Journal of Macromarketing

http://jmk.sagepub.com

Here, There, and Everywhere: Place Branding and Gastronomical Globalization in a Macromarketing Perspective

Søren Askegaard and Dannie Kjeldgaard

Journal of Macromarketing 2007; 27; 138
DOI: 10.1177/0276146707300068

The online version of this article can be found at:
http://jmk.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/27/2/138

Published by:
SAGE Publications
http://www.sagepublications.com

Additional services and information for *Journal of Macromarketing* can be found at:

Email Alerts: http://jmk.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts

Subscriptions: http://jmk.sagepub.com/subscriptions

Reprints: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav

Permissions: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

Citations (this article cites 11 articles hosted on the
SAGE Journals Online and HighWire Press platforms):
http://jmk.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/27/2/138

© 2007 SAGE Publications. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

Here, There, and Everywhere: Place Branding and Gastronomical Globalization in a Macromarketing Perspective

Søren Askegaard and Dannie Kjeldgaard

In this article, the authors discuss the role branding can play in regional development in the context of the global cultural economy. They base their discussion on a set of studies of various initiatives having in common the aim of establishing the island of Funen, Denmark, as a region of particular gastronomic quality and competence. The article illustrates how processes of globalization not only result in the dissolving of local cultures by homogenizing forces but also enable the construction of places by way of marketing. In that way, the authors show that marketing not only represents a homogenization of culture through global corporate business but also that the principles of marketing and branding can be used in the service of creating sustainable small-scale production-consumption relations and, therefore, local cultural sustainability.

Keywords: *globalization; food culture; branding; place; marketing*

The aim of this article is to provide a theoretically and empirically based argument for the role of local cultural knowledge in the context of globalization and how this can be translated into place branding as a strategy for regional economic and cultural development. For this reason, the processes of globalization not only result in the dissolving of local cultures through homogenizing forces but also result in enabling the construction of places by way of marketing. Therefore, marketing and branding processes not only represent a homogenization of culture through global corporate business operations but also a set of principles that can be used in the service of creating sustainable small-scale production-consumption relations (Shultz et al. 2005). Place branding, in this perspective, becomes a vehicle for local cultural sustainability (Schaefer and Crane 2005).

Examples of increased articulation of place branding in general and through food in particular proliferate. Networks of local producers and market types or other outlets for high-quality local produce are flourishing also in countries not traditionally known internationally for their refined cuisine, such as Sweden (Cassel 2006) and Ireland (Sage 2003). This is seen as beneficial both to locals in terms of improved economies and employment as well as higher local quality-of-life standards, but also as a brand and a tourist attraction in an expanding experience economy (Hjalager and Richards 2002) for "travellers in time and space" (Burstedt 2006). The case that is used to discuss the issue of place branding in this context is a range of initiatives to brand the island of Funen, Denmark, as a region of small-scale gastronomic excellence. These initiatives spring from a wish to strengthen local production, as Funen has a significant relative share of high-quality, small-scale food producers, therefore securing economic development. Furthermore, the initiatives are inflected with a common discontent with the quasimonopolistic companies' dominance of the Danish food market (dairy, meat, and brewing produce). Hence, the initiatives are seen as ways to rediscover the diversity and quality of the local food culture and to illustrate renewed reflexivity over relations between food and places spurred by globalization processes. From a sociological and marketing point of view, the initiatives can be seen as a counterreaction to another process of globalization, namely of what Ritzer calls the McDonaldization of food production: the irrationalities of an increased rationalization stressing large-scale production units governed by principles of efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control (Ritzer 1993).

THE CONTEXT: FROM THE EMPTYING OF PLACE TO THE CELEBRATION OF THE LOCAL

Globalization is said to be a process that makes geography less relevant for social and cultural arrangements (Waters 2001). Giddens (1990) argues that places in the process of globalization become phantasmagoric in that they are disembedded from locales and reembedded across new time-space configurations. With global mobility, global tourism,

Journal of Macromarketing, Vol. 27 No. 2, June 2007 138-147
DOI: 10.1177/0276146707300068

and global work relations, the places of significance to us are less and less likely to be organized according to concentric circles of geographic equidistance. As Danish university professors, the authors may be more likely to be familiar with various university campuses and cities around the world than with provincial towns in other parts of even the small country of Denmark. Furthermore, the similarity of, for example, downtown districts, international hotels, and (themed) shopping and restaurant environments makes it increasingly difficult to assess exactly where in the world one is based on the physical surroundings. Finally, globalization in many contexts has led to rather significant alterations of the physical space because of economic growth, infrastructural development, and the like. Therefore even many of the places the authors usually identify with, and that have gained historical legitimacy, have become contested.

The experience and awareness of this process of dis- and reembedding social relations, and consequently the challenge to the identity of places, mean that social actors become reflexive about the localities in which they live, spurring articulation of new identities for their locales. This process is accelerated as one of the major identificatory institutions of modernity, namely the nation-state, is losing its grip on cultural identity (Appadurai 1990). In the European context, the issues of, for example, “European citizenship” and “European borders” have led to both a potentially increased awareness of a European identity and a renewed strengthening of regional identities (such as renewed Welsh, Catalonian, Breton, etc. “nationalism”), because the “European project” also acts as a general challenge to the hegemony of the nation-state as the identity-constructing spatial reference.

Globalization is therefore a matter of not only the emergence of a single homogeneous “world culture” but equally an increased preoccupation with local culture. Experiencing the processes of globalization makes social actors become reflexive about localities and start telling stories of the local, thus “producing localities” (Appadurai 1995). People are therefore witnessing not the emergence of a global culture but rather a globalization of the notion of culture through which people are trying “not to become just like us but more like themselves” (Sahlins 1993; cf. Wilk 1995). As consumers are confronted with an increased array of images of others, they will engage in reflexive articulation of their own (cultural and individual) identities, which are reflected in consumption practices. Furthermore, local culture reworks and reinterprets global symbols so as to establish local meaning versions of these symbols, and in that way it produces greater variety of cultural meanings. Finally, through the processes of de- and postcolonialization, the promotion of nation-state-hood and other forms of self-constitutionalization mean that part and parcel of globalization is the promotion of new subjectivities and therefore the production of cultural difference (Appadurai 1990, 1995; Sahlins 1993; Wilk 1995) and thereby increased global heterogeneity.

The idea that globalization is always also a process of glocalization (Robertson 1995) is far from new. What we want to emphasize in this context, though, is the far less discussed fact that the processes outlined above mean that there is not only an emptying of places but also a possibility for the rearticulation of stories of places by drawing on existing local cultural resources. Indeed it has been argued that in a global cultural economy, to survive as distinct cultural identities, each culture must adopt the market logic and commodify its culture so that it is available and present for both direct and mediated touristic consumption (Firat 1997). In his study of the Ainu movement in Japan, Friedman (1990) illustrates how recognition of an ethnic minority identity can be obtained by way of the tourist market. The Ainu cultural centers simultaneously nurture, develop, and sustain local culture, while at the same time acting as touristic destinations. Obviously establishing a relation between a local culture that is experienced as authentic by its members and being a market offering at the same time is not seamless or unproblematic. Such relations, however, are increasingly inevitable in a global cultural economy.

In a marketing context, Ger (1999) argues that by fostering and relying on local cultural capital, local businesses can compete with and indeed “outlocal” global competitors. Local marketers have access to local cultural capital, which can be mobilized to give their products “unique perceived value.” A region can establish a product-country image based on the idea of a constructed narrative (Ger, Askegaard, and Christensen 1999), and local products consequently become embodiments of local culture, in this way offering a possibility of sustaining local business and culture. Building or changing national and regional imagery is not an easy task, but especially with respect to specific product categories, it is possible to build “reputational capital” and product-place imagery that may in turn become important assets (O’Shaugnessy and O’Shaugnessy 2000).

HERE, THERE, AND EVERYWHERE: GLOBAL FOOD CULTURAL DISCOURSES OF GLOBALIZATION

As the authors argued above, the reflexive articulations of places occur partly as the result of the experience of the processes of globalization. Hence the authors argue that any locality must reflexively understand its own cultural identity in relation to divergent discourses of globalization. In principle, the local cultural capital can be applied in any context where such a capital exists. The purpose here is to illustrate such general processes through a case study of what is best seen as a marketing enactment of a local food production capital toward creating a local culinary consumer culture.

The linking between place and food is implicitly and explicitly obvious to us all: first in terms of the relationship between the natural conditions under which food products are grown, bred, or caught and their distinct physical and imaginary qualities. Soil, air, water, climate, and seasons all add up to creating those certain conditions in which products can obtain a certain quality, often through the intermediacy of the artisan and the industrial skills of the producer. As seen in the introduction, the importance of this linkage grows, as consumers and producers alike become increasing reflexive about the relationship between quality and origin of food products.

In addition to this comes the imagery attached to food products as bearers of a certain cultural heritage, maybe in the form of a refined gastronomical tradition. French food is "refined," Indian food "hot," American food "simple," German food "heavy," and so on, although such stereotypes are obviously not true in all and maybe sometimes not even in most cases. There are also images attached to traditions for producing a certain product in a particular place. One can argue about whether whisk(e)y should be Scottish or Irish, but products from elsewhere that bear the same name are unacceptable for amateur connoisseurs. Bourbon, if accepted, is placed in a totally different product category.

James's (1996) study of British food cultural discourses provides an illustrative example of the multifacetted nature of the articulation of globalization processes at the local level. She organizes her findings around four discourses: globalism, exoticism (qualified as the "expatriate" discourse by James), creolization, and nostalgia, each of which is constructed around perceptions of the global and local, other, and self. These categories, we find, of discourse are not accidental but reflect an underlying logical structure of two dimensions: scope and compatibility. Scope is basically a geographical dimension—that is, whether the food cultural discourse is logically available on a global scale or whether it is logically tied to a specific, geographical locality. Compatibility expresses whether new items, ways of preparing, and constellations of products can easily be added to a predefined script without altering its "authenticity." These notions of what constitutes the global and the local, self, and other, are linked to implicit spatial references. A low degree of compatibility, then, refers to a script describing the essentially culturally correct way of preparing and eating a particular kind of food. This can be either in the form of what is perceived as exotic or foreign authenticity in which case the expatriate discourse is characterized by authentic otherness, something originating "there" (e.g., a "real" Italian, Thai, Indian, etc. meal). Or as is the case with the nostalgia discourse, it is characterized by the expression of authentic culinary self-hood (coming from "here"), often perceived to be under threat from the invasion of global fast food (which is logically available "everywhere") and foreign, authentic or creolized, cuisines (a mix of "here" and "there"). Using these two dimensions, the discourses can be organized in a two-by-two matrix as shown in figure 1.

COMPATIBILITY ***SCOPE***	**YES**	**NO**
GLOBAL	1. GLOBAL Everywhere	2. EXPATRIATE There
LOCAL	3. CREOLIZATION There in here	4. NOSTALGIA Here

FIGURE 1 JAMES'S (1996) FOOD DISCOURSES AND SPATIAL REFERENCES

A given cultural manifestation, such as a meal, can be placed as belonging to one of these discourses. However, the placing is determined by perceptions of scope and compatibility rather than some intrinsic attribute of the meal. The discourses emerge as perceptions of what is considered to be local and global. These perceptions, however, are dynamic rather than static, as they are continuously (re)articulated and reconstructed in a negotiation of cultural identity—a negotiation that intensifies as consumers are increasingly confronted with images of the other through the globalization process.

The whole notion of food and space relations is enlarged to a broader scope by Bell and Valentine (1997), ranging from the spatial context of the single body to the globality as a whole. In what they choose to call a structuring of space via scale, they explore "geographies of food consumption" at each level of the scale: the body, home, community, city, region, nation, and the global. What is of special interest here is the treatment of region as "a product of both human and physical processes: a natural landscape and a peopled landscape" (Bell and Valentine 1997, 153). Funen is a region in the physical sense of being an island but, as we shall see, also in the imagined sense.

To sum up, the marketing of space in terms of food and food in terms of space refers to the meanings pertaining to all sorts of spatial relationships. This may be place of brand, place of production, place of design, place of innovation, place of origin of the raw materials, and so forth. This takes us far beyond the classical discussions of the relevance of "country of origin." First and foremost, the spatial reference can be many other kinds than just "country," which is why it would be more appropriate to speak of product-place images (Ger et al. 1999). Furthermore it includes meanings pertaining to the local and the global, the familiar and the strange, and similar dichotomies. Indeed the whole notion of origin is questioned by the multiple meanings attached to the potential multiple origins of a product.

CASE BACKGROUND: DENMARK'S "APPLE YARD AND HOPS GARDEN"?

Funen, as a Danish region, is facing development issues in relation to the rest of the country. For decades the economic growth has been slower in Funen than in most other parts of Denmark, and the island holds a relatively small proportion of the jobs for people with a university-level education. For such and other reasons, the island is often referred to as a development "problem area" in the national context.

On the other hand, the national storyteller Hans Christian Andersen, a native of the island, in a song praised Funen as Denmark's "apple yard and hops garden." This image of an island of rural idyllic villages, an orchard of fertile soil populated with sympathetic and straightforward, if somewhat nondynamic, people is obviously both a blessing and a curse when it comes to promoting the idea of a gastronomical center on a commercial basis. In the gastronomical realm, the island of Funen is home to more than its expected relative share of high quality food producers. The establishment of a local market where local food produce from small-scale producers is sold, an annual food festival in Southern Funen, and the initiative to establish a food center of excellence by local authorities and local producers are all interconnected activities that reflect an emerging gastronomy movement. The movement emphasizes small-scale production, high quality food produce, communication of the importance of food, and finally, through this, a higher quality of life. The movement is therefore a mix of commercial interests (facilitating distribution and sales and stimulating demand for small-scale producers) and ideological viewpoints (based on resistance to national food giants and retailers, particularly in the dairy and meat sector). The reflexivity over local culture instigated by globalization processes has manifested itself in a discourse of reconstructing Funen as a place of food excellence.

METHOD

The following section is based on data from two studies: one study of consumer attitudes and behavior of the recently established Odense gourmet food market Rosenbæk (specializing in high-quality products from small-scale producers) and the other a feasibility study on a Funen food center situated near Odense by the motorway (to reach commuters, tourists, and others who travel across the island). In total the authors have data from four focus groups, extensive observation studies at the Rosenbæk market, thirty-eight personal short interviews with travelers on two selected rest areas along the Funish motorway, five medium-length (half hour) interviews with people from various organized gastronomical societies around Funen, and eight interviews with small-scale producers selling from the Rosenbæk market. Two of the focus groups were recruited among customers at the Rosenbæk Gourmet Market, one focus group through snowball sampling among local "amateur gastronomists," and the final focus group, acting more or less as a control group, was recruited in a local supermarket. In the last case, consumers were asked a screening question regarding whether they considered themselves very interested in food and cooking. Only in the case of a negative answer were consumers recruited as informants. This provided us with a group of "ordinary eaters" compared to the highly involved amateur gastronomists.

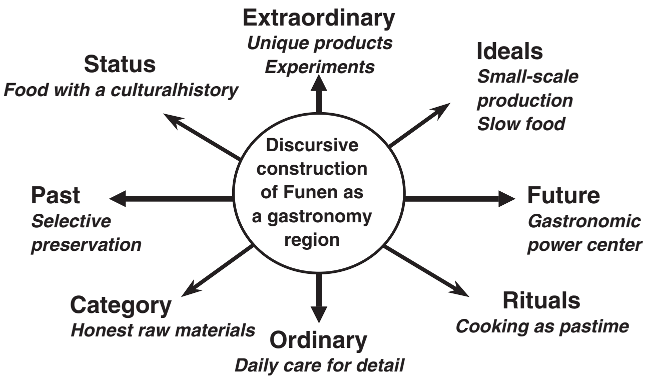

FIGURE 2 TEMPO-SPATIAL STRUCTURAL MEANING ELEMENTS OF A FOOD CULTURE

The studies thus encompass both the commercial actors, the more ideologically motivated people from gastronomical societies, and consumers from an amateur-gastronomist segment and from an "ordinary eaters" segment. Interview themes dealt with food-related habits, preferences, ideals, food shopping, and motivations for consumption of high-quality local produce. All interviews were conducted as semistructured interviews, the loosely observed structure being informed by two conceptual schemes: one presented above in figure 1 and the other a scheme based on food meanings inserted in a logic of time and space (see figure 2; cf. Askegaard 1991). As the authors have already argued, space and food are closely intertwined. Furthermore, the insertion of food in a temporal scheme is becoming important in a new way. Obviously, food has always been tied to seasonal changes, daily rhythms, and ritualized occasions, but because of increased volatility and reflexivity in the food market, food is also increasingly classified as being "of the past" or "of the future."

FINDINGS: GASTRONOMY AND REGIONAL FOOD MARKETING AS A VEHICLE FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT?

Some of the most important discussions among the consumers during the focus group interviews evolved around the extent to which food habits were linked to past traditions or to the future and around ideas of how the culinary culture is developing. Similarly, our informants talked a lot about food products according to whether they represent something ordinary and familiar or something extraordinary and/or strange, for example, something from an exotic and unknown culinary culture. Needless to say, these categories are not mutually exclusive. A food product may be ordinary and well known in some ways but strange in others, as is the case with many creolized products. Furthermore, paradoxically, the exotic may be more familiar than the traditional. This is true to the extent that the classic culinary culture of Funen has vanished in the course of an overwhelming influx of, on one hand, modern global and/or creolized foodways (e.g., the victorious pizza culture) and, on the other hand, industrialized and McDonaldized versions of traditional products (e.g., mass-marketed versions of traditional liver paté). This modern alienation from the traditional local peasant cuisine sparked some concern among food enthusiasts, as they feared that traditional dishes and preparation would fall into oblivion lest they be kept alive by producers and consumers alike. Hence, "past" and "tradition" to some extent did represent prime value references and as such became central signifiers for contemporary cultural ideals of how the future ought to be (Brown 2001).

From the past, any culinary culture has inherited a set of categories. In this context, such categories refer to the systematizations that structure our understanding of the culinary sign system. These are the paradigms and syntagms of food meanings, the rules according to which we can structure meals, combine certain elements, and in a given combination (or syntagm) replace certain elements with certain others. These rules also pertain to the time of the day a given type of food is served. Most of us may not be aware of these categorizations and only discover them when they are broken, as is demonstrated by Fischler's (1990) "unconstrained gourmet menu" (English version reprinted in Solomon, Bamossy, and Askegaard 2002, 55). From our interviews, it was clear that for a good number of food products, consumers were demanding alternatives to the products and brands offered by the large-scale producers so dominant in the Danish food market. There was an experience of a "poverty of variation" in terms of alternatives to what is perceived as standardized and McDonaldized offerings.

Some product categories (champagne, caviar) are raised to a certain status level because of their proprietary assests, price, and/or scarcity, or they are special status markers of certain events ritualistically attached to particular feasts (e.g., Thanksgiving turkey), sacred events, or phenomena, thereby marking an "extraordinary" food event. For our consumer informants, it is interesting that the product profiling of the gourmet market must not be limited to such luxurious extravaganza. What consumers are searching for among small-scale producers is not necessarily different products but better versions of mundane product categories. The degree of standardization has become much too high, according to our gastronomically oriented informants. Small-scale producers, with their artisan way of production, raise even fairly common food items to a special status marker because of the basic quality of the produce, the refined production methods, the life quality of animals, and so forth. For the clients of the Rosenbæk Gourmet Market, the decidedly "daily" cooking sausage "medister" turns from something only slightly above junk food to something that can be served at a dinner party if produced by a small-scale local producer.

In moving the culinary culture into the future, rituals and usage habits are perpetuating but also gradually (or less often) abruptly changing the foodways. They are prolonging the categories into the future, renewing them with new products, new ingredients, and new habits that have to be integrated into the existing categorical system. Such renewals of culinary systems tend to follow patterns of trends or certain sets of ideals, expressing a certain value system that elevates certain changes to a standard of "worthy" compared to other changes that may be looked at as degrading. One standard example here is the dichotomy of convenience versus care (Warde 1997), where most people are acutely aware of the fact that many of the new and convenient solutions in the food market violate the self-image of a devout caretaker of the family. In other words, new products or solutions are evaluated based on whether they are consistent with preexisting values of devoting time to shop and cook out of the love for the family versus saving shopping and cooking time to be able to spend more time with the family. As such, these trends and ideals are obviously not necessarily hegemonic within a society but, as we shall see, fairly consistent within the network of market agents supporting the gastronomic tradition as a viable regional development strategy.

In temporal terms, the quality-of-life marketing discourse employed by the agents promoting a gastronomic power center in Funen stresses that only the part of the local culinary tradition that is consistent with contemporary gastronomic standards should be preserved. In terms of daily cooking practices, a respect for "honest" product categories, that is, categories that are not subject to marketing manipulations, is the general attitude. Daily cooking is underlined as a sacred time for shared community-generating family life by almost all our informants, in spite of being under pressure from work-related and other activities. Even if high gastronomy is excluded because of economic and time constraints, a care for the details about even simple cooking is highlighted as the prime sign that the right values prevail in the household. For more extraordinary occasions, culinary experiments including more elaborate preparations and the search for unique products with a particular cultural history are central constructs to secure a gastronomic life quality. For the gastronomically oriented, the general inspiration is found in the slow food movement (originating in Italy) and in the production philosophies of local small-scale, high-quality food producers. The two consumer groups hence share the focus on quality of life through the ritual of the meal.

Scope \ *Compatibility*	YES	NO
GLOBAL	1. GLOBAL - Globalization means both fragmentation of the market and homogenization - The global is not that threatening. Nestlé and Coca-Cola are less threatening than large Danish national and transnational food producers	2. EXPATRIATE - Mediterrenean food as central reference as a more sophisticated form of Danish food culture - Thailand, China, Mexico,… interesting occasional exotic food experience, but too exoticto become central source of inspiration
LOCAL	3. CREOLIZATION - Inspiration for variation (meat-balls-with-exotic-side-dishes) - Very few negative association. Informants are careful with showing a purist understanding of food culture	4. NOSTALGIA - Funen as backwards but quaint farming country - Preservation of parts of historical food culture that should not disappear

FIGURE 3 GLOBAL AND LOCAL DISCOURSES AROUND THE FUNEN GASTRONOMICAL CENTER

However, where the gastronomically oriented consumers stress high-quality ingredients, the ordinary eater segment will accept a take-away pizza as the occasion for the daily dinner ritual.

The authors refrain from any elaborate discussion of more refined subgroups of consumers with differing viewpoints on the issue of new tendencies in the food market. But the distinction between amateur gastronomists and ordinary eaters, or “food freaks” and “daily slaves” as they suggestively nicknamed each other during the focus groups, proved useful for the understanding of the underlying structural differences in the market.

In these findings, the discourse of producers and idealistic entrepreneurs draws heavily both on the regional imagery of the local agro-climatic qualities and the presence of a good number of high-quality artisan food-producing companies. Both these market agents and the amateur gastronomists are reluctant, however, to engage in any romanticizing of this. The idyllic image is much more important for the ordinary eaters. They, to a much larger extent, imagined, for instance, that a future gastronomic center had to be an almost hyperreal rendition of a classical Danish roadside inn. Consequently, in spite of their own stressing convenience as a decisive factor in their daily food-related lifestyle, the placement of a gastronomical center at a motorway exit did not appeal to them, as a motorway and a classic, cozy inn were unmatched categories. To the ordinary eaters, the whole idea of regional food was linked with preservation and nostalgia, whereas the gastronomists saw the regional food center as a vehicle for development. For that reason, the mythical idyllic imagery is completely rejected by the gastronomists who do not want to perpetuate the backward imagery of Funen in spite of their own fairly romantic relationship with culinary activities. In terms of the food cultural model, one can argue that these two groups attach very different temporal meanings to the issue of how to construct a positive imagery around a gastronomic strategy for the island.

In terms of the cultural food discourses discussed earlier (figure 1), nostalgia—either as a positive or a negative factor—is thus a central discourse in the arguments around the development potential of a gastronomical center. But the existing image of Funen, which goes well with the thought of food artisanship, is counterproductive to the idea of a dynamic power center for gastronomy and culinary expertise. Globalization as a discourse plays less a role than expected in the sense that the big culprits for a perceived lamentable situation for the current Danish food culture and the poor food habits among the Danes are less the global players and more the national quasi-monopolies in, for example, the dairy and meat sectors. To our informants, globalization is less about the presence of global companies and more about the McDonaldized food production processes allegedly favored by these big players in the national market context. These local representatives of globalization are the factors that promote an unwanted homogenization of the market, whereas the global market players actually contribute to multitude and fragmentation, as for example the presence of large-scale producers of tex-mex food products in the Danish supermarkets witnesses. Indeed, globalization and various new ingredients are very welcome because they contribute, in a creolized way, to the renewal of tried and tested dishes, supply refreshing new condiments, and so forth. The fragmentation obviously also contributes to a plethora of "authentic" culinary experiences to seek out for oneself.

However, in terms of impact and influence on the "brand" of Funen food products and a regional culinary tradition, there are very distinct differences between the roles of various exotic cuisines. It is obvious from the authors' results that the ideal type cuisines for Danes, when confronted with the idea of culinary development, are the French and Italian gastronomical traditions. They are regarded as exquisite but also close enough to local foodways to act as "role models." Other high-profile culinary cultures, especially from Asia, are seen metaphorically and colloquially as interesting exotic visitors that you can hang out with from time to time but are too different from you for you to really learn a lot from them. The authors summarize these findings in relation to the model of food cultural discourse in figure 3.

In the construction of product-place images, any locality must consider its own (intended) relation to these discourses. In the case of the Funen food industry, the authors found that consumers and industry alike initially considered Funen food culture in terms that qualified as the nostalgia discourse. However, the consumer perception of what a gastronomic region should offer, and indeed what consumer food practices are operating in the market, included all of the discourses.

REGIONAL FOOD MARKETING SYSTEMS IN A MACROMARKETING PERSPECTIVE

There are several aspects of the process of (re)branding the region of Funen as a center of gastronomic production and consumption that are closely linked to preoccupations in the macromarketing literature of recent years. First and foremost it represents a more elaborate "stakeholder inclusion" along the lines suggested by Shultz, Rahtz, and Speece (2004), where the fundamental credo is that there is a place for large-scale global as well as small-scale local producers in the contemporary globalizing marketplace. The movement toward constructing a strong alternative food production and distribution system to establish Funen as a region of particular gastronomic strength also represents an attempt to turn the low-rated and disgusted "marketing instrument" against the perceived "market bullies" of large-scale producers of food products, in many consumer segments in the Danish context held in low esteem in terms of market ethics and product quality.

A higher degree of respect for gastronomic qualities among all market agents is closely linked to the increasing global reaction against the McDonaldization of food production, distribution, and consumption systems as well as a call for a more active and critical consumer not content with being a pawn in the hands of the industry (Holbrook 1999). However, it is important to notice that the contemporary McDonaldized market scenery with its focus on convenience and accessibility does provide a set of constraints in terms of how a competitive production and distribution system can be organized. Part of the marketing challenge for small-scale producers and distributors is to form production modes and distribution channels that secure availability and accessibility of the produce for contemporary, time-constrained consumers. The convenience of, for example, local small-scale producers' markets is that the consumer, instead of buying the produce directly at each producer (often in terms of an "inverse door-sale" process, where the consumer visits the individual farm), can find a selection and variety of produce from different producers in one outlet.

The idea of creating and marketing a gastronomic center of higher cultural capital is congruent with certain parts of the call for increased consideration of sustainable, small-scale production (Schaefer and Crane 2005), although the goal per se is not primarily to consume considerably less but rather to consume better. However, a recurrent argument also hinting at the debate on overconsumption, overweight, and health issues is that products from small-scale, high-quality producers yield more satisfaction per unit consumed. Consequently, consuming better in terms of quality may actually lead to consuming less in terms of quantity. As a Canadian medical professor explained,

> Enjoy the taste of fat. If you like chocolate, get good chocolate. Pay a little bit more, eat a bit less, and you'll be satisfied. Buy the best ice cream you can afford. Enjoy it and

> hopefully you'll appreciate that you don't have to eat the whole barrel tonight. Whereas with the lower-fat varieties, you are not getting that mouth-feel, and flavour and taste. (Brignell 2004, 108)

What is true of the regular high-quality produce versus low-fat produce seems, at least from our informants' perspective, to be equally true when comparing high-quality produce with the standard produce (e.g., pork, poultry, beef). Paradoxically, if the product is better, you don't consume more but less because of an increased "satisfaction per mouthful." This renders the change in buying and consumption patterns from standard produce to gastronomic high-quality produce, if not economically neutral, at least less painful.

Environmental factors such as social consciousness, organizational factors such as producer ethics, and individual factors such as uniting all the well-meaning and idealistic market agents (producers and consumers alike) in the efforts to establish both an increased consumer well-being and a better basis for respect and trust between producer and consumer have been demonstrated as antecedents of quality-of-life marketing (Lee and Sirgy 2004). Such factors also constitute some of the prime motivations behind establishing Funen as a gastronomic quality region in Denmark. In this case, it is also a matter of uniting market agents in the purpose of reinforcing the gastronomic quality of life in the region as well as securing a closer interaction between producer and consumer for increased quality consciousness, connoisseurship, and trust in the products.

The request for local produce can be considered a search for a center that holds (Bauman 1990) in the middle of a turbulent period where many cultural categories are challenged. Food and food culture constitute "ties that bind," as suggested by Shultz et al. (2005). And although the authors' context is much less dramatic than theirs, dealing with postwar Balkans, the establishment of locally and regionally situated ties between producers and consumers is also in the case of Funen at least ideally a way of de-alienating the marketplace relationships and reconstructing them on a more humane scale (Ger 1997).

MAKING PLACES: PERSPECTIVES AND DISCUSSION

The construction of product-place images and the associated regional branding activities, which proliferate globally, means that localities are increasingly, perhaps reflexively, articulated constructions based on available and appropriate local cultural resources. These articulations feed into the global cultural economy as a production of cultural differences. One of our conclusions is that this approach to branding places can have implications in relation to regional development. When the aim is to generate regional development and strengthen local culture and industry in the face of globalized competition, one must begin with culture as a resource. The authors discover here an obvious example of the process behind Ger's (1999) suggestion that local companies can "outlocal" global competition by leveraging on and developing/constructing local cultural capital. Culture can therefore play a key role in economic and welfare development. This insight may inspire policy makers and industry to focus on local cultural resources rather than just, for instance, infrastructure or liberalization of markets, which are some of the widely circulated dogmas in global "economistic" discourse, as represented by some of the global economic institutions (e.g., the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and the World Bank; Stiglitz 2004).

The authors argue that developing regions should protect, nurture, and rearticulate local cultural identities (reflexive articulations that can take a starting point in the cultural discourses outlined earlier), which can be leveraged into strong product-place image brands. Such brands play dual roles. First, they provide a unique brand image that of course has commercial implications. Second, it has cultural implications as well: the authors believe that sober, cleverly articulated place brands that respect unique cultural heritage can provide a revitalization of local cultural identification in the midst of the onslaught of global consumer culture in local markets. So because it is difficult to stand outside the global cultural economy, local markets should leverage the demand for cultural difference by reconstructing local culture as commercial and cultural brands. Branding is often demonized as representing the seductive, manipulative, and hegemonic intentions of Western marketers. Based on their discussion above, the authors argue that although this may often be the case, branding can also be an effective tool for local economies to secure a position in a globalizing world (Anholt 2003).

In relation to globalization theory, the authors would argue that the local does not always have to be thought of as something authentic in the meaning of traditional or pure, which is often the case in the discussion of the global-local dialectic of global consumer culture. Rather, the local may end up being just as hyperreal—oftentimes even more so—than the global "real things" if based on pure nostalgia. In terms of mobilizing the local cultural capital (Ger 1999), the authors take this argument further by arguing that drawing on existing local cultural capital in the branding of places local culture is not merely maintained or sustained; it is constructed. One may argue that such a constructed place is inauthentic compared to a presumed original culture. However, places and culture are imaginary constructions of belonging anyway (or "imagined communities" in the words of Benedict Anderson 1983), and there is therefore no possibility of returning to a more authentic culture. The construction of new places may refer to some forms of nostalgia, but it may equally refer to the future, modernity, and globality. Therefore local constructed places and new versions of local culture are equally authentic, if not more, as some nostalgic or musealized version (Askegaard and Kjeldgaard 2002).

It is this largely theoretical realization that is important in terms of commercial strategy and local public policy not becoming overwhelmed by "globalization" as something massively intruding and eroding of the local. Rather, the authors argue that the very principles on which a global cultural economy functions can be culturally and economically emancipating for local cultures. As Ger (1999) rightly points out, to outlocal the globals requires that the traditionally separate spheres of public administration, policy makers, research institutions, and businesses cooperate toward cultivating local cultural capital and translating this into sustainable culturally enhancing place-branding strategies. Such place-branding strategies avoid that localities become mere touristified versions of local culture in nostalgic or musealized form.

From a macromarketing perspective, the local high-quality produce markets represent a clear-cut example of stakeholder inclusion, and its marketing and branding an empowerment of—in many contexts of the modern global marketplace—otherwise disempowered agents, consumers, and producers alike. Furthermore, it potentially enhances quality of life and well-being in local contexts. For the people of Funen, the production and marketing of local produce of particular gastronomical quality is potentially a source of health, renewed lifestyles, and income. Economic benefits are not tied to the marketing and selling of the produce alone. They are also linked to the derived profits from tourism, to the attraction of new citizens from other parts of the country because of the enhanced quality of life, and to the derived effects in terms of conferences, learning centers, and attractiveness of investments attached to becoming a "center of excellence."

Branding can be said to have become the dominant mode of the production of culture in a postmodern globalized cultural economy. The cobranding process of the island of Funen and the center (or centers) of gastronomic excellence is especially telling as neither of them has really existed as deliberate brand articulations prior to the attempt to create a strong and mutually supportive imagery. Whether as a "nostalgia" brand of village idyll and the artisan production methods attached to such imagery or as a "future brand," the center of a dynamic, quality conscious, and on-trend food industry, Funen and its potential gastronomical center become mutual reflections of each other's image. To sum up the discussion in relation to globalization theory, places do not disappear in the processes of globalization but through the increased reflexivity of consumers and marketers; their place-branding activities reappear both as hyperreal constructs and as very real development opportunities.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined communities*. London: Verso.

Anholt, Simon. 2003. *Brand new justice. The upside of global branding*. Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. Disjuncture and difference in the global economy. In *Global culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity*, edited by M. Featherstone, 295-310. London: Sage.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1995. The production of locality. In *Counterworks*, edited by R. Fardon, 204-25. London: Routledge.

Askegaard, Søren. 1991. Towards a semiotic structure of cultural identity. In *Marketing and semiotics*, edited by H. H. Larsen, D. G. Mick, and C. Alsted, 11-25. Copenhagen, Denmark: Handelshøjskolens Forlag.

Askegaard, Søren and D. Kjeldgaard. 2002. The water fish swim in? Relations between marketing and culture in the age of globalization. In *Perspectives on marketing relations*, edited by T. Knudsen, S. Askegaard, and N. Jørgensen, 13-35. Copenhagen, Denmark: Forlaget Thomson.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1990. Searching for a centre that holds. In *Global culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity*, edited by M. Featherstone, 143-69. London: Sage.

Bell, David and Gill Valentine. 1997. *Consuming geographies. You are where you eat*. London: Routledge.

Brignell, John. 2004. *The epidemiologists. Have they got scares for you*. London: Brignell Associates.

Brown, Stephen. 2001. *Marketing: The retro-revolution*. London: Sage.

Burstedt, Anna. 2006. Mat för resande i tid och rum. In *Mat. Genealogi och gestaltning*, edited by A. Burstedt, C. Fredriksson, and H. Jönsson, 147-63. Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur.

Cassel, Susanna Heldt. 2006. Regionen för finsmakare. Regional profilering och varumärkesbyggnande i skärgården. In *Mat. Genealogi och gestaltning*, edited by A. Burstedt, C. Fredriksson, and H. Jönsson, 21-34. Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur.

Firat, A. Fuat. 1997. Globalization of fragmentation—A framework for understanding contemporary global markets. *Journal of International Marketing* 5 (2): 77-86.

Fischler, Claude. 1990. *L'homnivore*. Paris: Odile Jacob.

Friedman, Jonathon. 1990. Being in the world: Globalization and localization. In *Global culture. Nationalism, globalization and modernity*, edited by M. Featherstone, 311-28. London: Sage.

Ger, Guiliz. 1997. Human development and humane consumption: Well-being beyond the "good life." *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 16 (1): 110-25.

Ger, Guiliz. 1999. Localizing in the global village: Local firms competing in global markets. *California Management Review* 41 (4): 64-83.

Ger, Guiliz, Søren Askegaard, and Anja Christensen. 1999. Experiential nature of product-place images: Image as a narrative. In *Advances in consumer research*, edited by E. J. Arnould and L. M. Scott, 165-69, vol. XXVI. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research.

Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hjalager, Anne-Mette and Greg Richards, eds. 2002. *Tourism and gastronomy*. London: Routledge.

Holbrook, Morris. 1999. Higher than the bottom line: Reflections on some recent macromarketing literature. *Journal of Macromarketing* 19 (1): 48-74.

James, Allison. 1996. Cooking the books. Global or local identities in contemporary British food cultures. In *Cross-cultural consumption*, edited by D. Howes, 77-92. London: Routledge.

Lee, Dong-Jin and M. Joseph Sirgy. 2004. Quality-of-life (QOL) marketing: Proposed antecedents and consequences. *Journal of Macromarketing* 24 (1): 44-58.

O'Shaugnessy, J. & N. J. O'Shaugnessy. 2000. Treating the nation as a brand: Some neglected issues. *Journal of Macromarketing* 20 (1): 56-64.

Ritzer, George. 1993. *The McDonalization of society: An investigation into the changing character of contemporary social life*. Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Robertson, R. 1995. Glocalization: Time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In *Global modernities*, edited by M. Featherstone, S. Lash, and R. Robertson, 25-44. London: Sage.

Sage, Colin. 2003. Social embeddedness and relations of regard: Alternative "good food" networks in South-West Ireland. *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 (1): 47-60.

Sahlins, Marshall. 1993. Goodbye to Triste Tropes: Ethnography in the context of modern world history. *Journal of Modern History* 65 (March): 1-25.

Schaefer, Anja and Andrew Crane. 2005. Addressing sustainability and consumption. *Journal of Macromarketing* 25 (1): 76-92.

Shultz, C., D. R. Rahtz, and M. Speece. 2004. Globalization, transformation, and quality of life: Reflections on ICMD-8 and participative marketing and development. *Journal of Macromarketing* 24 (2): 168-72.

Shultz, C., T. J. Burkink, B. Grbac, and N. Renko. 2005. When policies and marketing systems explode: An assessment of food marketing in the war-ravaged Balkans and implications for recovery, sustainable peace, and prosperity. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 24 (1): 24-37.

Solomon, Michael, Gary Bamossy, and Søren Askegaard. 2002. *Consumer behaviour. A European perspective*, 2nd ed. London: Pearson Education.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2004. Globalism's discontents. In *The globalization reader*, edited by F. J. Lechner and J. Boli, 200-7. London: Blackwell.

Warde, Alan. 1997. *Consumption, food and taste*. London: Routledge.

Waters, M. 2001. *Globalization*. London: Routledge.

Wilk, Richard. 1995. Learning to be local in Belize: Global systems of common difference. In *Worlds apart: Modernity through the prism of the local*, edited by D. Miller, 110-33. London: Routledge.

Søren Askegaard is a professor of marketing at University of Southern Denmark, Odense. He has university-level education in social sciences, communication, and marketing from Denmark and France. His research interests generally lie in the field of consumer culture and its globalization.

Dannie Kjeldgaard is an associate professor at University of Southern Denmark, Odense. He has university degrees in international marketing. His research interests lie primarily in the area of globalization as it pertains to marketing, development, and consumer culture.