outings.⁵¹⁵ They recognize that the concept of 'fast food' is a contradiction to Chinese culture, which should be slow, meaning it is healthier and more elegant, yet people stay for the sake of the experience.⁵¹⁶ For people in China,

⁵¹⁰ Watson, "Big Mac Attack," 79.

⁵¹¹ Villena, "Spain," 411.

⁵¹² Krzysztofek, "Poland," 340.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 341.

⁵¹⁴ Yunxiang Yan, "Of Hamburger and Social Space: Consuming McDonald's in Beijing," in *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader*, ed. James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell, 80-98 (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 81.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

McDonald's, "...represent[s] an emerging tradition where new values, behavior patterns and social relationships are still being created."⁵¹⁷

On a different note, McDonald's continues to be relatively unsuccessful in India because instead of associating the organization with American imperialism, Indians associate it with beef, a forbidden food in the Hindu religion. They tried, with little success, to replace burgers with Indian versions.⁵¹⁸ In fact, the Indian market is difficult to penetrate because multinational corporations do not understand cultural needs within the country.⁵¹⁹ Cultural globalization could not be successful because tastes vary among "region, religion, ethnicity, sect, class and caste."⁵²⁰ Everything is altered to suit the Indian palate. There is also an indigenous boom working simultaneously with a transnational one and often not mentioned in the shadow of the other. Manufacturers in India are producing more 'fast' Indian foods based on wide-ranging regional tastes.⁵²¹

Furthermore, though many of the impacts of globalization are homogenizing, such as the system of production and consumption, author Eriberto P. Lozada Jr. argues that this effect has, as a result, created more particularism in societies. Like McDonald's, KFC in Beijing lost its status and draw as a Western phenomenon. It constantly had to adapt to keep business and eventually became another choice for where to eat, and another part of the scenery.⁵²² In Japan, Tamotsu Aoki states that the 'fast-foodization' of lifestyles is a result of both internal changes in the country and external pressures from without that has not led to homogenization but a 'dynamic fashion and diversity.'⁵²³ Further, a look at what is happening in Turkey has shown that modern values coexist with traditional Islamic ones, and that cultural globalization can lead to the revitalization of tradition, identity and authenticity.⁵²⁴ The global paradox again surfaces. As

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 95.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 97.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 97.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 89.

⁵²¹ Ibid., 98.

⁵²² Eriberto P. Lozada Jr., "Globalized Childhood? Kentucky Fried Chicken in Beijing," in *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader*, ed. James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell, 163-175 (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 174.

⁵²³ Tamotsu Aoki, "Aspects of Globalization in Contemporary Japan," in *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*, ed. Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington, 68-88 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 87-88.

⁵²⁴ Ergun Ozbudun and E. Fuat Keyman, "Cultural Globalization in Turkey: Actors, Discourses, Strategies," in *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*, ed. Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington, 296-319 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 296-319.

these examples show, globalization and fast food both homogenize and differentiate according to the needs of individual cultures.

6.3.3. Critical Analysis: Globalization, a Two-way Street

It is often forgotten when projecting the self as a victim of globalization that it represents a multiple-way process. During the Café d'Europe campaign in 2006, a Polish woman lamented the loss of various types of traditional Polish dishes. She stated that "Tiramisu is now easier to get in Warsaw than W-Zetki," a Polish relation to tiramisu.⁵²⁵ European countries impact each other as much as those outside of the European Union. Italian pizza and pastas, Spanish tapas and French cafés have spread to newly integrated EU countries. The vast amount of European choices leads to the loss of traditional products in other parts of Europe. Additionally, other non-European countries make huge contributions into European culture. One article by Tulasi Srinivas speaks about the popularity of New Age products. Indian products are transmitted all over the world, from Darjeeling Tea to Ayurvedic massages and henna tattoos.⁵²⁶ This demonstrates that many countries have the propensity to be cultural emitters that effect European cultures.⁵²⁷

Another powerful cultural emitter is Japan. Sushi and various other aspects of Japanese culture can be seen all over the world. What began as a sign of class and status, it is now an international craze. Though it is found all over, it does not lose its essence as a product of Japanese culture, even if owned by a non-Japanese. In fact, it even portrays a sense of prestige.⁵²⁸ This point can be extended to PDO, PGI and TSG products. Though generic imitations are not produced in an exact and authentic way, they maintain their cultural essence through the sense of prestige gained by being associated with it. Pasta and Parmesan are still considered Italian and Feta is reminiscent of Greece. In Europe as in other parts of the world, ideas and cultural goods are taken one's own use, adapted, Westernized or Europeanized and often reinvented. Much of

⁵²⁵ Mulvey, "Cakes and Jokes at Café d'Europe."

⁵²⁶ Srinivas, "'A Tryst with Destiny'," 89.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 112-113.

⁵²⁸ Theodore C. Bestor, "How Sushi Went Global," in *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader*, ed. James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell, 13-20 (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 13-20.

what people believe about global culture is both relative and selective, and people must be trusted to make their own judgments about it.⁵²⁹

6.4. Chapter Summary

The fourth and final perspective involved an examination of the self as a victim of globalization. I displayed using various examples that many cultures of the world are permeated by the fear of the homogenization of culinary cultural pluralism as a result of a global cultural invasion. I followed this explanation with a point admitting that globalization is nothing new and that culinary cultures are the result of centuries of trade and mixing. I also suggested that arguments opposed to globalization often overlook the fact that individuals are autonomous and do not passively accept every cultural aspect that they are confronted with.

Next, I made a necessary connection between cultural globalization and its link to Americanization, considering America is one of the main opponents to the extension of PDO, PGI and TSG policies worldwide and often a symbol of the negative aspects of modernity. I discussed how many people are threatened by the destruction of taste and changes that result with the appearance of self-interested American globalizers and theft of authentic cultural reputations for their own gain. I then countered this connection as unfounded based upon the idea that globalization is too complex of a phenomenon to be completely controlled by one entity and that the dissemination of food products is not enough to completely overpower indigenous cultures because their symbols are not straightforward or universally interpreted. I also suggested that America has been used as a symbol of the negative aspects of modernity and change since its early beginnings and that this tradition continues today and is a result of the impression of American cultural goods and fast food as in bad ‘taste’.

Finally, the last section of the chapter addressed the issue of fast food as the epitomized universal symbol of globalization, Americanization and changing tastes that have resulted in the extinction and disappearance of local and regional specialty products. I focused mainly on the example of McDonald’s, whose presence globally has incited much criticism for its endangerment and exploitation of local cultures; and motivated symbolic protests in France and the foundation of the International “Slow Food” Movement to help preserve the local and

⁵²⁹ Toynee, “Who’s Afraid of Global Culture?” 195-196.

regional food cultures that are so vital for cultural pluralism. The counterarguments I presented included the assertion that fast food and McDonald's are not the only factors at work that have effected modern cultural changes. Businesses 'glocalize' products to local environments and cultures 'indigenize', 'hybridize', 'creolize' and alter foods to fit their own needs. Fast food could be argued to have arisen as a result of changes that were already occurring, and the blaming of fast food for these changes is simplistic at best. I backed up this point by including various examples from Europe and around the world that show how McDonald's and other fast food outlets eventually lose their significance or actually act to reinforce feelings of local identity. I finished by asserting that globalization is more than a one-way street. European countries affect each other, and countries from all over the world emit their cultures as well. How these cultures are received is ultimately up to the creative adaptations, alterations and reinventions of symbolic and material goods to suit ones emotional well being and palate, not simply the passive acceptance of globalized American fast food culture.

7. Conclusion

Eating has long ceased to be a simple and straightforward act. The issues surrounding PDO, PGI and TSG policies are as complicated as the ways in which we grow, cultivate, manufacture, market, prepare and consume our food, especially when viewed in a cultural context. The idea itself grew from an already-complicated historical struggle for French identity, was cultivated by additional countries using similar legislative processes and has been manufactured into PDO, PGI and TSG policies by the European Commission as a fundamental means to unify another complicated and crucial aspect of European life. Through marketing the policies on an international level, the EU prepared to have them extended on a worldwide basis. Despite this attempt, the EU is still waiting for the policies to be globally consumed. PDO, PGI and TSG's play the part of an exemplified onion, whose inherent meaning will only be understood by looking past its economic and political exterior and peeling away at its underlying array of seemingly endless cultural layers.

What has happened in the existing global debates concerning arguments for and against PDO, PGI and TSG is that cultural identity has taken a back seat. A careful look into current articles, discussions and official documents does not hide the overwhelming focus on the economic benefits of the policies. One may ask, what happened to the arguments for cultural pluralism and identity that took a central role in the struggle for origin protection and were a dominating feature in the battle for regional protection in the early stages of nation building in France? Today, the EU is limited by its lack of a meaningful patriotic base that will rally support for the policies as fundamental protectors of Europeanness. What the EU can and is doing is to support particularistic features of its 'unity in diversity' by backing PDO, PGI and TSG policies with its economic and political might. The EU is correct in arguing that certain established policies, such as the AOC, are proof enough for the economic potential of PDO, PGI and TSG's. By securing this protection, the policies ensure that the special characteristics of products in each European country will live on.

Yet, without crucial cultural arguments the citizens of Europe and the world may not be convinced that the policies represent anything but clear European protectionism. For PDO, PGI and TSG's, it is the symbolic cultural linkages that are the most important, yet also the most lacking. Because of its invisibility, the symbolic meaning that connects products to their

respective cultures is considered by the opposition as indicative of an attempt to transmit an artificially conceived notion of relevance. This cultural appeal is then used to institutionalize, commoditize and profit on the inscrutability of a non-existent essence of *terroir*. However, it is clear that a misunderstanding has occurred in this situation. Since the cultural arguments presented in favor of the policies have not been given adequate attention on a global scale, it is no surprise that non-European countries might object to policies that appear to clearly benefit European interests or scream of economic protectionism.

7.1 Overall Analysis

This thesis attempted to create a clarification of the cultural motivations underlying PDO, PGI and TSG policies using a modified version of Robertson's theory on globalization. The chapters were structured into the 'Four Perspectives of Self' that are proposed as being used to justify the European Union's interest in promoting and extending the policies. The theory is based on the idea that individuals are becoming more conscious of the interdependency of the world, and are beginning to use self-identifying means in order to subjectively orient and make connections with particular aspects of it. In this case, the individual makes connections with the implementation of PDO, PGI and TSG policies. The perspectives included the orientation of the self as identifier, consumer, European and Victim of Globalization. Using the 'Four Perspectives of Self', I was able to deeply explore the cultural recesses that are hidden below the superficial economic and political tip of the PDO, PGI and TSG iceberg. In the following concluding analyses, I am asserting that the research supports proponent and opponent arguments based on the four perspectives, thereby creating Robertson's global consciousness with respect to PDO, PGI and TSG policies.

7.1.1. The Four Perspectives Support Proponent Arguments

To begin, I will discuss how the 'Four Perspectives of Self' can be used to culturally legitimize PDO, PGI and TSG policies. The first perspective explored the basic idea of the self as an identifier, and endeavored to provide an answer to why PDO, PGI and TSG products could be connected to identity and culture. I based the perspective on the fact that there has always been a propensity for every human being to actively construct, create and align themselves with an identity that comforts and secures them with a feeling of community and belonging,

especially during times of stressful social change. For the PDO, PGI and TSG debate, the focus on identity especially concerns food. People develop eating habits, tastes and culinary traditions that are referenced against perceived threats or ‘others’ that confirm the image and connect them with particular cultures. I showed that certain specialty foods and traditions are imbued with deep symbolic meaning that translates into an essential aspect of the cultures. Various other features such as the names and the place of origin of products are also projected to be vitally important due to the delicate interplay between environmental and human factors for the final composition of a product, and symbolically linked to the survival of diverse European cultures. The usage of any such identifying features to manipulate and convey a feeling of an authentic cultural experience is viewed as contributing to the disintegration of cultural heritages and traditions and is seen as severing the critical links that connect a product and the person consuming it with its roots, identity and culture.

The second perspective used the idea of the identifying self and connected it with its relatively younger counterpart, the consumer self. In this chapter my goal was to find out why arguments for PDO, PGI and TSG policies place so much emphasis on consumer demands, but from a cultural perspective. On a basic level, it is imperative to refer to the power of consumers because without their interest and support, local and traditional products would not survive, regardless of legal protection. I discussed how the search for individualism, personal identity and the symbolic meaning of goods takes on new meaning for consumption with the arrival of affluence. Amongst the overwhelming amount of products that grace the shelves of every shop, PDO, PGI and TSG products are attractive to modern individuals because they will make differentiation easier and meet consumer demands for not only quality, but also for symbolic cultural connections. By consuming origin-linked products, a feeling of community will be re-formed through authentic experiences. They will also appeal to new style groups that seek to support the constructive goals that the policies augment. People will not only be satisfied that their money goes towards superior taste but also to the survival of local, regional and cultural culinary traditions in a globalized world.

The third perspective brings us to the self as European. In this chapter I sought to find out how PDO, PGI and TSG policies are being interpreted culturally within the European Union. By asserting that one of the perspectives motivating the EU to establish the policies involves

individuals considering themselves as European, I was not suggesting that a European identity exists or may ever exist, or that the EU is trying to promote its existence. I was, however, arguing that individuals may orient themselves towards Europe if they feel that a stronger force, namely globalization, endangers their cultures and that, in response, the EU is promoting globalization as a greater risk than Europeanization. The fading power of nation-states has enabled the European Union to initiate more policy-making on an international level and PDO, PGI and TSG's policies have consequentially been able to create a strong and credible affront to globalization. At the same time, the policies serve to create stronger associations and renewed interest in particularistic localities and regions that make up the continent. European Member States are proud of the culinary achievements, products and cuisines that characterize their countries and regions, and view them as one of the most important identifying features that set each country apart. The European Commission has demonstrated through the slew of new food regulations that it is dedicated to protecting European foodstuffs and cultural diversity. More Europeans are becoming aware of and positively emphasizing unique differences through European-wide projects and supportive origin movements.

Finally, I concluded that the last perspective of self is the main factor for unifying the other three perspectives in order to rally support for PDO, PGI and TSG policies. When I began the research I noticed that much emphasis had been placed by the EU on acquiring worldwide protection for products, regardless of problems that still exist with the policies within the EU itself. I therefore attempted to find out if globalization does greatly endanger non-industrial food products and their symbolic reference to the survival of cultural pluralism, and if this is a motivating factor for the importance of the issue within the WTO. Proponent arguments for the extension of the policies go hand-in-hand with much of the present anti-globalization sentiment that I discussed in the chapter. The main driving force behind globalization, the US, has also become a symbol of cultural globalization through its spreading of fast food and exploitation of indigenous cultures all over the world. While I could not find a definitive answer to whether or not it is a fact that globalization truly threatens the survival of these products, the self as victim of globalization still shows that there are enough publications, arguments and symbolic civilian protests to enable the EU to assume that there is. The people of Europe fear for the survival of countless identities, including individual, consumer, local, regional, national and cultural. Globalization is a topic that incites many negative and emotional responses because it is said to

be the main cause of modern changes in taste and the extinction of local and regional specialty products. The EU emphasizes policies such as PDO, PGI and TSG's in order to overcome this fear of the unstoppable, homogenous global force.

7.1.2. The Four Perspectives and the Opposition

On a different note, in each perspective I also focused on the plausible reasons why PDO, PGI and TSG policies could be opposed. By operating under the assumptions presented by the 'Four Perspectives of Self', the European Commission could justify its promotion of the policies as culturally self-evident and warranting extended global protection. However, the seemingly common sense task of aligning the policies to one harmonized standard has been ripe with controversy, distrust and rejection both within Europe and globally. The complicated nature of the policies themselves represents the monstrously complicated diversity of the continent, and it is not possible to simply dismiss the many opposing side of the issues. Therefore, by examining the opposing arguments to the proponent assumptions I was able to show that the other side of the dispute can use cultural arguments based on the 'Four Perspectives of Self' to discredit the policies.

For the identifying self, the fact that identities and their relation to tradition and cultures are partly constructed of imaginary and invented characteristics could discredit its use as a valid means to back policy decisions. Identities change as well because they are adaptable, malleable and subjective. Further, the symbolic importance of origin-protected products could change depending on the situation, and might not provide a strong base of support. New negative 'others' could also be created within and from without Europe as individuals interpret objective and subjective threats to products and livelihoods differently, leading to reactive and protectionist measures. Product symbols could also be manipulated to present their timeless and obvious importance as cultural necessities, even though it is known that cultures, names and places have changed throughout history and no cultures are pure. Cultural identity could also be used as a false argument in order to ensure economic and political gains of those who have the most self-interest vested in a product's success.

To continue, the critical analysis of the consumer self suggests that there is a tendency to over-emphasize the symbolic nature of consumption. There could be attempts by PDO, PGI and

TSG advocates to promote the products with subjective cultural symbolism and necessity that they do not actually possess. What consumers actually want changes over time and it is almost impossible to predict universal consistencies from one person to another. By appealing to the sensitive nature of the individual's insecure identity in a modern world overloaded with choices, people will be convinced that they must support the policies or risk losing a part of themselves. There is also the danger that the individual will be viewed as merely 'another consumer', someone who must be convinced to buy what they might not need because it is considered culturally essential. By appealing to a consumer rather than an individual, the products could also lose their cultural importance and become merely another commodity, marketed and promoted purely for profit. Finally, by catering to niche consumers, the policies could also exacerbate feelings of superiority and class distinction.

To further, chapter five explored the hesitancy of European Member States to surrender sovereignty to the European Union, regardless of its stated intentions for food protection in the best interest of citizens. What I found curious is that culture seems to take a central role in European discourse concerning PDO, PGI and TSG policies, but when it is elevated to the global level it loses this emphasis in favor of political and economic arguments. I believe that this is symptomatic of the EU's attempt to create a feeling of otherness from globalization as a way of strengthening European solidarity and support for the policies. Though nations, regions and localities are also constructs of invention, they nevertheless retain the most devotion and identifying features for the people of Europe. PDO, PGI and TSG policies have joined the present ranks of Euroscepticism that fears that the cultural homogenization of a hegemonic European Union, not just globalization, is a serious threat to cultural diversity and autonomy. Food is often used as a context to discuss the invasiveness of the EU and the idea of Europeanness. Instead of protecting foodstuffs as the policies assure, their centralization at the European level is perceived as presenting an increased threat to identities. It was also argued that PDO, PGI and TSG policies could be favoring certain cultural ideas of countries with more established and historical interests in the essential notions of *terroir*. These ideas are then being transmitted as falsely important for all countries in Europe, overlooking those that differ in their standards and historical experiences. Through various examples used, it is evident that quality and tastes are interpreted differently throughout the continent, and that little research has been done to determine exactly why cultures approach their interaction with food so differently.

When presenting the arguments against the final perspective of the self as a victim of globalization, I included much evidence that would support the idea that globalization is not a new phenomenon. Rather, it is an accelerated version of the spread of cultural materials, ideas and symbols that have characterized much of history for hundreds of years, and that the appeal to PDO, PGI and TSG policies is a modern reaction to an increased recognition of social and cultural change. Demonizing globalization and Americanization for being the sole culprits influencing cultural, taste changes and the disappearance of traditional food products is naïve. Human beings are autonomous, creative and innovative when confronted with globalization. They do not passively accept every symbol and product that is spread through globalization, but instead indigenize, hybridize and creolize it to fit their own needs and tastes. Many countries are involved in the spread of globalization, and European countries distribute many invasive cultural artifacts onto each other, along with non-Western countries. Certain symbols such as fast food were also shown to not be entirely responsible for modern changes in habits and tastes, but a complement to the changes that were already taking place. This evidence could prove problematic when pitting PDO, PGI and TSG products against globalization as a means to justify the policies' existence.

7.1.3. The Four Perspectives and Global Consciousness

The 'Four Perspectives of Self' were used to argue Robertson's point that there is an emerging consciousness that characterizes the world today. I altered his idea of individual and national reference points created by this consciousness. Using the new points, I demonstrated that the EU bases its cultural arguments for PDO, PGI and TSG policies on citizens' subjective perspectives of the identifier, consumer, European and victim of globalization. I suggested that the linking of these elements results in inter-connected phenomena that include individualization, localization/regionalization, Europeanization and internationalization.

Individualization occurs through viewing one's self as an identifier and consumer in relation to Europe and the interconnected world. The need to seek an individual lifestyle is energized and relieved through the purchase of symbolic cultural artifacts or traditional and specialty protected food products. Localization and regionalization are in turn energized by the personal and monetary support of the identifier and consumer and referenced against Europeanization and globalization. In addition, it is plausible that localization, regionalization

and Europeanization are all strengthened when referencing the self against the ultimate threat, internationalization---or the interaction and interdependency of the EU with other countries of the world. As well, the stated phenomena are constantly influenced by each other. Internationalization strengthens Europeanization and could conceivably present globalization as an ‘other’ for Europe to unite against and legitimize PDO, PGI and TSG policies worldwide. At the same time, Europeanization and internationalization provide the impetus for the appeal to localization, regionalization and individualization.

With that said, I conclude that the hypothesis I presented is supported by the arguments and analyses accumulated during the course of the research. I showed that the ‘Four Perspectives of Self’ can be connected to modern discourse surrounding PDO, PGI and TSG policies and used to both justify and discredit them. However, my original supposition must be re-framed to better represent the findings. Rather than being simply policies of appeasement, I would say that PDO, PGI and TSG policies are policies of reassurance. On the surface level, they could be considered as appeasing producers, marketers and other professionals whose economic interests and means are vested in the success of their products. But for the average citizen, the policies are a symbol of the reassurance that culinary cultural pluralism and identity will be sheltered and protected. It is only when the ‘Four Perspectives of Self’ of the individual is reassured and convinced that threats to their livelihood and cultures will be sufficiently protected may the success of PDO, PGI and TSG policies be achieved and extended worldwide.

7.2. Reflections

While the attempt of this thesis was not to argue for or against the extension or existence of PDO, PGI and TSG policies, there are certain reflections and suggestions that can be made concerning the issues. The ample amounts of evidence and arguments emphasizes that this is not an easily solvable dispute. When identity and culture are brought into the mix, the discourse becomes even more complicated. But the question remains, without the policies, will cultural pluralism and identity truly be threatened?

The amount of references that can be made to the imagination and invention that we use to construct the regions, nations, culinary traditions and cuisines that are aligned with the identities that constitute our subjective worlds makes us wonder what realities actually exist, and

if the appeal to policies such as PDO, PGI and TSG's is the result of false anxieties that stem from natural societal changes. Philosopher Rene Descartes established long ago that 'I think therefore I am' proves that we exist and are not living in a parallel imaginary universe.⁵³⁰ Besides, the ultimate goal of PDO, PGI and TSG policies is not necessarily to validate the accuracy and logical nature of the cultural arguments, but to reassure that personal belonging and communities are maintained and aided by certain types of protection. Perhaps for the topic of discussion we might say 'I think, therefore I imagine' and by imagining, the answer to whether or not culture and identity will be truly threatened if PDO, PGI and TSG policies are not implemented is indeed affirmative.

The diversity of specialty products, culinary masterpieces and cuisines all over Europe is something to be proud of. However, it is not necessarily all Europeans who believe that their cultures are being threatened and will disappear without PDO, PGI and TSG policies. It is a good idea to be wary of claims to institutionalize subjective aspects of quality and culture because they could potentially be the result of false claims and invented threats created by politicians, producers, food marketers and other professionals that might benefit the most from their advancement. In the case of PDO, PGI and TSG's, it already seems that whoever speaks the loudest will reap the most benefits and be the guiding force in promoting the policies. This could be explained by the fact that countries with pre-established notions of origin protection are the current front-runners in their defense.

Still, PDO, PGI and TSG policies should not be misconstrued as the EU's attempt to construct common European tastes, memories, eating habits or even a universal continental sense of *terroir*. It is unlikely that there is a regression back to the era of the construction of nations---which is being used as a means to rally support for a European identity---where producers of traditional products and cultivators of the land are again promoting themselves as the protectors of culture, ensuring its continuity and inseparability from it. Perhaps someday it will be possible to speak of a European culinary culture, united in its diversity, where people in Italy regularly consume Polish *pierogi* and Spaniards delight in a meal of English Cornish pasty without considering it an attack on their cultural autonomy. When the French will vehemently defend the honor and purity of Czech beer abroad and the Portuguese will serve their meat with

⁵³⁰ Smith, Kurt. "Descartes Life and Works." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. 27 Feb. 2007. <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/descartes-works/>>. (accessed on December 13, 2009).

Swedish lingonberry jam. Or, when the Greeks will understand the difference in tastes between traditional Lithuanian and Latvian specialties. For now, PDO, PGI and TSG products will be used as a reassurance of otherness both within Europe and the wider world.

7.3. Recommendations:

There are certain recommendations that I could make for the future cultural discussions and research of PDO, PGI and TSG policies. In the beginning of the study I discussed Malcolm Waters' suggestion that material exchanges localize, political exchanges internationalize and symbolic exchanges globalize.⁵³¹ However, I would say from the in depth analysis of the 'Four Perspectives of Self' that in the case of PDO, PGI and TSG policies, this argument is restrictive to the actual phenomena surrounding the policies. I would state, rather, that symbolic exchanges localize, regionalize, internationalize and globalize. More research should be done into the culinary histories of individual countries, cultures and products so that the people of Europe may better understand the symbolic relevance behind certain products on local, regional and international levels and why they need protection. The people of the world need to understand this cultural importance on a global level. Thus, the success of PDO, PGI and TSG policies will be the result of how cultural arrangements and their symbols are effectively transmitted to European citizens, skeptics and the rest of the world through further analyses and supportive research.

Next, a stronger case should be made for culture within Europe and concerning Europe's cultures globally. It is remarkable when researching the arguments for and against the policies during the Doha Round or other discussions that it is usually briefly mentioned or totally overlooked. Culture is the impetus for these policies; the products grow from culture, become natural parts of it and without it there would be less of a reason to protect them at all. When examining the statements of those who are personally involved and affected, culture often proves to be the most important argument, and the EU should not forget that.

There should also be more appeal to the interests of individual countries, rather than resorting to the spread of the pre-conceived notion of *terroir*. The policies are basically promoting a type of quality indicator and essential idea that those countries in favor promote as

⁵³¹ Waters, Malcolm, *Globalization*, 9-10.

in the best interest of all countries in Europe. The EU should motivate campaigns in each Member State that educate on not only local products, but those derived from other areas of Europe. Individual Member States should be motivated to become involved and urged to help promote their lesser-known products to make a name for them to be able to spread them. There is a clear disparity regarding interest in the policies, and it would be beneficial for non-Mediterranean countries to better understand their importance. New EU States would also benefit from increased instruction and elaboration about how the policies benefit them. Few articles could be found in English, and those that were only briefly mentioned the interests of Central and Eastern European countries. Caring about origin is not just a given, for many countries it may need to be inspired or help them develop it based on their own references and needs.

It would also be beneficial to launch another ‘Green Paper’ survey for individual citizens, rather than merely focusing on a voluntary survey dominated by stakeholders. Stakeholders are obviously interested in PDO, PGI and TSG policies because they either receive benefits or want to minimize negative costs. If the death of local products and production truly were the extinction of vital aspects of culture, it would be more interesting to see what the average person has to say about it. Promotions are rare and have been poorly targeted. It is necessary to illustrate the importance of the protected products to individual consumers to move them out of niche markets and into the average needs of average consumers.

Finally, the policies should be properly unified on a European level before jumping straight to worldwide protection. Though the policies have been discussed in world trade talks for many years now, their problems in Europe continue to be partially ignored. The inter-European disparity discredits the policies globally. Time should be given for the ideas to simmer within Europe first. By strengthening the support for policies at home they will prove more effective in Europe and there will be more support for their extension globally. It cannot be assumed that other countries will be completely in favor as the EU has suggested, as they are already predisposed to be among the biggest beneficiaries.

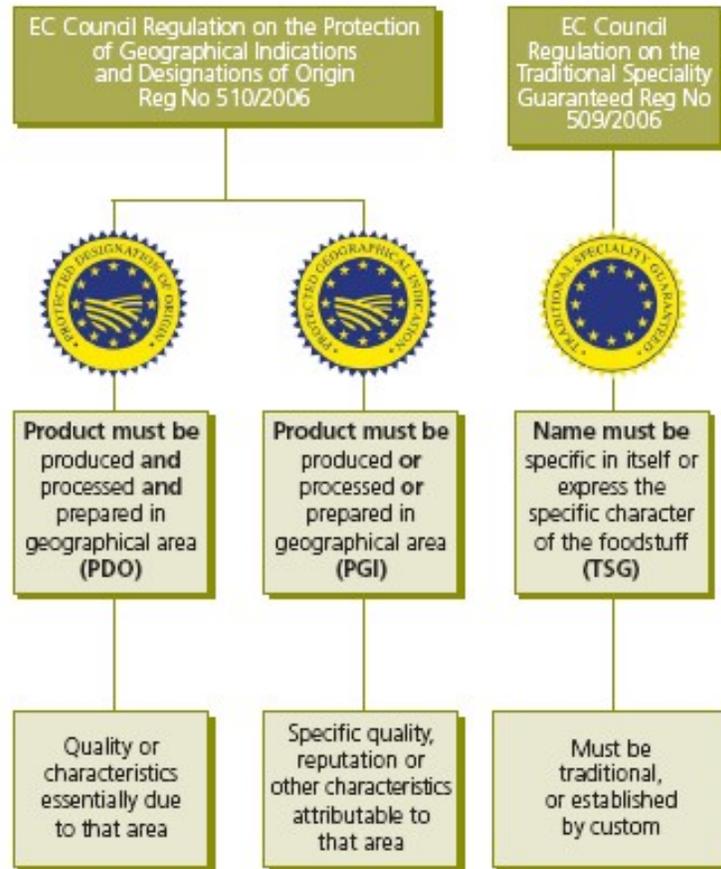
Charles de Gaulle once said, “How can you expect to govern a country that has 246 kinds of cheese?”⁵³² The question remains, but on a much larger scale. How can we manage a global

⁵³² Miller, *Cultural Policy*, 185.

world that has thousands of kinds of everything, while still preserving cultural pluralism, authenticity and tradition? Whether PDO, PGI and TSG policies provide the best answer to this question remains to be seen. What is for sure is that the new list of edible endangered species continues to grow.

8. Appendices

8.1. PDO, PGI and TSG Specifics



Source: "Fact Sheet." Defra

8.2. CIAA ‘Annual Report’ 2008

Top 15 exporters, 2007

	Exports (\$ billion)	Share in world (%)
EU	74.3	19.8
United States	43.0	11.5
Brazil	27.6	7.4
China	24.5	6.5
Argentina	17.7	4.7
Canada	17.1	4.6
Thailand	16.7	4.5
Australia	13.7	3.6
New Zealand	0.5	3.3
Indonesia	10.5	2.8
Malaysia	10.0	2.7
Mexico	8.3	2.2
India	7.5	2.0
Vietnam	7.0	1.9
Norway	4.2	1.1

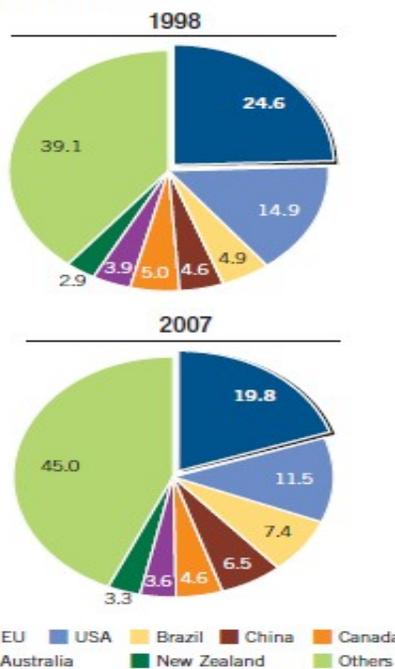
Source: WITS database

Top 15 importers, 2007

	Exports (\$ billion)	Share in world (%)
EU	70.9	18.8
United States	63.4	16.8
Japan	36.2	9.6
China	19.3	5.1
Russia	17.5	4.6
Canada	16.6	4.4
Mexico	10.8	2.9
South Korea	10.7	2.8
Hong Kong, China	8.0	2.1
Saudi Arabia	6.9	1.8
Australia	6.7	1.8
Switzerland	6.2	1.6
Singapore	5.4	1.4
Malaysia	4.6	1.2
Taiwan	4.5	1.2

Source: WITS database

Market shares of world food and drink exports, 1998-2007 (%)



Intra-EU trade is excluded from total world trade

Source: WITS database

Source: “CIAA Annual Report 2008.”

8.3. Green Paper Conclusions on Agricultural Product Quality

Figure 1: Number of contributions received per country

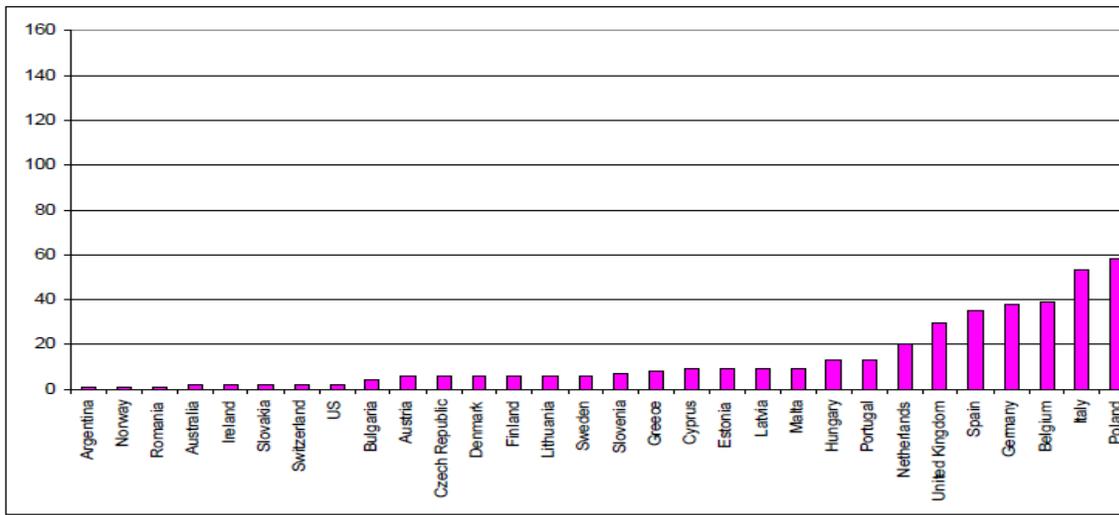


Figure 2: Number of contributions received per country, in percentage

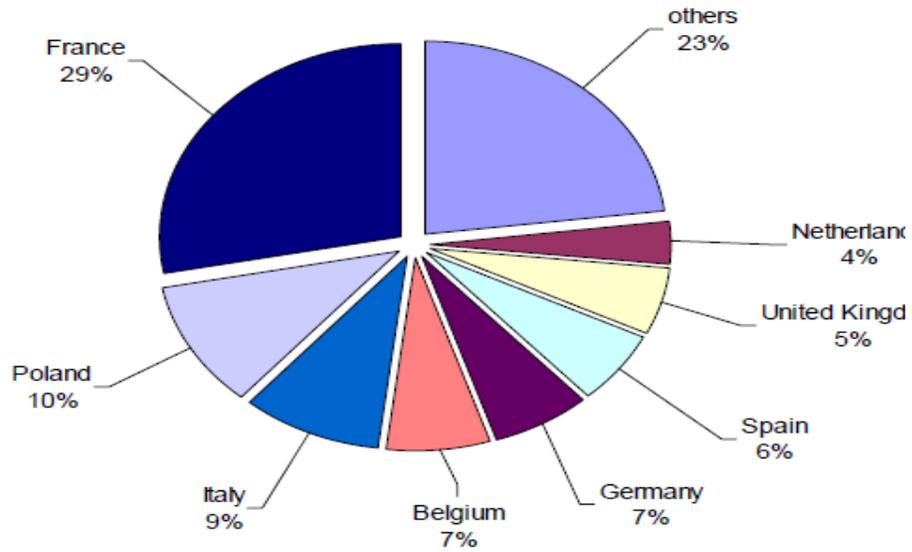
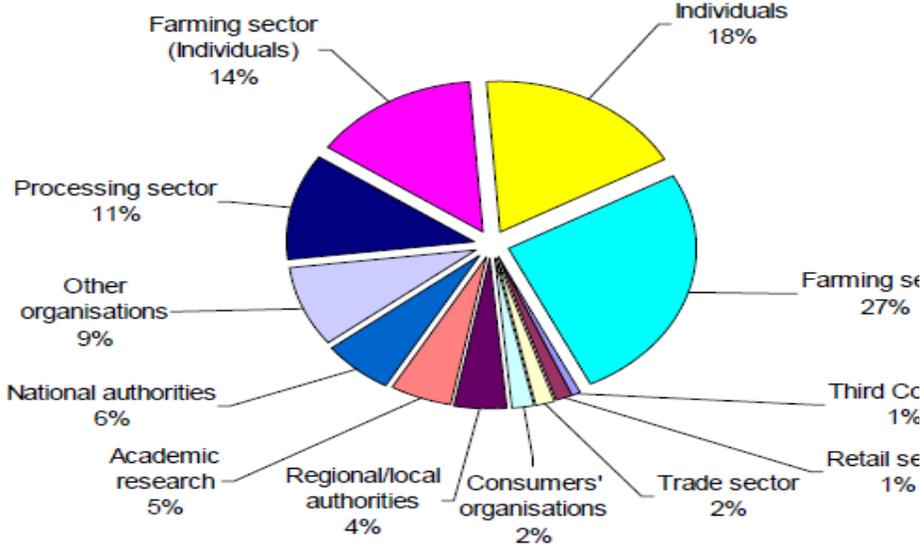


Figure 3: Categories of respondents to the Green Paper Consultation



Source: "Conclusions from the Consultation on Agricultural Product Quality."

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