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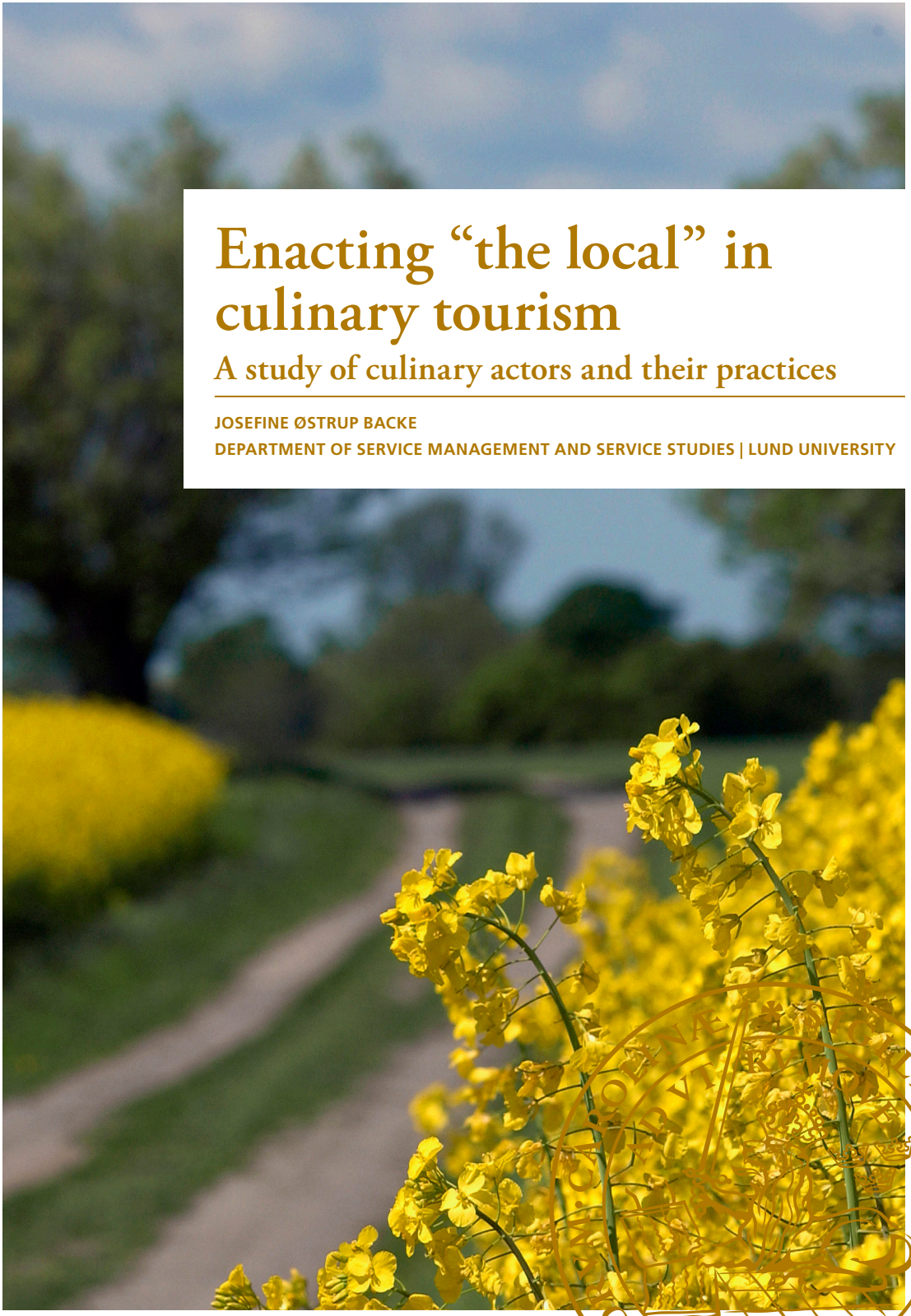
Östrup Backe, Josefine

2020

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record



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LUND
UNIVERSITY

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION
By due permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences,
Lund University, Sweden.
To be defended at Campus Helsingborg, U203,
February 7, 2020, 13.15.

Faculty opponent
Professor Jon Sundbo
Department of Social Sciences and Business,
Centre for Experience and Tourism Research,
Roskilde University, Denmark

Organization LUND UNIVERSITY Department of Service Management and Service Studies	**Document name** DOCTORAL DISSERTATION
	Date of issue February 7, 2020
Author(s): Josefine Østrup Backe	Sponsoring organization

Title and subtitle:
Enacting "the local" in culinary tourism – A study of culinary actors and their practices.

Abstract:
As the competition between destinations grows, the need to stand out and offer memorable and unique experiences also grows. Culinary experiences and activities with elements of "the local" are a growing niche, which mirrors the trend of knowing where the food originates, and that it has been grown, produced, and transported in an ecologically, socially and culturally sustainable way. To be able as a visitor to get close to the products and the producers by participating in the production process adds an additional dimension to the experience. In Sweden and other Nordic countries, the movement around the New Nordic Kitchen has fed the rising attention on the local crops, production methods, and traditions, and "the local" has thus developed as a way of enhancing the culinary experience through recent years. The local as a means of culinary tourism is a phenomenon which is visible in several contexts, as in the form of small-scale producer networks, as well as in regional and national efforts, politically as well as commercially. To the culinary actors the notion of the local seems to be something that connects the common interests and desires to offer unique and attractive food experiences. A certain "taken-for-grantedness" has thereby emerged around the local as something good and positive, not just in an environmental perspective, but even socially and culturally.

The overall aim of this thesis is to study how culinary tourism is enacted as an economic, social, and cultural activity, through the notion of "the local". The vision of *Sweden – a new culinary nation*, and a culinary tourism producer network in Southern Sweden act as examples of this process. The empirical data was collected by an ethnographic approach, through observations, conversations/interviews and the study of various documents. Taking a practice theoretical perspective, the thesis analyses how the local in culinary tourism is enacted in three practice-bundles: framing the ideal culinary destination, organising culinary tourism, and performing the local in culinary tourism. The analysis demonstrates how the local is enacted as a combination of acts such as positioning a culinary tourism profile, staging of culinary products and experiences, negotiating what or whom should be included in a culinary network, or ways of talking about the local as a part of rural policy, ways of designing food tours, or specific uses of local food products and other items in culinary activities. The thesis contributes to understanding the processes involved with the planning and performing of tourism experiences and activities, as well as the complexities therein. Thereby different tensions that emerge in this vein also become visible, such as tensions between the local and non-local, the commercial and ideal, as well as the physical and more abstract elements linked to the local.

Key words: culinary tourism, food experiences, the local, local food, tourism production, practice theory, social practices, destination branding, culinary actors, rural food experiences, ethnography

Classification system and/or index terms (if any)

Supplementary bibliographical information		**Language** English
ISSN and key title		**ISBN** 978-91-7895-354-7 (print) 978-91-7895-355-4 (pdf)
Recipient's notes	**Number of pages** 241	Price
	Security classification	

Signature  Date 2019-12-16

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Coverphoto by Mikael Risedal
All photographs inside the book by author
Rear cover photo by Anna Lindén

Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Service Management and Service Studies

ISBN 978-91-7895-354-7 (print)
ISBN 978-91-7895-355-4 (pdf)

The printing of this book has been made possible with the generosity from *Campus Vänner*.

Printed in Sweden by Media-Tryck, Lund University
Lund 2020

Media-Tryck is an environmentally certified and ISO 14001:2015 certified provider of printed material.
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MADE IN SWEDEN

For Viktor and Nikki

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Acknowledgements

After more than a decade with this thesis, I can now finally write these last lines. It has been an enlightening, frustrating, fun, insightful and everything but straightforward journey. However, it would not have been possible without the contribution and help from a number of people around me. First of all I owe the deepest respect and gratefulness to my two supervisors, Su Mi Dahlgaard-Park and Erika Andersson Cederholm, who have patiently followed this journey from the very beginning. Our meetings throughout the years have contained fruitful and constructive discussions and tears of frustration, but not the least a lot of laughter as well. Thank you for always believing in me and supporting me all the way through; I cannot tell you enough how much that means to me.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the members of *The Food Network* for giving me access to their various activities, and to Håkan Jönsson for first of all introducing me to the empirical field of culinary tourism, but also for providing valuable insights and feedback on my work throughout the thesis process, as well as including me in various culinary events outside the university world. Thank you also Jan Henrik Nilsson, Susanna Heldt Cassel, Johan Hultman, Michael Hall, and Christian Fuentes for your constructive comments and suggestions on the text through the different stages of the writing process. Your perspectives and advice have been invaluable!

To all my fellow doctoral colleagues (several of you now 'ex-doctoral') throughout the time I have been working on this thesis – in particular Malin Andersson, Ida Wingren, Carin Rehncrona, Devrim Umut Aslan, Ida de Wit Sandström, Tomas Nilsson, Alma Raissova, and all other doctoral colleagues at the department with whom I have shared talks and ideas throughout the years – thank you for giving and insightful discussions, which would not always be so academic but still very relevant and needed! Specifically, I wish to thank Emma Samsioe, with whom I have shared tears of both joy and sorrow along the way. Thank you Emma, for your friendship and for all encouragement and new perspectives you have added during the latest years, as well as for being the perfect company when going into writing exile in the fantastic fairy-tale world of *Bohuslän* or the woods of *Småland*. Also, a special thanks to Maria Månsson whom I have known since we both started our undergraduate studies in service management almost two decades ago, and with whom I have shared numerous litres of tea, travels, and laughter during our time together (never forget Scotland). Thank you for supporting me and encouraging me at the times when I would feel lost and did not know which leg to stand on.

To all my colleagues in the Department of Service Management and Service Studies, thank you for always making it a joy going to the office! A particular thanks to Veronica Åberg, Malin Zillinger, Anette Svingstedt, Carina Sjöholm, Lena Eskilsson, Eerika Saaristo, Lisa Högdahl, Christer Eldh, Elin Bommenel, Inger Arbman Schmidt as well as Gunilla Steen, Carina Carlsson, Ulrika Paradis, Matilda Yourstone, Annika Permevik, Britta Persson, and Cristina Svensson for encouraging and pepping me in various ways during this journey. Furthermore, I wish to thank colleagues outside the department, specifically Jörgen Eksell, Pernilla Rasmussen (and other Fashion Studies colleagues), Jerker Jacobsson, as well as my new colleagues at the International Institute for Industrial Environmental Economics.

There is however a group of people without whom this thesis would have never been finished. This group is my family. To my beloved husband Patrick, who has been my pillar during this entire journey – thank you for your unconditional love and support at all times, for reminding me that there is a life outside of the university walls, and for always believing in me. To the greatest lights in my life, my children Viktor and Nikki: mummy's book is finally done, so now let's write *our* books! Also, I owe my deepest gratitude to my parents, Charlotte and Ole; thank you for helping and supporting me in every possible way, and for teaching me to be persistent, accurate, and true to myself. Inger, thank you for hosting me during my writing exiles in Copenhagen, and Monica for helping out with house and kids along the way. My beloved aunt Gitte unfortunately didn't get to follow this journey through, but I owe her a special thank you for always supporting my project and being eager to discuss and reflect on our common passion for rural experiences and 'the local'. My sister-in-law, Pernilla, you are my greatest inspiration in keeping a positive mind and showing never to give up – I cannot wait to celebrate with you!

Helsingborg, December 2019

Josefine Østrup Backe

Prologue

On a rainy Friday afternoon I am driving along the winding roads in the Österlen countryside. My annual visit to The Food Tour is taking me towards the general store in a small community which has announced the visit of a local bakery whose sourdough bread is supposed to be really tasty. As I drive on through the landscape I pass handwritten signs along the road advertising 'homemade jam'; 'freshly harvested potatoes'; 'authentic apple juice sold here'. The Food Tour banner by the roadside indicates that I have reached my destination. As I enter the store I am overwhelmed by a sense of nostalgia; the layout of the store with the colours, the smells, and even the physical placing of the products, reminds me of my childhood. The place reminds me of the general store in the nearby community where my grandparents' holiday home in Småland where we used to spend the summer holidays is located. Memories of summer, sleepiness, blueberries and mushroom picking come rolling through my mind.

The general store is divided into two parts; the conventional supermarket part with the regular groceries, a vegetable and bread section, and the meats counter with its variety of sausages, poultry, patés, cheeses etc. According to the labels, most of the products are store made or come from producers in the nearby area. In the middle of the room a large table has been arranged specially for the Food Tour event, displaying a selection of products from the producers in the area. Labels and small brochures reveal the origin of the chocolate, mustard, apple juice, herbs etc.

Next to some bottles of rapeseed oil from the nearby mustard farm I find different sized bottles of olive oil; the labels tell me that they are from the Greek island of Crete. At another table, I find a large bread basket with a small sign that encourages patrons to try the sourdough bread from a local bakery. As I approach the table the store owner invites me to try the bread and dip it in the olive oil. It is good, indeed. But I cannot stop wondering why she serves Greek oil with all these products from nearby producers – especially when you will find a delicious rapeseed oil produced just a few kilometres away? The store owner tells me about a man who lives in the community, who has a second home in Crete and who takes part in the village's olive oil cooperative. Excess oil, which he and his Greek neighbours cannot consume, is packaged in glass bottles and provided with a nice label that states the origin of the content. The oil is brought back to the man's hometown in Österlen and sold in the general store, alongside with the other local products. I leave the general store, fascinated, yet confused. How can this Greek olive oil be 'local'? What makes something 'local'? And why are we so fascinated with 'the local' when it comes to culinary experiences?

(Field note, May 2010)

Chapter1:
Introduction

The interest in and focus on *local* in culinary tourism has come to play a significant role in the ways that tourism activities, experiences, and destinations appear today. In rural destinations in particular, local food products are used in order to distinguish specific communities, like for instance "Bjäre potatoes", "Skillinge asparagus", "Ingelstad turkey" etc. Further to this, the possibility of eating *local* meals, visiting *local* food producers, or taking part in local food related activities and experiences has become the motive for more and more visitors to come to the countryside (Richards 2002; Sims 2009; Laurin 2010; Ekström and Jönsson 2016). That is, local food products are not merely ingredients provided by the nearby farm, they are also transformed into products that entail a broad variety of cultural, economic, social, ecological, and historical values, which need not only to be consumed but also packaged and profiled in an attractive way by those who provide culinary tourism activities. The turn towards culinary activities in the countryside can thus be an expression of what is referred to by some as a new rural development paradigm (van der Ploeg *et al.* 2000; Urry 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011), which embeds modernising processes where images or symbols of the rural landscape are constructed in accordance with the eagerness for out-of-the-ordinary experiences and a growing fascination with *the local*. Such images or symbols can be in the form of local food products, culinary traditions, heritage and the like.

Previous research has shown that food can be a motivating factor for tourists to travel to certain destinations, and culinary tourism as a means of differentiation is put forward and highlighted as a lucrative strategy for many destinations (c.f. Hall 2003; Hall and Sharples 2003; Hjalager and Richards 2003; Woods and Deagan 2003; Long 2004; Mossberg and Svensson 2009; Everett 2016). In this process it appears to be important to stress certain culinary values that can distinguish the destination from the competitors. The use of food as a value-adding dimension in

the tourism experience has been addressed in the context of culinary tourism by, for instance, Kirshenblatt-Gimblet (2004: xi), who argues that, while all tourists must eat at some point, "[m]aking experiences memorable is a way the travel industry adds value – and profit – to an essential service such as food". Emphasising *the local* can thus be seen as a part of this value adding that enhances the food experience further. This process can also be characterised as an "experiencification process", where, for example, local food, traditions and culinary heritage are being turned into tourism experiences, which actively engage both consumers and producers throughout the entire production – consumption process (c.f. Edensor 2001, Richards 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011; Ekström and Jönsson 2016; Everett 2016).

The role of the local in culinary tourism

This thesis studies the local within the field of culinary tourism. Culinary tourism, gastronomic tourism, and food tourism are terms which have gained currency in contemporary vocabulary, and despite some nuances between these terms they all generally refer to the same phenomenon: the combination of food and tourism experiences. Hall and Mitchell (2001: 308) define culinary tourism as follows:

> Food tourism is visitation to primary and secondary food producers, food festivals, restaurants and specific locations for which food tasting and/or experiencing the attributes of specialist food production regions are the primary motivating factor for travel.

In a similar vein, Richards (2002) explains culinary tourism as visits to, for instance, restaurants, markets, and local producers as a significant part of the tourists' holiday activities. Hence, the actual meal does not have to be the primary purpose but can be one out of several cultural activities in which the visitors engage. It is suggested that culinary tourism activities comprise various surrounding factors supporting the consumption of a food product or a meal; such as the environmental setting, people, place, bodily movements and senses (Long 2004; Laurin 2010). Also, such activities may take place within other tourism niches, such as cultural tourism, festival and event tourism, or heritage tourism (Everett 2016).

Though the term 'tourism' – in its conventional meaning – implies people travelling outside their everyday sphere in order to carry out tourism activities, today culinary tourism does not necessarily have to be restricted to such definitions (c.f. Richards 2002; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Larsen 2008). Culinary tourism is concerned with the activities that are offered around the food, in order to make the food experience memorable. Long (2004) points out that even local inhabitants tend to take advantage of the culinary activities and experiences that are offered in their domestic area. Following this, culinary tourism can involve food related activities and experiences that lie outside our everyday life, but not necessarily posit travelling outside the everyday sphere (c.f. Everett 2008a). That is, while tourism activities are becoming more integrated with everyday life as the opportunities and zest to achieve nearby experiences grow, it is becoming harder to separate everyday life and tourism activities (Larsen 2008, 2019; Ren *et al.* 2019a). This also feeds a need for new and different sorts of experiences, as well as new and different ways of packaging the tourism product.

Putting forward *the local* as an obvious part of the culinary experience, for example in terms of locally produced products, traditional recipes, manufacturing methods or the producers' connection with the area, seems to be a way for suppliers of culinary products and food related experiences to package and portray their products and activities as attractive. This does not only take place in a local community context; the local is likewise used as a reference point in national actors' work with establishing strategies for strengthening the image of a strong culinary destination, as in the vision of Sweden as a culinary nation, where local produce and food experiences are put forward as means of obtaining a dynamic, vibrant countryside and a good and healthy life (Regeringskansliet 2008, 2009a, 2009b). The notion of the local is thus not only a way of enhancing culinary tourism experiences, it also appears to be a phenomenon which takes on a political function. Furthermore, the notion of the local in relation to culinary tourism mirrors the "state of the art" in the way today's tourists consume experiences – and thereby, how such experiences can be produced and provided by those who supply them. Hence, studying how the local is being enacted in culinary tourism can open up further understanding of more general societal processes related to, for example, rural development, globalisation and sustainability.

The fascination with the local

The growing fascination with the local reflects three developments which seem to have significant influence on the growing focus towards the local as an ingredient in contemporary tourism efforts. First, there is a connection to our perception of the rural. Historically, the view of the countryside and its nature has changed in different ways; changes which have vastly influenced the way we see and use the countryside today. What is interesting, for instance, is the 19th century romantic view of nature as something wild and grandiose to be gazed upon with a sentimental eye (c.f. Urry 2002). This romanticised view of nature has undergone a 'revival' today, as the countryside and its nature are often seen as a representation of the past; the countryside today is a place for experiencing anew times long past, gaining a nostalgic retrospect of previous generations' traditions and ways of living. Food which is produced or cooked according to traditional methods and recipes contributes to this feeling. From a tourism perspective, the rural thus represents an opportunity to escape the hectic and stressful environment of the city, as well as to get close to the authentic and original. Ekström and Jönsson (2016: 16) explain this movement as a reflection of an "exurban trend", where tourists prefer experiences related to nature and culture to pulsating urban activities. Further to this, rural destinations are perceived as containing a number of elements which make them attractive for culinary activities: being the core of the resource industries – fishery, farming, agriculture, and forestry – rural areas can often provide fresh food products, cultivated and reaped "on site". The immediate access to the local products seems appealing to many visitors, along with the opportunity to follow the products from the soil to the table (c.f. Burstedt *et al.* 2006; Gössling and Hall 2013). This is interesting since previously the typical local or regional products were viewed as simple everyday - or "peasant food". Nevertheless, the development of this gastronomic culture has involved such food now being highly appreciated by tourists and visitors (c.f. Richards 2002; Scarpato and Daniele 2003; Pico Larsen 2010; Andersson 2019).

Second, the growing fascination with the local seems to represent a counterpoint to the globalisation processes, which are characterising today's society. On the one hand globalisation is described as a mechanism that makes the world go around, opening up the integration of different cultures, innovation and new technical solutions, leading to tolerance and understanding, as well as enhanced mobility (c.f. Bell and Valentine 1997; Bauman 2000; Urry 2002; DuPuis and Goodman

2005). From a culinary tourism perspective, the global is perceived as offering the opportunity to discover and consume other cultures and new and exotic flavours (c.f. Germann Molz 2007). On the other hand, this growing globalisation of the food sector meets criticism from those claiming that worldwide standardisation causes the loss of local food identity (c.f. Ritzer 1993; Hall and Mitchell 2001; Scarpato and Daniele 2003). For instance, the *Macdonaldisation thesis*, established by Ritzer (1993), encompasses a critical voice towards standardised food systems, which rely on efficiency, calculability, predictability and control to provide streamlined, homogenous food offerings.

This feeds a need for differentiation, and movements such as the *Slow Movement*, with its particular emphasis on *slow food*, have emerged. Such initiatives act as counterpoints to the globalised food systems, emphasising a need to guard and maintain local traditions and heritage, and to shield local food products and preparation methods (c.f. Pietrykowsky 2004; Parkins and Craig 2006; Nilsson *et al.* 2010). In a Scandinavian context the Slow Movement is complemented by *the New Nordic Cuisine* and its movement towards an enhanced 'local' awareness and care about Nordic nature, its products and heritage. The idea of the New Nordic Cuisine has gained ground as a vast ingredient in the culinary culture across the Nordic countries but is also perceived as playing a crucial role in the successful mediation of a specific Nordic culinary heritage and identity even beyond the Nordic countries (e.g. Gyimóthy 2017; Manniche and Sæther 2017). A principal element in the New Nordic Cuisine is *the Nordic Kitchen Manifesto*, which was the result of a larger discussion between leading Nordic chefs in 2004, regarding how Nordic cuisine and its unique attributes and characteristics could be preserved and developed into an unquestionable part of the Nordic food culture. The manifesto consists of ten commandments, which mirror the values of Nordic food culture, e.g. purity and freshness, seasonality, traditions yet modernity, and high-quality produce (Claus Meyer 2010b; New Nordic Food 2014).

The New Nordic Cuisine shows an ambition to promote Nordic culinary traditions and heritage and thus to gain competitiveness even outside the Nordic countries; the specialties and unique values of Nordic food products are of high quality and equivalent to renowned culinary destinations such as France, Spain and Italy. Hence, the main concepts of the Slow Food philosophy – the *good*, *clean*, and *fair* – have also permeated Nordic gastronomy (c.f. Nilsson 2013). The New Nordic Cuisine has likewise become an integrated part of both national and

regional politics and branding strategies; for instance, the key values of the New Nordic Cuisine play a central role in the branding of Denmark as a genuine culinary destination (New Nordic Food 2017; Gyimóthy 2017; Manniche and Sæther 2017).

Third and last, there seems to be a relationship between the local and a greater concern about our environment, including health and food safety (c.f. Atkins and Bowler 2001; Born and Purcell 2006; Gössling and Hall 2006; Croce and Perri 2010; Gössling and Hall 2013; Baldacchino 2015). Debates in the media over recent years about the conditions for transportation of vegetables, animals and other goods, along with desire among consumers to know where the food we buy originates from, supports the growing interest in what is available nearby. This trend seems valid not only in terms of food but also in other areas within the service sector; products such as energy and banking services are areas which are more commonly connected with the benefits of being 'local'; for example, more and more energy providers claim their services to be transparent, green, low-impact, and produced close to the consumer, and renewable and sustainable energy is likewise a priority area to the government in the efforts to develop the countryside (Regeringskansliet 2009b). In a similar vein, several local banks proudly announce the benefits of being close to their customers in terms of personal consulting and advice, better knowledge of the local market, and other, personalised services[1]. There thus appears to exist an expanding societal preoccupation with using the local as a common point of departure for a variety of products and services, promoting associations with a healthy, conscious and sustainable way of life.

From these three developments, there thus seems to be a shared "taken-for-grantedness", where the local appears to be a common denominator, which figures within different parts of society, and which is referred to as something obviously good, ethical and sustainable, and likewise profitable. This obviousness is also coming forward in the ways culinary actors talk about, write about and display the local as an obvious part of culinary tourism. Further to this, the notion of the local can add a deeper dimension to the tourism experience, and for those who provide these experiences, the local can entail both financial and commercial benefits, and/or be attached to a more idealistically oriented way of living. However, despite – or maybe because of – this taken-for-granted-ness, it is rarely questioned how something becomes local, and – further to this – how the local is

being produced and enacted as a part of culinary tourism experiences. Previous research has considered the role of *local* in culinary tourism to some extent, but so far, the processes in which such experiences and activities are actually produced and enacted through the notion of the local, have only been studied to a limited extent (e.g. Telfer and Wall 1996; Béssière 1998; Henderson 2009; Sims 2009, 2010; Renko *et al.* 2010; Vittersø and Amilien 2011; Björk and Kauppinen-Räisänen 2014). Most studies are fragmented and limited to focus on single case studies, where the local acts as a tool for, for example, (rural) tourism development or destination branding. In this thesis I am interested in exploring how the notion of the local is constructed and enacted in culinary tourism, in order to better understand its multifacedness and complexity as a socio-economic phenomenon.

Culinary tourism as social practices

This thesis seeks to contribute to broaden the understanding of the various dimensions of culinary tourism, in terms of how the local is enacted in order to make activities involved with culinary tourism more attractive. But how can we capture the multifacetedness of this phenomenon, and how can we understand the taken-for-grantedness that appears to exist around it? One way to approach these questions is by studying what people say and do, but also how materialities are contributing to such acts. Sayings, doings and materialities are central elements in what is referred to as practice theory, which is the theoretical approach I apply to study how the notion of the local is enacted in culinary tourism activities. The theoretical perspective will be further elaborated in chapter three, however here I will provide a brief introduction.

Reckwitz (2002a: 249) defines practices as:

> …a routinized type of behaviour, which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, "things" and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge.

Practices thus comprise embodied knowledge of how to act in given situations, physical materialities, as well as shared understandings of the world, (c.f. Schatzki 2001a; Reckwitz 2002a; Shove *et al.* 2012). In practice theory, the researcher is

interested in the ways these elements are performed and connected. In this study, the enactment of the local as a part of culinary tourism is being conceptualised as a combination of three practice bundles: the framing of the ideal culinary destination, the organising of culinary tourism, and the performing of the local in culinary tourism experiences. Further to this, this framing, organising and performing comprise acts, wherein constitutive practice elements figure and interrelate. In this thesis, I draw on three constitutive elements identified by Shove *et al.* (2012): *competences* (in terms of skills, know-how and understandings needed to perform a practice), *materialities* (such as physical artefacts and technologies) and *meanings* (which embed ideas and motivations for performing the practice in question). By studying the elements involved, for example, in establishing and developing culinary tourism initiatives, or the ways culinary activities are performed, it is possible to identify the practices embedded in the framing, organising and performing bundles, and to achieve a better understanding of *how* a phenomenon such as the local is constructed and enacted in culinary tourism. With this knowledge we can also better understand and explain how experiences are constructed in relation to the surrounding world as well as to current trends within tourism. Hence, practice theory makes it possible to analyse specific acts as individual practice elements and activities (Reckwitz 2002a), and to consider such acts in a broader context, and thereby obtain a deeper understanding of how different phenomena come about (Schatzki 2001a, 2001b; Nicolini 2012; Shove *et al.* 2012).

So, on the one hand the local can be seen as a concrete tool for the branding and enacting of culinary tourism, for example in terms of specific products or activities; on the other hand the local can be understood in a more abstract sense; as an expression of local traditions or heritage, as a part of the more general perceptions of what constitutes attractive tourism experiences, or as a reference point for the planning and management of the culinary actors' strategies for culinary tourism activities. That is, by studying the practices in which *the local* is being produced and enacted in culinary tourism, it is possible to also better understand how tourism experiences are constructed from a more general perspective. Thus, it appears particularly valuable to apply practice theory to examine how the local is being produced as a part of culinary tourism activities within and across the different contexts wherein tourism suppliers act. In tourism studies, practice theory has only been scarcely applied (e.g. Rantala 2010, 2011; Rantala *et al.* 2011; Valtonen and Veijola 2011; James and Halkier 2014; Bispo

2016; Lamers *et al.* 2017; James *et al.* 2019a), and this thesis should therefore be seen as a contribution to this body of research. The processes, in which culinary activities are being put forward as a niched tourism product by the use of the local can thereby add to illuminate new areas of use for practice-based research.

Aim of the thesis

As I have outlined in this chapter, the notion of the local represents a growing niche, which has become an important part of tourism, and culinary tourism in particular. Despite its multifaceted nature, the local appears to be portrayed as an obvious ingredient in these activities. Hence, the local is not a static term, which can be solely related to or determined by the origin of, say, a certain food produce. Nor does the local comprise a homogeneous product, which can alone be labelled, packaged and sold in the General Store or in other places. No, rather the local is a heterogeneous phenomenon, which encompasses different dimensions – physical as well as more abstract – which are used to enhance the experiences attached with culinary tourism.

Against this background, *the aim of this thesis is to enhance the understanding of how culinary tourism is enacted as a cultural, social and economic activity, within different societal contexts, through the notion of the local. In particular, the objective is to identify the practices, by which the local is produced and enacted in culinary tourism.*

Enactment refers to the process of *doing* the local in culinary tourism, that is, it embeds the various ways the culinary actors talk and write about, stage, and portray the local. Enactment is thus used to reflect the dynamic and processual nature of the practices in which the local is being constructed or brought to life (c.f. Law and Urry 2004; Fuentes 2011).

As noted, both the visitors and the suppliers combine to constitute the field of culinary tourism; however, this thesis is empirically delimited to the scope of the supply side, here referred to as *culinary actors*. The culinary actors involve those who work with and provide culinary tourism activities in different ways, which can take place in the local community context, as well as regionally and nationally. Accordingly, in order to fulfil the aim and objective, this study is concerned with two empirical examples, which represent culinary tourism initiatives in a national

and a local community setting: *The Culinary Vision*, and *the Food Network*. This does not mean that the regional context is not considered, yet it is not studied as an example in itself. That is, practices that take place in the national and local community contexts are often connected to and reflected in regional efforts, and thus the *Region of Skåne* (overall, I will use the English name *Scania*) is considered in order to emphasise the processual and dynamic nature of the practices in which the local is enacted, but also to provide a comprehensive background for the establishment of the Food Network. The empirical context of the study will be introduced next.

The empirical context of the study

Culinary tourism takes place in many different settings, and the activities offered vary from urban gourmet restaurant visits to partaking in cheese making in a small farm in the countryside. In this thesis culinary tourism is studied in a rural context. Further to the constantly growing tourism industry, rural areas are to a wider extent receiving broader attention as potential tourism markets. 'Local' food products are often being connected to agriculture and the rural landscape, since most products are cultivated and sourced here (c.f. Hall *et al.* 2003; Ilbery *et al.* 2006; Jönsson 2013). Simultaneously, new demand for leisure is increasing as consumers have become more oriented towards knowledge-based holiday experiences as well as nature-based activities, and the search for authentic and traditional experiences as a contrast to everyday stress has increased (Béssière 1998; Richards 2002; Cochrane 2009; Blake *et al.* 2010). Along with a growing mobility due to more flexible infrastructure and working patterns, peripheral areas have become still more accessible, leading to the discovery and development of 'new' local food products (c.f. Richards 2002; Cochrane 2009).

The visitors' search for relaxation, peacefulness, and nature-related activities, combined with their rising interest in knowing where the food comes from mean that this development has provided good opportunities for the development of rural culinary tourism activities. To the producers, activities connected to the food products and crops found locally are thus perceived to provide excellent business opportunities, which can potentially contribute to economic and social stability in rural communities (c.f. McEntee 2010; Ekström and Jönsson 2016).

Furthermore, culinary activities highlight local food culture in terms of traditions and history as well as serving as an aid to the mediation of rural identity, while at the same time promoting a more environmentally sustainable development (c.f. Sims 2010; Gössling and Hall 2013). Local food products and food related activities thus seem to play a significant role in today's development of tourism activities in rural areas – not only in an economic sense but also culturally and, not the least, socially. For these reasons I argue that the relationship between culinary tourism and the local becomes more distinct when studied within a rural context than an urban. Accordingly, the rural context provides good opportunities to explore the various processes that can be related to the understanding of the role of the local in culinary tourism; hence such studies can contribute to broadening the discussions in this area of research.

Providing for Nordic culinary tourism experiences

Sweden has a long tradition of agriculture, fishing, forestry and other rural occupations. However, the conditions for the people working in these sectors have been weakened during past years, due to, among others, changed industrial structures, tougher regulations, and more intense, global competition. While, on the one hand such circumstances have weakened the economic situation for the rural industries and its actors, on the other hand this development has resulted in the development of more experience-oriented initiatives (c.f. Andersson Cederholm and Hultman 2006; Hall *et al.* 2009; Ekström and Jönsson 2016). One trend that is being seen all over the country is the still growing number of food related initiatives, which are established in terms of more or less formal or organised projects involving groups of actors who focus on local food and culinary experiences. Whether these food projects involve producers of a small community, a specific region, or take the shape of national or global marketing or development strategies, they all share the ambition to develop the countryside and attract visitors through local food products and experiences and the values connected therein.

The relationship between culinary tourism and local food products is put forward across most parts of the (western) world. Yet, while local food, traditions and culinary heritage seem to be more or less unquestionable ingredients in the culinary profiles of countries such as, for instance, France, Italy and Spain, previously the Nordic countries have not really been recognised as culinary

destinations, due to the perceptions amongst visitors that meals and food products here were fat and heavy, unappealing and expensive (Bringéus 2009; Laurin 2010). However, this is about to change; in practically every region across the Nordic countries one can nowadays find local food products labelled as "special", "authentic" or "unique", as representations of a particular area, its history and local traditions (c.f. Heldt-Cassel 2003; Burstedt 2004; Hultman 2006; Pico Larsen 2010; Lysaght 2013b). Also, the wish for "new and exotic experiences" that the countryside offers is frequently reflected in the Swedish media, as still more Swedes express their wish to spend their holidays in their home country in order to explore their roots and the produces that are aligned with them (e.g. Erlandsson and Erlingsson 2011; Wingren 2011a, 2011b). Similarly, surveys carried out by, for example, the Government and Visit Sweden point at a rising interest in local food culture and sustainable, rural culinary experiences amongst potential visitors (Regeringskansliet 2008; Visit Sweden 2019)[2]. This indicates that the craving for local food and experiences related to this is a rising trend, which can be a potentially lucrative niche within the development of culinary tourism.

The Culinary Vision

In Sweden, the focus on local food as a significant part of the food experience became even more explicit through the initiation of the vision "Sverige – det nya Matlandet" (*Sweden – the new culinary nation*, henceforth referred to as *the Culinary Vision*). The Culinary Vision serves in this thesis to illustrate how the local is enacted in culinary tourism in a national context.

The Culinary Vision was born from the problems with stimulating growth in rural areas. For many years Swedish agricultural policy was concerned with the maximisation of resources and securing a domestic provision capacity in case of war. However, with the entrance into the European Union, the competition for the Swedish agricultural sector became more severe. During recent years the political focus has turned towards an integration between the rural industries and the experience sector, hoping to develop and strengthen the rural economies (Jönsson 2012; Ekström and Jönsson 2016). It was therefore considered that there was a need for a more focused strategy, which could promote the unique features of Swedish rural areas and create a basis for more jobs and businesses, in order to shape a vivid countryside (Regeringskansliet 2008, 2009b). Thus, in order to

secure a sustainable business development in the rural areas, it was seen as necessary to provide a good climate for various entrepreneurial initiatives, and to facilitate the circumstances for the development of new businesses, products, and services (Regeringskansliet 2009a, Laurin 2010; Regeringskansliet 2010c: 16). The local produce, which was previously perceived as 'peasant' food now offered new opportunities to create a strong culinary profile, which could compete with other well-known food destinations. Also, the food industry was perceived to possess good development potential, especially in terms of small-scale businesses and local and regional food refinement, referred to as the primary production area (Regeringskansliet 2010c).

Led by former Minister of Rural Affairs, Eskil Erlandsson[3], the Culinary Vision was presented in 2008 by the Government and the Ministry of Rural Affairs. The main aim of the vision was to turn Sweden into a definite culinary destination for both domestic and international visitors, as well as for those who provided the food products. One important factor for maintaining the attractiveness of Sweden's rural areas was to secure new and stable job opportunities, and the government's goal was thus to "support an economic, ecological and socially sustainable development of the countryside" (Regeringskansliet 2010b: 2). In a practical sense this entailed a wish to stimulate growth and create and establish 20 000 new jobs all over the country by 2020 (Regeringskansliet 2009b, 2010a, 2010d). From a tourism perspective, the purpose of the Culinary Vision was not only to attract visitors from across Europe to enjoy uniquely Swedish food products and dishes – but also to show that Sweden was to be the best European food country, in terms of "good food, good animal care, and world class experiences" (Regeringskansliet 2010a: 1). Nationally, one purpose of the Culinary Vision was to enhance consumer consciousness about the surplus values that were connected with Swedish food crops and products (Regeringskansliet 2010a), for instance concerning environmental care, animal health, unique flavours, and quality (Regeringskansliet 2010b; Jordbruksverket website 2012). There is thus a close relationship between food as an experience and the small-scale primary production sector.

Implementation and actors

The Culinary Vision was implemented through five prioritised focus areas: primary production, public food, food refinement, food tourism and the restaurant sector (Regeringskansliet 2009b, 2010a, see *table 1:1*). Within each area efforts were placed on enhancing quality and knowledge and shaping development opportunities. In combination, the five focus areas aimed to meet all aspects of the Swedish food sector and contribute to the building of Sweden as a food nation, in terms of enhanced numbers of incoming tourists and visitors, but also in general through, for instance, better conditions for local businesses and a more diversified countryside, attracting a broader variety of residents (*ibid.*; c.f. Ragnar 2014; Ekström and Jönsson 2016). While the focus areas were viewed as equally important in the total implementation of the vision, the primary food production was considered to be the departure point for the vision, upon which the remaining focus areas rest. However, as the perspective of this thesis lies within the scope of culinary tourism in a rural context, the primary production and food tourism areas are of particular interest here.

In short, the primary production area embraces the enhancement of high-quality food products, a maximisation of the use of natural resources (in order to create growth and work), and the development of effective food chains in favour of small-scale producers. Furthermore, the food tourism area is also a crucial point in the vision as the main tool to build up an attractive image of Sweden as a culinary nation. This focus area seeks to facilitate different procedures for those who wish to start up new or extend existing businesses concerning food and tourism activities, through simplified rules and regulations, financial support for various projects (e.g. food networks or other initiatives that stimulate collaboration), practical education and inventories (locales, machines etc.).

Table 1:1. The focus areas of the Culinary Vision.
Adjusted according to Regeringskansliet 2010a; Regeringen 2014.

Focus Area	Main purpose
Primary production	The departure point for the Culinary Vision. Aims to create growth and work opportunities through the focus on high quality food products, maximisation of the use of natural resources; development of effective food chains, benefits for small-scale producers.
Food tourism	The main tool to build up Sweden's image as an attractive culinary destination. Aims to facilitate procedures for business start-up or expansion; provide simplified rules and regulations, financial support, practical education and inventories.
Public food	Primarily concerned with food within schools, healthcare and eldercare. Focus on quality and "food joy", best practice. "The Culinary Nation starts with the chlidren": efforts particularly on school food and the knowledge amongst children about food quality.
Food refinement	Aims to enhance the refinement industry in terms of export, number of businesses, and geographical transmission. Consumers abroad should be aware of the values of Swedish food products and refinement processes.
Restaurant sector	The "display window" for the Culinary Vision. The restaurant sector should be given opportunities to grow and develop. Aims to highlight the diversity and quality within the restaurant sector, create meeting places for knowledge exchange and collaboration between restaurant owners and food producers. Enhanced focus on Swedish and Nordic food.
Trade*	Aims to clarify the relationship between production and consumption, and the accessibility of food products. Offers better tools and conditions for consumer choices. Functions as a mutual parameter of consumer needs.

*The sixth focus area was added to the Vision in connection with the 2013 *Matlandet conference* (Regeringskansliet 2013; Regeringen 2014)

Apart from the Government as the main initiator, the Ministry of Rural Affairs and the Board of Agriculture are the main drivers of the Culinary Vision when it comes to the focus areas of *primary production* and *food tourism*. While the efforts of the Government and the Ministry of Rural Affairs are mainly directed towards an overall, political implementation, the Board of Agriculture guards issues that concern the development related to consumption, production and trade within the agricultural sector. Furthermore, Visit Sweden and the Export Council together with the Board of Agriculture are the main actors in the communication towards the visitor industry. The idea of integrating the domestic rural development with a targeted development of the tourism sector is implemented through three general instruments (Regeringskansliet 2009b). This study focuses on one of these, the communications platform[4], which embeds four main channels through which the Vision is implemented: 1) political documents (e.g. reports, plans and formal websites); 2) commercial documents (websites, brochures and social media); 3) different forums for meetings and interactions (such as conferences, fairs, seminars, workshops and the like); and 4) the use of role models and best practice examples. In the analysis, these channels will be further considered.

The Food Network

The Food Network is situated in the area often referred to as Ystad-Österlen in the Southeast part of Scania (see *figure 1* at the end of this section). Ystad-Österlen is characterised by large nature areas (including a national park and several nature reserves), farming acres and small, rural communities. The largest city in the area is Ystad with about 28 000 inhabitants at the time of the data collection (Statistiska Centralbyrån 2010).

The background for the initiation of the Food Network however needs be considered in relation to the general development of regional tourism in Scania, which is driven by the *Business Region Skåne group* (BRS, previously Visit Skåne), the marketing organisation and the overall political organisation for the county. Scania is Sweden's most southern region, with approximately 1.2 million inhabitants (Region Skåne website 2009). Organisation-wise, the region of Scania is divided into four geographical main areas: Scania Northwest, Southwest, Northeast, and Southeast. Region Skåne sets out the general development plan for the entire region, in terms of labour, education, health, infrastructure, culture etc. (Region Skåne 2005a, 2005b, Region Skåne website 2010) with each area being responsible for its own implementation.

In terms of food and beverage, the region is perceived to be the largest volume wise (Ekström and Jönsson 2016), and it boasts long traditions of culinary specialties. Thanks to fishing and farming previously being the major sources of income, various fish and meat along with different roots (e.g. potatoes, globe artichokes, and beetroots) have been the main ingredients in Scanian cuisine. Also, the region boasts strong culinary traditions, such as Goose Dinner and Eel Feast, among others (c.f. Bringéus 2009). Simultaneously, Scanian food has been highlighted as innovative and ground breaking through past years, and well-known chefs and local food entrepreneurs from the region have gained recognition in various ways, both nationally and in international contexts, such as the Bocuse d'or and the Michelin Guide (the *Daniel Berlin restaurant* in Österlen was recently awarded with its second star). Furthermore, in 2016 Scania was rated number nine by the New York Times on their annual "52 places to go" list, claiming the region to be the "home of the Nordic Region's most interesting food" (*New York Times* 2016).

The enhanced focus on Scanian food and culinary experiences has led to a more intensified strategic emphasis on the region in terms of destination marketing. For instance, on the Visit Sweden website, southern Sweden is put forward as a particularly important place for rural culinary experiences:

> The past decade has seen culinary revolution throughout Sweden. The result is a brand-new gastronomic landscape where you can now eat and drink in excellence not only in the major cities but also in small towns and throughout the countryside. This is especially true for all of southern Sweden (Visit Sweden website 2012).

The quote sets out the development of a "culinary revolution" throughout Sweden, and stresses that the rural areas host excellent opportunities for culinary experiences.

Around the country, a rising number of small-scale food projects are also confirming that the local is a hot topic. Practically every region in Sweden claims to be home to a variety of unique products and experiences, and food related routes and tours (often entitled 'food safaris', 'gastronomic hikes' or 'culinary trekkings'), feasts and festivals are offered to a still wider extent. What I find interesting is that these different initiatives often use the notion of the local to convey a strong culinary profile and enhance the culinary experience. *The Food Network* acts as an example of such initiatives.

The Food Network was initiated in the beginning of 2007, by two project initiators in collaboration with *Ideon Agro Food*[5] as well as three municipalities and a local bank foundation, and a number of small-scale food producers who operated in the area. The Food Network is an economic association of approximately 30 producers, cultivators, and other small-scale entrepreneurs (including everything from small hotels and restaurants, bed & breakfasts, cultivators of herbs, asparaguses, mustard, tomatoes etc., as well as general stores, bakeries, chocolate makers, a winery, a micro-brewery, and local museums), who provide culinary experiences in different ways. The main public activity is an annual event, *the Food Tour event*, stretching over five days in May, where the network members offer a variety of culinary products and activities to the visitors to the event. In addition, most of the members offer activities throughout the year, as a complement to their core businesses. The Food Network thus represents how the local is enacted in a local community context.

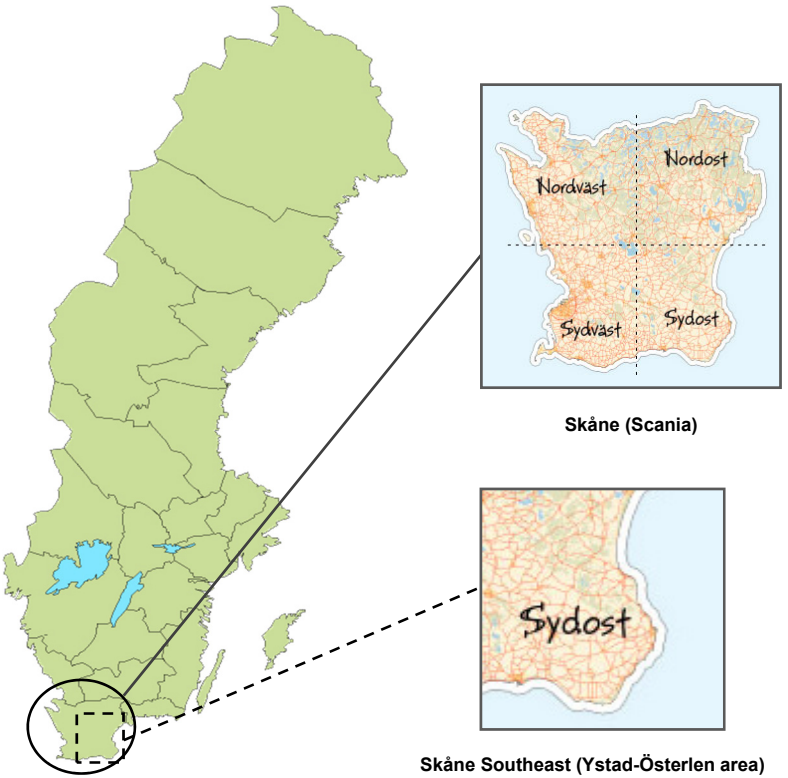


Figure 1:1: Map of Sweden pointing out the geographical location of Scania with its organisational division in terms of regional development (top rigth map), and the Ystad-Österlen area (bottom right map). (Map excerps from Business Region Skåne 2010)

Outline of the thesis

In this first chapter, I have introduced the object of the study as well as outlined the background and motives for studying how the local is enacted in culinary tourism. Furthermore, I have discussed the role of culinary experiences and activities in the light of tourism studies and clarified the aim and objective of this thesis. I have also briefly introduced the theoretical concept of social practices and explained its relevance for studying how the local is enacted in culinary tourism. Finally, I have introduced the empirical context as well as the two examples to be

studied. With this first chapter setting the overall scene, the remainder of the thesis is arranged as follows: chapter two provides a literature review, which considers previous research related to local food and culinary tourism and aims to set out some of the gaps in existing research on culinary tourism, and the role of the local in particular.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework through which the enacting of the local in culinary tourism can be studied. Accordingly, I apply social practice theory in order to understand how the local is portrayed and enacted by culinary actors in different societal contexts, as well as the use of materialities. I put particular emphasis on three constitutive practice elements; *competences, materialities,* and *meaning*. Chapter four presents the methodology as well as the methods used for data collection and data analysis. The following three chapters – chapter five, six and seven comprise the analysis part, which builds on my empirical study of the two examples, *the Culinary Vision* and *the Food Network*. In the analysis I account for and analyse the practices which are involved in the enactment of the local in culinary tourism, and show how the three elements competences, materialities and meaning are represented and interlinked. Hence, chapter five, "Framing ideals of a culinary destination", illustrates how the culinary landscape is framed in the national actors' strategic work, expressed in different strategies for branding and policy-making. The chapter presents and analyses the implementation of the Culinary Vision, in terms of three framing practices; positioning a culinary tourism profile, setting guidelines for the culinary destination, and including everyone. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how the abstention from participation in initiatives such as the Culinary Vision can be an expression of a moral positioning towards a globalised food culture.

Chapter six, "Organising culinary tourism", analyses how the local is used as a reference point in the organisation of culinary tourism in a regional and local community context. The first part of the chapter explores how the Scania region is organised as a place for niched culinary experiences and shows how the notion of the local is being embedded in these efforts. Using the Food Network as an example, the second part of the chapter analyses how the culinary actors organise and establish themselves and their activities. Therefore, I examine the practices in which the local is becoming the subject for negotiations for membership criteria, dedication and acceptance. The chapter demonstrates how both concrete and more abstract dimensions related to the local interact in the practices of organising

culinary tourism and suggests that "nearby" can be used as a more comprehensive term in which the multifaceted nature of the local is being incorporated. The third and final analysis chapter, chapter seven, "Performing the local in culinary tourism experiences", shows how the local is used more actively to create and enact appealing culinary experiences. Accordingly, the chapter shows how the notion of the local is expressed both in an abstract way, as a focus for the making of 'good stories', which refer to the local area, its people and products, and as a concrete tool, in terms of the staging and displaying of products and activities, which can enhance the culinary experience. The role of the materialities is thus given a significant space in this chapter. Furthermore, the chapter argues that the local is central in order to create coherence in the tourism experience, and that practices of telling stories and staging products and activities can be seen as expressions of a commercialisation process.

The thesis' last chapter, chapter eight, offers a summary and synthesising discussion of the main findings from the analysis, in the light of the thesis' aim and objective. Further to this, I deepen some of the main discussions that have come forward throughout the analysis and consider the role of the local in culinary tourism from a more general perspective.

Chapter 2:

Culinary tourism as a field of study

This chapter offers a review of the literature, which in different ways examines the relationship between culinary tourism and the local. Culinary tourism research does not rely on one particular discipline, and therefore, in order to better understand the relationship between culinary tourism and the local, one must look into different fields of study. The literature review is divided into two sections; the first section provides a short overview of two main research strands, which in particular add to the understanding of the emergence of culinary tourism as a research area: economic approaches in culinary tourism research, and social and cultural approaches to food as a means for experiences. Often though, research on local food and food related experiences relies on a combination of these approaches. Following this, the second section of this chapter deals with how the local has been studied in terms of culinary tourism and is ordered according to three overall themes, which represent the different perspectives on *local*: first, what is actually understood by *local* in terms of culinary tourism; second, culinary experiences as a means of rural (tourism) development; and third, the branding of the local in culinary tourism. The objective in this chapter is to show that there is a need to integrate different research directions and perspectives in order to shape better conditions for understanding how the local is enacted in culinary tourism, economically, culturally as well as socially.

Economic, social, and cultural approaches in culinary tourism research

Culinary tourism is often described as a subfield or a niche activity within tourism, or as a type of *special interest tourism* (Hall and Mitchell 2001). Despite the fact that food and travel have existed for a long time as an obvious, interdependent

activity, culinary tourism as a research area is relatively new (e.g. Hall *et al.* 2003; Everett 2016), and accordingly, it is characterised as a field in the making (Everett 2016). Two main directions dominate previous research on culinary tourism: one group of studies takes an economic approach to food as a means of tourism, and a second group of studies considers the social and cultural dimensions of culinary tourism.

Culinary tourism as an economic activity

A relatively large number of studies consider culinary tourism as an economic activity and examine food and food experiences as a means of destination branding. This research stresses how culinary tourism can be a lucrative strategy for many destinations, as a tool for marketing and differentiation (c.f. Hjalager and Richards 2002; Hall 2003; Hall and Sharples 2003; Hall *et al.* 2003; Woods and Deagan 2003; Henderson 2009; Everett 2016). Richards (2002: 11), for example, points at the importance of packaging food products into unique experiences, arguing that "[o]ne of the essential tasks in developing and marketing gastronomic tourism, therefore, is to find ways to add value to the eating experience in order to make it memorable". A growing number of scholars have studied the relationship between food experiences and the branding of destinations in a Scandinavian context (e.g. Hjalager and Richards 2002; Tellström *et al.* 2005; Gyimothy and Mykletun 2009; Mossberg *et al.* 2010; Mykletun and Gyimothy 2010; Blichfeldt and Halkier 2014; Gyimóthy 2017), emphasising the importance of culinary tourism as a contemporary research area.

Some studies also consider how food and tourism are to a still wider extent becoming part of countries' or regions' political strategies (c.f. Jones and Jenkins 2002; du Rand *et al.* 2003; Heldt Cassel 2006; James and Halkier 2014; Ekström and Jönsson 2016; Neuman 2018; James and Halkier 2019). For example, Heldt Cassel (2006) showed how the project "Skärgårdssmak" (*Taste of the Archipelago*) was used as a political strategy to create and market a new, niched food region, which could stand out against competitors. More recently, Neuman (2018) explored the promotion of Swedish culinary excellence, through the example of "Sweden – the new culinary vision". Moral and ethical concerns, inclusiveness, and environmental responsibility were identified as elements of what Neuman calls an "imagined culinary community of Sweden" (*ibid.*: 149). The use of food as a political tool in regional or national branding has thus been given some

attention, though more thorough analyses of the various ways in which food is becoming part of such strategies are called for (e.g. Jones and Jenkins 2002; du Rand *et al.* 2003; James and Halkier 2014; Neuman 2018).

Culinary tourism has also been studied in the light of the Experience Economy framework, which centres on the ability of businesses or organisations to differentiate and sell products (or services) as experiences, providing value to the consumers (Pine and Gilmore 1999; c.f. Sundbo and Sörensen 2013; Pine and Gilmore 2013). The perishability and immateriality that characterise experiences, and the complexities related to the process of turning products into services and experiences have been addressed within fields such as business administration (e.g. Prahalad and Ramaswami 2004; Snel 2011), services marketing (e.g. Lovelock and Gummesson 2004; Grönroos 2008), and tourism marketing (e.g. Mossberg and Johansen 2006; Hayes and McLeod 2007). Grönroos (2008: 420) describes this process as a servicification process where the various elements of the production become integrated as value-creating inputs in the consumer processes. Though this perspective originally addresses the transformation of companies and organisations from product-based to service-based, the experience economy perspective has, to some extent, been used as a model to explain the process by which food products are turned into or become integrated (i.e. economically centred) elements of tourism experiences (e.g. Richards 2002; Manniche and Larsen 2012; Quadri-Felitti and Fiore 2012; Sundbo *et al.* 2013; Norman Eriksen 2015). Drawing on Pine and Gilmore's discussion of the role of the experience industry – and tourism being one crucial part of that – Richards argues:

> As the basis of the economy shifts from delivering services to staging experiences, the quality of the basic elements of the product will increasingly be taken for granted by consumers, who will demand engaging, absorbing experiences as part of the tourism and gastronomy product (Richards 2002: 11).

Richards points out that tourism offers should hold more than the basic attributes, which are to a wider extend being taken for granted. The "engaging absorbing experiences" must be 'served' or staged in an appealing way in order to satisfy the customers' needs. Further to this, Sundbo *et al.* (2013) departed from an experience economy perspective when they studied food and eating as a meaning-creating experience. Illustrated by the example of the New Nordic Cuisine the authors showed how local food and values attached hereto can act as an expression

of experience innovation. Normann Eriksen (2015) took a similar approach to study how small food tourism firms could enhance experience innovation in rural areas. Moreover, Quadri-Felitti and Fiore (2012) contextualised wine tourism in relation to various constructs offered by the experience economy model, in order to identify wine tourism branding options. However, they claim, research is lacking on the connection between the experience economy dimensions and rural food tourism.

Socio-cultural approaches to culinary tourism

The other dominating research direction is concerned with the cultural and social aspects of culinary tourism. Such studies have mainly been conducted by researchers of – among others – anthropology, sociology, ethnology, and human geography. For instance, Boniface (2003) argues that the consumption of food as a touristic activity is strongly culturally loaded, as "lifeway – culture – is an integral element of how and what we eat and drink" (Boniface 2003: 1). Another significant contribution to the cultural and social dimensions of culinary tourism is offered in Long's (2004) anthology on Culinary Tourism. One of the main arguments here is that food adds to recognition of the multifaceted aspects of tourism and permits exploring it as a process. The various contributions in Long's anthology provide examples of food tourism's socio-cultural connections to, for instance, otherness and exoticism (e.g. McAndrews' and Bentley's contributions), and authenticity (e.g. Germann Molz's and Rudy's contributions). These themes have also been addressed by several other scholars; Burstedt (2004), for instance, shows how exoticism is often related to food from other cultures for example in terms of ethnic or exotic dishes, and in this sense the exotic is unique and becomes a symbol of "the far away" or the "unknown". Long (2004), on the other hand, argues that the home environment may as well be considered "exotic". Furthermore, Richards (2002) argues that the rise of rural food as a representation of authenticity is in fact a counter reaction to the urban food experiences, which are perceived to represent the postmodern and trendy lifestyle. Also, in Lysaght's (2013a) anthology, food experiences are studied from a cultural perspective, with emphasis on authenticity and a return to the traditional.

Furthermore, social aspects of the connection between food and experiences have been studied in terms of taste (c.f. Bourdieu 1984; Warde 1997; Urry 2000, Atkins and Bowler 2001; Urry 2002; Fields 2002; Warde 2005; Burstedt 2013;

Stringfellow *et al.* 2013; Warde 2014; Paddock 2014). Food and eating (in particular) are considered as "mundane and routinised activity, /…/ founded in bodily habits and learned taste, of both sensual and social type" (Warde 2014: 288). But eating is also a highly social activity, which breeds wellbeing, joy and which appeals to more cognitive dimensions such as recognition and sense of nostalgia, and some researchers have connected the travel-related consumption of food to Bourdieu's concept of *distinction*. Fields (2002) argued that gastronomic tourism can be connected to status, as the consumption of distinct food experiences mirrors certain lifestyle patterns amongst what he calls "the new middle-classes" (Fields 2002: 40). Furthermore, Stringfellow *et al.* (2013) studied how celebrity chefs and the culinary elite work as tastemakers, who are able to direct our understanding of, for example, culinary heritage and lifestyle constructions. Moreover, from her study on farmers' markets and a food cooperative, Paddock (2014) demonstrated how alternative food consumption could be seen as means of distinction and cultural differentiation. Paddock argues that often the food offered in these venues is expensive and demands more-than-average cooking skills, and in this sense, it creates a "feeling of cultural discomfort" (*ibid.*: 36) and exclusion.

The social and cultural aspects of food and food experiences have also been considered from a cultural geographical perspective (e.g. Bell and Valentine 1997; Atkins and Bowler 2001; Heldt-Cassel 2003; Hultman 2006). A common argument is that places are constructed through food and food experiences. In their book "Consuming geographies – We are where we eat", Bell and Valentine (1997) studied the relationship between food and geography and addressed the social and cultural meaning of food consumption according to different scales, from the body to the global. Though this research is not directly concerned with food as a tourism product, it provides relevant perspectives on how food – locally as well as globally situated – can act as a cultural, social and economic encounter in the ways places or destinations are constructed. The construction of geographical regions through food is further illustrated by Heldt-Cassel (2003). In her doctoral thesis, she showed how a gastronomic region was established and represented through food and food related values and activities attached to a specific region. Furthermore, food experiences have been studied in relation to rural growth, by, for instance, Everett (2008a), who demonstrated that food has a significant importance as a means of tourism in rural regions; for example, the term 'Celticness' is used as a definer of the region's food identity. However,

Everett also calls for more research on the cultural and social aspects of food tourism, as "...little is truly known about what influences and shapes this growing phenomenon" (Everett 2008a: 5).

This section has looked at some previous studies in culinary tourism and related fields, within two major strands, the economic, and the socio-cultural. However, as tourism is a multidisciplinary field, so is research on culinary tourism, and – as has been indicated – this research is rarely focused on *either* the social, cultural, *or* the economic dimensions of the relationship between food and tourism. Often studies combine some or all of these aspects in order to broaden the understanding of the various elements that constitute the field (c.f. Hall and Mitchell 2001; Hjalager and Richards 2002; Hall and Sharples 2003; Hall *et al.* 2003; Selwood 2003; Scarpato and Daniele 2003; Ekström and Jönsson 2016; Everett 2016). Hjalager and Richards (2002) highlight both socio-cultural and economic aspects of the relationship between food and tourism, as they examine gastronomy and tourism as a "socio-cultural practice" that constitutes an "important cultural industry", which also includes various economic activities (Richards 2002: 4).

A more recent addition to the culinary tourism literature is offered by Ekström and Jönsson (2016), who bring together the economic and socio-cultural dimensions of culinary tourism, in order to illustrate the broader cultural and economic changes that Sweden has faced during past decades. Here, the local is given some attention, as a means for food entrepreneurs to enhance their experience offers. However, how the local is enacted is not addressed further. Another recent contribution is Everett's (2016) thorough overview and discussion of principles and practices of food and drink tourism. Aspects such as its historical development, cultural meanings, upcoming trends and niches, and branding options are highlighted. The local is here embedded in discussions of, for example, geographical localness and sustainable food production, though only to a limited extent.

From this short review, the next section presents the previous research which focuses particularly on "the local" in relation to culinary tourism.

"The local" in culinary tourism research

From the more general research on culinary tourism presented above, three overall directions can be distinguished which have studied the relationship between culinary tourism and the local, in different ways in terms of the social, cultural, and economic dimensions: the first research direction is concerned with different perspectives on 'local'; the second direction reviews the role of local food in terms of rural tourism development, and the third direction considers how local food is being used in the branding and promotion of tourist destinations. The remainder of the chapter will address these three directions.

Perspectives on "local"

A significant amount of research has been concerned with what is actually contained in the term 'local'. The literature here spans over various fields and offers a wide range of interpretations and perspectives; however, two main themes stand out in particular. First, a number of studies in the nineties and the first decade of this century in particular, focused on *local* as a contrast to *global;* second, further to this, scholars have been occupied with what is actually understood by the concept of 'local food' and highlighted the physical and abstract dimensions respectively of local food.

'Local' as a contrast to 'global'

A group of scholars emphasises the contrasts between the unique and the ordinary as a foundation for the tourist experience. The dichotomist relationship that characterises tourism activities in general, where such activities come to symbolise the escape from everyday stressful life (home-away, unique-ordinary, distant-nearby etc.) have been stressed by, for example, Hall *et al.* (2003) and Hultman (2006). Hultman (2006) claims that such distinctions are necessary in order to experience, say, the unique, as the dichotomies function as meaning providing prerequisites for the tourism experience. Further to this, Blake *et al.* (2010) point out that local food products, as representations of traditions, history, and authenticity, can be seen as contrasts to the urban lifestyle. Similarly, in terms of culinary tourism, the obsession with the local is often studied in relation to what is often seen as its counterpoint, the global. This literature often puts forward the

changes in the culinary landscape and the emerging experiencification as effects of – or parts of – various globalisation processes. However, the research here is not homogenous; on the one hand, some studies highlight the benefits of a more globalised world, with enhanced mobility and faster and easier circulation of goods and services, driving the societal development forward (e.g. DuPuis and Goodman 2005). From a culinary perspective, the global is perceived to offer the opportunity to discover and consume other cultures and new and exotic flavours (Bell and Valentine 1997); the global here is associated with a notion of "cosmopolitanism", where the culinary traveller gains a certain status by the ability to travel the world, "gazing with the tongue" (Germann Molz 2007: 88).

On the other hand, other studies have criticised the growing standardisation and dominance by a few multinational companies, which are perceived as effects of growing globalisation. For example, Ritzer (1993) put forward the complexities of the rising rationalisation and homogenisation of our society. Drawing parallels to Fordism, Ritzer discussed the globalisation and standardisation of food products and food culture in terms of the fast food industry – as a *Macdonaldisation*, which has permeated our society and shaped standards for a certain culinary culture, both in economic terms, and in relation to a social and/or cultural recognition and the comfort in knowing what you get even though you are far away from home. More recently, Ritzer has developed this criticism, arguing that the rationality that characterises these organisations turns them into "nothing" – "…*centrally conceived, centrally controlled and lacking in distinctive content*" (Ritzer 2017: 655, *italics in original*). This, he argues, leads to the "disenchantment" of such organisations, which means that, due to the process of rationalisation that they go through, products become "disenchanted" and lose "many of their magical qualities" (*ibid.* 656). Furthermore, Ritzer claims that even small-scale quality food producers and entrepreneurs face the risks of becoming disenchanted. As they succeed, these companies become exposed to a constant pressure of rationalisation, tempted by profitability that the large-scale corporations can ensure. That is, they risk going from being "something" to "nothing".

A parallel perspective to the Macdonaldisation thesis has been offered by Bryman (1999: 26), who suggested *Disneyisation* as a process "…by which the principles of the Disney theme parks are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world". For instance, Bryman

emphasised "theming" and "dedifferentiation of consumption" as two trends, which reflect the dimensions of Disneyisation. Further to this, Scarpato and Daniele (2003: 307) described "the new culinary global landscape" as a new sort of localism where "[f]ood, cuisines and food-ways have to be assessed in the real context of our days in which globalization thrives and signifies technological advance, progress in communications, modern versus past". By this the authors argue that the new global food landscape has shaped a new sense of place where tradition and origin is no longer a symbol of authenticity and uniqueness but rather embeds these aspects in a postmodern local food culture. Yet other researchers have acknowledged the local and the global as interrelated and interdependent; Richards (2002), for instance, summarises this interrelationship as follows:

> While some tourists have welcomed the homogenization of the gastronomic landscape as a means of eating cheaply, predictably and safely across the world, others have attacked the standardization and homogenization of fast food as unhealthy and unnatural and for depriving locals and tourists of a sense of place (Richards 2002: 6).

In similar vein, Robertson (1995) claims that the global (homogenisation) and the local (heterogenisation) should not be treated separately, but rather be synthesised into the merging term *glocalisation* – because "...we appear to live in a world in which the expectation of uniqueness has become increasingly institutionalized and globally widespread." (*ibid.*: 28) That is, the global trend of offering local products and place-unique food experiences is being applied and adapted into a local context, in accordance with, for example, the social and cultural conditions of the place. This also affects how we consume, and Bell and Valentine (1997: 19) argue: "Perhaps more than any other process, globalisation (or glocalisation) is shaping and reshaping patterns of food consumption"; a statement, which can help to explain why the focus on the local as a significant part of culinary tourism has emerged.

Hence, while we get more fixated with our roots and strive to create borders for *the* local products, instead this leads to a standardisation of the local. Cook and Crang (1996) explain this as a "local globalization" of culinary culture, which involves it becoming harder to identify the actual origins of food and food products. Further to this, the globalisation or standardisation of local trends is illustrated as a result of more flexible import and export regulations and

conditions, as well as a constantly growing mobility, implying that countries, regions and communities are becoming still more blurred, and the borders between places are becoming harder to define (c.f. Bell and Valentine 1997; Atkins and Bowler 2001; Scarpato and Daniele 2005; Brembeck 2006). Seen in this light, the Slow Food and New Nordic Cuisine movements are examples of attempts to maintain local food identity and distinguish culinary cultures. For example, Parkins & Craig (2006) argue that the idea of *slow living* is a direct – but complex – response to globalisation. The desire for a slower pace involves a number of "mindful" practices, such as caring or paying more attention to the little things, both individually and through collective acts. While these practices challenge the economic, cultural, political, and technological developments that add to the fast-pace society, the idea of Slow living and Slow food is simultaneously taking advantage of globalisation, in terms of the movement's influence across the world. On the other hand, Hall and Gössling (2016) problematise Slow Food's ability to maintain a more sustainable travel consumption, as the urge for engaging with local food cultures simultaneously forces increased mobility.

The research, which has been accounted for here, puts forward the local-global fringe as a field of tensions, where the local stands in contrast to the global, often as something good and desirable. Hence, few studies actually criticise the local, though Hinrichs (2003), for instance, stresses that local is not always equivalent to something good. Likewise, Born and Purcell (2006) refer to the problem of "the local trap", which implies that the local is not necessarily just or sustainable only by being local; it can – just as global – be unsustainable and unjust. The authors argue that food justness or sustainability is dependent on the actors and agendas within a food system, rather than the scale per se. Also, more recently Baldacchino (2015) has questioned the somewhat naïve usage of local food in many rural development strategies, arguing that "…the way in which locality is produced and manifested in multiple locations is strangely similar" (*ibid.*: 230). Further to this, Baldacchino claims that this "food craze" may hold a number of downsides in terms of, for instance, global companies starting to offer 'local' products at much lower prices, or what started out as a small-scale, high-quality locally made product suffering from commodification.

Though the discussions of the relationship between the local and the global are not particularly new, recent contributions show a rising scepticism to the

somewhat mainstream perceptions that local is always good, and therefore there appears to be a need to address the complexities of the local-global further, in order to better grasp the nuances and complexities of the local as a culinary tourism phenomenon.

Physical and abstract dimensions of local

Another range of studies has focused on what is actually meant by "local", when it comes to food and food experiences. Many of these studies put emphasis on the actual products, and local in this sense is often associated with the physical closeness of products or producers, or determined by a clearly defined area such as a region or a community (c.f. Ilbery *et al.* 2006; Darby *et al.* 2008; Sims 2010; Sundbo 2013). Accordingly, a common way to determine the localness of food products is through the concept of food miles (Ilbery *et al.* 2006; Grebitus *et al.* 2013). For instance, Ilbery *et al.* (2006: 214) defined local food as "...foods that are produced, processed and retailed within a defined area, usually 30-50 miles [app. 50-80 km] radius of the point of retail." The concept of food miles is often used as a way of making geographical distinctions between what is perceived to be local and non-local products.

Further to this, Normann Eriksen (2013) examined various definitions of 'local food' within the local food systems literature. Normann Eriksen identified three "domains of proximity" (p. 49f.), which captured the main characteristics of local food: geographical proximity, relational proximity, and values of proximity. The conclusion from the examination was that the varieties in the definitions of local food can help address the complexity of the concept and emphasise that the interpretation of local food is constructed according to the context within which it occurs. Normann Eriksen (2013) calls for further research on the nuances in the interpretations and definitions of the local food concept. One recent contribution in this matter has been offered by Halkier *et al.* (2017), who studied the different approaches to the local food concept in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The authors found that relatively large differences existed in the definitions of local food in and within the studied countries, and thus also in the policies for local and regional growth.

On the other hand, other researchers question the somewhat fixed ways of measuring localness, suggesting that what determines local should not solely be defined by the food products alone, but also through several, interrelated physical

and more abstract dimensions, such as freshness, safety, quality and health aspects (c.f. Blake *et al.* 2010; Sims 2010; Grebitus *et al.* 2013; Welton *et al.* 2016). Sims (2010), for instance, highlights the complexity of 'local food' as the concept is constantly negotiated and renegotiated and carries different meanings depending on whether it is interpreted by food producers, restaurant owners or the visitors. This complexity is further highlighted by Sundbo (2013), who studied how the concept of local food was constructed amongst providers and consumers, respectively. This study showed, not surprisingly, that the conceptualisations differed between the two groups. While the providers associated 'local food' with quality, craftsmanship and authenticity, the consumers ascribed the concept with good flavour, healthy local ingredients, and cultural roots (Sundbo 2013). Similar differences in the interpretation of the local food concept are highlighted by, for example, Tellström (2006). In his study of restaurant owners' perception of local and regional food culture, Tellström stressed the tensions between the restauranteurs' different perceptions of the local and the visitors' expectations. The informants in Tellström's study perceived local and regional food culture as typical dishes made from local products, and which cannot be found elsewhere:

> It is the kind of food that visiting guests may experience as exotic and that is put forward in order to emphasise feelings of the local, but also a meal beyond everyday life (Tellström 2006: 57).

What Tellström highlights here represents a perspective on local food as something, which is perceived as unique for the destination in question. Also, Hultman and Hall (2012) studied how locality was constructed in different place-making practices. Illustrated by four case studies in Southern Sweden, the authors showed how the local was "continuously articulated and performed" (*ibid.*: 565) in the social interactions of the project stakeholders. For example, the local was articulated through practices of visualisation, which held different ways of manifesting locality in terms of visible, material things (such as wood), or through the articulation of particular trails, which offered local traditional food and craftsmanship etc. This research demonstrates how the local can embed both abstract and more physical dimensions and adds to the light shed on the complexities that are involved with tourism and destination making.

The concept of 'local' is also being linked with identity. For instance, Béssière (1998: 23) has shown how culinary heritage is used within specific places or

communities as "a kind of banner beneath which the inhabitants of a given area recognise themselves". Likewise, Heldt Cassel (2003) has put forward how local and regional food is closely connected with and contributes to the construction of place identity. In similar vein, Du Rand *et al.* (2003: 98) concluded, "…a nation's identity is reflected and strengthened by the food experiences that it offers". Culinary activities are however not only related to place identity; also, tourists tend to identify themselves with certain types of (local) cuisine while on holiday, and thus food can be "an important factor in the search for identity" (Richards 2002: 4). Similarly, Hall and Sharples (2003) state that, thanks to the tourists' increasing interest and curiosity in local food products as well as in the food culture of the visited destination, culinary tourism activities have not only become a lucrative business for destinations and their actors, but it also has a significant social and cultural influence on the consumers:

> Issues of taste, image, freshness, experience and quality are now recognized as important, not only because of the role of food in local economy, but also because what, why and how we eat says something about ourselves, why we travel and the society we live in (Hall and Sharples 2003: 2).

Connecting local food products and activities with aspects such as authenticity, culture, and heritage thus become part of this identity formation, not only for the visitors but also for the food producers themselves, as well as for the various actors on the regional and national levels. Tellström (2006) however questions the actual uniqueness in local and regional food culture, arguing that the dishes that are produced in these contexts are rather a commercial production than idealistic, cultural work.

As this section has shown, the literature concerned with what is carried by the term *local* is heterogeneous and offers multiple, and often contrasting perspectives. With these constraining perspectives at hand, it becomes valuable to study how the local is actually being formed and practiced as a part of culinary tourism, and thereby get a more nuanced understanding of the various processes that produce this phenomenon.

Local food as a means of rural tourism

A second research strand, which focuses on the role of the local in culinary tourism, is concerned with local food as a means of rural tourism. While rural development covers social, cultural, economic and ecological development in rural areas (George *et al.* 2009; Hall *et al.* 2009) rural tourism development is a narrower perspective within this field. Rural development is thus closely related to tourism, as rural development is in many ways associated with tourist experiences, and often such activities are used as a means of stimulating local business and community development (c.f. van der Ploeg *et al.* 2000; Hall *et al.* 2003; George *et al.* 2009; Hall *et al.* 2009). Sharpley (2006: 146) refers to two dominating perspectives in rural tourism; one side focuses on the countryside as a resource for tourism, where managerial implications are at hand, and one side focuses on tourism as a prerequisite for social and economic rural development. Tourism from this point of view is examined as a political incentive in the development of rural areas. Sims (2010), for example, refers to *Integrated Rural Tourism* as a political initiative, which seeks to "enhance the local economy, environment and culture in order to create a strong rural community in ways that can be enjoyed by hosts as well as guests" (Sims 2010: 106). Accordingly, for rural areas, tourism is perceived to play an important role, contributing to the development of local communities, not only economically but also in terms of social, cultural, and environmental sustainability (Lordkipanizde *et al.* 2005; Marsden and Smith 2005; Dredge 2006b; Croce and Perri 2010; Sims 2010; Sjöholm 2011; Cleave 2016). For example, some researchers have pointed out how tourism is often seen as a natural solution to the industrial crisis that many rural communities have faced, and which threatens the local economy. Tourism can in this sense be a way to establish a sort of new, local identity (c.f. George *et al.* 2009; Sims 2009). However, it is stressed that tourism activities are not a standardised solution to all communities facing a negative development, and several researchers stress how all rural development – locally as well as nationally – must be adapted and planned according to the local communities and their inhabitants (c.f. George *et al.* 2009; Croce and Perri 2010; Sjöholm 2013).

Quite a few scholars have addressed local food and food experiences in terms of rural tourism development (e.g. Béssiere 1998; Hall *et al.* 2003; Hall *et al.* 2009; Morris and Buller 2003; Marsden 2004; DuPuis and Goodman 2005; Marsden and Smith 2005; Ilbery *et al.* 2006; Everett and Aitchison 2008; Sims 2009, 2010;

Vittersø and Amilien 2011; Manniche and Larsen 2012; Hall and Gössling 2013; Sidali *et al.* 2015). Most of this research agrees that the obsession with locally sourced and locally produced food is a result of several, interrelated factors. From a political ecology perspective – which is found in much of the rural development literature – the increasing culinary tourism activities have evolved due to a number of changes in both the agricultural patterns and in the behaviour of the consumers. Accordingly, scholars have examined how changes in the agricultural sector throughout Europe have caused difficulties for the farming businesses, in terms of demographic changes (e.g. people abandoning the countryside to live and work in the city) and the introduction of new EU regulations and restrictions concerning, for instance, harvest methods, use of chemicals etc. (Hall *et al.* 2003; Marsden and Smith 2005), as well as food scarcity as a consequence of, for instance, BSE (mad-cow disease) and Foot and Mouth Disease. This agricultural decline made it difficult for farmers to make financial profits on their businesses, and as a consequence, they were forced to explore new markets and find new ways of selling their products and making a living, either as an additional alternative to traditional farming or as a whole new way of life (c.f. Marsden and Smith 2005; Cochrane 2009; Hall *et al.* 2009). In this sense, local food is often seen as a political tool to contribute to a more sustainable development of rural economies.

In addition, the specific interest in food and drink as a significant contribution to economic, social and environmental benefits in rural communities has been studied in terms of entrepreneurship as a key node in the development of rural areas. In their study of the *Ängavallen farm* in southern Scania, Lordkipanidze *et al.* (2005) emphasised the significance of the driving forces that are associated with entrepreneurship. Also, Marsden and Smith (2005) refer to *ecological entrepreneurship*, which comprises the collaboration between key actors in rural areas with the aim of achieving the common goal: sustainability and competitiveness. These networks have derived from the crisis in European agriculture, referred to above. Marsden and Smith argue that ecological entrepreneurship plays an important role in rural areas, as it creates motivation and new opportunities for other actors in the local communities to form new networks and thereby strengthening a certain area's position and competitiveness. Similarly, for example, Béssière (1998) and Holloway *et al.* (2006) argued that collective initiatives are often established in order to contribute to the development of rural tourism, linking local products and culinary traditions with the visitors' interest in quality.

In conclusion, although the relationship between local food and rural development has been given significant academic attention, there is an overbalanced focus on the use of local food and food related activities in a local community context, and it is argued that "there still remains little engagement with the ways that the local appears in a more generalised food landscape" (Blake *et al.* 2010: 411). Furthermore, various researchers call for further examination of the relations between rural development, tourism, and different economic, social and cultural aspects (e.g. Ateljevic and Doorne 2003; George *et al.* 2009; Everett and Aitchison 2008; Frisvoll *et al.* 2016). In addition, Baldacchino (2015) calls for more critical studies of the ways (local) food is used in rural tourism development strategies, where the somewhat standardised "romancing" of local produces is often seen as "a magic remedy to economic stagnation" (*ibid.*: 234). This indicates a need for more in-depth research into the complex processes that form rural tourism experiences and their rising importance within tourism in general.

Local food as a means for destination branding

A third strand in the literature that studies the local in relation to culinary tourism, is concerned with how the local is used in the branding of destinations. As the influence that food has on people's perceptions of places is significant, more and more destinations recognise the power of food and food related experiences when entering the battle for visitors. Offering place specific food products and dishes prepared from locally sourced crops has therefore become a means of differentiation in many destinations, urban as wells as rural. Several studies have addressed how food related experiences are used as a strategic tool in the branding of nations or regions, (c.f. du Rand *et al.* 2003; Heldt Cassel 2003; Long 2004; Mossberg and Svensson 2009; Blichfeldt and Halkier 2014; James and Halkier 2014, Andersson *et al.* 2017; Gyimóthy 2017). The studies agree that local products contribute to enhancing the uniqueness not only of an entire region but also within its diverse communities. As was pointed out in the first section of this chapter, the role of regional and national actors in culinary tourism has become more significant through recent years, and local food and food related activities are to a still wider extent becoming part of such actors' branding strategies, often subject to political efforts (c.f. Jones and Jenkins 2002; Heldt Cassel 2003; Hultman 2006; James and Halkier 2014; Hall and Gössling 2016; Nilsson 2016).

Accordingly, Jones and Jenkins (2002) discussed the challenges of creating saleable experiences; illustrated by the example of "Taste of Wales", they argued that though experiences connected to local food can be a lucrative tool to market a destination, several issues influence the final outcome and quality of the experience (e.g. marketing coherence, political inconsistency, and brand identity). Similarly, James and Halkier (2014) identified the food tourism practices which were involved with the establishment of regional tourism development platforms in Northern Jutland, Denmark.

In a national context, some studies have addressed the contributions of *the New Nordic Cuisine* and *the Slow Movement* to the field of tourism (and its various subfields) (c.f. Pietrykowski 2004; Nilsson *et al.* 2010; Pico Larsen 2010; Sundbo *et al.* 2013; Nilsson 2013; Pico Larsen and Österlund-Pötzsch 2015; Gyimóthy 2017; Manniche and Sæther 2017; Neuman and Leer 2018). Further to this, a set of studies considers the New Nordic Cuisine as a means of branding the Nordic food culture (e.g. Pico Larsen 2010; Sundbo *et al.* 2013; Gyimothy 2017). This research reflects the growing importance of local food as a political focus in the highlighting of regions and nations, however it does not pay any particular attention to the ways the local is actually being enacted in such efforts.

Ways of branding the local

A number of scholars have examined different ways of packaging and selling culinary products. Many of the studies weigh the importance of local food in terms of locally sourced products and/or the values of promoting food as local. In a rural context, local food products are often promoted in terms of, for example, farm stays, farmers' markets, food festivals, self-picking activities, food or gastronomy tours etc. (c.f. Hall and Sharples 2003; Meyer-Chech 2003; Gyimóthy and Mykletun 2009; Hall *et al.* 2009; Sims 2010; Hall 2013; Hall and Gössling 2016). Farmers markets, for instance, are seen as an initiative which aims to bring not only local food products closer to consumers but also to create a better awareness of the actual production and an opportunity for small rural companies to enhance their business development (Hall 2013; Sidali *et al.* 2015).

The authentic and unique have been widely studied within the various strains of tourism research (c.f. MacCanell 1976; Cohen 1979; 1988; Andersson Cederholm 1999; Wang 1999; Cohen and Avieli 2004; Andersson Cederholm and Hultman 2006; Sidali 2015; Kronen 2018). Recently, Kronen (2018) showed

how notions of authenticity could be applied in order to create value in the tourism offer, and thereby add to the social, economic, and ecological development of local communities. Quite a few scholars have also studied the local in culinary tourism as a representation of authenticity and uniqueness; for instance, food products or dishes are often marketed as 'unique', 'authentic' or 'exotic' (c.f. Cook and Crang 1996; Scarpato and Daniele 2003; Burstedt 2004; Burstedt *et al.* 2006; Hultman 2006; Gyimóthy and Mykletun 2009; Mykletun and Gyimóthy 2010; Pico Larsen and Österlund-Pötzsch 2015). Scarpato and Daniele (2003) argue that authenticity might be one reason for engaging with local food, because it generates a feeling of experiencing past times in terms of history and traditions and so forth.

From a more general perspective Andersson Cederholm and Hultman (2006) argue that the authentic experience can create a feeling of being close to or part of nature. Further to this, they claim, "[a] sense of uniqueness could be found nearby as well as in remote destinations" (Andersson Cederholm and Hultman 2006: 299). In a similar vein, in his study of Scanian tourism brochures, Hultman (2006) argued that the local in certain aspects equals the exotic, and Baldacchino (2015) has suggested that consuming typically local meals or produce can be a way of perceiving the authentic and the unique without travelling especially far. Mykletun and Gyimóthy (2010) showed that the authenticity of local food does not necessarily have to be perceived as something delicious (by the tourists). In their study on the traditional Norwegian sheep's-head meal, the authors argue that "scary food" (in the sense that the cooked sheep's head looks quite scary) can "contribute to growth and distinctiveness of the area and its branding as a tourist destination" (*ibid.*: 444).

Hence, local food is often connected to more intangible values such as mind-sets, culinary heritage and traditions in cultivating, processing, preparing and presenting food (c.f. Cook and Crang 1996; Béssière 1998; Hall and Sharples 2003; Richards 2002; Blake *et al.* , 2010), and some scholars have studied how different values are conveyed through food origin (c.f. Burstedt 2004; Burstedt *et al.* 2006; Tellström 2006; Sims 2009; Bowen 2010). For example, Burstedt *et al.* (2006: 13) describe the relationship between the unique and the origin as a representation of local traditions accordingly:

> In the evocation of the important feeling of authenticity it is an advantage if the biological origin, the crop, can be attached to the region by being sourced there. This is then combined with allusions to the historical origin, and the fact that the crops, and maybe especially the finished dishes, have a culinary cultural tradition in the area (Burstedt *et al.* 2006: 13).

Thus, local food is seen to convey a feeling of authenticity, and the connection with the products' origin is perceived to raise the genuineness of the experience. Further to this, terroir is to a still wider degree being highlighted as a way to promote food as local (c.f. Hall *et al.* 2003; Gade 2004; Bowen 2010; Croce and Perri 2010; Lagnevik 2010; Pico Larsen 2010; Pico Larsen and Österlund-Pötzsch 2015; Gyimóthy 2017). Originally a common term within winemaking, terroir refers to the wine's connection to the soil and the soil's properties that are provided to the product in terms of quality, taste, and character. But also, the producer's personal skills and methods when processing the product, as well as his or her cultural understandings, are embedded within the terroir. Lagnevik (2010), for instance, argued that the concept of terroir is a tool by which locally produced food (or beverages) are given meaning, and Gyimóthy (2017) showed in her study of Danish rural destinations how terroir acted as a key node in Nordic brand narratives.

Another means of promoting local food includes the use of storytelling, which in a marketing sense is seen as a way of positioning a particular brand by adding feelings and meanings to it through stories (e.g. Mossberg and Sundström 2011; Ren and Gyimóty 2013). In a culinary tourism sense, storytelling has been used in order to create, feelings of authenticity and a sense of connection with the providers of the experience in question (Mossberg and Svensson 2009; Mossberg *et al.* 2010). In a similar vein, food tourism is often branded through notions of the multisensory, as all kinds of sensing (smelling, tasting, seeing, touching, listening) are perceived to enrich the quality and 'uniqueness' of the product or activity in question (c.f. Jacobsen 1998; Boniface 2003; Everett 2008b; Agapito *et al.* 2014). In her study of the Noma restaurant in Copenhagen, Pico Larsen (2010) put forward the significance of multisensory dimensions in the performance of the food experience, claiming that through the staging and performing of food, aspects such as culinary heritage, terroir, and authenticity are being brought forward as an embodiment of the Nordic heritage (Pico Larsen 2010).

There seems thus to be a move towards a more multidisciplinary approach to culinary tourism, which allows the acknowledgement of some of the more performative and multifaceted characteristics of tourism experiences, which are not extensively covered if only considering social, cultural, or economical aspects. This could be seen as a critique on the somewhat narrow view of tourism as a quite static activity where tourists are passive gazers upon views and sites (Urry 2002). Hence, today's experience-oriented development claims attention for the more performative dimensions in order to create tourist satisfaction (Franklin and Crang 2001; Urry and Larsen 2011). This can be seen as one explanation for the rising interest in niched tourism activities such as the local.

Culinary collaborations

Another particular focus within the literature lies in collaboration as a means of organising and branding culinary tourism and securing the differentiation from other destinations. According to Buhalis (2000), tourists' total perception of a destination is constructed through various impressions provided by its different suppliers, combined with the destination's attractions. This means that the marketing of a destination builds upon the marketing of each actor and the ability of these actors to market themselves together. Thus, a central factor in the making of a culinary destination is the ability amongst local suppliers to cooperate and find ways to promote a common 'product' (c.f. Boyne *et al.* 2002; Holloway *et al.* 2006; Boesen *et al.* 2017). A number of scholars have studied the emergence of various networks or collaborations amongst producers and providers of local food products and food related activities, which are specific to the area in question (e.g. Marsden 2004; Marsden and Smith 2005; Venn *et al.* 2006; Einarsen and Mykletun 2009; Everett and Slocum 2013; Lange-Vik and Idsö 2013; Boesen *et al.* 2017; Everett 2016).

Often, culinary networks involve not only the actual collaboration between food actors and/or tourism firms, but also more specific events such as time-limited festivals, events, food trails or gastronomic routes. In many cases these food events are a part of broader cultural or heritage trails, or occur as themed routes, such as an apple cider route, a cheese route or a wine route (Meyer-Czech 2003; Boyne *et al.* 2002; Hayes and MacLeod 2007; Everett 2016). Meyer-Czech (2003) highlights the linking of the agricultural sector and the tourism industry as one of the main reasons for establishing culinary collaboration. From his study of

Austrian food trails, Meyer-Czech concluded that these trails "started as producer and marketing associations that tried to find links with tourism and then developed a tourist product around an existing agricultural product of the region" (Meyer-Czech 2003: 152). Also, in Sweden various tours and trails have become common, as well as food festivals and events that highlight or celebrate specific, local food products (Mossberg *et al.* 2010; Østrup Backe 2010, 2013). Accordingly, it is argued that food projects, culinary networks, food trails and the like can be viewed as more concrete attempts at bringing the local closer to the consumer and thus reinforcing the authentic experience (Marsden *et al.* 2000; Sidali 2015).

While there exist quite a few studies on different types of food networks as destination branding or development tools, little attention is given to the processes of establishing and developing such initiatives, and there appears to be a lack of research that focuses on the actual practices of tourism networks as they form and develop around a common phenomenon, such as the local. Boesen *et al.* (2017), for instance, call for more in-depth research on successful collaboration between food and tourism actors. There can therefore be a significant value in studying how the local is put forward and used as a common point of interest in strategic food projects. Studying the practices of strategic food projects is thus a way to contribute to the understanding of how culinary tourism is organised within different contexts. Hence, the study of such efforts cannot only illustrate how culinary products and activities are packaged and 'experiencified'. From this knowledge it can therefore be possible to say something about how different tourism phenomena are formed and enacted.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has provided an account of previous research, which in different ways is concerned with culinary tourism and the notion of the local. While culinary tourism has become an established research area within the social sciences, the role of the local in culinary tourism has hitherto only been given limited attention. However, existing studies indicate that the relationship between local food and tourism activities is a relatively new, but growing, phenomenon. The literature thus points to an interest in understanding how culinary destinations are shaped

and occur, in a social, cultural and economic sense, and has to some extent covered the role of the local. Three dominant perspectives stand out; first, there has been an interest in understanding what is actually embedded in the term 'local' – in both physical and more abstract ways – and a significant number of studies have addressed the relationship between the local and the global. Second, the role of local food in rural development has been extensively studied, and there is an extensive focus on local food as an (often political) tool for a sustainable development in terms of social, cultural and economic aspects. Third, local food has been studied as a strategic branding tool, and its ability to represent, for instance, authenticity has been put forward. More recently the performative and multisensory dimensions related to the branding of culinary tourism have been pointed out as ways of emphasising *local* attributes. Also, a group of studies has considered local food as a subject for collaborative efforts, hence culinary networks have been considered as tools for both destination branding and rural tourism development.

As this account hints, most studies take a rather instrumental approach seeing the local as a tool for enhancing experiences or developing (and sometimes saving) rural areas. Nonetheless, some scholars have acknowledged the complexity, which is embedded with the notion of the local, in the sense that it involves both physical/tangible and abstract/intangible elements and illustrates a contemporary trend of turning towards activities and experiences, which are offered nearby, which appeal to multiple senses, and which include the visitors more actively. Nevertheless, this interrelationship needs to be considered further if we are to better grasp the many dimensions of the local and look beyond its instrumental capabilities.

The literature review shows that the relationship between the local and culinary tourism is being addressed within a variety of fields, but in order to fully understand the practices in which the local emerges as a culinary tourism phenomenon, I find it necessary to bring together these streams of research. Furthermore, a common characteristic of previous studies is that they tend to focus on a single case study, and often take the perspective of *either* the local community *or* the regional *or* the national context. Little research thus focuses on how culinary tourism is produced between or across these contexts, and there is a need to address this, in order to better comprehend the processes in which the local is enacted. That is, by integrating the different perspectives it is possible to

consider the processes by which the local is enacted and portrayed as a part of culinary tourism activities, within different societal contexts. This approach can thus not only shed light on how a phenomenon such as the local can encompass both concrete economic and commercial tools, as well as more abstract cultural ideals and political visions, but also contribute to deepening the understanding of various tourism processes in general.

Chapter 3:

A social practices approach to studying the local in culinary tourism

The local as a part of culinary tourism is a phenomenon which appears to hold many different dimensions, physical and concrete as well as more abstract. One way to get a hold of this complex and multidimensional phenomenon is to look at how it is being enacted. To accomplish this, I take a social practice approach in order to capture the different ways in which the local is being produced and enacted as a part of culinary tourism. In this chapter I introduce practice theory and how I find it relevant to the study of culinary tourism, and in particular, the role of the local therein.

Understanding social phenomena through practices

In recent years, scholars within a variety of fields within the social sciences have focused increasingly on practice theory, which is often referred to as a lens, an approach or a perspective, rather than a mere theory, on how social life and phenomena are constituted (c.f. Schatzki 2001a; Nicolini 2012). Practice theory involves specific or general routines and interactions, embedded in our ontological understanding of society (Schatzki 2001a; Reckwitz 2002a). Practice theory is argued to have origins in social theories, with roots in the works of Martin Heidegger's phenomenological approach to human activity and "everydayness", and Ludvig Wittgenstein's focus on language as a collective process. Also Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Anthony Giddens, and Bruno Latour are often

referred to as representing a "praxeological" tradition (Reckwitz 2002a, 2002b; Nicolini 2012), where the need to understand how the "features of our 'daily being in the world' are produced, kept in place, and reproduced" (Nicolini 2012: 41) is current. Hence, with practice theory, diverse phenomena such as "knowledge, meaning, human activity, power, language, organizations, and organizing" can be studied (Bispo 2015: 312). Reckwitz (2002a: 246) explains practice theory as "a subtype of cultural theory", which embeds different attempts to explain and understand action and social order, based on a collective knowledge and symbolic structure (e.g. language). Drawing on Giddens (1984), Reckwitz argues that *the social* is located in *practices*, that is, the social world is formed in the shared doings and sayings of agents, rather than in the mind/mental structures (culturalist mentalism), in texts/discourses (culturalist textualism), or in human interactions (culturalist intersubjectivism), as other cultural theories would have us believe.

Despite the various directions of studies, most scholars agree that social practices comprise the ways things are *done* – that is, actual actions, habits, routines or (more or less strict) rules (Schatzki 2001a; Reckwitz 2002a; Bergström and Boréus 2005; Nicolini 2012). Examples of practices are cooking, eating, or grocery shopping; doings that have to do with the performing of everyday life. However, more recently practices have also been said to embrace less mundane acts like destination branding, policy-making, or local community development (e.g. Lamers *et al.* 2017; James and Halkier 2019; Larsen 2019). Practices are series of interrelated acts; they occur in the interplay between humans, things, and our surrounding world. In practice theory focus is on the embodied and material enactment of a phenomenon. Practice theory thus offers an "umbrella" of possibilities to interpret human and non-human action, which is translated and adapted according to the discipline or field to which the researcher belongs.

In organisation studies, for instance, the practice perspective has opened up for new interpretations of organising, learning, and knowing (Orr 1996; Corradi *et al.* 2010; Nicolini 2017). It has been applied to studies of, among other things, working practices and hidden knowledge, referring to a certain set of routines or a culture within an organisation (c.f. Wenger 1999; Corradi *et al.* 2010). According to Nicolini (2012) practices are seen as the overall definer of the work, which is carried out in an organisation. Organisations are here seen as "bundles of practices, and management as a particular form of activity aimed at insuring that

these social and material activities work more or less in the same direction" (*ibid.*: 2). Similarly, practice theory has contributed to studies of marketing (e.g. Schau *et al.* 2009; Kjellberg and Helgesson 2006; Fuentes 2014, 2015), management (e.g. Corvellec 2009, 2010; Southerton and Yates 2015), strategy (e.g. Kornberger and Clegg 2011), technology (e.g. Orlikowski 2007), and food production (e.g. Hudson *et al.* 2016). In addition, practice theory has taken a central position in consumption studies (e.g. Gram-Hansen 2009; Shove and Pantzar 2005; Warde 2005, 2014; Halkier *et al.* 2011). For instance, food-related consumption practices have been studied in terms of nutrition (Halkier and Jensen 2011), sustainability (Crivits and Pareids 2013; Sahakian and Wilhite 2014), and valuation (e.g. Heuts and Mol 2013; Ren *et al.* 2015). Also, a few scholars have integrated practice theory with service studies, such as Corvellec's (2010) study of risk management practices in a Swedish regional railway organisation, Svingstedt's (2012) study of service encounters in different service institutions (a courtroom, a nursing home, and a hotel), as well as Fuentes' and Fredriksson's (2016) study of the performance and role of sustainability service in retail stores. These studies show that there is significant value in studying the specific practices that contribute to the shaping of our social lives as this can help us understand the various facets of the service sector. As the service sector is both dynamic and heterogeneous, examining how its different worlds are formed and enacted can thus provide valuable insights into how various service encounters are produced.

Practice theory in tourism research

Hitherto, tourism practices have been studied to a relatively wide extent, such as in terms of nature-based tourism practices (Hultman and Andersson Cederholm 2006) or marketing practices in rural tourism (e.g. Polo-Pena *et al.* 2012; Hultman and Hall 2012). Also, in Urry and Larsen's updated book "the Tourist Gaze 3.0" (2011) it is argued that "gazing is a set of practices", which "involves cognitive work of interpreting, evaluating, drawing comparisons and making mental connections between signs and their referents, and capturing signs photographically" (Urry and Larsen 2011: 17). However, so far only a few studies in the field of tourism actually claim to depart from a practice-theoretical approach (e.g. Verbeek and Mommaas 2008; Rantala 2010; Rantala *et al.* 2011; Valtonen and Veijola 2011; James and Halkier 2014; Ren *et al.* 2015; Lamers *et al.* 2017; James *et al.* 2019a). For example, James and Halkier (2014) use practice

theory as a lens to identify key elements of food production in terms of tourism policy-making and regional development in the region of North Jutland, Denmark. The authors identify four central food tourism practices, which are seen as core elements in the regional practices of "feeding tourists": producing food, selling food products, catering meals, and promoting possible food experiences (James and Halkier 2014: 9). Other examples include Verbeeck and Mommaas' (2008) study of the consumers' role in the transition towards more sustainable tourism, Rantala's (2010) study of how the forest is produced as sets of nature-based tourism practices, and Rantala *et al.*'s (2011) study of weather-related practices in relation to outdoor activities, in the context of wilderness guiding. Also, Valtonen and Veijola (2011) studied the practices of sleeping as a "hidden" and collectively enacted tourist activity, based on shared understandings.

This body of research shows a rising interest in understanding how various tourism phenomena come about, highlighting tourism practices from a variety of angles. However, it is argued that practice-based tourism research is still limited, and there is a growing need for further studies that take a practice-theoretical approach to tourism phenomena (e.g. Bispo 2016; Lamers *et al.* 2017; James *et al.* 2019b). Accordingly, Lamers *et al.* (2017) demonstrated, through the example of Arctic expedition cruising, how practice theory can provide new perspectives in tourism research. The authors suggest three areas where practice theory can particularly contribute to the understanding of tourism consumption and production: the constitution of new tourism practices, the unpacking of the complexity of tourism in order to identify innovative tourism steering systems, and the analysis of change and innovation in tourism (Lamers *et al.* 2017: 61f). More recently, the various ways in which practice theory can be useful in tourism research have been further addressed in James *et al.*'s (2019a) anthology. In particular, the contributions highlight aspects of temporal dynamics, networks, learning and innovation, as well as the material dimensions of tourism practices, and thus show the width of tourism related phenomena that can be studied with practice theory.

In this thesis, I continue in this vein, using practice theory to conceptualise how the local is enacted in culinary tourism, paying particular attention to how culinary networks are formed and organised, as well as how materialities are used to enact the local as a part of culinary tourism. By seeing the local as a construction of different practice bundles, which are produced and reproduced by the culinary

actors within different contexts and which form shared understandings of a particular social world (c.f. Reckwitz 2002a; Nicolini 2012), I aim to obtain a deeper understanding of the ways this phenomenon is becoming a part of culinary tourism, and – in a more general sense – complex tourism processes.

Studying culinary tourism practices

By *practices of tourism production* I am referring to the various ways in which tourism is planned, provided and performed, and a main point of departure for my view on practices is that they are heterogeneous and dynamic, social performances (c.f. Schatzki 2001a; Halkier and Jensen 2008; Corradi *et al.* 2010; Nicolini 2012; Shove *et al.* 2012; Warde 2014). Further to this, practices encompass "/…/ embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding" (Schatzki 2001a: 2). This means that they are acts which are actively carried out according to certain ways of knowing and understanding what to do or say, how to embed materialities etc. Accordingly, in order for a practice to exist it must be reproduced; hence regularity is one dimension, which is said to distinguish practice theory from other cultural theories (c.f. Reckwitz 2002a, 2002b; Warde 2005; Halkier *et al.* 2011; Shove *et al.* 2012). Practices occur in the routinised acts of cooking, eating, doing laundry etc.; such acts often hold some degree of automatic, habitual repetition, learned from previous experience. Barnes (2001) argues that these types of routinised acts are to a great extent the result of collective accomplishments:

> Shared practices are the accomplishments of competent members of collectives. They are accomplishments readily achieved by, and routinely to be expected of members acting together, but they nonetheless have to be generated on every occasion, by agents concerned all the time to retain coordination and alignment with each other in order to bring them about (Barnes 2001: 24f).

To Barnes, the routinised doings are seen as collective acts, where the performing agents rely on a mutual understanding of the phenomenon in question. However, the enactment of the local in culinary tourism may not involve routinised acts in the sense of everyday eating or cooking practices; the routinisation lies in the regularity of, for instance, acting around or talking about culinary activities, or in

the seeking of establishing common ways to portray and convey the local, as a sort of "taken-for-granted sense" of the involved actors (c.f. Swidler 2001: 75). For example, this is seen in the culinary actors' employing certain ways of organising or staging culinary activities in relation to the surrounding world (like using a particular rhetoric or referring to certain values) or establishing common ways of performing such activities, such as displaying or marketing products and activities in similar ways. Similarly, Nicolini (2012: 2) describes practices as "assemblages of performances" that are actively and routinely carried out:

> Practice approaches are fundamentally processual and tend to see the world as an ongoing routinized and recurrent accomplishment. /…/ Family, institutions, and organisations are all kept in existence through the recurrent performance of material activities, and to a large extent they only exist as long as those activities are performed (Nicolini 2012: 3).

This indicates that the social world is constantly being formed and shaped by practices, and that practices need to be continuous in order to make sense and maintain a stable reproduction of the social. If a practice is changed or dissolves, the phenomenon, which is produced by the practice changes or loses its meaning. For instance, in their study of the practices of sustainable food consumption, Sahakian and Wilhite (2014) demonstrate how change towards more sustainable consumption patterns occurs across three "practice pillars": bodily routines, material things, and social context. It is argued that, in order to change habits and routinised behaviour, all of these three pillars must also change, because "practices are interrelated and must be viewed as a system and not as silos" (*ibid.*: 37). So, practices rely on routinised behaviour and continuous reproduction, but are simultaneously dynamic performances and may change as elements are added or removed from the assemblage. However, it is noted that the consequences of changes in certain practices is still an understudied phenomenon (e.g. Shove *et al.* 2012; Sahakian and Wilhite 2014). Also, Fuentes and Svingstedt (2019: 26) point out that "taking temporality into account is crucial when it comes to understanding the dynamic nature of tourism practices and understanding how tourism practices are reproduced and expand". Further to this, such research could thus also help to approach practices concerned with the production of culinary tourism. A performative approach thus makes it possible to capture the processual nature of a field such as culinary tourism, where activities continuously emerge, change, develop, and (sometimes) disappear. Accordingly, I see the local as an

example of one such culinary tourism activity, which is taking shape through various processes. That is, the practices by which the culinary actors produce the local as a part of their activities are acts that may change over time as the frames and prerequisites for their existence change.

Practices of the local

In this study the enacting of the local in culinary tourism is seen as produced and expressed by culinary actors and materialities within different societal (and rural) contexts (nationally, regionally, and locally). Following Schatzki (2017), the local as part of culinary tourism is conceptualised as a combination of various practice bundles, which are related to one another in "common actions, common organisational elements or common material entities" (Schatzki 2017: 134). Three practice bundles were identified as particularly significant: *framing ideals of a culinary destination, organising culinary tourism,* and *performing the local in culinary tourism* (how these were identified will be elaborated in chapter four). Further to this, in order to understand what actually makes a practice, we must consider its constitutive elements. In order to understand how the notion of the local is enacted as a part of culinary tourism, I draw on Shove *et al.'s* (2012) conceptualisation of practices as performances of interlinked elements, which encompass *competences, materials,* and *meanings*. For instance, the practice of skateboarding demands competences in terms of skills, rules and norms that allow the practitioner to ride the skateboard, materials such as skateboards, helmets, pavements and ramps, as well as and meanings pertaining to what makes it meaningful to skate (Shove *et al.* 2012: 7). These constitutive elements have previously been addressed by tourism scholars, who adopted a practice theoretical approach (e.g. Lamers *et al.* 2017; James and Halkier 2019; Ren *et al.* 2019a) and do thus also form a natural point of departure for studying how the local is enacted in culinary tourism. Accordingly, culinary tourism practices are concerned with certain *competences* involving shared knowledge, understandings and routinised behaviour (knowing what to do and/or say); *materialities*, in the sense that things or artefacts play an active role in the acts that produce the local as a part of culinary tourism practices; and *meanings*, meaning that practices produce and are produced by what makes it meaningful (motivates) to do something, such as the idea that eating local food might have health-related and/or environmental motives. Considering the appearance and interrelationships of these elements can add to

the understanding of culinary tourism practices and show the multidimensional nature of the local as a part of these practices.

Hence, on the one hand, practices allow us to study and create accounts of doings and sayings down to the smallest entities; on the other hand, we are also able to consider the ability of practices to frame and organise the world we live in. Nicolini (2012, 2017) refers to this as "zooming in" and "zooming out", which means that, in order to understand social phenomena, one needs to both zoom in on the specific acts and identify "the actual work that goes into any practice" (Nicolini 2012: 221) and zoom out in order to explore the connections and relations between various practices. This means that a practice cannot act alone but is part of a wider network of practices. In their study of the evolution of tourism destination development in Denmark, James and Halkier (2019) adopted this perspective to demonstrate how changes in destination development can contribute to illustrating changes in tourism policy and highlight the roles of DMOs in this process. By identifying and analysing the practice bundles and specific elements involved with destination development, the authors suggest that destination dynamics can be more accurately examined and assessed. My approach is similar; by studying the particular elements connected with the notion of the local in terms of framing, organising and performing culinary tourism, it is possible to resolve some of the complexities in tourism production and better understand how culinary tourism is being carried out. The constitutive elements will be elaborated further in the next section.

Competences – knowing what to do and say

While the importance assigned to different practices' qualities varies amongst practice theorists, one common perception is however that social practices are collective, acts, which comprise certain knowledge of how to act and what to say in certain situations. This involves both the body – in terms of "routinized bodily activities" (Reckwitz 2002a: 251) such as moving around, speaking, writing, and handling objects – and the mind, which involves mental activities such as interpretations, desires, skills and know-how. Competences are thus ways of producing and reproducing both new and existing knowledge, and in this regard the body and mind become performing agents. Furthermore, since practices involve a certain degree of routinised behaviour and specific ways of understanding the world, the body and mind – like the knowledge ascribed

therein – then become the focal point of knowing how to do certain things, or how to perform in certain situations (c.f. Reckwitz 2002a; Shove *et al.* 2012). The competences needed to enact the local are thus seen as a collective act, which builds on the culinary actors' shared understandings of what is embedded in the local and how it should – or should not – be produced as a culinary tourism activity. In this sense, practices are embodied activities where the body and mind work together in order to make sense (Barnes 2001). That is, in the producing of the local as a social phenomenon, the culinary actors use the body and mind in certain ways; as they talk, move, and gesticulate to put forward their products and activities, to stress the quality or attributes of a certain product, or to emphasise the reliability of certain strategy documents. Further to this, knowledge plays a crucial role, in order for the practices to make sense. That is, the notion of the local in culinary tourism requires the production of certain skills, techniques and knowledge of what to perform and how to perform it; hence, the social world is constructed according to a shared understanding, which arises from embodied social interactions.

The role of materialities

Like the focus on skills and shared knowledge, the role of the material is one of the main elements that distinguishes practices (c.f. Schatzki 2010; Shove *et al.* 2012; Warde 2014). Within other cultural theories materialities are seen as symbols, which can be interpreted, but in practice theory rather "they are things to be handled and constitutive elements of forms of behaviour" (Reckwitz 2002a: 253). While the social is perceived to be found in practices – in the shared doings and sayings of human agents – materialities are seen as necessary components for practices to exist and are therefore also social. The material is thereby not to be separated from human actions; rather it is a naturally integrated part of these actions (e.g. Reckwitz 2002a; Schatzki 2010; Fuentes 2011, 2014; Shove *et al.* 2012; Warde 2014); materialities, things or artefacts are seen to be necessary elements that support, facilitate or emphasise the doings and sayings of the human agents. In his study of Swedish nature shops, Fuentes (2011: 36ff) takes a socio-material practice approach, arguing that human action and material artefacts are two inseparable elements of equal value in the performance of practices. His research shows that artefacts play a crucial role in the process of producing nature as "green". Artefacts are thus not solely symbolic nor functional in their meaning and use, rather they are both functional and carry symbolic meanings at the same

time: for instance, a winter jacket will keep you warm and dry but at the same time the jacket symbolises conscious consumption, a certain level of quality, or certain sets of idealistic standpoints. Thus, materialities are capable of both shaping practices and being shaped by practices (c.f. Sahakian and Wilhite 2014).

The empirical material, which was studied in this thesis, showed that materialities are of specific importance when enacting the local; that is, the Food Network cannot exist without crops, barns, shelves, jars, maps and brochures that are portrayed and distributed. Likewise, the implementation of the Culinary Vision could not be possible without the physical things that make meetings, presentations and communication possible – like chairs, tables, podiums, power point presentations, digital devices, policy documents, communication strategies etc. In this sense language in terms of text is also part of the materialities and constitutes an important element in the practices that enact the local. The materialities become tools that enable the enactment of the local through the ways they are routinely used and presented, by the people using them. That is, materialities are put forward in different ways, for example, in order to stage culinary activities, stress certain policies, or highlight a certain location. They do not only act as products to be sold or as marketing tools, they also emphasise and reinforce the more abstract dimensions that can be ascribed to the local. In this sense the materialities are – together with the human acts – important elements in the practices that produce and reproduce the local as a part of culinary tourism.

Making it meaningful

Practices consider aspects of the social world, which hold, as shown above, performances, which in different ways add to our constructions of the world, and where the body and mind, knowledge, and material things play a significant role (Schatzki 2001a, b; Reckwitz 2002a; Nicolini 2012; Shove *et al.* 2012; Nicolini 2017). That is, in practice theory focus is on the actual doings, on how activities are carried out tor ake place, while the interpretation of these doings (the whys) are a natural, integrated element in the performances. In this sense, what makes it meaningful to do or say something is not separated from other bodily performances (Halkier and Jensen 2008; Shove *et al.* 2012). In this thesis then, I relate to the element of meaning in order to understand what motivates culinary actors to do what they do as they enact the local as a part of culinary tourism.

The role of meaning or motivational factors has divided practice researchers, yet in recent contributions to tourism research, what motivates various tourism processes has been deemed just as important as the actual doings and sayings (e.g. Shove and Pantzar 2005; James and Halkier 2019; Larsen 2019; Ren *et al.* 2019b). For example, in Shove and Pantzar's (2005) illustration of the practice of Nordic Walking, meaningfulness is produced through notions of health and well-being. Similarly, Ren *et al.* (2019b) argue that a meaning-creating element in Smart Tourism practices is connected to business and regional development. Meaning, in this sense, encompasses emotions, ideas and motivational knowledge (Reckwitz 2002a; Shove *et al.* 2012), and is a necessary link in the continuous performance of practices. In accordance with these scholars, this dimension becomes highly relevant if we are to fully understand how a phenomenon such as the local occurs and becomes a part of culinary tourism.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have introduced practice theory and its relevance to studying the local in culinary tourism. Further to this, I have pointed out that practices are performative and dynamic, collective accomplishments, yet, in order for a practice to endure it postulates some degree of routinisation and must be reproduced. The local in culinary tourism was conceptualised as a combination of three practice bundles: *framing ideals of a culinary destination, organising culinary tourism,* and *performing the local in culinary tourism*. Moreover, I have put forward three constitutive practice elements, which are of particular importance to understanding how the notion of the local is enacted in culinary tourism: *competences, materialities,* and *meaning*. These elements show that practices rely on competences, such as skills, know-how and shared understandings, amongst certain groups of agents. Practices are likewise material in the sense that physical things are integrated into the acts that form a particular practice. Finally, meaning is connected to emotions and ideas, as to what makes it meaningful or motivates to act in a certain way. The linking and interrelationship between these elements are what forms the practice of doing or performing something.

Practices thus involve everything from the specific activity of, say, labelling food or picking herbs, to the more general act of performing a culinary tourism event,

which is an assemblage of several practice activities. The practice perspective thus allows for a better insight in all parts of the process of the making of the local in culinary tourism. Hence, by paying attention to both specific acts and various practices bundles, it is possible to gain a more profound understanding of how the local is produced by different groups of actors, in and across different contexts. Furthermore, practices are not just a theoretical lens, but also they should permeate the methodological and analytical considerations throughout the research process. This will be examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 4:

An ethnographic study of culinary tourism practices

This chapter presents the methodological considerations and the techniques used in order to carry out the empirical study, as well as an account of the analytical process. As the phenomenon studied in this thesis is constructed in processes that involve various sayings, doings and materialities, it is necessary to consider a methodology which allows the exploration of such sayings, doings and materialities, as well as the processes of which they are part. Therefore, a qualitative study was considered to be best suited, as the aim was to gain an in-depth understanding of how culinary tourism activities are constructed, and – in particular – how the notion of the local is enacted in order to enhance these activities. In qualitative research, the researcher aims at answering the questions of how different phenomena are constructed and how they produce meaning (Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Flick 2006). Further to this, in this study the role of the local in culinary tourism was studied through an ethnographic study where the two empirical examples, *the Culinary Vision* and *the Food Network*, were examined.

Where and how can the local be studied?

According to Flick (2006) the background and context of the object to be researched should guide the choice of methodology and methods of data collection. Likewise, the theoretical lens through which this object is being approached has a significant influence on how the empirical work is carried out. Accordingly, studying social practices calls for certain ways of approaching the empirical field which recognise the multifaceted and multidimensional nature of

the practices studied, and "allow us to get close enough to the activity at hand, and which are sensitive to its material and embodied nature" (Nicolini 2012: 218). Nicolini suggests a "toolkit logic" when planning studies of practices, that meets the basic intention of social science: to provide thick or rich descriptions, which help us understand the social world (Geertz 1973, Nicolini 2012). In this sense theory and methodology should work together in a way that can allow the zooming in and out between different doings and sayings and their connections (Nicolini 2017). An ethnographic approach is therefore appropriate when wishing to document the social world as it is produced and constructed by its members (c.f. Lamers *et al.* 2017). Accordingly, I found that the ethnographic approach could provide the appropriate methods needed in order to study the practices that contribute to culinary tourism in different ways and, in particular, the practices through which the local is being produced and enacted.

In a broad sense ethnography is described as "a research process in which the researcher closely engages in the daily life of some social setting and collects data /…/ and then writes accounts of this process" (Moisander and Valtonen 2006: 45). When using ethnographic methods, the researcher studies a social phenomenon through different interactions and conversations in the field of study. The purpose is to understand the underlying factors that make sense in people's lives, and then place these factors within a more meaningful context (Tedlock 2000; Moisander and Valtonen 2006). Within the social sciences today there is a broad variety of ways to do ethnography, and the approach has developed from the traditional anthropological collection of data while living with other cultures for a longer period of time, to a more diverse material collection – often within one's own culture – where the researcher 'moves in and out' of the field (c.f. Fangen 2011). For example, Hannerz (2003: 210) suggests that in contemporary ethnography "/…/ temporary sites – conferences, courses, festivals – are obviously important /…/". The aim of the ethnographic approach is, however, still the same: to make sense of social action, which takes place in some kind of local community (Fangen 2011).

My ethnography thus seeks to give an account of the practices by which the local is enacted as a part of culinary tourism. Accordingly, two empirical examples were chosen for this study: *The Culinary* Vision and *the Food Network*, which were introduced in chapter one. These two examples illustrate in different ways how culinary tourism is organised and carried out, and in particular how the local is

made part of culinary tourism activities; the Culinary Vision, being a national (government induced) vision of Sweden as a unified, culinary destination, and the Food Network as an example of more local efforts of meeting a rising trend of combining locally sourced/produced food products with tourism experiences. I found that these two examples provided suitable contexts to study how the local is enacted in the doings and sayings of the different actors, who are engaged in culinary tourism in various ways and for various reasons. As I noted in chapter one, though the regional context is not studied as an example in itself, it is still an important part of the process of doing culinary tourism. Accordingly, the region of Scania is considered in this thesis as a link between the local community and the national efforts, and furthermore it provides a necessary context in order to understand how the Food Network has emerged and developed. Studying how the same phenomenon occurs within different contexts provides an opportunity to show the heterogeneity and multifacetedness of a contemporary tourism phenomenon, which is being shaped as a continuous process of performances, which comprise the combination of embodied competences, materialities, and meanings (c.f. Shove *et al.* 2012). Also, food projects often evolve and change over time, and imply a process in which different actors interact and negotiate on different levels (e.g. internal-external/local-regional-global) over a longer time-period (c.f. Gibson 2006; James and Halkier 2014). Finally, the collaborative structures of such initiatives make the various practices related to the local more visible than if studying, say, individual businesses.

Entering the field

It is often pointed out that the analytical process is never separated from the rest of the research process; rather it is embedded from the very first thoughts about what to study, until the finished product (c.f. Crang and Cook 2007). My engagement with the field started early in the thesis process, and therefore the empirical data had a leading role in my theoretical and analytical choices along the way. This also meant that I was able to build up an intimate relationship with my empirical data; something which has helped me in my understanding of how the local is enacted in culinary tourism over time. For my study, importance was placed on understanding the processes that involve people, acts, conversations and materialities as they form and construct a social phenomenon (c.f. Alvesson and Sköldberg 1994: 115f). This approach calls for a flexible research process where

the researcher is able to adjust and revise his or her understanding of what is to be explained. Thus, in conducting the fieldwork the general focus was on identifying how the culinary actors would *do* the local as a part of culinary tourism, with emphasis on the three constitutive practice elements that were put forward in the previous chapter: competences, materialities, and meaning. Further to this, the analysis in this study was guided according to questions concerning how the culinary actors organised and performed local food and food related activities as a part of culinary tourism.

The fieldwork took place between 2007-2012. However, as is often the case in contemporary ethnography, I was not entirely engaged with field studies throughout this period, but moved continuously in and out of the field, along with periods of theorising and analysing. Actually, the fieldwork started before physically going out into the field, in the sense of planning where to go, and whom or what to study (c.f. Öhlander 1999a). The researcher will always be influenced by his or her background when performing qualitative research, as "there are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the worlds of – and between – the observer and the observed" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 19). Hence, the researcher's role in qualitative research becomes crucial and influences the way the empirical material is selected and analysed (*ibid.*). Accordingly, my own interest in culinary tourism and the exploration of local tastes while visiting both new and previously known places has obviously influenced the choice of study object, and also the choice of methods by which I approached this phenomenon.

At first, I had an idea of studying how culinary networks were formed and developed more generally, and I started out by participating in a workshop, which was arranged as an initial activity to start up the Food Network in early 2007, as well as their first annual event in 2008. In addition, I conducted three interviews with key people within and around the network. During this initial fieldwork period, I realised that a general rhetoric concerned the actual content and purpose of the Food Network just as much as its actual organisation. What seemed to occupy the culinary actors was how to distinguish themselves through food from the area, as well as in the various food related activities, which could be offered (or already existed) and help put the area on the culinary map. It was during this period that I identified the local as a key component in the enactment of culinary tourism. Hence, with this knowledge I narrowed down my research focus to concentrate on how the local was enacted in culinary tourism.

The data collected in this first period of doing fieldwork could thus be characterised as a pilot study from which I planned and designed my further material collection. Still the data from this phase proved to be useful, for instance to the understanding of the framing of the culinary landscape, as well as the organisation of the culinary actors, and their interpretations of where the local should be located. This development corresponds to the nature of ethnographic fieldwork, where the researcher is likely to revise and adjust the fieldwork as it develops, as a natural consequence of him or her being part of the reality that is being studied (Öhlander 1999a). The early involvement with the Food Network gave me the opportunity to follow the project from the beginning and provided a unique insight in the different phases of decision-making, negotiations and development of products, events and other activities. From this part of the data, two overall culinary tourism practice bundles were identified: *organising culinary tourism* and *performing the local in culinary tourism experiences* (which will be addressed in chapter six and seven, respectively).

I soon realised that just following a culinary network would not be enough to fully understand the process in which the local was being enacted in culinary tourism. I found that I needed to know more about the conditions for this. Hence, in order to get a broader understanding of the practices that are embedded within culinary tourism, I also studied the Culinary Vision, which was initiated in 2008. The data collection took place between 2009-2012, yet I continued to follow the development around the vision after this period, mostly because of my personal interest in the process, but also to stay updated with the development of rural food and national tourism issues in general. From this material I was able to identify another culinary tourism practice bundle, namely *the framing of the ideal culinary destination* (which will be addressed in chapter five). The temporary aspect is put forward by Fangen (2011), who argues that fieldwork, which takes place over time, allows the researcher to come close to the research objects and obtain a deeper understanding of the field and the people therein. Time, however, can also lead to complications in the data collection process. With a political shift as a result of the Government election in 2014, changes were made in the political strategies for rural development in Sweden. This entailed the Culinary Vision basically being abandoned, only to be replaced by a *Food Strategy* ("Livsmedelsstrategin") shortly after (Regeringen 2015). However, since the collection of my empirical data ended before this change the analysis in this study was not affected.

During the last year of my data collection I became involved in a project, initiated and hosted by a group of researchers at the Swedish Agricultural University (Sveriges Lantbruksuniversitet, SLU) in Uppsala (henceforth referred to as *the SLU project*). *The SLU project* grew from a debate about the need to define terms related to local, regional, and locally sourced/locally produced food. This debate had its roots in two main discussions; on the one hand, that consumers were feeling insecure about the products they buy in terms of origin and quality; on the other hand, that producers as well as organisations around the country expressed a wish for unified directions and definitions of local products. For example, while in one county a product is local when being *processed* there (-it doesn't need to have been cultivated there), in another county the products must be both *cultivated* and *processed* there in order to be classified as local (Clarin 2010; SLU project manager 2011). Hence, in 2011 a project group was established in order to discuss the need for official definitions of terms such as 'locally sourced' and 'locally produced' food, 'local food' and 'regional food'. My involvement with the project was as a member of a reference group, which was to discuss the need for such definitions as well as possible content, but most importantly, to provide feedback on the project in general[6]. The discussions and other activities within the group, which I took part in during 2011-2012, proved to be valuable in supporting the data collected from the Culinary Vision and the Food Network. For example, the project provided alternative insights to the practices by which the local is used in political strategies, as well as the diversified perceptions of when something is local (or not).

Moving around in the field

As I explained in chapter three, culinary tourism practices entail both concrete and more abstract acts, as well as human interactions and material artefacts. Therefore, there is a value in mixing various methods when studying a phenomenon such as the role of the local in culinary tourism. Combining different data collection techniques allows the researcher to capture as many different perspectives of the study object as possible and to obtain equally relevant and reliable views of the same phenomenon (Kaijser 1999; Flick 2006;). Accordingly, I combined different ethnographic data collecting techniques, which could provide relevant accounts of the culinary actors' practices: observations, ethnographic interviews, documents, as well as the collection of artefacts.

However, the data collection did not take place as separate events; rather a fieldwork stay would comprise the simultaneous activities of observing, talking to people, and collecting brochures, event programmes and artefacts (through purchase or taking photographs). Hannerz (2003) similarly suggests that in contemporary ethnography data collection happens at many levels; besides the interaction with informants at different sites, it also involves data collection through emailing, websites, web documents, telephone, and via various channels such as popular culture, newspapers and other official documents and so on.

From the collected data I could successively identify the various practices concerned with the notion of the local in culinary tourism and alter the fieldwork along the way. Further to this, I sought to explore what the culinary actors were actually doing when framing, organising and performing the local. On the following pages I give an account of the process of the empirical data collection (for an overview of the conducted fieldwork, see *Appendix I*), as well as the ways this data helped me understand how the notion of the local was enacted in culinary tourism. For the sake of transparency, however, I present the data collection techniques separately.

Observing what people do

The main method for the collection of my empirical material was observations. Observations are particularly suitable when the researcher wants to study practices, since what people do is not always put forward in interviews and the like (Öhlander 1999b; Bispo 2015). As bodily patterns and interactions between people (as well as with artefacts) are actions, which are not always reflected upon, the observation allows the researcher to study more 'latent' behaviour. The importance of observations when studying practices is stressed by Sztompka (2008: 26f), who argues that "just looking around" can give very good indications as to how people live and interact, and how their everyday life is constructed. Everyday life is here interpreted not only as people's daily activities, but even what is said and done at for instance recurring events and meetings can be understood as part of everyday life (c.f. Sztompka 2008; Larsen 2008). Observations thus allow for the discovery of repetitive patterns as well as more unique phenomena (Öhlander 1999b: 75). The observations of the culinary actors showed in patterns of how the culinary tourism activities were enacted, both as embodied performances – including ways of talking about local food, executing food related

activities or arranging and displaying products – and in terms of how materialities were used and made part of these enactments.

To Fangen (2005), observation requires different degrees of involvement, from complete participant observation with a high degree of involvement, to entirely 'distanced' observation where the researcher observes as a complete outsider and has a low degree of or no involvement at all. Hence, the degree of involvement or participation refers to the degree of social interaction and adaptation to the observed situation (Fangen 2011). My observations were of both participant and non-participant nature, thus spanning both ends of Fangen's scale of involvement. In my observation, I acted as any other participant, engaging in general social interactions with the research subjects; this in order to capture the different ways the local was put forward as a part of culinary tourism activities. However, the degree to which I would participate and interact differed according to the setting in which they took place (c.f. Öhlander 1999b: 75), that is, whether I was observing the Culinary Vision or the Food Network activities, and also depending on the type of activity I was taking part in.

All observation in the Food Network was carried out between 2007-2012, and can be divided into two different types; the first type of observation took place in what I refer to as an *internal* network setting, which involved meetings and seminars held for members and specially invited 'outsiders' (e.g. press, municipality representatives, researchers, and students); and the second type of observation involved the *public* network setting, which primarily comprised the annual Food Tour event. The first type of observation resulted in the participation in six internal meetings and seminars arranged by the network members. These observation sessions lasted from three to six hours each and were of both participant and non-participant nature though with varying degree of involvement. Öhlander (1999b: 74) points out that normally the researcher will be involved to different degrees during the same observation process, something that has also been true in my case. For instance, at one meeting I was involved in a group work session (on the participants' request) where I participated actively in the discussions taking place, while at the kick-off seminars I took the role of what Persson and Sellerberg (2011) call the "observing visitor", just looking around and listening like any visitor to the event. This, in order to get an overview of the seminar and its physical layout as well as how people moved around and interacted, both with each other but also with the materialities. This first type of

observation contributed to identifying the organising practices, where the local was a key encounter in the formation and organisation of the Food Network, but also the more active performing practices, which embedded different ways the culinary actors would stage the local in terms of storytelling, displaying products and so on, or in performing activities.

The second type of observation, the observation of the annual Food Tour event, resulted in a total of 28 observations, each lasting from fifteen minutes to one and a half hour (*see Appendix I*). At four different occasions, I spent a couple of days in Österlen, staying overnight at one of the Food Network establishments. During these stays I visited some of the Food Network sites, attended their activities, or just strolled around the establishments like any other visitor, watching, sensing, tasting, and posing questions. As with the kick-off events, I took the role of an "observing visitor", blending in with other visitors (c.f. Persson and Sellerberg 2011). These observation sessions also involved participating in activities offered, such as a herb field tour, asparagus safari, mustard tasting, cider and juice tasting, and a winery tour. The purpose was to get an understanding of the enactment of the culinary activities in a broad sense, and also to study how the culinary actors would talk about and use the local more specifically in these activities, as well as how materialities were embedded in these enactments.

Throughout all observations, I focused on *what* was being said and done, *by whom*, and *how* it was said and done, like for instance the intonation, gesticulations etc. (c.f. Holstein and Gubrium 2004; Silverman 2005). More practically speaking, examples of this could be the culinary actors discussing how the Food Network and its activities should be staged and performed. Accordingly, I observed the culinary actors' interactions with each other as well as with external actors and visitors (depending on the setting) and took notice of how activities were presented and carried out, how actions were performed as well as how physical artefacts were displayed, presented, and used. An example of such process is the kick-off seminars, which were held prior to the annual Food Event. The kick-off seminars were arranged around common themes, *terroir* (2010), *sense of home* (2011), and *storytelling* (2012), from which the participants would discuss ideas and concerns, but also show the variety of products and activities that were offered during the Food Tour. The seminars offered good opportunities to study how the network members related to and negotiated the local, both in terms of

physical products, how they would talk about their products and activities, as well as how these were portrayed and displayed.

The main material from the Culinary Vision consisted of documents and following activities and discussions through social media. However, I found it important to also include observations in order to better understand how the notion of the local was expressed in a national context. Therefore, in the beginning of 2011 I attended *the Rural Conference*, where the main theme was the implementation of the Culinary Vision in the development of the Swedish countryside. The conference lasted two days and was attended by approximately 500 people, mainly from various county governments *(Länsstyrelser)* and Leader departments, municipalities, the Ministry of Agriculture, as well as business-owners, students and researchers with an interest in rural food-related activities. The conference content consisted of keynote presentations, panel debates, as well as a number of participant presentations within the main theme *The Creative Countryside*. I attended a number of presentations the themes of which varied from very general perspectives (e.g. strategies for the vision of building the Culinary nation) to more specific "best practice" examples of creative food business development, offered by the business owners themselves. At the presentations, which all lasted around 45 minutes each, I took notes and in three cases I followed up with a short conversation with the presenter directly after his or her presentation. While the material from these presentations provided a sort of an orientation of the contemporary culinary landscape in Sweden, the panel debates and plenum presentations turned out to be good representations of how the local was enacted in a national context.

Due to the nature of the conference, the observations of the Culinary Vision mainly meant a low degree of involvement from my side; I listened to the various presentations and debates in order to capture what appeared to be important to the culinary actors in the national and regional context. At some points during the debates, the audience was involved through short table discussions and opinion polls via digital device, where each table after a few minutes' discussion would vote for one out of four or five alternatives, such as "what is the most significant attribute of the Swedish countryside?" or "what do you consider to be the most important factor in the development of the countryside?". Here I participated in the discussions but tried to keep my focus on the observations,

capturing how the groups discussed the various themes, and what role the materialities would play therein.

In addition to *the Rural Conference* I also attended *the 'Locally Produced' Fair* later on in 2011. The two-day fair was another forum for the implementation of the Culinary Vision; this fair was mainly focused on exhibitions of various producers of locally produced food and food related products. During the fair producers, business entrepreneurs and representatives of the Culinary Vision provided different presentations and panel debates, which in different ways related to the Culinary Vision; for example, the role of the producers, storytelling as a marketing tool, future implications etc. At this event, I carried out mostly non-participatory observations, acting as any visitor to the fair. Due to the layout with lots of things going on simultaneously, it was not possible to record conversations and other talks, hence I documented the material through notes and photographs. The data from *the Rural Conference* and the *'Locally Produced' Fair* helped me identify the practices of framing the culinary destination. These practices embedded the doings and sayings and materialities which in different ways would add to form prerequisites for the enacting of the local, in terms of how the countryside should be integrated with the enhanced focus on food and culinary activities. Also, the performing practices were set out at *the 'Locally Produced' Fair*, where various exhibitors portrayed their products, supported by labels, signs, posters etc. Likewise, the best practice presentations at *the Rural Conference* were all centred on the importance of local food products and food related activities, putting forward history, traditions and place-connected elements, among others, as particularly important ingredients. In connection with *the 'Locally Produced' Fair* a half-time meeting and seminar in the *SLU project* was held. The reference group and a number of representatives from different parts of the service sector participated. My role in this event was to present my research project and participate in the discussions of potential definitions of local food and similar terms. The discussions from this seminar provided more insights into the practices concerned with the framing of the culinary destination.

During the observations and visits in the field, a number of photographs were taken. The photographs supported the memorising of what happened in the field (Gradén and Kaijser 1999), but have also been used to illustrate the notion of the local in, for instance, the use of product labels, banners etc. Some of the

photographs are used in this thesis in order to illustrate specific situations or ways in which the local is enacted in culinary tourism.

Conversations in the field

Since practices encompass the body and mind as well as speech acts, body language, and artefacts (e.g. Reckwitz 2002a, 2002b; Nicolini 2012), there can be good reason to combine the observation of what people do and say with talking to them about what they do and say. Hence, in connection with my observations I took part of in a number of conversations with the culinary actors. Flick (2006) stresses that interview situations should occur in relation to observations and become more like an everyday conversation. When meeting people in the field, the regular interview form can seem too formal, and thus hinder spontaneous feelings and perceptions from being expressed by the person in question (Silverman 2005: 160). The "naturally occurring talk", Silverman argues, has the advantage that it captures the immediate thoughts and feelings of the informants, giving the researcher the opportunity to "analyse how people actually went about constructing a social world together" (Silverman 2005: 160). The challenge for the researcher, Flick (2006) points out, is thus to achieve a balance between a natural, relaxed conversation and an actual interview, which provides the necessary information.

The information I was seeking when talking to the culinary actors was not their personal stories per se, but rather I was interested in knowing how these people were thinking about the notion of the local as a part of culinary tourism, and how they portrayed and performed these activities. In this sense it could be said that the culinary actors constructed a narrative about what is contained in the local, a process, which more or less corresponds to what Gubrium and Holstein (1998) refer to as narrative practice. The narrative practice embeds "the activities of storytelling, the resources used to tell stories, and the auspices under which stories are told" (*ibid.*: 164). In this sense, the actual conversation became a practice in itself, where the story of the local was produced in a certain way, through a certain vocabulary, or a certain way of talking, pronouncing and accentuating.

The conversations with the culinary actors were carried out mainly in direct relation to an observation session, for instance, while taking part in activities, or during debates and seminars, and would normally last between 15-45 minutes (see *Appendix I*). I believe that talking to the informants while doing other

activities (e.g. serving a food dish or providing a guided tour) resulted in statements and thoughts coming naturally and spontaneously, and the culinary actors were specifically keen to talk about what they were doing while they were doing it; hence, I believe this helps underline the reliability of the study. Due to the spontaneous nature of the interviews, I could not record them digitally; instead I took notes either during the conversation (when possible), or directly after. The conversations supported the observations and added mainly to the understanding of the organising and performing practices, for instance in terms of the network members' thoughts about which products and activities to include in the annual Food Tour, or national actors' perceptions of the role of the local in culinary tourism in general.

Background interviews and -research

The three in-depth interviews, which were conducted during the first phase of my data collection, provided valuable insights into the background for the establishment of the Food Network, and how the informants perceived the role of local food and food related activities. The interviews were carried out with one of the project coordinators, who was part of the initiation of the Food Network, as well as with a representative from one of the local banks, which funded the project in its start-up phase (2007-2010), and which has played a significant role in the general development of the Österlen area. The third interview was carried out with the Food Network head of board in 2009. The interviews were carried out at the informants' workplaces and lasted between 90-120 minutes. All three interviews were recorded and transcribed accordingly. The interviews provided information about how the Food Network was initiated and developed throughout the first period of time, as well as a more general insight into the regional processes going on in Scania at the time of the project initiation. In particular, this information helped to understand how the culinary destination was framed and organised in a regional as well as a local community context, as the respondents would tell me about how various meetings came about, what was said, decided and discussed at these meetings, as well as how they felt about this themselves. In this way I obtained a nuanced picture of the Food Network.

In addition to the interviews, I partook in three presentations, which were arranged specially for the Food Network members, and which complemented the interviews in different ways. The first presentation was given by two

representatives from *Business Region Skåne* and provided an overview of the organisation of the region, as well as more in-depth discussion of the role of food initiatives such as the Food Network in the regional and local community development. The second presentation was given by Claus Meyer, who is one of the founders of the New Nordic Cuisine, and concerned the concept of Terroir as a means of culinary tourism. The third presentation was given by one of the Visit Sweden representatives, who was in charge of the initiation and implementation of the Culinary Vision. The presentation provided useful insights into the background of the Culinary Vision, as well as perspectives on how it was perceived by the members of the network. During all of the presentations, the audience were given the possibility to ask questions and discuss relevant matters; these additional discussions provided good insight into the network members' perceptions and interpretations of different elements of the local.

Lastly, I engaged in a telephone conversation with the two *SLU project* initiators, which lasted for approximately 30 minutes. During this conversation I was provided with the background and general outline for the project and discussed different attitudes and interpretations of the concept of 'local food'.

(Un)intentional listening

The balance of collecting the best data in the most comprehensive way is a dilemma I believe most researchers face at some point during the research process. For instance, when is it okay to watch and listen to what other people do or say, without coming forward, and when should you present yourself as a researcher? Observing what people do and listening to what they say may be very fruitful and provide invaluable insights in various social phenomena. On the other hand, the observation of what people say and do brings forward questions of an ethical nature. There may be a reason for not coming forward as a researcher when in the field, for instance, because the knowledge of being studied could result in the informants feeling uncomfortable, acting "unnaturally" or being reluctant to share thoughts; something which could affect the quality and validity of the empirical data (c.f. Fangen 2011). Despite the ethical implications, Lugosi (2006) argues that in some cases covert research is inevitable or necessary in order to obtain the best data and results. This need for anonymity, Lugosi argues, lies in the fact that sometimes the information wanted is simply not accessible otherwise. Hence, whether the researcher engages overtly or covertly in the field must be determined

according to "the nature of the study, the character of the fieldwork context, and the relationships between informants and the ethnographer" (Lugosi 2006: 542).

When considering the researcher's anonymity in the field, Goffman (1981 *cited in* Persson and Sellerberg 2011: 240f) identifies three different kinds of listeners, separating 'authorised' listeners from 'non-authorised' listeners. An authorised listener is either approved as an active or direct actor in the conversation or approved as a passive actor who indirectly takes part in the conversation, and an unauthorised listener is unapproved but happens to hear the conversation (in Goffman's vocabulary these are intentional or unintentional "overhearers"). When doing my fieldwork, I would characterise myself within the two first categories of Goffman's listeners; either I took active part in a conversation with the culinary actors, or I took part indirectly – or passively – by standing nearby, marking my presence. When in a public setting like the various events and seminars offered within the Culinary Vision and the Food Network respectively, I participated in public activities along with several other people, who would talk and interact accordingly. That is, conversations between the culinary actors or with other participants or visitors occurred all the time and the tone would in general be of a 'public' nature. Furthermore, the culinary actors were appearing in their professional roles, and thus I interpreted their sayings and doings as examples of the network's marketing strategies or as a natural part in the enactment of activities. At meetings and workshops, or when asked, I would present myself as a researcher; furthermore, at the Food Network seminars and the Culinary Vision activities I signed up beforehand with my name and title, so in this matter it was known that I was taking part in the various activities. Also, in the Food Network it was generally known that I was there doing research; though, in line with Lugosi's (2006) argumentation, it was not always possible to remain 'overt' due to the dynamics of the network with changing members and activities involving a large number of participants.

Documents

In addition to the observations and the interviews, a number of documents were analysed. The written documents, which were collected between 2007-2012, comprised reports, planning and strategy documents as well as various brochures for each of the studied examples (see *Appendix II*). The written documents complemented the observations and interviews, and in particular they added to

the understanding of the identified practices on how the culinary destination is framed, and more particular how the local is put forward in commercial and political contexts. Various meeting protocols and documents were kindly provided by the Food Network members and the project initiators respectively; these documents gave me an insight into the different decisions and procedures carried out throughout the network formation process and contributed in this sense to understanding how culinary tourism can be organised around the local. Silverman (2005) describes the ethnographic study of texts as "concerned with the *social organisation* of documents", and such texts can thus provide detailed accounts of various public or private activities (Silverman 2005: 129, *italics in original*). For instance, the Culinary Vision has been documented and communicated in various ways – in folders, plans of action, reports, communication strategies, government proceedings, press releases etc. These documents played a significant role in the vision's formation process, providing political and strategic directions for the organisation and implementation of the culinary destination, both in a national sense, as well as in terms of regional and local efforts.

Virtual documents

Much of the information on the Culinary Vision has been offered through the Government, Board of Agriculture and Visit Sweden websites. These, as well as the Food Network website were examined regularly during the entire research process. Today, the Internet is one of the most obvious channels for distributing information, not only providing all sorts of practical information about, for example, culinary experiences and activities but also helping to put previously unknown places on the map. As production and consumption becomes digitalised to a still increasing degree, the media in its different manifestations is becoming more and more relevant as ethnographic data (Bengtsson 2011). Hence, the Internet plays a significant role as a source of information, and therefore a significant part of the empirical data was retrieved from the Internet. Further to this, social media is to a still wider extent being considered in ethnographic studies as a complement to the more traditional data collection techniques. While social media cannot provide the intimacy and closeness to the field, as is the primary purpose of ethnographic research, it can show other aspects of social acts, which can be valuable to the study in question (Bengtsson 2011; Kozinets 2002). Also, online ethnography – sometimes referred to as "netnography" (Kozinets 2002) –

provides access to empirical data faster and easier than traditional methods; for instance, social media can provide the researcher with access to certain groups with specific interests, whom he or she might not have gained access to otherwise, and in this sense it provides a comprehensive way to gain a basic understanding of the object which is to be studied (Kozinets and Nocker 2018).

Bengtsson (2011) argues that the study of online cultures should comprise different data, which is produced within the culture in question. Therefore, my purpose in collecting data from social media was to obtain an insight into the ways that culinary tourism activities, and in particular the local, were communicated, which complement the data retrieved from the documents and observations. From the side of the Culinary Vision, social media appeared to be a strong means of communication, and a variety of digital platforms served to convey the same aim to different target groups. I chose to include two of them in my study. The Facebook group "Vi älskar svensk mat" (*We love Swedish food*) was started in 2010 as a part of the implementation of the Culinary Vision. In the beginning of 2012, the group had 15,300 followers, a number, which had more than doubled by 2019, when this thesis was finalised. The group is frequently updated, highlighting news concerned with the Culinary Vision, recent initiatives in and outside Sweden, interviews with Culinary ambassadors etc. In general, there is a high degree of participation from the group's followers, which is shown by the many 'likes' and comments.

In addition to the Facebook group, I also followed the blog, "Resan mot det nya matlandet" (*The journey towards the new culinary nation*; Jordbruksverket, in the analysis referred to as *the Culinary Blog*), which was part of the Culinary Vision's communications strategy and – as the name indicates – aimed to document the journey towards Sweden becoming a culinary nation. While the Facebook group is targeted to a public with various food interests, the blog was directed towards those who more actively worked with the implementation of the culinary vision (e.g. municipal actors and governments). The blog was terminated with the government shift in 2014 and transferred to the new website "Smaka Sverige" *(Taste Sweden)*, which is currently managed by the Ministry of Agriculture. This platform has been examined on a more general level in order to get a broader picture of the general culinary landscape. The study of the Facebook group and the Culinary Blog could be characterised as non-participant observations (c.f. Bengtsson 2011), that is, I followed the activity of the sites without engaging

actively myself. The study of the various social media material mainly added to the understanding of the practices that concerned the framing of the culinary destination.

Social media has the advantage that people can comment on and discuss what is being published, and in this way, I was able to capture more dynamic aspects of the formation process than were provided in the printed documents, which offer only one-way communication. Yet, one should be aware of the limitations of the virtual world, such as the lack of body language and other 'latent' patterns (laughter, sarcasm etc.), which are invisible in this context (Bengtsson 2011), but also the limitations for the researcher to direct the nature of responses (Kozinets 2002). Social media thus has its advantages and disadvantages which should be kept in mind when retrieving such data. Likewise, one must be aware of issues concerning trust and reliability; on the Internet it is easy to hide behind an alias, and in this sense the researcher cannot truly know whom he or she engages with. However, in my case I was less interested in the people who commented than in what was posted, as well as how the Facebook or blog statuses and comments were reacted to. Likewise, I found the senders behind the media to be reliable, as they represented well-known national actors and offered a clear description and statement of intention. Furthermore, since the material which is available on the Internet often remains there for a long period of time, the ethics of confidentiality become particularly important. Hence, anonymisation is – like in the conventional data collection methods – something which should be strived for, when rendering data from social media (c.f. Langer and Beckman 2005; Bengtsson 2011).

Collecting materialities

One of the main analytical points of focus in this study was how material things were a part of the practices of the local. Therefore, in the data collection process I wanted to study not only what humans were doing and saying, but also how materialities were supporting these doings and sayings. Obviously, materialities cannot speak literally, but they can portray and convey, say, certain stories, and in this way, they become "*objects of knowledge*", or "carriers of meaning" (Reckwitz 2002b: 202, *italics in original*). Similarly, the ethnographic approach recognises the role of materialities and allows them to come forward and be interpreted as natural elements of various social processes, since they are obvious tools which are

handled, either in a physical sense or in the mind when thought of or spoken about (Silvén 1999: 90). Materialities, Silvén argues, are never of neutral importance; rather they provide an opportunity to study how doings or sayings are reinforced, contradicted or negotiated (Silvén 1999).

Further to this, the data showed that materialities are basically always present in the enacting of the local, in terms of documents (to implement ideas or strategies), maps, banners, event programmes, marketing brochures, and the actual products provided by the culinary actors, like asparagus, herbs, jars of mustard, jam etc. These materialities portrayed and conveyed in different ways the enactment of the local as a part of culinary tourism. The materialities were documented in my field notes with specific marks, through photographs, or physically collected or purchased.

The analytical process

As was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the ethnographer seeks to convey what are referred to as *thick descriptions*, which can explain social phenomena extensively and in detail (Geertz 1973; Silverman 2005; Nicolini 2012). Hence, the gathering of my empirical data resulted in a rich and diverse material of field notes, transcripts, written as well as virtual documents, different kinds of materialities, and photographs. With this material, I needed to sort out how to structure the analysis and identify the themes, which could bring forward the various practices that form the field of culinary tourism, and more particularly explain the notion of the local therein. What could the notes and transcripts tell me about the process in which the local was enacted in culinary tourism? What were the practices involved with this process? And in which ways did the materialities contribute to this? All of these questions and many more, were elicited from the data.

The coding of my empirical data was conducted according to the conventional methods within ethnography, by searching for repetitive themes and patterns (c.f. Silverman 2001). The thematisation took place through a first, rough ordering into categories with common attributes, which were then modified, brought together and explained by the help of theories and concepts, extracted from the literature. During the analytical process some categories would appear to be

irrelevant, and also new categories emerged. The identification of the different practices of the local followed a process similar to that suggested by Bispo (2015: 318), where the researcher organises and describes each identified practice activity, in order to identify practice bundles, which are then (re)considered "as a whole" according to the research objective. The identification of the practices thus happened mainly according to a kind of building brick' structure, where the more concrete activities were sorted into different categories, which again were conceptualised according to the three culinary tourism practice bundles, which I presented earlier (*framing the ideal culinary destination, organising culinary tourism,* and *performing the local in culinary tourism experiences*). This procedure assured a thorough account of the activities that could add up together to explain how the local is enacted in culinary tourism, considering the three constitutive practice elements *competences, materialities,* and *meaning*. Further to this, the analytical process involved an iterative process of zooming in and zooming out (Nicolini 2012, 2017), which enables the identification of both concrete acts of framing, organising and performing, and also the consideration of the associations and relationships between these acts, as to what is produced and how "the practice under consideration contribute[s] to the 'wider picture'" (Nicolini 2012: 230).

So, after the empirical data has been collected, coded and analysed, comes the crucial part of getting it all together as a coherent, valid series of argumentation. The writing of the thesis happened in different phases and came about as "a multi-stage process" (Dunleavy 2003: 135), where the text was pieced together through endless phases of writing up/writing down, structuring arguments and applying illustrative examples, and eventually rewriting everything numerous times (c.f. Billig 1996; Moisander & Valtonen 2006). The ethnographic approach demands a certain way of writing and presenting the results of the study in question, for instance, by mediating the processual and multifaced nature of the research. Accordingly, Katz (2013) suggests that headlines are good ways to present the active nature of the ethnography, using active terms such as *doing, becoming,* or *shaping*, a style I have strived to adapt as far as possible throughout the analysis. In this sense the procedures of coding and interpreting have been put forward throughout the text, something, which has helped to enhance the transparency of the material (c.f. Katz 2013).

Transparency is also a means to support the reliability and validity of the research, that is, whether the results represent the studied phenomenon in a truthful and

reliable way (Silverman 2005). Though it does not always seem relevant to discuss validity and reliability in qualitative research – as the terms in general are associated with the ways quantitative studies can be generalised and reproduced – the terms are relevant in the sense that they put forward a way of ensuring that the research process has been carried out in a way that motivates the theoretical and methodological choices, as well as presents reasonable results and discussions (*ibid.*). Accordingly, a way to show such transparency has been to provide examples throughout the analysis, which illustrate and emphasise the points that are put forward. This also raises questions of an ethical nature. As always, when studying human beings, we must be careful with how we portray what they say and do, in order to keep confidentiality. As the two examples studied could be categorised as 'public' projects, they were not anonymised (though I have translated their names into sense-making English). However, particular establishments as well as specific members' names have been anonymised, and subsequently all examples and quotations were anonymised in line with ethical considerations of good research, unless otherwise approved by the informants (c.f. Ehn and Öberg 2011).

Concluding remarks

This chapter has described and discussed the methodological implications of this study as well as the ways the empirical data was collected, ordered and analysed. Further to this, I have explained how the three culinary tourism practice bundles were identified (the framing of the ideal culinary destination, organising culinary tourism, and performing the local in culinary tourism), as well as how the particular practice activities and elements were identified. The three culinary tourism practices bundles guided the structure of the analysis section of this thesis, which follows next. Accordingly, the analysis is divided in line with these and aims to illustrate the movement between and across the various contexts in which the local is produced and enacted in culinary tourism; from the national context, where the idea of the ideal culinary landscape is portrayed, to the local community context, where the active performance of the local is illustrated, with materialities playing a central role in the staging and presentation of local food products and activities.

So long as you have food in your mouth, you have solved all questions for the time being

- Franz Kafka

Chapter 5:

Framing ideals of a culinary destination

This first analysis chapter studies how the frames for the culinary destination are shaped. By framing, I refer to the process where the ideals of the culinary destination are presented and articulated through the practices of culinary actors. The aim of the chapter is to show how the rising interest in food and culinary activities is being integrated with political rural development strategies and implemented in national branding efforts. Accordingly, I identify the practices in which culinary tourism is framed and used to put forward certain ideals of what the countryside should offer in terms of culinary experiences. In this process, the notion of the local is rarely articulated explicitly, but rather it acts as a point of reference, which is articulated as values with local attachment, referred to as specific types of products, or in putting forward guidelines for how to use such values and products and so on. The framing of the culinary destination is thus seen as a bundle of practices that embeds the establishment of prerequisites for how the local can be enacted in culinary tourism, within a rural context.

The actors who are involved with the implementation of the Culinary Vision (introduced in chapter one) have an important role in order to mirror the various features that are held in the ideal of the culinary destination, and accordingly they adopt strategies to implement and communicate the vision. Seen from a practice-theoretical lens, these strategies reflect how the constitutive elements that distinguish practices (competences, materialities, and meaning, explained in chapter three) are interrelated and bound together. In the analysis that follows I show how these elements are being expressed in three different practices, in which the culinary actors produce (frame) the ideal culinary destination: positioning a culinary tourism profile, setting up guidelines, and including everyone.

The framing practices were identified from the observations of the various activities of the actors who are involved in the national implementation of the Culinary Vision, as well as from secondary data in terms of political and strategic documents, marketing material, and data from social media.

Positioning a culinary tourism profile

The practice of positioning a culinary tourism profile comprises certain competences, in terms of skills, know-how, and a common understanding of which values to put forward and how to do it (c.f. Barnes 2001; Reckwitz 2002a; Shove *et al.* 2012). In the Culinary Vision, these competences are manifested in the written material and also in oral speech. This can be seen as a kind of positioning work, which holds particular, routinised ways of talking and writing about the culinary destination, and which have successively moved forward. The work towards an ideal culinary destination involves efforts that aim to emphasise and facilitate the prerequisites for growth in rural areas, and the use of locally linked food products and experiences. An overall aim is to position an image of the ideal culinary destination, which is obtained through the mediation of a certain lifestyle and attitude, where natural, healthy food, and the use of local resources are the main ingredients. This strategy is grounded in the general image of Sweden as cool, *safe, beautiful,* and *natural*, and the idea is to communicate the culinary experience as an accepted part of this image (Jordbruksverket, Exportrådet, Visit Sweden 2010: 7).

Positioning rhetorics

The positioning practices can be seen as expressions of nation branding, where national institutions play a leading role in the construction of a specific destination image (c.f. Ren and Gyimóthy 2013; Gyimóthy 2017; Neuman 2018). Accordingly, the image of Sweden as a culinary destination is to a large extent concerned with the use of a certain rhetoric and the articulation of a certain way of seeing the culinary landscape. A rhetoric which mainly appears in the written documents provided (including social media), but also to some extent in the various meeting forums. In the following sections, I will illustrate how this

ideal is being articulated through three types of rhetorics: *emphasising values*, *making promises*, and *referring to ingredients*.

Emphasising values

Sweden's image as a culinary destination is positioned as a place for *Innovative life quality*, helped by the main message *For a better life*. The positioning is developed accordingly:

> Modern, Swedish food tradition is grounded in the interplay between taste, health, and sustainability. Our visitors will be enjoying new experiences and unique crops in a country where food and beverages are a natural part of a healthy lifestyle, and where many of the world's creative chefs break through. Sweden is taking its place in the culinary world with innovative quality of life. We have identified the global travellers with an interest in food, as our primary target group. The purpose is for our communication to inspire all curious, open, engaged and culinary interested travellers to explore our dynamic food culture and healthy lifestyle. for a better life, it's that simple [sic] (Visit Sweden 2014: 10).[7]

The quote puts forward some of the values, which are seen as essential to the ideal culinary destination. Accordingly, taste, health, and sustainability are articulated as departure points for establishing a culinary destination. These values are recurrent in the all of the strategy documents and are likewise articulated orally by representatives for the vision, for instance when presenting the vision in the different meeting forums. Hence, Sweden is reflected as a destination where a genuine delight and interest in good and healthy food exists, as well as an innovative spirit where one is not afraid of standing out and making waves. There is an openness towards trying new things and being transparent, and there appears to be an encouragement to let the passion for genuine food and food products guide the development of new products and activities (Jordbruksverket, Exportrådet, Visit Sweden 2010). Further to this, the culinary experience is described as *desirable*, with references to the passion and engagement that the culinary actors possess, as well as the love of flavours, and a detached playfulness. Hence, the ideal culinary destination is obtained through the care for (good) food and our nature, and a general rhetoric is that local food is the key to a sustainable rural development, which will benefit businesses as well as inhabitants economically, socially as well as culturally.

In order to further emphasise the interrelationship between the tasty, healthy, and sustainable destination, *honesty, curiosity, care,* and *quality* are put forward as obvious values that represent Swedish food culture and food products. These values have been identified in order to capture the five focus areas of the Culinary Vision (which were presented in chapter 1) and convey the general image of Sweden as a culinary destination. The values are described as "…our life standards – just as simple as obvious. They have been in our heart, in our mind and in our savoir-faire since generations back in time" (Jordbruksverket, Exportrådet, Visit Sweden 2010: 17). They are thus emphasised as a natural part of the common norms, which have been passed down over generations. Further they are conveyed as a behaviour, which is perceived as an essential quality in the positioning of the culinary destination.

The particular lifestyle offered in Sweden is further highlighted in the photos that exist in the various documents. Here the culinary destination is often portrayed with happy, healthy looking people, food crops, freshly caught fish and shellfish, and often, both people and products are placed in an outdoor environment, surrounded by the sea or nature. Hence, the use of photos is a way to reinforce the connection to the natural and healthy and help to visualise the ideal of the culinary destination. These different ways of articulating the image of the tasty, healthy, sustainable destination are examples of how the culinary actors use a certain rhetoric to position a particular culinary tourism profile. The vocabulary used can thus be seen as specific activities in where the culinary actors construct a certain version of the world, here the ideal culinary landscape.

Making promises

The rhetoric of the culinary destination as tasty, healthy, and sustainable is summarised in the three key themes "Experience Sweden's natural pantry", "Learn from the food", and "Hungry Kitchen" (Visit Sweden 2012). These themes are aimed to encapsulate the main message of the branding strategy, "For a better life", and convey a message of Swedish food as natural, pure and good for you; "Everything with a taste of the natural surroundings" (Visit Sweden 2012: 13). The rhetoric of *the good life* is a common destination branding strategy, and refers to a certain, desired, lifestyle which encompasses, for example, pleasurable and joyful activities (c.f. Ren and Gyimóthy 2013). Similarly, in the articulation of the Culinary Vision, the idea of the good life is put forward as a promise; a promise

of Sweden as a reliable culinary destination where one can strive for and live the good life:

> The message has a clear direction and forward impetus, striving towards something that is even better. There is a holistic undertone in the message, an overall view that respects people, animals and nature, as well as tradition, present and future.
>
> It is a promise which talks about natural, sound, healthy, and tasty food. About food, which is good for mankind, and which both tastes good and offers new discoveries.
>
> It matches the strong driving force of the target group to feel better than well, to indulge oneself, experience new things, and enjoy good food that is good for both body and soul (Visit Sweden 2012: 12).[8]

The quote puts forward an idea of "the good life" as something which can be achieved through an active lifestyle, good and healthy food, and by caring for nature and people. The distinct connection between the pure, natural ingredients (found in the "natural pantry" and the "natural surroundings"), and the desire for healthy, pleasurable experiences can be interpreted as a promise of well-being and an enhanced life quality if we follow the invitation given by the culinary actors. The connection between the food and the good life is also promoted in the strategic documents: "In Sweden we have great appetite and love for a better life" (Jordbruksverket, Exportrådet, Visit Sweden 2010: 18); here it is guaranteed that if you care about food your life will become better.

The notion of the good life exists not only as a rhetorical strategy on the national level. In the empirical data several examples show how this thinking is also adopted in the regional branding efforts, as with the following example that positions Scania as a prominent culinary destination:

> It [Skåne] is also a place where, since time immemorial, people have lived a good life alongside everything Mother Nature has to offer. /…/ If your idea of a perfect holiday is a combination of the good life and plenty of exercise for body and soul alike, Skåne is the place to come (*Position Skåne:* 1).

Here, there is a distinct focus on the food and the crops as a representation of the good, pure, and nice. The good life is portrayed as an interplay between man and nature, and there is a clear connection to the message and promise, which are

suggested by Visit Sweden. Also, the brochure quoted here is directed towards the visitors, and in this sense the promise can be seen as dual; the responsibility of achieving the good life lies with both those who provide the Culinary Vision (here this entails the visitors' industry in general), and those who will eventually consume it.

Referring to ingredients

The Culinary Vision enables a certain lifestyle, where the natural and healthy are leading values. Food is given a prominent role in this rhetoric, as a main ingredient in the ideal of "the good life". However, the term 'local' is rarely used explicitly in these efforts. Rather what is understood as local seems to be a combination between the abstract values – which were touched upon in the previous sections – and more concrete suggestions of what could be embedded in the local food. A third rhetoric in the positioning practices is thus concerned with how the actual food ingredients are put forward as an ingredient in the ideal culinary destination.

The rhetoric by which "local" is described, refers to locally sourced/produced and natural food crops, the emphasising of traditions, culinary heritage and preparation methods, or the being part of, living close by, or alongside nature and the environment that provides the food ingredients. This is a rhetoric which is being expressed in both the documents directed towards the visitor's industry, as well as in the channels that seek to embrace even the (potential) consumers, such as the Facebook group "Vi älskar svensk mat". In these channels there is often a more concrete focus on ingredients, which can be associated with the local. An example of this is offered in the following post, where the group members are encouraged to share their thoughts about what will be the next culinary trend.

> *Off cuts, sour dough and homemade sausage, what do you think will be the next food trend?*
>
> Per: Slow cooking, definitely, all kinds of slow food - "caring"-food [sic]
>
> Isabel: according to the menu on p1 it is stuffing susages which is trending in Sweden.in [sic] my new home country the Netherlands, they are far behind when it comes to all "modernities" such as ecological and slowcooking. Wonder just when this will become big here? It is time!
>
> Johan: At [our] camp we will soon become slowfood certified, so I certainly hope so! Then we will become super trendy!! :)

> Carl: The next food trend is that the new farm animals will join us in the kitchen. Carps, quails, pigeons, rabbits... "Urban gamefood"
>
> Ulrich: We are going to eat everything from the animal. The intestines will be highly esteemed. But really, it is just about following what Magnus at Fäviken is doing. He is already an international trendsetter.
>
> (Facebook 2011-09-19)[9]

As the comments show, the idea of what is currently trendy in terms of food is centred on both concrete ideas of certain types of ingredients – sourdough, intestines and confit – as well as more abstract ideas of what could be seen as traditional produce or cooking methods – such as "slow cooking", "sausage stuffing", "farm animals", and "eating everything from the animal". The example illustrates how the culinary experience is portrayed as holding various elements that are embedded with food products (often ecological) of good quality, prepared according to traditional techniques – yet packaged in an innovative and modern way.

Seen in a greater perspective, the example mirrors some of the leading values that are expressed in *the New Nordic Cuisine*, reflecting what is now a general trend in the Nordic countries (c.f. Pico Larsen 2010; Lysaght 2013b; Pico Larsen and Österlund-Pötzsch 2015; Gyimóthy 2017), where the focus lies on the preservation of authentic, traditional ingredients and values and culinary heritage (e.g. Manniche and Sæther 2017). Further to this, references are made to the internationally established *Slow Food* movement, which is particularly concerned with sustainable food production and consumption and carries close connections with traditional lifestyles and the preservation care of culinary heritage and traditional cooking methods (c.f. Pietrykowski 2004; Nilsson *et al.* 2010; Nilsson 2013). From the comments in the Facebook example, it can be interpreted that there is a desire for food that represents these values. This is further reflected in the status headline, where some suggestions are given, which can be associated with the ideas of *Slow Food* and *the New Nordic Cuisine*. This could be understood as a conscious strategy from the site administrator, in order to direct the comments in a certain direction regarding what to ascribe to the local food concept. To embed these values in the ideal of the culinary destination does, therefore, not seem to be a coincidence, as there can be a point in highlighting such values, which can be associated with the slow, conscious, true way of living and consuming.

One of many roll ups found at the ‘Locally Produced’ Fair. The message “Swedish, tasty, and locally produced” along with the cows in a natural setting, brings associations to the vision of Sweden as a tasty, healthy, and sustainable culinary nation.

As such, there appears to be some kind of consensus in the ways the culinary actors portray local food as an integrated element in the idea of the good life. That is, the positioning practices hold not only the idea of the good life, but they also embed the portraying of certain (types of) products, which enable this lifestyle. Hence, the framing practices comprise an interplay between concrete and more abstract values, which together contribute to a sustainable culinary destination and a better life. In conclusion, there seems to be a coherence in the ways the tasty, healthy, sustainable culinary destination is articulated, and the particular rhetoric used in this work can be seen as an attempt to persuade or convince the visitors' industry of what skills and knowledge are needed in their efforts to implement the ideas of the Culinary Vision. At the same time there is a strong encouragement to take responsibility in the mediation of the vision, to be honest and to care. Accordingly, an ethical dimension is put forward, expressed as a responsibility to care for each other, our animals and nature, and our bodies (c.f. Malone *et al.* 2014). Hence, the articulation of the different values does thus not only reflect ways of promoting a potential culinary destination; these practices also produce various political messages of, for example, acting in a sustainable and ethically correct manner (e.g. Fuentes 2011).

Positioning materialities

As shown above, the positioning of Sweden as a natural culinary destination is being articulated in various documents, meeting forums, and through the use of social media. In addition, different materialities assist in this work. Materialities are important elements in what shapes practices, as they add to their meaning and purpose (Reckwitz 2002a). Further to this, there are in particular two ways in which materialities form part of the positioning of the culinary tourism profile. First of all, the various documents, in which the Culinary Vision is described and put forward, play a significant role as they represent a specific rhetoric used to position the culinary destination. As such, they are materialities, which make the rhetorical strategies possible; that is, they are documents which are produced, distributed, and circulated and thus become key tools to convey the Culinary Vision, in the sense that they imply certain ways of talking and thinking about the ideal culinary destination, and thus add to produce a certain version of the world (c.f. Reckwitz 2002a). Without the documents and other written material, the vision would probably not be possible to implement.

The documents that have been analysed in this section comprise primarily three different strategy documents, which are directed towards the visitor industry. While two of the documents are directly focused on the implementation of the Culinary Vision (Jordbruksverket, Exportrådet, Visit Sweden 2010; Visit Sweden 2012), the third document is concerned with the general communication of the brand Sweden abroad (Visit Sweden 2014). The documents reflect how the implementation of the Culinary Vision is a continuous and constantly changing process. The ideal that is conveyed has been established and revised successively during the years 2010-2014. That is, while the 2010 strategy seemed to be about informing about the vision in terms of target groups, mission, vision, and show its relevance by highlighting Sweden's culinary strengths, in 2012 the strategy had been simplified and concentrated on a few points of focus, embracing the most distinguishing characteristics of Sweden as a culinary destination. Despite changes in the ways the vision is described and illustrated, the point of departure in the documents is the same: to position Sweden as a place for the good life, through the combination of taste, health and sustainability. The strategic documents are thereby also expressions of the competences that were put forward above, as they advocate the know-how and understanding needed to create the positioning.

Second, materialities comprise part of the positioning of the ideal culinary destination as they appear as physical products, which are used in the various activities, arranged by the culinary actors. Accordingly, the meeting forums act as arenas for the concretisation of the ideal. The meeting forums comprise activities such as debates and discussions, and here materialities such as tables, chairs, presentation screens, podiums and microphones are essential in order to perform these activities, in order to facilitate the communication of the ideal culinary destination. Furthermore, the meeting forums also offer opportunities to display the local in more physical ways. One example of this is the competition "The locally produced product of the year", which was arranged in relation to the *'Locally Produced' Fair*. In the competition the locally produced product of the year was chosen within the four categories cheese, bread, jam, and delicatessen. The rationale for selecting the winning products – which were displayed in a strategically well-appointed part of the fair hall where a large number of visitors would pass by – sounded as follows:

> Apart from flavour, smell, appearance and texture, this year we judged the products from the key values of Sweden – the new culinary nation's honesty, natural, care and respect. Also, we have rewarded producers who have managed regional food tradition (Elmia website 2011).[10]

The winning products were selected according to how well they were perceived to represent the four key words honesty, natural, care, and respect. Hence, the criteria put forward in the rationale refer to the different elements, which are highlighted as essential in the ideal of the good life, and further underline the integration between the physical products and the more abstract values that are the focus of the vision. In this sense the products become carriers of the values that are also put forward in the documents mentioned above. The competition is a practice activity in itself where certain competences – such as skills to produce the products, and understandings of how to convey the desired values – are put forward, assisted by the concrete products (materialities). Likewise, it holds meaning-creating elements, in the sense that the competition connects to the idea of the good life and what is considered as traditional food craftmanship. In this sense both the actual activity (here the competition) and the concrete products are essential elements in the positioning work, but it is by bringing them together that the local is being produced as a key ingredient.

The winning products in the competition "locally produced product of the year" (left picture), and the winning product in the "bread" category (right picture) (*'Locally Produced' Fair 2011).*

The tasty, healthy, sustainable culinary destination – a convincing rhetoric?

This section has demonstrated how the culinary actors produce frames for the culinary destination, in terms of positioning Sweden as a destination for culinary experiences. The analysis of the positioning practices has demonstrated how the culinary actors establish common, repetitive ways of speaking and writing about the culinary destination and the values that characterise it, as well as using materialities to emphasise this. Further to this, the sayings and doings and materialities are connected to ideas of a desired development that includes a strong and dynamic countryside, which provides conditions for a good life, in terms of both alimentary and living/working opportunities. The different examples put forward throughout this section illustrate different practices for how local food and related values are emphasised as important ingredients in the framing of the culinary destination. Hence, to convey local food products of high quality can be seen as an attempt to stand out and convey a profile as a strong and reliable culinary destination, but it can also be interpreted as an expression of a more general discourse of local food being good for our health and environment.

Altogether, the various channels communicate the same message, and can thus be understood as expressions of a certain way of presenting the culinary destination. There exists a common knowhow about which rhetoric to use and how to stress the values that are perceived to be important in the ideal culinary destination. Simultaneously, the materialities also add to this construction of a particular world (c.f. Reckwitz 2002a; Nicolini 2012), here the ideal culinary destination. In this sense, all of the three practice elements, competences, material and meaning, are represented in the positioning work. This however shows some contradictions between the ideal image and the more normative world, where the ideal is to be articulated and implemented; the positioning practices reflect an emerging ideal of the Nordic culinary culture as healthy, unique and pleasurable, and culinary tourism activities contribute – according to the Culinary Vision – to an enhanced life quality and a better life.

Yet, in tourism research, practices of travelling, shopping, and eating gourmet food are often seen as superfluous activities, executed in order to satisfy the need to experience something new and different (c.f. Malone *et al.* 2014). Eating as such is a basic need, but (at least in the western part of the world) "good food" is often associated with pleasure and desire, and to indulge oneself with "something

extra" (in terms of, say, travelling for food) can thus be seen as excess luxury consumption, which may entail negative consequences from a cultural and environmental perspective. This thought does, however, not rhyme with the rhetoric offered by the culinary actors, where a 'caring' and responsible behaviour is requested, as well as the underlying striving for being a sustainable food destination. It thus appears that the culinary actors interpret the pleasure of consuming the "good food" – including the nature and animals that this entails – in a more sober sense, as a tasty, healthy, and sustainable way of living. Further to this, the striving for "a better life" could then be seen as an attempt to justify the more negative dimensions of tourism activities and establish a balance between the lustful, pleasurable and self-indulgent way of life, and the care and respect for each other and our surroundings.

Setting guidelines for a culinary destination

As the previous section showed, the emphasis on local food as a general key to sustainable rural development is a main ingredient in the practices where the culinary destination is positioned. The vision of Sweden as Europe's leading food nation can be interpreted as reflecting a contemporary trend in today's western societies, where the commercialisation of food and food related activities and experiences have been used as strategic efforts in the development of rural destinations. With this commercialisation comes also an increased need for locally sourced and locally produced food, which, in turn benefits the primary production sector, including small-scale rural businesses. From this perspective, local food and attached values simultaneously become subject to the production and mediation of guidelines or policies for rural development, a process that does not only take place within the national context but is also being visible in both international and regional efforts. Another framing practice is thus concerned with the ways such guidelines are being produced and put forward in and across these contexts. The production of various guidelines involves acts of setting directions for rural policymaking and negotiating the local food concept, which also call for certain knowhow and understanding among the culinary actors, the use of specific materialities, as well as ideas and motivation; this will be addressed next.

Directions for rural policymaking

Local food and food-related experiences are a focal point in the making of certain guidelines for what the ideal culinary destination should look like. Accordingly, the Culinary Vision directs ways in which food and food experiences should help to position a particular image of culinary Sweden as an ideal tourist destination, but at the same time the vision represents more political guidelines for how to achieve the desired development. In this sense the Vision can be seen as a practical attempt to establish policies for how to frame the culinary landscape, which is expressed in activities such as, for example, the formulation of the focus areas (which were introduced in chapter one), the facilitation of the development of rural business opportunities, as well as the emphasis on the interrelationship between small-scale production and the experience sector. Nevertheless, the Culinary Vision constitutes only a small element in the entire rural policy mechanism. The general directions for Sweden's rural politics are provided by the EU, who offers a general framework that covers three key areas: the agro-food economy, the environment, and the broader rural economy and population (ERND website 2014). Each membership country plans their particular rural development politics according to this framework, based on their own prerequisites[11].

On an EU-level, there seems to be a political interest in emphasising local food, and strengthening development in rural areas in terms of social, economic, and environmental planning, as more focused efforts have been directed towards local food and shorter ways of distribution during recent years. According to the European Network for Rural Development (ENRD), which works to gather and connect the membership countries' efforts on rural development, local food holds great potential, both from a producer and a consumer perspective: "EU has a culinary heritage of great diversity that should be exploited to the full" (ERND website 2015). The efforts on putting forward culinary heritage (e.g. through recipes and specific local products), traditions and history, can thereby be seen as a way of putting forward ideas of which skills and knowledge are perceived to be important in the framing of a culinary destination.

These ideas can be seen as guidelines for each EU country's (rural) policy making and thus represent a type of strategy, where culinary activities are put forward as a marker of an ideal rural development, in terms of social, ecological and environmental matters (c.f. van der Ploeg *et al.* 2000). This is in line with the

attention paid by previous research to the sustainability paradigm; several studies have stressed the importance of linking rural tourism development with issues of ecological, economic, social and cultural sustainability (e.g. Bessière 1998; Gössling and Hall 2006; George *et al.* 2009; Sims 2010; Telfer and Hashimoto 2013; Gössling and Hall 2013; Hall and Gössling 2016). The political aspects of such interests are most often connected with the highlighting of specific regional products, traditions, or recipes, which are often the key values in the profiling of nations, regions or local communities (Heldt Cassel 2003; Halkier *et al.* 2017), something which appears to have become a widespread practice in many regions across Europe (c.f. Boyne *et al.* 2002; DuPuis and Goodman 2005; George *et al.* 2009).

Similar strategies also occur in the Culinary Vision. An example of this is the initiation of the idea of *Gastronomic Regions*, "where the characteristics of the food derive from the geographical location's naturally and culturally provided conditions" (Regeringen 2013). Through 2013 and 2014 the Board of Agriculture was assigned to work towards the implementation of such gastronomic regions, which aimed to strengthen food with a clear geographical identity. The Government rationalised this establishment as follows:

> The Gastronomic regions are a tool to strengthen food with a clear geographical identity and a clear conveyor of that identity, and can contribute to enhancing the quality of the food, which is produced in Sweden. By clarifying and branding the origin and unique qualities of the food, connected to a geographical location the competitiveness can be strengthened and the profitability can be enhanced for primary producers and the food industry who use these products. Also, this creates better possibilities for profiled tourism products in each region. The development of gastronomic regions will be able to contribute to specific objectives within all of the Culinary Vision's focus areas. It is particularly important for the objective of enhancing the production and profitability within the primary production (Regeringen 2013).[12]

The initiation of the gastronomic regions means that food and food products are attached to the region they are produced in, in order to raise the quality of food produced in Sweden, as well to strengthen the competitiveness and profitability for the producers, a thought which matches the purpose of the ENRD outlined above. The attempt to define certain areas for culinary specialties also demonstrates the specific prioritation of the primary producers, as well as the focus

on the relationship between the regional (food) products and tourism as an opportunity to strengthen the regional profile. The gastronomic regions can thus be seen as an activity in the practices concerned with setting directions for a desired rural development, and a contribution to the framing of a culinary destination, where locally or regionally produced food of good quality is used to shape a common regional culture and contribute to the area's identity (c.f. Paasi 2002; Heldt Cassel 2003; Pico Larsen and Österlund-Pötzsch 2015). Such efforts to put places on the map thus involve a strong political ideal and illustrate how local food can be used as a tool in political strategies. This has also been highlighted by Heldt Cassel (2003):

> The regional development strategies that focus on profiling both the region and its products through food and food culture, are a way of using and building the relation between food and places in a political context. These regional development projects use food as a means of defining and establishing regions with the aim of strengthening ideas of regional specificity and the region as an important political and economic entity (Heldt Cassel 2003: 9).

Heldt Cassel (2003) further argues that such regional development strategies play an important role in shaping and relating to a specific area's identity, an argument which is also put forward in other literature (e.g. Bell and Valentine 1997; Richards 2002).

One motive for an enhanced political focus on local food and culinary activities appears to be an attempt to strengthen geographical identity and stress the local characteristics, which exist around the country, and further to clarify the frames within which the local food is created and branded. The idea of the gastronomic regions also illustrates how the framing practices are sought to trickle down to a regional context, perhaps as an attempt to make the purpose of the Culinary Vision clearer and encourage actors around the country to engage in its implementation. The Culinary Vision, the focus areas, and the initiation of gastronomic regions are political tools for obtaining a sustainable rural development and can thus be seen as examples of guidelines set in order to achieve the idea of an economically, socially and culturally sustainable countryside.

Negotiating the 'local food' concept

In the examples in the previous sections local food was put forward in a rather unproblematic way, as one (out of several) ingredients in the ideal culinary destination. However, what is actually meant by 'local' in terms of food and culinary experiences is not obvious. Accordingly, negotiating what is embedded in the term 'local' and how to incorporate it is another ingredient in the practice of setting up guidelines for the ideal culinary destination. These negotiations are something which is taking place as a process, where concrete ideas of what is actually meant by local food are integrated with more political efforts to set guidelines for what is actually contained in the 'local food' concept, and how to work with it. This section aims to illustrate this process by putting forward some of the activities in which the culinary actors negotiate the 'local food' concept.

Defining 'local food'

References to local food appear in most of the documents provided by the national actors working with the Culinary Vision, but the concept is not defined directly. Rather it appears to be embedded as an obvious part of the knowledge about how products are produced and a sense of good quality foodstuff. For instance, in *the Plan of Action* (Regeringskansliet 2010a), local food is described as "unique" and of "high quality". Words and expressions such as *unique food crops, fabulous nature, work and growth* (embedding food as an economic value), *the good meal, environmental sustainability,* and *calm* are to be found throughout the document (Regeringskansliet 2010a: 2, 6, 10, 12). The food or crops are not referred to as local, rather they are talked about as a particular type of crops; the natural, small-scale, healthy, and environmentally friendly products, which are processed on site or close to the farm. What is meant by *close to the farm* is not further explained; rather there is an indication that *nearby* is enough for the products to be termed 'local'.

In other parts of the data there is a more explicit focus on what is actually contained in the concept of local food. For instance, the Board of Agriculture build their idea of locally produced food upon the definition offered by the Farmer's Market organization ("Bondens Egen Marknad"[13]). The concept of local food is defined accordingly:

> …all products are from farms situated close to the marketplace, so-called "local" ["närproducerade"]. The producer must have grown, bred or processed/refined what is sold at the market. The corner stones are freshness, quality, locally produced, and no intermediaries (Bondens Egen Marknad 2014).[14]

Here, locally produced means produced on the farm, by the farmer. The artisan character of the products is highlighted by the notion that the producer personally cultivates, breeds, or refines what is sold. But it is also stated that "all products originate from farms close to the marketplace", which leaves the interpretation of distance rather blurry. However, the Farmer's Market Organisation has set out more specific guidelines for the participating vendors:

> The food is consumed and produced locally (within 250kms):
>
> 1. Production, processing and sale take place within 250kms
> 2. Production and sale take place within 250kms, processing takes place in another place (outside the 250kms limit)
>
> (Bondens Egen Marknad 2011)[15]

What is meant by locally produced here is that the products must be produced, sold and – in some cases – refined within a 250-kilometre radius of the farm; hence, there is a physical limit for the local. According to the definition a product is local when produced and sold within 250 kilometres of the farm, and it can thus be discussed what "close to the marketplace" really means. Compared with the distance suggested in the literature, 50-80 kilometres (e.g. Ilbery *et al.* 2006), this seems quite far. However, there is a rational explanation for decision of the 250-kilometre limit; this distance was needed in order to be able to arrange the market in Stockholm: "A shorter distance would mean that we wouldn't have enough farms that would be able to attend the market" (Representative, Farmer's Market Organisation 2011). Still, this definition could pose problems as the Farmer's Market Organisation organises markets all around the country. 250 kilometres might be reasonable in the northern part of Sweden where the distances are large – but in the southern part of the country the same distance would imply that a product from, say, the entire Scania region and large parts of the neighbouring counties, as well as the eastern part of Denmark and Northern Germany in rough terms could be termed as 'local'.

One way of coping with this ambivalence is to set up regionally adapted criteria for local food. Hence, in order to help small-scale food producers expose their products more widely, and simultaneously to ensure the consumers locally produced, high quality products, the Scanian network "Smaka på Skåne" (*Taste Scania*, hosted by "Livsmedelsakademin", *Skåne Food Innovation network*), has launched the store concept "Smaka på Skåne – närproducerad och noga urvalt" (Smaka på Skåne 2014a). The criteria for products being exposed by this brand are the following:

1. The crop originates from Scania, and any possible processing takes place in Scania.
2. The processing and treatment are of artisan character.
3. The producer must document how the production takes place, and that it takes place in Scania.

(Smaka på Skåne 2014a)[16]

Apart from the geographical link between the produce and the place of origin there is also an idea of guarding the crafting character of the production process, as well as a wish for transparency in the production process. These ideas are also recurrent in the practices of the culinary actors in the national context, as well as internationally (EU), as was shown above, where the local is also associated with both an idea of a specific, geographic distance as well as more abstract dimensions, such as an artisan character of the products, something, which can be connected to values such as traditions and heritage. Hence, in this sense there is consensus in the various definitions and guidelines brought forward by the culinary actors.

Bending the definitions

The examples highlighted above are concerned with understandings from the producer side, but the practices of defining "local" also include the perspective of the consumers. In the literature the turn towards locally produced food and nearby food experiences is connected to the consumers' uncertainty and wish of knowing where the products come from (c.f. Hayes and MacLeod 2007; Einarsen and Mykletun 2009; Blichfeldt and Halkier 2014). This uncertainty was addressed in the report "Vad får du som konsument när du köper närproducerat?" (*what do you get as a consumer, when buying local food?*) (Clarin 2010), which

concluded that the lack of proper definitions has caused confusion, uncertainty, and distrust amongst consumers. As a response to this, some actors have sought to come up with more comprehensive guidelines, which would help consumers to a clarification of what is actually meant by local food and similar terms. Such a process can be illustrated with *the SLU project*, in which I took part during the latter part of my data collection process. The focus for the guidelines, suggested in this project, departed from the Farmer's Market Organisation's criteria for local food, with a particular focus on setting geographical limits for the locality of food products, as well as their place of origin.

However, reaching agreement on such definitions is anything but simple, since there seem to be as many perspectives on local food as there are people discussing them. This dilemma becomes particularly clear in the various activities arranged by the culinary actors. For example, at one of *the SLU project's* workshops many of the participants expressed their scepticism towards the idea of setting specific limits for distance. They found that this was difficult from several points of view; for instance, regarding who should determine the distance (producers or consumers or both?), or how to define the exact origin of food products with several ingredients, such as jam. Accordingly, the seminar participants questioned whether a definition should be strict or leave space for individual interpretations. The problem with seeking exact definitions is illuminated in previous research, which highlights how the understanding of "local" is subject to flexibility. This means that while one product can be local when originating from a specific, nearby area, another product might be perceived as local if originating from the country of residence (Morris and Buller 2003). Sims (2010) argues accordingly:

> even from a purely geographical perspective, there is no single accepted definition of what constitutes a local food product in the UK, with different groups choosing to adopt different definitions according to their needs (Sims 2010: 107).

Sims (2010) further points at the complexities with the concept of "local" by highlighting an example of the gingerbread, a Cumbrian specialty, perceived to be local, but which is made from sugar and spices imported from overseas. As she concludes: "Can the product then ever be called local?" (Sims 2010: 107). This argument reflects the complexity in the examples from the empirical data, which also show up on similar issues. Establishing and mediating guidelines for the content and use of the local food concept is therefore anything but simple.

The scepticism towards the idea of setting definitions was also expressed by one of the Culinary Vision's project managers at the *'Locally Produced' Fair*: "I think it is a bit dangerous to define such terms too much" (Culinary Vision project manager 2011). Similar arguments are offered in the previous research that concludes that one should not try to come up with formal definitions of local food, because of the great varieties in the meanings that consumers and retailers ascribe to the term (Blake *et al.* 2010). This marks an interesting ambivalence, as a main focus of *the SLU project* was to integrate with and contribute to the implementation of the Culinary Vision. What appears to be the most crucial issue in this attempt to define 'local' is that the most important question in the project was missing from the beginning: "for whom are we doing this?". While the project managers – supported by a representative from *Swedish Consumers' Association* – were determined that a potential definition should start from the interest of the consumers, other participants pointed out that even the (and particularly small-scale) producers should be incorporated;

> Without the producers who make the local products, as well as the restaurants who meet the consumers, a definition will be unrealistic and unsustainable (Rolf, seminar participant 2011).

Another problem was the fact that some participants did not see the point or use of the project and found that it was framed beforehand:

> Labelling of origin and certifications already exist elsewhere – what would this contribute to? I bet it is only a way of getting Culinary Vision funding (Lena, seminar participant 2011).

This illustrates a tension between different interests and expectations from the participating parties, where some feel excluded and unheard. The scepticism towards the project became even clearer at the project's midway seminar, where one participant stated – somewhat provocatively – that "Instead of focusing on distance and confused consumers the definitions should rather serve to promote Sweden abroad and strengthen the food industry" (Peter, seminar participant 2011). The immediate reaction from one of the project managers was that if that were the case, she would rather discard the project! Hence, there appears to be a discrepancy between the participants' perceptions of what, how, and why to set guidelines for the *local food* concept. The different reactions illustrated here also

highlight the problems, which are often faced when parties with different backgrounds and agendas are to agree on common ideas or strategies (Bramwell 2004; Dredge 2006a).

Contested guidelines?

This section has demonstrated how guidelines for the ideal culinary destination are established, interpreted and negotiated. The establishment of guidelines and policies can be seen as attempts to establish and convey certain routines for how to implement the notion of local food and food-related values. That is, there seems to be an aim to build up and emphasise specific competences – in terms of particular skills and a certain know-how amongst the culinary actors – of *the* way to frame the ideal culinary destination. As shown, materialities play a significant role therein as more specific means to concretise these competences. Further to this, the negotiating of what is contained in the *local food* concept thus shows an example of how these guidelines and policies are subject to a continuous reproduction and redefinition. As the examples have shown, setting specific limits for a product's localness is more or less impossible, as the perspectives, interests and expectations vary amongst the engaged actors. The *local food* concept is thus a social accomplishment, which is produced in the interactions of various agents, through different processes of negotiations. Hence, despite the wish to establishing specific criteria or definitions for what makes food *local*, the concept is continuously questioned, contested, and renegotiated. Accordingly, it becomes clear that making guidelines for local food is more complex than just setting limits for distance and product origin and so forth. The perceptions of local or locally produced food are many, as are the perspectives on which parameters should be used for such definitions. What the culinary actors do seem to agree on, however, is that local is a key encounter in a sustainable rural development.

In conclusion, the establishing of guidelines for rural policymaking, and the negotiations of the local food concept endorse the idea that "the local" can encompass both concrete and more abstract elements. Like the ways the culinary destination is positioned by a certain rhetoric, pictures, and materialities (as I showed in the previous section), the guidelines, defining and policymaking addressed here illustrate different ways that the culinary actors seek to capture and determine what is encompassed in the local. Interestingly, the local is here becoming something that the culinary actors talk about and refer to as an obvious,

"taken-for-granted" ingredient in the culinary destination, but which in the end can entail various meanings. At some points it can be concrete (such as a specific distance to the place of production, or the geographical origin), at other points it may contain more abstract dimensions (such as a product's artisan character or references to unique or high-quality products). Hence, it appears that both the concrete and the more abstract are seen as crucial in the framing of a culinary destination, as they are aspects which illustrate different depths and dimensions of the local as a part of culinary tourism.

Including everybody

The framing of Sweden as a culinary destination embraces the entire country, cities as well as the countryside, producers as well as consumers, large industries as well as small-scale businesses. In this sense the framing of the ideal culinary destination includes solid work to implement this thinking with all parties who may be involved. The idea that "everybody is important and valued, from near and far and in all sectors" (Neuman 2018: 149) is put forward as a part of a type of moral image, which is not rarely used in destinations' nation-building efforts (e.g. Ren and Gyimóthy 2013; Neuman 2018). The emphasis on the collective dimensions is thus a way of maintaining and reinforcing the image of the ideal culinary destination. Hence, the third framing practice is concerned with the production of a unified culinary destination that includes the efforts of 'everybody'. The practice of including everybody is expressed through different strategies to encourage and inspire the actors within the visitor's industry and primary production sector to participate in the mediating and implementation of the Culinary Vision. Accordingly, these strategies build on an idea of producing the ideal culinary destination through collective accomplishments, based on mutual understandings of what and how to perform (c.f. Barnes 2001). In the following sections I illustrate this by highlighting such strategies as attempts to encourage and inspire participation. Yet, simultaneously, these attempts to include everybody make visible other strategies in which the ideal of the culinary destination is contested, and hence a third strategy in the inclusion work comprises the act of abstaining from participation.

Encouragement

A first strategy used in order to include everybody is concerned with the work to encourage participation in the development and implementation of the culinary vision. This encouragement is expressed in the different channels of implementation, which were introduced in the beginning of this chapter, and which are directed towards everyone who works with culinary activities in some way: actors within the visitor industry, various organisations, as well as small-scale businesses and local entrepreneurs. A pervading rhetoric is that the Culinary Vision embraces everybody, and that Sweden as a culinary destination should be built up as a common effort, through the engagement of all parties:

> We have created a platform, a joint root, which will make all flowers bloom. Every single leaf is an important part in the big picture in the future. The purpose is to project a distinct image of food, beverage, and dining experiences in Sweden, nationally as well as internationally. The flower is our guiding light and the common denominator, an obvious point of departure in all important collaborations' projects (Jordbruksverket, Exportrådet, Visit Sweden 2010: 14).[17]

The quotation can be interpreted as an invitation to the actors involved to participate, and above all, to work towards the same goals, in the development and implementation of the Culinary Vision. While the diversity is acknowledged – symbolised by the individual leaves of the flowers – simultaneously a strong wish is expressed for all actors to be clearer in their mediation of their products and offers. The metaphor of the root that develops into a flower also illustrates a process, which is at its very beginning; hence, the quote signals an awareness that the goal of a united culinary nation is something which takes time to implement. The encouragement to participate does, however, not imply that the participants can organise their efforts any way they want; rather the communications strategy offers clear directions of how the visitor industry 'should' work in order to develop and implement the vision:

> Use the positioning themes as a concrete tool in your everyday life, when investing, developing products, and creating new exciting experiences, which place Sweden on the map as the new culinary destination (Visit Sweden 2012: 17).[18]

This quotation contains another call to participate in the vision. There is a significant request that the producers invest in to create new products and exiting

experiences, which will add to the implementation of the vision of Sweden as a culinary destination. And if everyone uses the positioning themes, which are presented in the document, the efforts will more easily match the ambitions of the vision. This could be interpreted as an attempt to make the producers participate according to a certain 'template'. This type of rhetoric may seem quite aggressive in the way it provides certain instructions of conduct; however, this also appears to be a common way to put forward political or strategic messages. The message also becomes more personal by using the second person grammatical form 'you'; a strategy, which may be chosen as a way to make the concerned actors feel more involved.

Another key document in the implementation of the Culinary Vision is the *Plan of Action* (Regeringskansliet 2010a), which describes the ideas of the vision and how it is going to be implemented within each of the focus areas. Here, the encouragement is formulated less aggressively and appears to be more aimed at creating a common "we":

> Sweden is teeming with entrepreneurs, business people, food producers, tourism entrepreneurs and visionaries who are already contributing to the realisation of the vision. It is all these people who are the heart of *Sweden – the new culinary destination* (Regeringskansliet 2010a: 1, *italics in original*).[19]

In this quotation the multiple actors of the culinary destination Sweden are put forward and acknowledged. The tone is positive and encouraging, and the importance of the actors is clearly articulated; they are the heart of the vision and play a central role in its realisation.

A similar rhetoric was found in the different meeting forums. For example, the theme of *the Rural Conference* was "the Creative Countryside", and the core of the various presentations, debates, and discussions was that creativity is a tool to develop a dynamic countryside, a statement which was emphasised by the Minister of Agriculture: "It should be fun to live in the countryside!" (Erlandsson 2011). The context of the quote was – in line with the theme for the conference – a debate about how to promote and develop creativity in rural areas, and stimulate growth in social, cultural as well as economic ways. At the conference the general tone was that the development of the countryside should be seen as a collective act where all parties from all parts of the country are involved. "Together, we can make a difference and develop the countryside in a

comprehensive way" (panel participant, Rural Conference). This comment concluded the opening discussion about the general "dull" image of the countryside, and referred to the fact that people are needed, who can see the advantages and opportunities and develop the countryside accordingly. In the literature a similar approach suggests that different types of collaboration are a crucial element in the development of a destination, rural as well as urban (Bramwell and Sharman 1999; Boyne *et al.* 2002; Holloway *et al.* 2006). Yet, as rural areas are often dominated by small-scale businesses the need to cooperate is often seen to be most important if the local actors want to strengthen the profile of the community and secure a socially and economically sustainable development (c.f. Thomas 2009; Boesen *et al.* 2017). This leads to the conclusion that in the establishment of the unified culinary destination there seems to be a need to encourage creative, innovative people to participate and collaborate in order to create a vivid countryside.

While practices hold routinised ways of performing and seeing the world, they are simultaneously dynamic in the sense that they need be continuous in order to make sense (c.f. Nicolini 2012). In this light, the political development in Sweden becomes interesting. Though the Culinary Vision was abandoned as the new government entered in 2014 the vision about Sweden as a culinary destination lived on, however in another form (as "Livsmedelsstrategin", *the Food Strategy*), and with a different division of the allocated resources (Neuman 2018). Despite the changes in the political landscape, encouraging work is still taking place through the same channels. At the practical level, communication channels such as *the Culinary Blog* were replaced by the platform *Smakasverige.se*, which is dedicated to sharing food related knowledge, experiences, and initiatives (regional as well as local) around the country. On the new platform there is – as in the previous *Culinary Blog* – a general encouragement to participate in the development of a culinary Sweden: "Do you want to join and discover and develop our taste and food heritage?" (Smaka Sverige 2015). At a first glance, this stands in opposition to the idea that practices may change as the surrounding world changes (c.f. Nicolini 2012; Sahakian and Wilhite 2014), and hence this would entail a change in the practices for the framing of the culinary destination. However, in this case the practices for the actual framing are no different; the rhetoric and the guidelines for the new national food strategy seem amazingly similar. It is the same skills and knowhow which are encouraged, the same kinds of materialities used and referred to (e.g. political documents, strategy plans, food

crops), and the key thought is still to obtain a healthy and sustainable culinary landscape. Sahakian and Wilhite (2014) explain this with the fact that all practice pillars (bodily routines, material things, and social context) must be changed in order for a practice to change. Here, the political context and the means for implementing the vision culinary landscape may have changed, but at its core the message and the strategies to obtain it are still the same.

Materialities as tools for participation

In the first section in this chapter, I demonstrated how materialities figured in the positioning practices, configured as different types of physical things, such as furniture, food products, documents (including also social media) etc. Materialities are likewise significant in the including practices and are represented in similar ways as when carrying out the positioning work. This also includes social media, which is frequently used to implement thinking about a unified culinary Sweden. Social media is a widely recognised channel of communication, which allows direct interaction between the users. While the advantages of social media are many, there are also flaws with this type of (often spontaneous) communication; for instance, the possibility for consumers to post their opinion about destinations, restaurants, hotels and so on brings new challenges to those offering these services, because they cannot control what is posted in the same way as with conventional channels (c.f. Grönroos 2008; Månsson 2011). Nevertheless, social media can be an efficient tool to convey and reinforce various messages, as well as establish practices for participation. Within the Culinary Vision social media is used as a tool to inspire participation and engagement, an activity, which involves the creation of particular food communities, where a wider group of actors can interact around common points of interest.

> Here on Matlandet.se we talk about the food in Sweden – from soil to the table. Through networking in the entire country, we monitor and collect the latest and the best from everyone who in different ways is engaged in the building of the culinary Sweden (Visit Sweden *Culinary blog* 2012).[20]

This quotation emphasises the building of the culinary nation as a collective act. It is an act, which is made possible by the networking and engagement of many. While the Culinary blog is mainly directed towards those who work internally with the Culinary Vision, the Facebook group "Vi älskar svensk mat" *(We love*

Swedish food) is directed outwards, to anyone who has an interest in Swedish food. The Facebook group has an important role in the practices of including 'everybody', as it has the possibility to reach a larger group of actors; not only those who work with the vision, but also businesses, producers and regular consumers. In the presentation of the group one can read the following:

> "Vi älskar svensk mat" here on Facebook is the place for you who do not only love to eat and enjoy good food and drinks, but also to talk about it, discuss, engage, hint, blog, criticise, tempt and seduct. /…/ Please, get involved and make a difference, between food lovers! (Facebook 2011)[21]

From this presentation we learn that the group is aimed towards 'food lovers' who want to engage, and there is a strong encouragement to participate actively in the implementation of the vision: *discuss, engage, hint, criticise* are some of the words used, all implying different ways to engage and interfere. The phrase "between food lovers" further creates a sense of community; a community, which includes everyone who loves food (at least it appears so). The way of encouraging interference can be explained as a way of making people feel that they matter, that they get heard and have the possibility to influence the vision and its outcome. Social media is thus an example of materialities that facilitate the possibility for different types of actors to participate in the communication and implementation of the Culinary Vision. Further to this, other types of physical materialities also play a significant role in the work with including everyone. For instance, in the forums where culinary actors meet and discuss the implementation of the Culinary Vision, specific tools are used as means to measure the engagement of the participants. Through a particular audience response system, the participants at *the Rural Conference* were asked to discuss in small groups different questions concerning rural development in Sweden and mark their answer (by choice from four or five options) with an electronic device. The answers would then immediately be summarised into a diagram, and function as the point of departure for the following debate. The questions were formulated for instance as "how do you experience the countryside?" or "what is most important to focus on in the development of rural areas?". This was yet another way of making people engage in the vision, and here in particular, the use of electronic devices could be a way of assuring the audience that they are part of the development of the vision, and that they are listened to.

The interaction between the conference participants and the material things thus reinforces the idea of collective action, and the materialities (here, the audience response system) help to establish and maintain these practices. Hence, the example illustrates how materialities add to the shaping of practices around the understanding of the culinary nation as they are used actively in the establishment of a practice, performing and achieving something (c.f. Reckwitz 2002a). Still, the materialities also set certain limitations for acts, as a certain number of choices were provided (answer 1-5), and also the devices allowed for one answer only. In this sense the culinary actors can maintain a certain control of what can be included in the vision, and the materialities thus support already established guidelines.

Inspiration

As the competition amongst tourist destinations intensifies, the actors involved in the profiling need to find ways to stand out and get the attention of the potential visitors, but also in order to coordinate the actors who work on the different levels within the destination. Inspiring to participation is a second strategy used in the process of framing the ideals of a unified culinary destination, where efforts to inspire hold ways of pointing out common points of interests. By having common reference points of, for example, 'good' or 'local' food, there is a chance the destination will provide a strong and uniform image (c.f. Ren and Gyimóthy 2013).

Role models for a unified culinary destination

One activity which is used to inspire the actors in the visitor industry is the use of role models, which in various ways represent Sweden as a unified food nation. Within consumption and marketing literature it is emphasised how role models or best practice examples are commonly used in order to create and reinforce endorsement and maintain a positive image of the product in question (c.f. McCracken 1989; Holt 2004). During later years several destinations have chosen to focus on food as a part of their strategic marketing efforts, putting forward culinary heritage and traditions in combination with innovation and new approaches (c.f. Jones and Jenkins 2002; Heldt Cassel 2003; Gyimóthy 2017; Neuman 2018), and in this sense the use of role models can be explained as an attempt to operationalise different strategies, which can add to create a diversified

image of Sweden as a culinary destination. In a wider perspective, the role models can also be seen as a means to encourage and inspire to be(come) part of an ongoing Nordic culinary movement.

Having a common point of interest is pointed out as an important driving force in collaborative projects (Dredge 2006b; Hayes and MacLeod 2007), an understanding, which is emphasised in the different meeting forums as well as in the written documents offered by the Culinary Vision. The role models that are put forward in the Culinary Vision appear both in the written material (e.g. Jordbruksverket 2009, 2010; Regeringskansliet 2010a, 2010d; Regeringen 2012;) as well as in the various meeting forums and are used as means to encourage participation, while at the same time representing the ideals of the culinary nation. Three types of role models were identified from the empirical data: the business entrepreneur, the farmer, and the chef. These will be addressed next.

The business entrepreneur

A pervading rhetoric in the Culinary Vision is the emphasis on entrepreneurship as a way to vitalise the countryside. Along with the striving towards the guarding of the traditional, the culinary vision carries a strong encouragement to develop existing as well as new businesses, in order to strengthen the rural areas economically, socially and culturally. As mentioned previously, collaboration and networking are seen to be the key tool to achieve this, but there is also a strong emphasis on entrepreneurship as a signifier for maintaining and developing creativity. Previous research argues that entrepreneurship can be a crucial factor for a positive development of the countryside. The empirical data puts forward two types of entrepreneurship: economic entrepreneurship, which is connected with the ability to see and develop (profitable) business opportunities (c.f. Getz and Carlsen 2005; Lordkipanidzke 2005; Bergek 2013), and lifestyle entrepreneurship, which differs in the sense that other motives – such as living in the countryside, making a living from a specific hobby, and establishing relations with guests – are prioritised above profitability (c.f. Ateljevic and Doorne 2003; Getz and Carlsen 2005; Andersson-Cederholm and Hultman 2010; Andersson Cederholm and Sjöholm 2014).

In the Culinary Vision, there is an interest in strengthening the economies of the rural areas, while at the same time the values related to lifestyle entrepreneurship are often put forward. For instance, *passion* and *fun* are recurring words when

referring to those who work and live in the countryside; characteristics, which appear to be used in order to reinforce the feeling of unified efforts. Further to this, passion and creativity as means of creating collective awareness is closely connected with the use of role models. The entrepreneur as a role model thus embraces a variety of professions and personalities, but basically, they are characterised as innovative, creative people, who make a difference and contribute to the implementation of the Culinary Vision. One example is the *Culinary ambassadors* (one for each of the country's 25 counties) who were appointed by Eskil Erlandsson and the Ministry of Agriculture in early 2010. The ambassadors are a tool to achieve the vision about Sweden as a culinary destination, and their role is to contribute to and facilitate the communication and implementation of the Culinary Vision; "who through engagement inspire others within food and tourism to develop Sweden as a culinary nation" (Regeringen 2012). The main idea of the ambassadors is to create a network throughout the country in order to collect and unify the national efforts of working towards becoming a prominent European food nation. The network of culinary ambassadors should thus contribute to better regional collaborative opportunities (including potential employment), and to the enhancement of each region's unique food and nature experiences. In the Facebook group "Vi älskar svensk mat" one finds presentations of the ambassadors and the landscapes they represent.

> In Öland it is the potato dumplings ("kroppkakor")[22] that rule, and Eva is both expert and culinary ambassador (Facebook 2011-09-13).[23]

> Dalsland is located right between the sea and the lake, in the forest and among meadows. One of the eminent landmarks in the culinary landscape is the Dalsspira dairy, who celebrate their 5-year anniversary this year. With a focus on goat milk products owner Carina Johansson is a proud ambassador who prefers "husmanskost"[24] (Facebook 2011-09-20).[25]

The quotes exemplify what is often put forward in the different forums: the relation of the local produce with the surrounding area. The ambassadors are in this way becoming representatives of local food traditions and cooking methods (-the passion and creativity) and skills, but at the same time they represent the spirit of entrepreneurship and innovation. The ambassadors are portrayed as "experts" and are given a certain degree of authority; these people know what good food is and how to cook it, and they know how to pass it on. The culinary

ambassadors thus become role models for the ideal, unified food destination, representing local food culture and the competences to manage it. In this sense they can be seen as mediators or links between the commercial and idealistic aspects of rural development, that is, most of them can be seen as both economic and lifestyle entrepreneurs.

Culinary ambassadors and winners of the competition "locally produced product of the year" being awarded with flowers and diploma at *the 'Locally Produced' Fair*. Taking place during the busiest time of the fair, the award ceremony was a perfect opportunity to put forward examples of passionate entrepreneurs and role models for the ideal culinarynation.

The farmer

The second type of role model, which is being put forward, is the farmer. Throughout the different documents the farmer is presented as the core of the Culinary vision: "The culinary destination begins with the farmer" (Regeringskansliet 2010d: 1). The importance of the farmers' values was also highlighted at *the Rural Conference*, where one of the debaters argued that since the consumers are searching for the unique and authentic, the connectivity with the farmer and 'the real' products is particularly important. The farmer is here being referred to as a representative for the primary production area; a connection which can be explained in relation to the idea of the romanticised countryside and the trend of people seeking their roots. The farmer represents this connection to past times and offers the opportunity to get close to the natural, authentic

environment, and the 'real' products. At the same time the farmer is portrayed as a saviour: "Without skilled farmers the entire vision will collapse" (Regeringskansliet 2010a: 1). Hence, the farmer is also portrayed as a rare and 'threatened species', which must be protected in order to maintain the connection with the soil and the core of the primary production.

The personification of the farmer as a representative for the romanticised countryside and traditional ways of living also puts forward a political ideal of the rural: Sweden is portrayed as a destination of rural idyll, where the traditional farming values are guarded and cared for (c.f. Ekström and Jönsson 2016). Yet in some parts of the material the constraints of the profession are touched upon. In the brochure "Ett levande matland – jobb och tillväxt i hela landet" (Regeringskansliet 2010d) a number of 'best practice' stories are presented, which talk about a certain business or a project within each of the five focus areas. In the example of the primary production area, we meet a young family who run a milk farm as the ninth generation. The story about the family and the farm recounts dreams of starting their own farm shop, and the turn to ecological production. The ideal of the farmer with a connection to history and with a passion for their profession is affirmed here, and likewise there is a sense of encouragement to follow the same path and start similar businesses.

However, some of the difficulties with being a farmer in Sweden are also put forward; apart from the administrative and regulatory difficulties, the farm owner expresses her concern about the lack of interest in Swedish food products and production: "In the debate the locally produced has been elevated, but when the consumer is standing there at the counter it is still the cheapest that counts" (Regeringskansliet 2010d: 5). Yet at the same time it is highlighted that "there is a craving for farmers to be more visible" (*ibid.*), and the concept of the farmer visiting various local stores and supermarkets in order to talk to the consumers seems to be a rising trend. Here there is a parallel to the concept of farmers' markets (Hall 2013), which can be seen as a way of practically integrating the primary production sector with the experience sector, while simultaneously the ideal of the farmer as a saviour and link to past times is maintained. The choice to use the story about the milk farmer may not be a coincidence. The conditions for the milk farmers and the conflicts with the underpayment of the dairies has been subject to heated political and societal discussions through past years[26]. Milk represents not only a dairy product, but it also holds cultural values, which have

been contested throughout past years (c.f. Jönsson 2005). Using the milk farmer as an example can thus be seen as a response to this debate and an attempt to reform the previous image into a more attractive way of living. Also, though the story of the milk farmer family may be a way of visualising the opportunities in the countryside, it simultaneously holds a subtle political promise of changing the business conditions for the farmers, as well as the practices of the consumers.

In the use of the role models, the minister of agriculture Eskil Erlandsson frequently figures in person. This appears to be an attempt to establish a relationship between Erlandsson and one of the main target groups of the vision, the farmers. As Erlandsson is a farmer himself he talks to his fellow farmer colleagues as an equal, encouraging them to participate and contribute to the implementation of the vision: "I am in – are you?". Hence, Erlandsson comes to symbolise the dedicated farmer, showing the 'right' direction. The personal encouragement also shows on the political engagement as a pervading practice; Eskil Erlandsson represents the Center Party, which is also acknowledged as the *farmers' party*. The Center politics shine through in the used rhetoric, in terms of the highlighting of the countryside and the wish for improved conditions for the farming industries. The experiencification of the countryside, which is basically what is branded in the Culinary Vision is portrayed as a central solution and opportunity for redistribution of the farming products.

The chef

The third type of role model presented in the Culinary Vision is the chef. The chefs are regularly referred to in the different written material, emphasising Sweden's image as a culinary destination. For instance, on the opening page in the activities section one can read the following on "gastronomy in Sweden":

> Swedish chefs have been winning international prizes, while Sweden's Michelin-starred restaurants are getting excellent press all over the world.
>
> Of course, Sweden's new-found reputation as a "foodie" country wouldn't be possible without the influence of international cuisine or Swedish chefs' take on imported as well as local produce. In addition, in Sweden you are as likely to have an Iranian kebab or sushi for lunch or dinner as you are to have Swedish mainstays such as meatballs or filled cabbage rolls – a reflection of the internationalisation of Swedish cuisine (Visit Sweden website 2012).

What is put forward here is the combination of international and local influences, and of the modern and the traditional. Sweden is put forward as an innovative and modern food nation, but at the same time old traditions and recipes are highlighted. The chef is here ascribed a role, which conveys these contradictions, almost like a magician. The chef is a professional, who possesses the knowledge about the products and how to turn them into unique meals, which represent the uniqueness that Sweden possesses foodwise.

The chefs are likewise put forward as advocates for the unified culinary destination in the various meetings, conferences, food events etc. One example is chef of the year 2007, Tommy Myllimäki, who was awarded a silver medal in the prestigious competition *Bocuse d'or* 2011. Myllimäkki is a well-used role model within the different activities of the Culinary Vision; at both *the Rural conference* and *the 'Locally Produced' Fair* Myllimäki was part of panel discussions and presentations advocating the benefits of Swedish local food products, recipes, as well as the importance of communal efforts. Accordingly, the purpose of the role models seems to be to reinforce the sense of community and the unique attributes of Sweden as a culinary destination; for instance, by articulating that "'we' should tell stories of success" (Panel moderator, Rural Conference 2011) the culinary actors seek to put up frames for a successful implementation. Furthermore, the passion for food is brought on as Myllimäkki tells of his childhood visits to his grandmother's house, where he helped her bake, as well as his curiosity and fascination while watching the bread baking in the large bakery oven. In sharing the nostalgic memories of this particular activity (c.f. Duruz 1999), its smells and the feelings attached to it, Myllimäkki is representing the passion and engagement that the initiators of the Culinary Visions are aiming for, and he thus becomes a perfect ideal of the passionate, dedicated chef from whom others can draw inspiration.

Hence, chefs are used as front figures, advocating the idea of the unified food nation and its key values and building stones: fresh food, good products and raw materials. In this sense, the chef represents the creativity, passion, and a fun, hedonistic lifestyle; values which awake associations with the notion of the good life. This image of the chef corresponds to the change in perception which has developed during previous years. While previously being a chef was seen as a hard, low-paid job with low status, today the chef has turned into a superstar, whose skills and qualifications are followed and imitated by numerous 'hobby chefs',

something, which is reflected in the rising number of TV-shows centred around chefs and cooking, and the media's references to *celebrity chefs* (c.f. Brownlie *et al.* 2005; Everett 2016). In this sense the chef can be said to be a key node in an ongoing "gastronomic revolution" (Jönsson 2012; Visit Sweden 2012; Ragnar 2014), and an advocate of present culinary movements such as Slow Food and the New Nordic Kitchen. Today, the chef is an expert, who knows how to manage our culinary qualities (Scarpato and Daniele 2003), and hence possesses the power to add to the framing of the ideal culinary destination.

What is striking, however, is how the chefs that are put forward represent a very narrow and stereotyped population. With few exceptions, the chefs are male, white and relatively young. Neuman (2018: 149) argues that masculinity is one way of constructing a culinary excellence as a part of the "imagined culinary community of Sweden". Masculinity is here produced through the celebrity chef, who represents the "modern" man, who is "caring and egalitarian while not losing sight of success and prestige" (*ibid.*: 159). While this appears to represent some of the values that are thought to distinguish the Scandinavian countries, it still produces a very narrow image of the culinary destination, which risks being exclusive rather than inclusive and egalitarian. Yet, while this is an intriguing subject of discussion, it does however lie outside the further scope of this analysis.

The proud visionaries

To sum up, the use of role models has become a practice which portrays the efforts by which the Culinary Vision is sought in order to add to a collective approach to the culinary nation. What is put forward is the weight of collaboration amongst various stakeholders (politicians, businesses, interest organisations etc.) and the importance of all culinary actors participating in this. The entrepreneur, the farmer, and the chef become means of linking collective and individual interests, competences, skills and values, which exist locally, regionally, and nationally. Accordingly, they become models of inspiration to participate in the ongoing culinary movement, which holds a central place in the nation branding strategies of the Nordic countries. In this sense, the practices of participating not only concern the actors within the nation, but also come to embed the nation's participation in a general culinary movement.

One aspect, which is central in the examples of the role models, is that they show a certain pride in their profession. They are people who are proud of their

knowledge and what they can achieve. The message that is brought forward is that 'we' should be proud of the products available in Sweden, of the preparation methods, as well as the people providing and guarding them. This picture of the proud visionary is interesting, as pride is something, which is perceived to be atypical for the Swedish mentality. Jönsson (2014), for instance, points at the lacking feeling of pride in the Swedish culinary culture, which he argues stems from a long history of lacking national self-confidence and a general idea that food from abroad was better than that which was available within the nation's borders. However, during the last decade a new and stronger self-confidence has grown with an enhanced focus on traditional crops, products, and preparation methods, as well as the will to develop and display them. The growing attention from abroad – through various media attention and so forth – also ought to strengthen this confidence.

The pride that is put forward in the Culinary Vision, with the help of the role models, can thus be said to mirror this change and emphasise the development towards a collectively established Swedish culinary culture. The role models appear to be a strategic point from the government's side; through the highlighting of driven, engaged entrepreneurs as well as new, creative initiatives, the ideal of a unified food nation is stressed and reproduced. Also, all actors involved with the vision are given an idea of what is expected from them, and in return, they are promised better working conditions. In this process there thus appears to exist an idea of collectivity and participation as a key to successful rural development.; an idea which appears to be necessary in order to achieve and live "the good life". In this sense, the role models bring together all elements incorporated with the practices of framing the culinary destination. Accordingly, the culinary actors emphasise certain competences needed to implement the Culinary Vision and produce the ideal culinary destination, for instance, by suggesting (or maybe rather dictating) which skills and what kind of know-how are needed. Also, materialities are present in different ways in this process; first of all, the role models are presented and described in different documents whose role I have already discussed previously in this chapter; second, different material things are referred to in the descriptions, such as specific food ingredients or tools needed in their profession. Finally, the role models interact with materialities in various ways, when talking about memories or demonstrating skills and techniques. Meaning is illustrated in what motivates the culinary actors to inspire

to participate, that is, an ideal of a collectively produced culinary destination, where knowledge, professionalism, pride and passion are the key ingredients.

Abstaining from participation

The previous sections have shown how the culinary actors use different strategies to engage and create a sense of being part of a collective ideal. The inclusion of all parties when developing destinations has been referred to in previous literature (c.f. Bramwell 2004; Dredge 2006b; George *et al.* 2009; Sjöholm 2011), and one complexity is concerned with the ability to make everybody feel part of the project in question (c.f. Dredge 2006a; George *et al.* 2009). The strategy of building the vision from beneath shows a common political effort, where these kinds of bottom-up strategies are seen as a way to involve all actors and make them feel a part of the building team. Paradoxically it might seem that, simultaneously, specific 'rules' or guidelines are put up for the producers regarding how to work in order to implement the vision properly; hence they seem to have little influence on the actual implementation process. That is, in the political rhetoric it is communicated that everybody must be involved, but what is not spoken of is those who – for various reasons – do not fit in or follow the frames provided by the culinary vision and its actors.

Obviously, it is not possible to make everyone engage and participate in the implementation of the vision, but what happens when these attempts are not approved, and the ideal of the culinary destination is not shared by certain groups? Abstaining from participating is thus a practice that becomes visible when studying the examples where people are not participating in the framing of the unified culinary destination. The practice of abstaining involves activities of both the culinary actors and the consumer side and is here this illustrated through the act of emphasising diversity and the act of opposing to this.

Diversity, in terms of contrasts and variations, is generally put forward as a positive feature in the communication of the Culinary Vision: "One of our strengths is just that, diversity. Sweden – the new, attractive culinary destination is full of contrasts and variation" (Jordbruksverket, Exportrådet, Visit Sweden 2010: 14). However, such diversity may not always be perceived as positive; the idea of the natural, pure, and honest, which are some of the characteristics used to describe the culinary destination, can be hard to associate with multi-national, Fordist

organisations or companies, such as McDonalds. One example hereof is a discussion that was raised in the Facebook group "Vi älskar svensk mat". In the status text it says: "McDonald's make demands on the fish in the burger. Hooray!", followed by a link to an article on the Foodnet website (2011). In the article it is announced that McDonald's has started to use only "locally and sustainably caught MSC-certified" cod in their fish burgers, and that the company is the first restaurant chain in Sweden to use this certification. Despite a number of 'likes' the status resulted in very negative reactions from some group members:

> Adam: Who cares, McD is so damn useless anyway so why not just take the uselessness all the way through? Like people who order a giant meal and a diet coke…
>
> Bella: Why the hell do you write about that on this page??? IT IS NOT FOOD THAT THEY SERVE IT IS SHIT. S.H.I.T
>
> Nils: Agree with the previous! Thinking about leaving [the group] now
>
> Vi älskar svensk mat: Adam, Bella and Nils: Please tell us what you think of McDonalds here. And regardless of who is serving it, what do you think about local and sustainably fished MSC-certified cod?
>
> Sebastian: Hope McD does not expect too much from the fish, it is dead already.
>
> Bella: Swedish food has NOTHING to do with McD, I find it extremely embarrassing that you write about McD. Hereby I leave this group and encourage the rest of you to follow me. Let's start a new group, which is about REAL SWEDISH food.
>
> Nils: I completely agree!
>
> (Facebook 2011-11-22)[27]

The members Nils and Bella are seriously upset. The reaction that everything that has to do with McDonald's is bad (to use a more sober word) indicates an assumption that there cannot be any connection between global or multinational companies such as – in this case – McDonald's and Swedish, local food. Even though the company to some extent turns to local products and sustainable procedures it does not – in the eyes of these group members – fit into the image of Swedish – and not the least local – food. This might not either be the intention of the group admin – they rather seem to provide information about the trend of local food in all parts of the sector, and the McDonald's example is just a way of

showing the diversity of the vision. For McDonald's it is probably one way of building their image and meeting an increased demand for products of local origin. The attempt from the group admin to turn the discussion in a more constructive direction by asking for opinions about any use of local and sustainable, certified fish, is ignored. The upset members maintain the argument that McDonald's has nothing to do with Swedish food. In fact, Bella is so upset that she actually leaves the group, a decision, which is approved by the other members.

The attitude, which is expressed in the example, does not appear to be solely related to the fact that Bella and Nils do not support McDonald's choice of food products in this case alone. Rather, there seems to be deeper and more ethical motives behind their strong reactions; it may be an aversion to the entire concept of globalisation and of multi-national companies and the rationale they represent. Their act thus symbolises what could be called an anti-McDonald's movement, not just referring to the food, but to a general discussion, where this kind of development is often associated with, say, bad working conditions, low-pay, violation of human rights, and lack of social responsibility. Simultaneously this insinuates that 'local' is generally associated with something good, in contrast to the notion of the global, which is often equated with the ugly and unethical.

This attitude illustrates what Born and Purcell (2006: 195) refer to as *the local trap*, which refers to the "tendency of food activists and researchers to assume something inherent about the local scale". According to this perspective, the local and the global mark two extremes of the development within the food industry in general. On the one hand, the local stands for 'nearby' values, small-scale production and ethical consumption, quality, and responsibility. On the other hand, the global symbolises the capitalistic mass production under unequal, unethical conditions. Therefore, such globalised food and its rationalised means of production does not fit in with the general idea of what is perceived as "good quality" food (c.f. Ritzer 2017). However, as Born and Purcell argue, local does not always undermine global, rather there are other, complex, aspects – such as ecological sustainability, social justice, and food quality and health aspects – which must be critically assessed. The example outlined here thus makes visible some tensions between local and global, which are often referred to in the tourism literature. In the literature the discussions of globalisation and standardisation of products show different directions and contesting forces; while some see the

globalisation of goods and companies as a threat to the local (and national), others argue that this development is driving society forward and strengthening the world economy (c.f. Bell and Valentine 1997; Bauman 2000; Urry 2002). The opponents of this global and standardised development argue that when everything is similar to home wherever you are in the world, places lose their uniqueness and what distinguishes them from other places (c.f. Cook and Crang 1996; Bell and Valentine 1997; Scarpato and Daniele 2003). In terms of food this means that no product is any longer unique, because you can find it anywhere in the world, a process that is referred to as "glocalization" (Robertson 1995). Similarly, in Ritzer's (2017) perspective one could say that such foodstuff has become "disenchanted" or – as an effect of the constant pressure from rationalised, globally controlled food companies – they have turned from "something" into "nothing".

Concluding remarks

This chapter has shown how the culinary actors frame the ideal culinary destination through three framing practices: *positioning a culinary destination, setting up guidelines for the culinary destination,* and *including everybody*. Hence, the framing practices contain what is said and done in order to form certain ways of perceiving the countryside and its culinary offerings, as well as how materialities add to this. Accordingly, the practices that form the frames for the culinary activities comprise ways of portraying the ideal culinary landscape which are based on the culinary actors' ability to establish shared skills and understandings (*~competences*) of what is held within this ideal. More specifically this entails a certain positioning work where a particular rhetoric about the tasty, healthy, and sustainable destination and the good life is used, as well as the establishment of guidelines and policies, and attempts to define what is included in the local food concept. These practices are part of an ongoing process, where the perception and content of the culinary landscape is constantly negotiated and renegotiated through social interaction. This becomes particularly visible in the practice of abstaining from participation, which was addressed in the last section. Here, the idea of the local as something pervadingly positive also becomes particularly visible; as a contrast to the global, standardised, rationalised food organisations,

the local becomes an illustration of the small-scale, high-quality, healthy and sustainable way of producing and consuming food.

The framing practices also contain a material dimension, as the acts of producing the ideal culinary destination are highly dependent on the physical products. Documents, photos, food products, and technical artefacts play a crucial role in the establishment and sustaining of the practices that produce and reproduce this ideal. Though the perspectives on how such an ideal is achieved can differ amongst the various culinary actors, the food and culinary activities appear to be what connects the various driving forces within the culinary landscape. Further to this, though *the local* is not really articulated explicitly in the framing work, the ideal of the culinary destination can also be seen as a way of shaping frames or prerequisites for the understanding and enactment of the local beyond the national context. That is, this framing does not only take place at the national level; in the regional context there is likewise a similar framing work undertaken in order to develop tourism and put forward the region's culinary specialties. In the local community context these practices become visible as a way of organising the destination's actors and interests. This will be addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6:

Organising culinary tourism

The preceding chapter illustrated how the culinary destination is being framed through the practices of the culinary actors in a national context. The practices by which the culinary destination is framed can be seen as ways of setting up prerequisites for how to embed the local in culinary tourism. One way of studying how the local is adapted according to such prerequisites is by examining how culinary actors organise and coordinate their efforts and activities in a local community context. Accordingly, this chapter analyses how the culinary actors organise themselves and their activities, exemplified through the Food Network. This making of a culinary network is seen as a type of practice where the interests of local community actors are combined, in order to put forward a common way of organising culinary tourism experiences. This organisation is in many ways linked to the tourism development of the region, and therefore, the regional context is addressed in order to consider the role of the Food Network in a broader perspective, that is, in relation to a more general focus on rural tourism development.

Further to this, the chapter examines the ways in which the local is becoming a central point in the organisation of culinary tourism, both in the regional and the local community context. Accordingly, the first part of the chapter is concerned with how the region is constructed as a centre for culinary experiences, and shows the movement from the general creation of a culinary region, to the actual 'carrying out' of the strategies that add to the organising of the region's actors and activities. Here, the focus is foremost on highlighting the establishment of 'common ways' of doing regional tourism. Further to this, the second part of the chapter investigates the various acts in which the local is being made part of the organising practices. Accordingly, I examine the different ways the culinary actors in the local community context enact the notion of the local as a common reference point in negotiations of how to organise the Food Network in terms of

membership criteria, engagement, and activities. The practices examined thus reflect the interrelationship between the interests of the local community actors and the actors who plan and manage the tourism development in a regional context. Also, the aim of this chapter is to show how the practices of the local embed a movement between abstract and more concrete doings.

The analysis in this chapter builds on the initial pilot study, as well as the observations, conversations, and background interviews, which were carried out in the study of the Food Network. Also, secondary material, such as various marketing material and internal documents, has been considered.

Establishing a culinary front region

The first practice, which is involved with the organising of culinary tourism efforts, comprises how the region is established as a centre for culinary experiences. This practice contains different efforts by which the culinary actors seek to put forward Scania (and Ystad-Österlen in particular) as an attractive, distinguished destination for culinary experiences. As in the positioning of the Culinary Vision, the local is not articulated explicitly in these efforts, but rather is referred to through similar values. Hence, the ways the region is established as a culinary front region are in many ways similar to the positioning work of the national actors, which was examined in chapter five. Still, there is a point in putting forward these practices as it shows the regularity in how culinary tourism is being enacted across the studied contexts, and furthermore, it shows the role of the region as a mediating link between national and local community efforts. Accordingly, this section illustrates these efforts by highlighting the acts of aiming for niched culinary experiences and establishing strategies for culinary tourism.

Aiming for niched culinary experiences

One way the establishment of a culinary front region is expressed is by emphasising niched culinary experiences which distinguish Scania from other regions in terms of food and food related experiences. One sort of activity in which this is put forward is by the use of a similar rhetoric as in the Culinary Vision. For example, on Visit Sweden's website, Southern Sweden in particular is portrayed

as a culinary front region, which stands for "high-quality" in both the food products and in the cooking methods. Focus is put on the mix between modern and contemporary cooking as well as on the preservation of old traditions and recipes. Words or phrases such as "our own ancient gastronomic home cooking", "traditional cooking techniques", "proud and diverse culinary tradition", and "seasonality" are used diligently. Whereas previously Scanian food has been known to be fat and salty, today top chefs use the traditional dishes and ingredients to create a more modern local cuisine, which is highly appreciated throughout the country. Hence, the history and traditions of the region as a 'peasant society' (c.f. Bringéus 2009) has obviously influenced the culinary heritage, something, which is utilised in the branding efforts of the region.

Further to this, the Scanian countryside is portrayed as a place for extraordinary, unique food experiences, as well as for joy and hedonistic activities. In the brochure "Culinary Skåne" (*Position Skåne*, not dated), which is a presentation of a regional restaurant network holding 27 Scanian restaurants, culinary Scania is introduced accordingly:

> More and more people rate Skåne as one of Europe's hottest culinary regions. Skåne is now building on its rich food tradition with creative cuisine, regionally sourced ingredients and innovative preparation methods. This province in Southern Sweden is the place to come to experience genuine pleasure in all forms (*Position Skåne:* 1).

Here, the Scanian culinary landscape is put forward as traditional, yet at the same time modern and innovative. According to *Position Skåne*, Scania is one of Europe's hottest food regions, and likewise a region which can offer all kinds of genuine pleasure. The genuine pleasure is portrayed in the brochure in relation to food and is described through natural, regional products, well-kept preparation methods and recipes, and unique flavours: "…a melting pot of unique flavours, making it the ideal destination for an out-of-the-ordinary culinary experience" (*Position Skåne:* 1). "Out-of-the-ordinary" could here be interpreted in relation to the role that the countryside is ascribed, as a contrast to the ordinary, everyday life in the hectic city (c.f. Hall *et al.* 2003; Hultman 2006; Blake *et al.* 2010). Scania as the ideal destination for culinary activities is summarised in the brochure "En resa i Matens rike – guiden till Skånska gästgiverier, restauranger, kaféer, gårdsbutiker och odlare" (*Smaka på Skåne* 2008: 3), where it is stated that "whichever way you turn Scania is Sweden's strongest food region".

These examples illustrate a rhetoric which is permeating the written (including digital) marketing documents, provided by the various culinary actors. This need to stress the position of the Scania region as a strong culinary centre can be explained according to the fact that Sweden as such has not previously been associated with culinary experiences, but there appears to be a rising interest in the food and food activities offered here. The image put forward through the above account of Scania as an attractive culinary region, thus builds on a shared understanding amongst the region's actors of what to point out as attractive and distinctive and how to do so.

The mutual understanding of what constitutes a prominent culinary region, both in national as well as international terms, is also represented in other activities offered in the region, such as food-themed seminars, festivals, 'producer speed dating', and competence development courses. All these activities postulate that providers of culinary products and experiences come together and cooperate in the building of the region's offers. In this sense these activities as well as the rhetoric used to establish the image of the attractive culinary Scania become expressions of a practice wherein the region's actors and activities are being organised as an entity with joint competences in terms of shared understandings and knowledge of what to put forward and how to do it. What I have illustrated here are some of the ingredients in the more general organising practices bundle that seek to establish an ideal culinary region, similar to the ideal of the culinary destination, which was examined in chapter five. This emphasises that there is a certain regularity in the way the culinary nation is framed and organised, not only nationally, but also regionally. That is, the practices that come forward in Scania are in many ways similar to those that exist in the national context, and the turn to culinary experiences can thus be seen as a result of the interaction between the enhanced focus on rural food experiences and a political agenda. But the organising practices also encompass other ways the culinary actors seek to implement the idea of a strong culinary region. This will be addressed next.

Establishing strategies for culinary tourism

In the previous section, the establishing of Scania as a culinary front region was illustrated as being established through mutual understanding and common know-how of what to put forward and how. But how are such mutual understandings and common know-how established? In terms of regional tourism

development, one way of creating this sense of collectivity can be to provide opportunities for certain groups of actors to work together around a common point of interest (c.f. du Rand *et al.* 2003; Nilsson 2016). Hence, another way of creating a culinary front region is concerned with establishing strategies for culinary tourism. This entails the different ways the culinary actors "carry out" the organisation of the culinary region; practices that are important in order to understand the emergence of the Food Network and the overall role of culinary networks in tourism development.

In the introductory chapter I described briefly the organisation of the Scania region, as divided into four subsidiary geographical areas. The Ystad-Österlen area is situated in the South-east part of Scania and consists mostly of rural communities. Although this part of the region receives a large number of visitors – especially in the summer season – tourism development was described as "lagging behind" that of the other three areas (Bank representative 2009). According to the bank representative there were several reasons for this; due to the nature of the businesses that characterise the area – dominated by small-scale businesses, often family owned – there has been little coordination amongst the various tourism offers, as no specific or general actor has been directing the development of the area. Furthermore, there appeared to be a very limited degree of interaction with the rest of the region, where the growth is higher due to large industries and key businesses, universities, events and the like, driving the development forward. What is described here is not unique for the Ystad-Österlen area. Problems such as messy decision-making (Bramwell 2004; Dredge 2006a, 2006b) and lack of coordination and cohesion (Jamal and Getz 1995) are perceived to be common issues in community planning processes. On the other hand, previous research also shows that organised regional development strategies can lead to more focused and targeted investments for local communities and contribute to creating a more focused profile (du Rand *et al.* 2003; Heldt Cassel 2003; Sjöholm 2011).

A strategy for consecutive activities

The thought of coordinating efforts and assets was an important part of the initiation of a new development strategy for the Ystad-Österlen area. As the bank was perceived to have a significant role in the area as a mediator between the interests of companies and individuals, it took the initiative to start a more focused

development strategy for a more competitive Southeast area, in collaboration with a number of regional and local key actors, who would have an interest in the region's development (e.g. Business Region Skåne, local municipalities, entrepreneurs and businesses, as well as tourism offices and organisations).

The primary aim of the new strategy was to find new structures of engagement and collaboration, and through "regional thinking" try to connect Ystad-Österlen with the Öresund Region in order to create a more dynamic region with better education and business opportunities. Furthermore, one intention was to reach Danish and North German visitors and to implement the thought that "Ystad-Österlen is not that far away" (Bank representative 2009). The strategy comprised different efforts to enhance the attractiveness of the Scania Region and included an enhanced focus on niched, cultural activities, in particular art, food and movies, which were representative of the area (Bank representative 2009; Business Region Skåne representative 2010). Hence, by creating a string of consecutive activities, such as art tours, food tours, movie events, festivals and other events with varying themes that involved communities as well as local entrepreneurs and businesses, the regional developers would ensure the opportunity of offering a wide number of different activities continuously throughout the year (Bank representative 2009). This sort of strategic thinking has been pointed out by authors such as Sjöholm (2011), who emphasises the significance of cultural activities in regional development. Whether the promotion of an area is based on novels, movies, food or other cultural products, focus on niched activities is gaining still wider recognition as a strategic tool among those who plan on the national, the regional and the local level. The strategy can thus be seen as an example of a more concrete activity employed to organise the culinary actors and establish common points of interests and mutual understanding of how to put forward the region's culinary offers.

Assembling culinary specialties

The initiation of the Food Network should be understood in relation to the development described above and can in this regard be seen as an example of a practice activity where the strengths and knowledge of various local actors are brought together. In the case of Ystad-Österlen, rural areas are normally dominated by small-scale businesses, and often these are family-owned, something which makes the limit between the commercial and private sphere blurry (c.f.

Andersson Cederholm and Hultman 2010). The loose organisational structures and uneven business prerequisites can thus make it problematic to reach potential visitors. Hence, coordinated efforts can be seen as an opportunity to convey a more unified image of the destination in question, and in this way facilitate a more sustainable development for local communities and their inhabitants (c.f. George *et al.* 2009; Everett and Slocum 2013; Everett 2016). Rural tourism networks are often associated with different kinds of entrepreneurship, which is seen to have a significant influence on local community development (c.f. Lordkipanizde *et al.* 2005; Normann Eriksen and Sundbo 2016). Accordingly, such efforts can contribute to minimising or eliminating seasonal peaks, as more entrepreneurial efforts often result in more actors providing more activities that can connect the efforts of the area (c.f. Getz and Petersen 2005). In this sense, there is a close connection between these joint culinary initiatives and the complexity of developing season-fragile destinations.

The possibility of finding food experiences throughout the year is an aspect which is frequently put forward in the empirical data. For instance, in the brochure "Culinary Skåne" (*Position Skåne*) it is stressed that the region offers food experiences at every time of the year:

> Every season in Skåne has its specialties, and you can look for them as you explore the many wonders of Culinary Skåne. /…/ Culinary Skåne is an experience all year round (*Position Skåne:* 20).

Similarly, the Smaka på Skåne website assures the potential visitor that "All through the year you can indulge in activities and events concerned with Scanian food and beverage" (Smaka på Skåne 2014b). Both examples illustrate the wish to establish Scania as a place for culinary activities all year round, but in relation to other tourism activities, stressed in the fact that one can enjoy them while exploring "the many wonders" in the area. This attempt to create awareness about the area as an all year destination can be interpreted as an example of a practice that seeks to establish experience-oriented frames for culinary tourism, thus portraying the area as a culinary landscape that is available all year. At the same time there may be more practical motives, such as an attempt to eliminate the gaps between high and low season and spread out the visitors more. Seasonal issues are common in rural areas and typically there are long periods when nothing happens, followed by one or several shorter periods where the pressure on the area

and its infrastructure is high (c.f. Baum and Hagen 1999; Everett 2016). By stressing the all year accessibility, an image of a dynamic and attractive region is conveyed.

Culinary networks as means of emphasising the local

The regional context is important in order to be able to consider the role of the Food Network in a broader perspective, that is, in relation to a more general focus on tourism development in rural areas. The practices concerned with putting forward the specific culinary characteristics of Österlen can thereby be understood as an expression of the overall tourism development efforts in the Scania region, and act as an example of the process by which the culinary destination is organised in the regional context. The relevance of such initiatives is further stressed by ENRD (which was also addressed in the previous chapter), which puts forward the values of local food projects in their strategic guidelines:

> Partnership approaches for strengthening local food markets have been shown to be effective as rural development tools. Outcomes from such local food projects can help to underpin core elements of the rural economy in sustainable ways. For example, by working together, businesses participating in local food projects can find new ways of selling more of their products and attracting new types of customers. Stronger connections can be established between local agricultural, tourism and food supply sectors (ERND website 2015).

ENRD stresses the importance of actors from different types of businesses working together to create a diversified pool of activities, which involves a variety of local-community-based businesses. Accordingly, culinary networks are generally perceived to be effective tools to operationalise culinary tourism, as they can represent the local area's specific culinary offers in a joint way, while simultaneously preserving its diversity, and in this sense add to the framing and organisation of the culinary activities of a nation or a region (c.f. Marsden and Smith 2005; Holloway *et al.* 2006; Palmer 2009; Hall and Gössling 2013; Everett 2016). To assemble the culinary specialties that a nation, a region, or a local community possesses can thus be an effective way of establishing a distinctive profile and put forward the unique food activities of the area in question (c.f. Béssière 1998; Heldt Cassel 2003).

The focus on the regional has frequently been addressed in previous research throughout recent decades. Accordingly, Hall (1999) explained the still more important role of regions in tourism planning and development as an idea of "a new regionalism", which mirrored a general move of the focus from the state to the region. As the competition intensifies between nations, it has been claimed that the role of the regions is becoming even more important in the process of differentiation, a development which is reflected in the continuous academic interest in regional tourism efforts (e.g. Hall 1999; Paasi 2002; Ek 2003; Dredge and Jenkins 2003; Heldt Cassel 2003; Sjöholm 2013; Halkier *et al.* 2014; Hall and Gössling 2016; Gyimóthy 2017; James and Halkier 2019). However, the data studied shows that the role of both the national and the regional context is imperative in the efforts to create a coherent culinary destination. The regional efforts here become a mediating link between the national framing efforts and the efforts of the local community actors. Accordingly, the strategic emphasis on putting forward activities that represent the region can thus be seen as another expression of the framing of the culinary destination. Furthermore, the practices in which Scania is enacted as a culinary front region can be seen as a way of translating the frames set up by the national culinary actors into a more operational context. Accordingly, the actors also make the region into an important element in the development of a uniform, culinary tourism profile.

The regional context can thus be said to function as a mediating entity between the national and the local efforts, and a way to emphasise and maintain the ideal that is being established in the national context. The strategic focus on putting forward what is perceived to be unique for the area can thus be seen an expression the highlighting of the local – not just in terms of food, but more generally in terms of creating a strong image, which can distinguish the region and its local communities from its competitors. With the starting point for regional development strategies for the Southeast area being in Scania, the remaining of this chapter illustrates how the notion of the local is used as a means of organising the efforts of the culinary actors in the local community context.

The local as a means of negotiations

The second organising practice is concerned with how the notion of the local is used as a central point in negotiations of how culinary experiences can be organised in terms of culinary networks. The Food Network is studied as an example to illustrate the ways in which the culinary actors refer to the local as they negotiate how to form and organise the network and its activities. The local acts here as a point of reference, both in a physical sense as, for example, certain crops, products, maps and other materialities, and more abstractly, as a way of talking about the area and its producers in terms of being (or not being) local. The negotiating adds to establish frames for how the members and activities of the Food Network are organised and are expressed in the doings and sayings of the network members in mainly two ways: initiating the Food Network and organising the Food Network. Accordingly, the practices in which the Food Network is initiated, and its members and content are negotiated, are produced through collective acts, where the potential members establish a mutual understanding of what should be achieved and how. Accordingly, how to enact the local in the network and its activities is also the result of the actors' ability to construct common knowledge and routines for 'doing culinary tourism'. By studying the initiation and organisation of the Food Network one can get a picture of the actual process by which the local acts as a common node in the establishment and development of targeted culinary tourism efforts.

Initiating the Food Network

As was described in the previous section, the idea of a culinary network was connected to a broader idea of linking and developing the offers which existed in the area, but which were not really coordinated. Globally, there was a rising interest in culinary tourism, and a large number of international initiatives concerning food and tourism were to be found across Europe. However, not many initiatives existed in Sweden, and in particular there seemed to be a lack of engagement amongst those who were working with regional development issues. Inspired by events such as "Konstrundan" (*the Art Tour*) and "Ölands Skördefest" (*the Öland Harvest Festival*), as well as food trails in the UK, it was suggested that a culinary producer network with an annual food event, offering a variety of

culinary activities, would be the best way to implement the idea of culinary tourism in Scania (Project initiator 2009; Bank representative 2009).

The selection of Ystad-Österlen as the location for a culinary tourism network was not self-evident. The most important factors for the network's success were, according to the project initiators, that it should be entrepreneur-driven (by the members themselves) and based on collaborative efforts; hence it needed to be limited in a geographical sense. If spread out – e.g. across the entire Scania region – the project initiators assumed that the conditions for entrepreneurial development and good collaboration would be limited. Furthermore, from the visitors' point of view Scania was perceived to be too big and "confusing"; people would rather choose to visit a specific area within the region than the entire region: "you have to start with the local tourism and then you don't go to Skåne as a tourist, you go to Bjäre or Österlen or Söderslätt or wherever it might be" (Project initiator 2009).

The thought of delimiting the boundaries for the culinary experience supports the argument that the location for a product or service needs to be limited in order to create a clear profile, which can be successfully branded (c.f. Hankinson 2001). Some significant factors for the geographical decision of Ystad-Österlen were, first of all, that the local bank foundation was willing to support the project financially as they thought the project was strategically important and could strengthen the area's image by opening up to new business opportunities. Second, the fact that Konstrundan was an already established event in the area meant that both potential network members and visitors could relate to a similar event, and it was thus presumed that the idea of a food tour would be easier to implement. Finally, the project organisers already had a number of contacts in Österlen, since they had both worked with some of the producers in their 'previous lives' or in other projects, which was thought to facilitate the implementation to some extent (Project initiator 2009)[28].

Collecting network members

One crucial factor for the success of the Food Network was, according to the project initiators, that the network must be driven by the members themselves; thus, it had to be a cooperative economic association, which would not only be an ideal association but simultaneously motivated by an interest in business profit. Therefore, the project initiators also found it important that the network should

be heterogeneous and include not only restaurants *or* place marketing organisations *or* farm shops etc. Instead the network should comprise a mix of producers and organisations with the common interest that they worked with culinary experiences in various ways. This effort was to assure a wide and diverse range of products, which would be interesting for the visitors, and support a sustainable development of a culinary subregion (Project initiator 2009).

Accordingly, a first step to establish the network was to collect a number of producers from the Ystad-Österlen area who were all in some way working with food and/or food related experiences for an introductory meeting, hosted by the project initiators. Around 50 potential producers, representing a variety of food related businesses such as inns, bed and breakfasts, hotels and restaurants, as well as different cultivators, were invited to discuss the circumstances around a potential network. At a workshop held a few months later, the idea and the concept of the Food Network were presented to the participants and in smaller groups they were asked to discuss the content and layout of the actual network activities, and the idea of an annual food event in particular. During these discussions it became clear that the participants had very different perceptions of what the network should be and contribute to. While one group viewed the project as an opportunity to strengthen their own businesses and support the community development, another group was rather determined towards enhancing and reinforcing a culinary tourism profile for the area.

Hence, from the beginning there already existed a tension between idealistic and commercial interests amongst the (potential) network members. In spite of these differences, the establishment of an annual food tour seemed to be the common point of interest to most of the producers. In the summer of 2007, a test tour was executed in the form of a small local foods festival, which attracted a fair number of visitors. The first Food Tour event was arranged in May 2008, with the network members offering a variety of culinary products and food related experiences. Despite some changes in the participating actors, the number of members in the Food Network has been more or less consistent since the start up.

Dealing with diverse ambitions

The way the initiation of the Food Network was described above can be seen as a typical example of projects, launched from outside, which are seen as strategically important contributions to boost the regional development through a

commercialisation of the offerings that exist in a given area. Accordingly, culinary partnerships or collaborations can be of a different nature depending on the participants' background, circumstances and expectations, and their organisation (form) varies from so-called grass root driven networks to politically initiated projects. In a rural context, such initiatives are typically entrepreneurial networks initiated from below – growing from a common point of interest – or from above, as a part of larger national or regional political and/or strategic efforts (c.f. Hall 1999; Marsden and Smith 2005; Telfer and Hashimoto 2013; Boesen *et al.* 2017). In this sense, the Food Network can be understood in relation to the regional efforts to highlight activities and qualities specific to the area, and as a practical example of the 'experiencification' of the countryside (c.f. Edensor 2001, Richards 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011; Ekström and Jönsson 2016; Everett 2016). This idea is confirmed in the first strategy document presented by the project initiators, where the purpose of the Food Network was formulated as follows:

> /…/ to contribute to the development of culinary tourism in Scania (and the whole of Sweden); to be an inspiration to other areas working towards a culinary tourism profile, and to strengthen the local area's culinary profile through a common high-quality brand (Project initiators/*the Food Network* 2007).

The quote expresses a desire that the network should be seen as an inspiration to others, from the local area to the national context. Hence, there is an ambition to be a guiding post in the development of a regional development strategy, as well as a key actor in the national development of a culinary tourism image.

It is an ambitious vision, yet it may appear somewhat paradoxical to present a set purpose, while simultaneously asking potential members to discuss thoughts and ideas for the network's content and structure. The motive may have been to inspire and motivate the workshop participants to see the wide opportunities in connecting and profiling common efforts, yet often such attempts have the opposite effect. Both the project initiators and the bank representative emphasise how the network was built up and managed according to the members' common interests in culinary products and experiences. Without this common interest it would not have been possible to realise the network at all. However, there are other voices who describe the start-up phase of the Food Network quite differently. These voices describe the initiation of the network as something which

was more or less forced through from outside actors. One network member describes her experience of the initiation of the Food Network:

> /…/ Yeah, well, they [the project initiators] got the idea that they needed a project which they could apply for money for. And then they had [the bank] to agree on a project where you would go to Österlen and save the stupid entrepreneurs and teach them what they should be doing. And then they arranged a meeting for a bunch of people, with quite loose guidelines, you know, and it was a *horrible* meeting – I felt so *awful*. I have rarely felt so awful at a meeting like that. And there were several of us who thought… it was really… I mean, it wasn't [the project initiators'] fault that it turned out that way, but in some way it was… I can't really grasp it, and still after all these years I can't grasp it. But there were several of us who felt that… you know this feeling like 'hey, let us help you and now we will tell you what to do', I mean, this Abel-attitude you know. /…/ (*Birgitta* 2009).[29]

What this member describes can be seen an example of "enforced collaboration", where a group of individual actors are put together around a common point of interest – often identified by, for example, local authorities – in order to convey a collective brand (Palmer 2009). As the local actors in this case consisted of a variety of business entrepreneurs, who were mostly used to driving their own self-initiated projects, the reaction expressed in the quotation may not be surprising. This kind of resistance to change is common in rural community contexts, as such initiatives are often interpreted as "outside interference", which may threaten the influence and identity of the local community actors themselves (Cochrane 2009: 72). This can help to explain why the member chose to participate in the network despite her scepticism towards the entire idea; the risk of losing control of the outcome of such initiatives is a motive to join rather than renounce participating in the network (George *et al.* 2009; Telfer and Hashimoto 2013).

It should however be noted that not all participants shared Birgitta's experience. On the contrary, one group of actors saw the initiation of the Food Network as an occasion to establish new partnerships and exchange knowledge and ideas concerning their own businesses, which could lead to economic benefits, both for their own businesses, and for the area in general. A view which corresponds to the external actors' wish of putting the area on the map, as one out of many activities that can contribute to a clearer tourism profile and competitive image. Again, this emphasises the tensions between the idealistic and the commercial interests, which existed amongst the network members. Further, the descriptions of the way the

network was initiated, illustrate some of the complexities that can arise when planning for rural community development projects (George *et al.* 2009; Sjöholm 2011). One such complexity is about sustaining the needs and wants of all involved actors, something which appears more or less impossible when dealing with a heterogeneous group of actors, such as those in the Food Network. The project initiators did notice a certain reluctance amongst some of the network members, and accordingly they tried to adjust the project in order to meet the criticism that was put forward. Hence, as one of the project initiators describes, part of the initiation process implied the assembling and coordination of the different perspectives that existed amongst the participants, and in this sense the project initiators became what could be characterised as a mediating link between the community level and the regional level.

This section has shown how the Food Network was initiated as a part of the strategic efforts to enhance the attractiveness of the region and shape a more coherent profile of the area. Culinary networks in general are perceived as having a positive effect on tourism development, in rural areas in particular. Such networks can be organised in different ways, such as strategic collaborations between various providers of food products or food related activities, or in the sense of organising such interests in different ways (c.f. Everett and Slocum 2013). Yet, besides the positive effects of such collaborations, tourism networks are often characterised by conflicts about, for example, the role of the actors involved, who should be in charge of decisions, whom should be accepted etc. (c.f. Bramwell and Sharman 1999; Hankinson 2001; Bramwell 2004; Dredge 2006a). Accordingly, Hall (1999) stresses the importance of interaction and collaboration across societal levels, that is, networks and partnerships should embrace national, regional and local interests in order to be sustainable.

From a regional perspective, The Food Network can be seen as an example of activities that are concerned with profiling the Ystad-Österlen area as a culinary destination. That is, the description of the initiation of the Food Network illustrates how the culinary landscape is organised and operationalised in order to put forward the different values which can be used in the planning of regional culinary tourism activities. This work is a process where the frameworks which have been set up for the culinary landscape, are continuously negotiated and adjusted. Hitherto, the local has not gained a particularly explicit role in this process; rather the negotiations are about the actual prerequisites for the

establishment of the network and its role in relation to the regional tourism development strategies. As I have shown, the initiation of the Food Network evoked certain resistance, as some felt pushed into a pre-determined network setup. Nevertheless, the network was set off, and the remaining part of this chapter is devoted to showing how the local is used in a more explicit way, as a subject for negotiations of the network's form, organisation, and content.

Organising the Food Network

A central part of the negotiating practices is concerned with the actual organisation and content of the Food Network. In these negotiations, which mainly occur in the 'internal' settings such as annual meetings, board meetings etc., the culinary actors use the notion of the local to determine the scope of the network, for instance in terms of whom and what is 'local enough' for the admission of a new member, or whether the members are fully engaged in the network and its activities. What has been prominent when looking into the empirical material is how the culinary actors interpret the local both in its physical sense, as a concrete point of reference, and also in its more abstract sense, through various intangible values that are attached to a specific area, its products and producers, in order to determine when something, or someone, is local. These physical and abstract aspects help us understand what the culinary actors associate with the local and further how they relate to it when organising the network and its activities. This section illustrates this process by describing and analysing a number of activities that are part of the organisation of the network: negotiating membership criteria, being dedicated, and becoming accepted.

Negotiating membership criteria

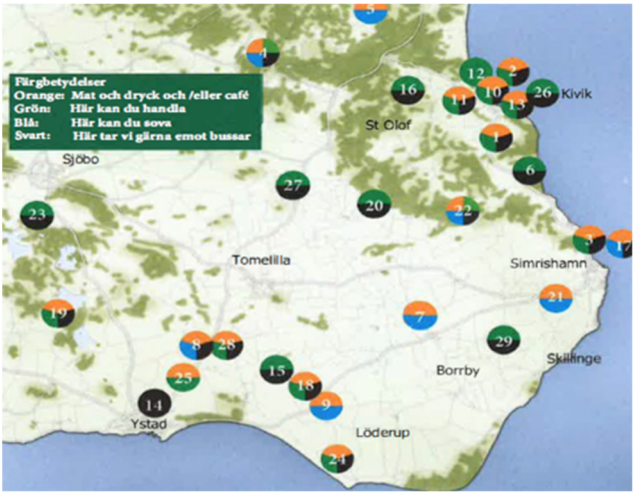
It appears to be obvious that, without a physical setting, there can be no such thing as the local. One way this is being articulated involves the culinary actors seeking to agree on some kind of physical and mental frames within which the culinary activities can be offered, here referred to as negotiations of membership criteria. The activity of negotiating criteria for membership has evolved over the years, and during this period different 'membership parameters' have been discussed and valued in various ways. One such parameter is to decide on who and what is 'local' enough to be part of the network. At the initial workshop in 2007, for instance, most participants agreed that the membership criteria should

be determined by some kind of 'localness' limit, but how this limit should be defined appeared to be far from obvious. While some participants expressed a strong wish for some kind of defined, geographical guidelines (e.g. only producers situated in Österlen), others ascribed less importance to the geographical dimension. To this group the products offered seemed to be of greater importance as a kind of measure of local attachment.

The contradictory perceptions of when a potential member is local enough to fit in became obvious when the workshop participants started discussing whether the sausage vendor of a particular village should be eligible to join the network. As the sausage vendor was perceived to fit into the general criteria of providing culinary experiences in (or just outside of) Österlen, the critics turned to question whether the products he provided were local enough. The argument that the sausages were made of meat from locally bred pigs was contradicted by the argument that the buns were imported from abroad. The example shows how the local is negotiated, not only according to geographic prerequisites – such as being situated in 'the right place' – but also according to more subjective ideas of whether the products offered are in fact local enough. Can the locally produced sausages weigh out the fact that the buns they are served in are imported? The sausage vendor whom the discussion concerned did not participate in the workshop and thus had no chance to comment on the discussion. It might seem particularly interesting that this discussion concerns someone who did not participate in the workshop and who had not even expressed a wish to become part of the Food Network. To the workshop participants it is probably easier to negotiate these kinds of delimitations according to a hypothetical situation rather than someone who is physically present. The sausage vendor thus becomes a symbol of the complexity which exists in evaluating whether something, or someone, is perceived to be local enough.

Nevertheless, the material analysed contains numerous examples of some more defined delimitations of the local. For instance, in the strategy for the Food Network the idea of a specific geographical place for the local is put forward, as it is stated that the Food Network consists of "producers and providers of culinary experiences in or just outside of Österlen" (*The Food Network* 2007). Accordingly, the network is here delimited to actors who provide culinary experiences, and who are situated in or just outside of Österlen. The physical delimitation for the local is being further expressed through materialities, such as the printed map which is

provided for the annual Food Tour event (see *figure 6:1*). On the map all members of the Food Network are indicated and marked with a dot, supported by a list of the participating members and their activities. Well on the way, an approximately three-meter high banner placed on the roadside, with the Food Network's name and logo on it, marks the location of each member of the network.



Map pointing out the location of the Food Network members, and – eventually – the local *(Food Tour programme 2011)*.

The map and the banners can be interpreted as physical directories, which point out the specific location of the local. In addition, they are examples of materialities that help to manifest the demarcation of where the local can be found. Correspondingly, the different techniques of direction that appear in the Food Network can be seen as examples of practices where the location of the local is pointed out geographically according to certain, routinised acts (e.g. producing and handing out event programmes, maps, and brochures, or placing banners on the roadside). As the members of the network are pointed out at the map and 'awarded' with the banners on the roadside, the common interest of the network members is also emphasised. Hence, the geographical delimitation of the local in Österlen, together with the network members' common goal to provide culinary experiences in this particular area, contributes to creating a collective perception of where the local should be located. Accordingly, there appear to exist certain, established ways for how local is interpreted amongst the culinary actors, and one

common point is that local dictates some kind of physical frame – or condition – for the possibility to be part of the network, manifested by materialities such as the map and banners.

There is however an ambivalence in this. While the banners by the road or at the entrance of each participating business clearly signal membership of the Food Network, the products offered within the establishments are not always restricted to the network. An example of this is *The Orchard* which grows various fruits and vegetables. In the farm store a variety of products from the farm are sold, accompanied by an assortment of local products, such as cheeses, bread and pastries. In addition, the farm sells products from other Scanian producers. During the annual Food Tour event *The Orchard* arranges a small food market outside the store. Here, a small number of vendors (with whom the farm normally cooperates) sell their products. One of the vendors was *The Chicken Farm*, which offered samples of homemade rooster sausage. When I asked the owner of *The Chicken Farm* if his business was also part of the Food Network he answered with an obvious tone "Haha oh no, we are in Lund, you know!" To this producer, the reason why his business is not part of the Food Network is obvious; because it is geographically situated too far from Österlen. Still, as his products are normally sold in *The Orchard*, it is just as obvious to him to participate in the annual event. To me, however, this puts forward a paradox; as the network members appear to put great effort in discussing membership criteria, some producers who are 'too far away' can still participate in the events. With the membership criteria in mind one would expect that these actors would be part of the network or at least come from within Österlen. However, this is not always the case.

This is a paradox, which is further confirmed at the kick-off seminars. Here it becomes obvious that several participants displaying their products and activities are not members of the network for instance *The Coffee Roastery*, situated in a north-west Scanian city, several kilometres from Österlen. The beans are imported from Italy and South America, and while the roasting does take place on the premises, the company does not appear to have any connection to Österlen or the Food Network, apart from the fact that the coffee might be sold in the area. From the company's website one learns that the production follows "ancient Scanian tradition", where the "fine Scanian water" contributes to the coffee's character (The Coffee Roastery website 2015), but nowhere it is mentioned that Österlen has any particular role. However, the company and the coffee are apparently seen

as local enough to participate in the network activities. From this, it might be wondered when producers or products are considered local enough to become members of the Food Network. Apparently, this is negotiable; *The Coffee Roastery* – with the Scanian traditions and water – is probably the closest it is possible to get to a locally produced coffee in Scania, and therefore the company – or the product – is perceived to be local enough to partake in the events. The place connection, I presume, lies predominantly in the Scanian traditions.

This example however underlines a common conflict in the process of establishing tourism networks, where some are included, and others excluded. Along with the negotiations of membership criteria, different perceptions of purposes and goals often cause conflicts, not only within networks, but also in relation to the surrounding society, such as community or regional/national interests (c.f. Dredge 2006a; George *et al.* 2009; Sjöholm 2013). The examples of the sausage vendor, *The Chicken Farm* and *The Coffee Roastery* show how potential members are valued according to a rather undefined degree of *localness*. The degree to which these producers are considered local or not seems to be related to questions of *where* the producer is situated, as well as *what* is provided. However, the sausage vendor, whose business is situated within Österlen, is still not really considered local enough despite the locally raised pork; hence there must be other parameters that influence who or what is *local*.

From this, it seems that a feeling of being *nearby* is what determines localness, and in the Food Network this appears to have become a parameter for how the members negotiate the organisation and structure of their activities. The idea of *nearby* as an expression of food localness is put forward by Jönsson (2005) and Hultman (2006). Hultman, for instance, explains how the exotic can be nearby, as long as it is produced and conveyed as distinctive from the visitor's everyday life, and provides a sense of authenticity. In the Food Network, the nearby is understood not only in its physical sense; it is also related to more abstract elements, such as participation and engagement in activities. Accordingly, *nearby* can be seen as a way of translating the various elements and values that are incorporated in the local – physical as well as abstract – into a more comprehensive term, which can apply to the local community as well as the regional context.

From the empirical data another type of activity, *dedication*, has shown to be important in the membership negotiations, that helps to further highlight their multifacetedness.

A visitor at the entrance to a Food Network member's shop holding a map pointing out the network members, while collecting brochures for the planning of further Food Tour event stops.

Being dedicated

Looking at the map it appears that some network members are geographically situated quite a way from the area perceived as Österlen (see *figure 6.1 above*). While there should be a number of producers within – or just outside – the given area of the network who would fit into the network, what is it that makes these members, situated "just outside", eligible for the network? Accordingly, there must be other motives than the physical location, for including these members in the network. Though the members seem to have agreed on some kind of membership criteria (kept the initial criteria for working with culinary experiences in or just outside Österlen), there are other, more intangible practices that define the eligibility for participation in the Food network. Some of the negotiations about *localness* which take place in the Food Network are closely related to the dedication and commitment to the network and its activities.

One business which illustrates this interrelationship is *The Chef*, a small restaurant, which is situated north-west of Ystad, which is quite far from what is perceived to be Österlen (or just outside). Clearly, from a geographical perspective the establishment does not fit into the network, but, despite being outside the network's business area, the establishment has been accepted as a member. So, if it is not the geographical position, then what is it about *The Chef* that makes it eligible for the Food Network? According to other members, this business owner is particularly dedicated and serves as a catalyst and a positive driving force for the network's development. For example, Birgitta tells me that Kent, the owner of *The Chef*, makes the most fantastic crisps from various root-crops, and that he takes extremely good care of his guests, (especially the children, Birgitta adds). Being dedicated is expressed here in the business owner's ability to create a local attachment, through his homemade crisps, and his way of catering for his guests. Still, I am told, there have been discussions in the network as to whether this business was geographically too far away and thus not local enough. Yet, in the end, it seems like the commitment and dedication of this producer has been weighed up as more important. This can be seen to be an indirect way of negotiating what or who is local enough.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the network members' idea of localness can be negotiated and adapted according to the producers' dedication; as long as the producer in question is dedicated and contributes to a positive image of the area and its offerings, he or she can very well be considered local enough even if the business is not considered local from a geographical perspective. This view does, however, bring up the complexity of those who fit in geographically but who are not dedicated enough, an issue which is also evident in the Food Network. Hence, there appear to be two types of engagement in the network: the first being an ideological engagement, as the example of *The Chef* shows, where the members are very active in various ways –they are part of the board, attend all meetings and workshops, they plan activities and put a lot of effort into the Food Tour event, bring in new ideas and perspectives to the network and so on.

The second type of engagement is more financially oriented, where the members pay the network admission fee and the annual membership fee but put minimal effort into the network, perhaps only attending the annual network meeting or participating in the annual event, but not contributing more than necessary to the meetings, events etc. This lack of interest may have different reasons – lack of time

or resources to involve, or no interest in contributing more than necessary or suchlike – but no matter the reason, these differences in degree of interest and involvement do from time to time divide the network members, shaping an "us against them" relationship. This tension becomes evident when the members meet in more formal contexts, such as the annual board meeting, where all members are invited to participate. Here, the network's activities are discussed, planned and evaluated, but also the commitment of non-attending members is commented upon:

> I really cannot understand why these people are not here. And it's always the same individuals who don't attend. I mean… of course you can have reasons, but… We all pay the same amount [membership fee] and then some just think they can just sit back and do nothing, while the rest of us work our [behinds] off to make this work (*Emma* 2010).[30]

The quotation shows a dissatisfaction with some of the other members' lack of commitment. The members referred to were not at the meeting, and – according to Emma – they had not shown on any particular interest in the network activities either. Emma finds it very unfair that some can get away with 'just paying' their fee and then doing nothing for the network, while others also put a lot of time and effort into the planning and marketing of activities. The quotation bears witness to an expectation that everybody contribute equally to the network, and a disappointment with the lack of engagement that appears to exist amongst some members. This type of conflict is common in the establishment of local community networks (Bramwell 2004; Dredge 2006a; Sjöholm 2013). Accordingly, it could be argued that such tensions are needed in order to drive the development and creativity forward. The network members do, however, seem to handle these issues differently. Another network member explains to me that the problems with people not being dedicated enough normally solve themselves: "in the end, these people will eventually leave the network, because they can't see the benefit in it" (*Christel* 2010).

Becoming accepted

In the literature on rural tourism development it is often stressed that one of the keys to success is the ability to make everybody feel part of the various development projects (c.f. George *et al.* 2009; Sjöholm 2011, 2013). Hence, the

"us against them" complexity contains other issues than being or not being part of a network. Often, one will also find a division within tourism networks, for instance, between different occupation sectors (e.g. tourism firms vs. farms) or between 'those who were there first' and the newcomers. Similarly, in the Food Network, some of the members have moved (some of them, back) to the area after long careers within other sectors and in other parts of the country, while others have managed their business for several generations. Inevitably, this creates tensions and challenges the ways the network is organised.

An example of such a challenge is illustrated by *The Inn*, which is situated a couple of kilometres from the town of Ystad, which would be characterised as 'just outside' Österlen, according to the network description. During a conversation with Jacob, the owner of *The Inn*, he explained that he had recently taken over the establishment from his mother and decided to engage in the Food Network; but he did not feel that his business was really accepted throughout by the other network members: "We're kind of too far away from the others" (*Jacob* 2009). On the other hand, Jacob perceived that another network member, situated just five minutes' drive down the road, was indeed seen as part of 'the real' Österlen. This member (also) owns a family-owned business, which has been run for many years and is thus well incorporated in the local community. The couple who own it are considered to be very committed to both the community in general, and the development of the Food Network. So, despite the physical closeness between the two companies, the perception of whether they were in fact 'local enough' to be part of the network seemed to be very different, that is, the mental idea of localness seems to be most important here.

However, I noticed a change in this perception when attending one of the kick-off seminars two years later. Now, Jacob, was very engaged in the discussions taking place and by the end of the seminar he received a more formal acknowledgement by the other participants for his entrepreneurial work and commitment. I find this change very interesting. During only two years, *The Inn*'s owner, who had previously felt excluded and – physically and mentally – too far away from the other network businesses, had now become a leading figure in the network, acknowledged for his dedication and drive. This change indicates that the way to acceptance is a process, which shows in the way membership selection practices within the network have changed and developed into new practices. Previously *The Inn* appeared to be geographically outside, but with the owner

showing his dedication and commitment to the network this was no longer as important. Thus, becoming accepted as "local enough" seems to encompass a process, where physical location, dedication and what could be interpreted as adaption over time are central elements. Consequently, the way to acceptance and unified goals illustrates how practices can change and develop into new practices (c.f. Nicolini 2012; Sahakian and Wilhite 2014).

This is a change, which can also be explained more widely, according to changing perceptions of the culinary landscape. Regionally, this change in perceptions appears to be connected to the changes in the efforts of the regional actors to strengthen the culinary profile of the entire south-east Scania. With their growing dedication comes also a more focused profile, where culinary products and activities play a more significant role and help to unify the various offers and initiatives around the region. The bank's main office, which was involved financially in the start-up phase of the Food Network is situated in the town of Ystad, and this could be one of the explanations for the fact that more members outside what is often considered as 'the real' Österlen, e.g. situated in and around Ystad, have become part of the network. Due to the engagement of the bank, Ystad is now seen as "the gate to Österlen", and the network members include this when describing their activities as taking place "in and just outside Ystad-Österlen". With more members situated outside the area, which would geographically be characterised as Österlen, the physical closeness seems to become subordinate and other dimensions of localness become more important.

As shown throughout this section, the local appears to incorporate both physical and abstract ideas of localness, and hence it appears to be more or less impossible to set specific criteria for how near or far away products, producers, or activities have to be in order to be local. Culinary businesses can be geographically on the borderline, but if they are perceived 'local enough' by the network members, for instance through their dedication or engagement, they could become part of the Food Network. Putting up exact limits for where the local can be found (or what is in fact local) thus becomes more or less impossible, as other parameters and values become more important. Hence, the criteria of "in or just outside Österlen" rather appears to be establishing some kind of delimitation for not becoming too wide geographically, a strategy, which is in line with the project initiators' idea of delimiting the scope of the network. What appears to be more crucial for becoming part of the network is that the culinary products and activities provided

are *perceived* as 'local', and/or that the ones providing them show a genuine interest and dedication in mediating the area in question and its characteristics.

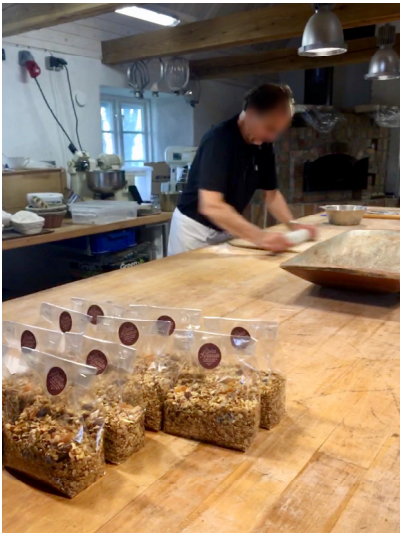
Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have illustrated the process by which The Food Network was formed and organised according to local community culinary actors' joint focus on offering culinary experiences, based on local food and the various values attached. As such, the establishment of culinary networks can be seen as a practice in the general strategic efforts involved with regional tourism development, where a main idea is to create a strong culinary profile, with attractive and distinct food and experiences, which differs from other destinations.

In the establishment and organisation of the Food Network, the local is used as a common denominator, which unifies the culinary actors and their activities; however, how the local should be interpreted is subject to negotiation. Accordingly, the culinary actors negotiate the premises for their network in terms of elements such as the localness of products and producers, as well as the engagement and dedication of the members. The practices which are established in the process of organising the Food Network also bring out tensions between different perspectives, regarding whether products or producers are local enough, or whether the product or the producer is more important in the determination of membership. The chapter has shown that there can be several ways to determine when a food product or food experience can be referred to as *local*: from the very specific attempts to define the local within a certain geographically limited scope, to the more abstract interpretation of localness as different expressions of dedication and participation, or to a *feeling* of being nearby (or far away). The term *nearby* can be seen as an expression of a practice, which has become employed by the network members to distinguish *their* local, and which can be graded and bent in different ways and adapted to both physical and more abstract dimensions depending on what is needed.

Hence, the coming into existence of the Food Network is a process where various competences, materialities and meaning interconnect and produce its organisational conditions. That is, the negotiations are in different ways expressions of the shared competences needed to establish and develop the

network, assisted by materialities such as maps, event programmes, food products, banners etc. In terms of meaning, the establishment and organisation of the network is enacted according to ideas of connecting and reinforcing the region's experience offers, as well as a perception that local food and food related experiences are the foundation of good collaboration and community development. Further to this, the establishment of culinary networks can be understood as a practice in itself, as such efforts act as a driving force in the development of culinary tourism activities and help to translate the national and regional political structures into a local community context, such as how primary production is integrated with the idea of tourism and a culinary landscape.



Chapter 7:

Performing the local in culinary tourism

While the previous chapter showed how the local was used as a point of departure for the organisation of the Food Network and its members, this chapter aims to illustrate how the notion of the local is used for the actual performance of the network's activities. This performance comprises practices through which the local is put forward as a central part of culinary tourism experiences. A particular objective here is for the culinary actors to create coherence in the ways they perform the local, that is, to establish common ways of packaging the local. A main effort is the establishment of a common story, through which the culinary actors can convey a unique culinary tourism experience. These efforts are directed towards the visitors to the Food Network, but there are also efforts that take place in more 'internal' settings, such as the kick-off seminars and other events, which are directed towards the network members and others, who in different ways are engaged with the network. It is these efforts, which are studied in this chapter.

The performing of the local in the culinary tourism experience is expressed in the practices in which the network members put forward *what* to include in *their* story, *how* to present it, and finally *how* the story is actually performed. Accordingly, this process is illustrated through the practices of ma*king good stories, staging the local,* and *commercialising the local*. While the making of good stories comprises the acts of agreeing on and putting forward common key ingredients, which represent the core values of the Food Network, the staging of the local embraces the various ways the culinary actors stage and arrange the culinary experiences by packaging and displaying products, or arranging for events and so on. Further to this, the practice of commercialising the local involves the efforts in which the story-making and the staging are brought together in order to present the local as a self-evident (tourism) product. Though analysed separately, the

story-making, staging, and commercialisation practices cannot be separated; rather they are different ingredients of the same process where culinary actors use the local more explicitly in their enactment of culinary experiences. Hence, the performing of the local takes place as a process of interlinked acts, involving combinations of competences, materialities and meaning. While not explicitly addressed in this chapter, the constitutive elements are embedded in the different ways the local is performed, as the analysis will show.

The analysis in this chapter builds on the observations of the annual Food Tour and the kick-off seminars, as well as various marketing documents collected during my field visits.

Making good stories

In the previous chapter I showed how the culinary actors negotiated the organisational principles for the Food Network. In a similar vein, the culinary actors also negotiate what to offer in the Food Network. Also, here the local is used as a reference point for what the network should offer, not just in terms of products or activities, but also by referring to more intangible values, and evoking certain associations, which can contribute to a pleasurable and extraordinary culinary experience. In these discussions, the culinary actors use the local as a common denominator, often expressed through the notion of *nearby*, which was introduced in the previous chapter. The articulation of *nearby* as a key value was established during the first kick-off seminar: "Let's say that we are striving to show our visitors what they can find nearby!" (*Kerstin*, Kick-off seminar 2010). Nearby was intended to be a common point of departure for the network members and refers to the product's connection with the specific place it was cultivated or produced, as well as to the producers, the soil, and the experiences offered. From this fundamental approach the network members have developed a common understanding of what makes good stories. The awareness of the value of storytelling is expressed in the network members' discussions: "there is an entire treasure chest with old recipes and cooking methods that we have to preserve and use in new ways" (*Örjan*, Kick-off seminar 2010). This could be interpreted as a call for a more active commercialisation of the network's offerings, where a central

element is the ability to convey a convincing story which represents the products and activities related to the area, its traditions and history.

To use storytelling in the design and performance of tourism activities is seen as a part of the postmodern differentiation process (Lash 1990), where destinations and tourism providers compete to offer *the* personal and authentic experience (Hayes and MacLeod 2007). Stories thus become what ascribes meaning to the visitors and what evokes his or her feeling of a having a genuine experience (Tellström *et al.* 2005; Mossberg and Johansen 2006; Mossberg 2008; Mossberg and Sundström 2011). Mossberg and Johansen (2006: 7) explain why storytelling has become a powerful marketing and communications tool:

> /…/ storytelling can speak to the human need for a meaningful life /…/ It can work as a tool for sharing knowledge as it satisfies several needs at the same time, to be entertaining, to assimilate knowledge and experiences as well as to obtain self-esteem through collectivity.

Storytelling as a means of tourism branding is thus perceived to be of value for both providers and visitors. While commonly addressed in the marketing literature, the concept of storytelling has also been picked up by the actors in their performing of tourism activities. The empirical data shows how the members of the Food Network seek to enhance the visitors' experiences by using storytelling when designing and performing their activities and products. The practice of telling stories has thus advanced as a result of certain recurrent acts and speech acts, developed over time, in order to highlight the qualities of the Food Network, as well as the idea of 'being nearby'. For instance, while on the 2008 and 2009 Food Tours, stories connected to the food products and experiences offered were rare and only occurred sporadically, but by the end of the period for my data collection storytelling had turned into one of the network's core practices and a means of direction for the products and activities offered. At the same time, it appears to create some sort of community point to the culinary actors, as is pointed out by Mossberg and Johansen (2006). The storytelling can thus be a way of collecting and manifesting the competences – in terms of skills and know-how – that the network members possess.

According to Gubrium and Holstein (1998), the practice of storytelling involves the actual story, the ways in which it is told, and different physical things to support the story. That is, in order to fully understand how the process of

commercialising the local is taking place, all these elements are equally important. In order to provide convincing stories, the culinary actors need to agree on what to tell. Hence, in this first part of the chapter, I put forward how the culinary actors make good stories in order to perform the local as a part of culinary tourism, focusing first of all on which ingredients are included in the Food Network's stories. The local is used as a key ingredient in these efforts, both in its physical meaning and in its more abstract sense. Hence, the following sections identify and discuss two key ingredients which are foremost in the practice of making good stories: the authentic destination and the local as morally good.

The authentic destination

One way the members of the Food Network make good stories is by connecting the notion of the local with ideas of authenticity and the search for the extraordinary. In tourism, normally, the search for the exotic and extraordinary means travelling far away to unrevealed places, which have not yet been exploited by the tourist mass (c.f. Andersson Cederholm 1999). However, with the focus on culinary experiences and activities, the extraordinary and exotic may just as well be found nearby (c.f. Long 2004; Hultman 2006; Baldacchino 2015); hence, the local, in terms of local products or crops attached to local traditions and history and suchlike, becomes a pull-factor for visiting a specific destination. The notion of the local is here used to reinforce the attachment to culinary products or activities as authentic, in order to enhance the value of the visitor's experience. The network members frequently use a number of key themes as "building bricks" for this work, which can be seen as expressions of what is embedded with the story of the authentic destination: nature, origin, terroir, and history.

Emphasising nature: "Welcome to our natural, culinary landscape!"

In the marketing efforts of the culinary actors, there exist certain ways of presenting Österlen as a natural, culinary landscape. As was pointed out in chapter five, the countryside is often advanced as a place for calm and relaxation, enjoyable and (almost) untouched nature as well as various cultural experiences. This view is reflected in the presentation of the Food Network:

> Welcome to our culinary landscape filled with experiences, activities, tasty experiences, culture, history and craftmanship (Food Network Website 2010).

In the printed brochures and on the individual members' websites, common descriptions are centred on the nature and characteristic landscape of Österlen, putting forward a sense of pride about being situated here. The idea of a culinary landscape, which boasts different kinds of food and culture related activities, is also advanced on the members' individual websites. Likewise, the natural environment is something, which is often highlighted:

> A small road winding through the beech woods. Suddenly the landscape opens up and there, framed by soft hills, the old Scanian farm welcomes you. In the courtyard, a small carefully constructed renaissance garden with herbs, within well-cut boxwood edges.
>
> Since 1962 [The Mill] has been a nature reserve to preserve the unique cultural environment and a popular area for walking with well-marked walking paths.
>
> /…/ Altogether the farm and the surrounding nature form a unique environment characterised by beauty and timelessness. A couple of kilometres away you can find the sea and endless sandy beaches. Here you will find a calm and relaxing environment – an oasis to be spoilt in (The Mill website 2014).[31]

The detailed description of the environment tells the potential visitor pretty much what to expect in terms of the establishment's physical setting and appearance. What is highlighted is the natural, untouched environment, where the built environment blends into the surroundings as a unique, cultural setting, which offers calm and relaxation. Though there is no explicit description of the food offered here, it should not be hard to imagine that the menu would match the environment it is served in. The connection between the food and the landscape then becomes most explicit in other examples, where the locally produced food is presented as a natural part of Österlen nature and culture:

> Come and live and eat in beautiful and calm settings with a magnificent view of the mighty Östersjön with its straight unbroken horizon. At 7 o'clock in the evening we serve locally produced beef and early spring vegetables. And if the asparagus is ready… Mmmmmm (*Food Tour programme* 2010: 4).[32]

As stated in the former quotation, this place offers a beautiful and calm environment, a place for relaxation. In addition, the guest will also be able to experience food and food products from nearby providers and enjoy the work of

local artists. The connection between local food and the landscape is demonstrated through "locally produced beef" and "early spring vegetables". The examples indicate that the culinary actors find a close relationship between nature and food, something, which is put forward on *The Castle's* website:

> The kitchen's menus are based on the best from the season's pantry, spring and early summer vegetables. Nettles, asparagus, fresh potatoes served with shellfish, fish and meat from our Scanian farms. The summer diversity of delicious greens, berries and herbs, the autumn richness of game and mushrooms from the woods around the Castle, fruits from the orchards of Österlen. The winter with spices, juice and warmth where the Scanian tradition is served in new ways (The Castle website 2011).[33]

The key words put forward in this example are related to nature in terms of fresh and seasonal products, and a diversity of products; meat from the Scanian farms, and fruit from the orchards of Österlen. So Ystad-Österlen is put forward as a destination which offers a diversity of nature and cultural activities. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on the possibility of year-round activities, which is in line with the regional idea of offering an "all-year-round destination". Hence, the seasons and what nature can provide are the foundation for the ultimate experience, and in this sense the culinary experience is arranged following nature and not the other way around. As it appears in these examples, the culinary landscape of Ystad-Österlen is portrayed in quite similar ways. A general rhetoric is the integration of the local food with the natural and cultural environment, descriptions which are similarly put forward in the literature (c.f. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Laurin, 2010). The reference to nature, as I have shown in this section, is also a common way for the network members to convey an image of the countryside as a place for culinary experiences as well as other cultural activities, which will do good and bring joy. There is a shared understanding of nature being a key ingredient in the authentic destination.

Highlighting origin

Another theme which is common in the making of good stories, is the highlighting of origin. In a culinary tourism context, destinations often stress the local by connecting specific food products or dishes to the idea of origin. Origin refers to the place or locality where food ingredients have been grown or sourced,

or the food products have been processed. Yet, origin also refers to more abstract attributes connected with a certain place or geographical area, such as local traditions or cultural and culinary heritage, in order to make the product unique and create a feeling of authenticity (Bessière 1998; Burstedt *et al.* 2006; Hultman 2006; Sims 2009; Bowen 2010; Lagnevik 2010). In the literature it has been argued that, with the increasing focus on locally produced and locally sourced food products, more and more producers and marketers connect the 'identity' and uniqueness of the products to origin, claiming that they are unique because of their connection to the place where they are grown (c.f. Burstedt 2004). The use of such attributes thus contributes to strengthening the connection of the culinary activities provided with the place where they are offered and are perceived to be a forceful commercial mechanism.

One example of such a connection is the phenomenon of *landscape dishes*. All landscapes in Sweden are represented by their own specific dishes, products, and recipes, making that particular area unique. Often these are connected to different benefits such as health or luck or stressed in a historical context – and in this sense they can be seen as cultural products (c.f. Bringéus 2009; Ragnar 2014). Today, the landscape dishes are however not only a cultural product that maintains important historical connections, culinary heritage and traditions. To a still wider extent these dishes are used in the marketing of regions and local areas as a way of distinguishing the local attributes, and in this sense, they can be argued to be a part of a commercialisation of the origin. In the literature, it is often argued that the commercial aspects associated with the term outweigh the original characters of cultural or idealistic beliefs concerned with the cultivation of a certain product (c.f. Tellström *et al.* 2005; Tellström 2006). Yet this type of commercialisation should not only be subject to criticism. The rising interest in culinary activities with local attachment also means that certain skills and knowledge, in terms of culinary heritage, local traditions, flavours and so on can be kept and brought out; for instance through preservation of methods for production and cultivation, or preservation of cooking methods, which may otherwise have been forgotten. In a broader perspective this can be seen as a way to boost local economies and create or maintain a vibrant countryside.

Terroir: "Made in Österlen"

One way that origin is expressed in the Food Network is through the concept of *terroir*, which has become a more common strategy in the marketing efforts of many destinations and local communities, to link food products, crops and local dishes etc. with place-specific attributes (c.f. Gade 2004; Bowen 2010; Lagnevik 2010; Pico Larsen 2010; Gyimóthy 2017). In the Food Network, the concept of terroir was introduced and discussed at the 2010 kick-off seminar. Entitled "Terroir – the soul of the place – provides the taste", the seminar was aimed at discussing the role of food in relation to place and tourism, and particularly how this thought could be implemented in the network and its aim to develop a strong culinary tourism profile. Danish chef and food entrepreneur Claus Meyer (who is also one of the founders of the New Nordic Kitchen) was invited as key note speaker and participated in a panel debate on how the Food Network could preserve and develop the specialties of Ystad-Österlen and highlight the very unique products of the area that would differentiate it from other areas. From this debate, it was found to be important to state the name and origin of the products offered within the network, so that they would convey the unique features of the area. Further to this, one member stated that – in order to attract visitors and get them to buy the Food Network products – it was important to present "...a story that can be inscribed with the place and provide an explanation of why it [the food] tastes good" (*Anders,* kick-off seminar 2010). What is expressed here is not only a confidence that the products of the Food Network are indeed good but also a conviction that the story of the area can act as conveyor of the products' unique characteristics. At the same time the quote shows on awareness that such strategies can be effective means of 'packaging' the area and its products in a comprehensive way.

Hence, stressing the Österlen terroir is an activity which is advancing in the ways the Food Network members present and talk about their products, as well as in the ways they perform activities. For instance, the network members stress where the products are sourced or produced, advance the quality of their products and activities offered, and put specific emphasis on the special taste, which is only to be experienced in Österlen. The relationship between the taste of the food and the unique character of the place are further expressed as the use of traditional products of the area, and the preservation of old recipes and preparation methods. These acts can be explained according to Bowen's (2010) idea of terroir as a "cultural concept", which implies that the "natural and human factors" are

brought together. This means that it is the interaction between the properties of the soil, the human skills and the local history and traditions, which make the products and experiences offered unique. Further to this, Bowen argues, terroir becomes a "source of power for farmers – who, through their practices, are responsible for maintaining the link between the ecological properties of a specific locale and the taste or quality of agricultural products" (Bowen 2010: 226). In this sense, terroir can be seen as a way to manifest the local, as the product in question is loaded with place-specific values, such as local culture, traditions, history, and authenticity.

As shown, terroir is a way of manifesting the idea of origin within the Food Network. Yet, other parts of the empirical data reveal that this place attachment is not always restricted only to Österlen; in some contexts, it can even include the regional (or the national) context. That is, what is perceived to be local seems to be a matter of reference point. An example of this is to be found in the brochure "Resan i Matens rike" (*Smaka på Skåne* 2008), where the Scanian connection to the sea is illustrated. Here, herring, eel, and salmon are introduced as the most classic fish of the region, and the difference between the local Scanian salmon and the farmed Norwegian version are made clear:

> The person who seeks a genuine Östersjö salmon will get a completely different experience than if the same food enthusiast buys a cultivated Norwegian model /.../ The Östersjö salmon keeps its original dull colour that it has had for thousands of years. The other thing revealing the real product is the flavour. The Östersjö salmon has a richer taste. Needless to say (*Smaka på Skåne* 2008: 34).[34]

The text tells us about the authentic salmon of Östersjön, the waters off the Scania coast. What makes the salmon unique is not only the original pale colour caused by the seaweed crabs it feeds on, but also the taste which is richer than that of the farmed (Norwegian) salmon. In the quote, attributes such as *unique, original* and *the real product* are linked with *experience* and *flavour*. There is really no doubt that the salmon from Scania is unique, because of its terroir – or as the White guide suggests, *merroir*[35]. The example thus illustrates the taken-for-grantedness of the local, which was highlighted in the introductory chapter, here expressed as the local being unquestionably unique, genuine and of better taste than 'non-local'. Furthermore, the example shows the amorphous character of the local; while the local can comprise products and attributes within a specific local area, such as Österlen, the example of Scanian salmon shows that the local may just as

well be widened to a regional dimension. At the same time, this movement of the local from community level to the regional level emphasises Tellström's (2006) point that local food culture is often subject to commercialisation. That is, by lifting the values of a local produce – with its link to the place's character, in the promotion of the region, these values are becoming active elements in the making and profiling of the culinary destination. Further to this, the quote establishes a link to the nationally induced idea about the culinary destination. By pointing out the unquestionable fact about the better taste of the Scanian salmon, "needless to say", a link to the idea of the good life is established, emphasising the discourse of natural food as something that is good for you.

These ideas can also be understood in the light of the narrative of *the Nordic terroir* and the concept of *the New Nordic Cuisine*, which are put forward by Pico Larsen (2010). Pico Larsen (2010) studied how the dishes at the Noma restaurant[36] in Copenhagen contribute to staging authenticity and cultural heritage and perform narratives of the soil from which the ingredients originate. While the presentation and performance of the dishes recall associations with the traditional and authentic rural landscape, Pico Larsen claims:

> However, the consistent linking of the Nordic soil with the sensory experience of taste that draws flavour from the local earth would seem to be new and innovative in the culinary world – especially when it is coupled with the ability to taste, and discern, authentic Danishness (Pico Larsen 2010: 98).

In this sense origin and terroir are being linked to taste and flavour on the one hand, and to cultural heritage and authenticity on the other hand. The narrative of a specific and unique place is what brings them together. The narrative of the Nordic terroir could thus be seen as a mediator between the local as a part of a general discourse of the good life, and the local as a practical tool for culinary tourism at the local community level. The practice of using origin and, in particular, terroir in the enactment of the Food Network's activities, can thus also be seen as expressions of how the network is itself becoming part of this narrative.

History: Providing a glimpse of the past

In addition to the emphasis on terroir, local traditions and historical links appear to have a significant influence on the ways the local is being packaged and 'sold' as a culinary tourism product. In the communication and marketing activities of

the Food Network members, much emphasis is put on linking the food experience with traditions and history. An example of such activities is "a day at *The Manor*" with lectures, history tours and food from the 18th century, arranged by a local museum (*the Food Tour programme* 2010: 17). That this activity is put forward in the programme can be seen as a practice in itself, where local traditions and culinary heritage are put forward as a tourism activity.

The correlation between the traditional and the food locality is likewise something which is common in the ways the Food Network members present their products and activities, and often these attributes are expressed through specific dishes or traditional recipes:

> Every day during the Food Tour at midday-3pm. *Äggakaka*, a Scanian cultural heritage made from new laid Österlen eggs, is served with stirred lingonberries and smoked bacon (*The Food Network programme* 2010: 3, *my italics*).[37]

Here, the typical traditional food dish *Skånsk äggakaka* (directly translated, Scanian egg cake) is offered. The dish is a variation of an omelette (made with milk and flour), but in this context the name in itself becomes a clear manifestation of the place of origin, emphasising the uniqueness of the dish. That the dish is served in the traditional way with smoked bacon and lingonberries, as well as the ingredients of the dish being provided from the nearby Österlen producers, further stresses the place attachment of the dish (c.f. Bessière 1998; Burstedt 2004; Burstedt *et al.* 2006). Not only the dish itself, but also the use of the local dialectal name conveys a sense of uniqueness. The idea of origin is here tied closely to the actual ingredients, which can be found in Österlen, but also to the way these are handled before, during, and after the cooking process. Hence, part of the commercialisation of the local is concerned with the attributes of the locality of the local, and a clear conveying of qualities that are a part of this locality.

The origin of the produces together with their attachment to history and traditions thus create a feeling of being nearby for those who participate in the culinary activities (Østrup Backe 2010), and so food products, dishes or activities that are perceived to be nearby are often perceived as unique, and local food can therefore act as a symbol for the unique attributes of the place where a food dish or crop has been produced or cultivated (c.f. Jönsson 2005; Hultman 2006). Visiting and experiencing the environment that provided the food product in question is thus perceived to convey a special feeling of authenticity and of being

part of the 'local' experience (c.f. Béssière 1998; Richards 2002; Scarpato 2002; Heldt Cassel 2003). The practices advanced here are also similar to what Heldt Cassel (2003) highlights in her analysis of the marketing efforts of food producers in their efforts to create a gastronomic region. The attributes of local products, Heldt Cassel argues, are connected to an experience of better quality (than non-local products), a sense of nostalgia, and a feeling of proximity.

Seen in relation to this, it could be argued that the attachment to values of origin – such as a sense of nostalgia and being nearby – is a way of seeking to convey the thought that the local represents products and activities of better quality, and that they are, therefore, authentic. In this sense, there is also a connection between the local and the discourse on the unique as a modern tourism phenomenon. Hence, the unique food experience or the unique (local) food product is dependent on, and determined by, the place in which it is offered, and, in this context, it could be argued that origin – with all its dimensions – is a key encounter that contributes to how we understand the local. In a more operationalised way the emphasis of food products' origin symbolises values, which aim to create a feeling of being nearby (to products as well as producers), making the culinary experience more unique.

The activities concerned with the emphasising of the authentic destination are in many ways similar to those in the national and regional contexts. One such example is the connection between the traditional and the innovative:

> Every day during the Food Tour event [the Fish Factory's] sandwich = Freshly fried herring on coarse bread served with onions and gravlax mustard sauce /…/ The cause: it represents what we stand for, tradition and innovation, the local area classic and good [sic] (The Fish Factory website 2012).[38]

In this example the producer emphasises both the traditional and the innovative as the basic values of the company. The traditional, I guess, lies in the dish that holds traditional Scanian ingredients herring and coarse bread, while the innovative could refer to the company's entire business idea. *The Fish Factory*, located in the harbour of a small village, has during recent years developed from a small, simple fishmonger's shop to a large business which – apart from the fish and seafood – provides a variety of local produce, which is sold in the shop as well as in the newly built café, some smoked in their own smokehouse. In addition, the company offers conference opportunities on the upper floor of the newly

refurbished establishment. Hence, the company can be seen as a representation of a modernisation of a traditional industry, a transformation which is twofold: On the one hand this modernisation can contribute to putting the company and the village on the experience map, as a place to visit for more than just grocery shopping, and a local source for development in terms of employment and economic sustainability (c.f. George *et al.* 2009; Ekström and Jönsson 2016). On the other hand, it bears witness to the difficulties that the fishery industry faces in general, with restricted hauling regulations, stronger competition, and small profits; a development which has forced this type of business owner to turn to other efforts to secure economic survival (c.f. Andersson 2019). There is then a link with the political efforts to shape better conditions for the rural entrepreneurs.

Emphasising the morally good local

The reference to the local as morally good is a second key ingredient in the practice of making good stories. In the Food Network, the local is generally put forward as something good; locally grown, pure, fresh, and good quality produce is an example of how the culinary actors emphasise the "goodness" of the local. An example where this idea becomes particularly clear is the 2011 kick-off seminar, where the various members of the Food Network served samples of their (and neighbouring producers') products, and constantly stressed that their bread, butter, herring or whatever product they might present, was home-made or – at least – sourced or produced in the area – both with labels showing on the origin of the product and by talking about their products. In this way, the culinary actors would emphasise the local as something good, as in the following excerpt from one of my observations:

> *The Country Store* serves the popular *Spickitalia*, a smoked ham from Tollarp, which – according to the owner herself – can be compared to the well-known, smoked hams from France and Italy. Along with the ham, three different smoked sausages from another local producer are served on a large wooden plate, and in order to "spice up" all the meat, the owner explains, she has decorated with tomatoes, which she just picked up from one of her nearby suppliers. Another guest joins the table, and the country store owner repeats what she just told me. The new guest tastes and mumbles with pleasure "mmm…", and "so good…", and the country store owner adds in a sarcastic tone: "yeah, why should you buy this stuff abroad when you can find such good products here?!" The other woman

> agrees, and they start joking about the Dutch tomatoes. Leaving the table, I hear the country store owner say: "They should have a warning sign: peel them before you eat them and do not serve to children under five years of age". The other woman laughs in a way that confirms that she agrees: "Haha, Yeah exactly".
>
> (Field note from kickoff seminar "Time to discover home" 2011)

Here, the country store owner clearly expresses the idea that local produce is better than non-local produce, both in terms of flavour and in a moral sense. Through the highlighting of "the good local", a perception of the global as ugly and immoral is likewise being reinforced. There is, however, an ambivalence with the stressing of the local as "good"; at some points the non-local is referred to as something good, something to strive for, like the *Spickitalia* ham, which is perceived to be just as good as (or better than) the famous products from abroad. One can sense a certain pride when the country store owner compares the Österlen-sourced ham with the well-known Italian or Spanish ones. Yet, at other points the non-local is bad and associated with the immoral and unethical. The storeowner's somewhat sarcastic comment about the Dutch tomatoes insinuates that they are probably sprayed with chemical fertiliser and not as "natural" or "fresh" as the ones to be found in Österlen. What might seem as a paradox is that while the Dutch tomatoes, for example, are certainly not welcome amongst the network products, other non-local products and producers are, such as the coffee and rooster producers, mentioned in chapter six (or the Greek olive oil, which was mentioned in the prologue).

So, there appears to be a perception in the network of 'right' and 'wrong' when it comes to the non-local products. The rhetoric used is reminiscent of the concept of negative identification, which is used as a way of emphasising the meaning of blurry phenomena, which can be hard to grasp, such as the local. By stressing the foreign tomatoes as "bad" or "fake", the local tomatoes are simultaneously ascribed with good attributes. Thus, it appears easier to make a point through references to the bad, as the good is more difficult to grasp. There is an interesting dialectic relationship between 'local' products and 'non-local', where the one defines the other. This behaviour can be explained from the literature, where the turn to the local is often seen as a counter reaction to the global, where products, places, and even experiences become standardised and appear to be available basically all over the world (c.f. Burstedt 2004; Gade 2004). In this sense, the local comes to represent "the good", while the global represents "the bad". These

practices should however also be considered according to the more critical discussions on the goodness of the local, which have been advanced by authors including Borne and Purcell (2006) and Baldacchino (2015). The perception of the non-local tomatoes as being bad can be seen as an illustration of what is characterised as "the local trap" (Borne and Purcell 2006), where the local is considered just and morally good by simply being local.

However, other examples show an idea that not all non-local is bad. In some network activities the global seems to act as a parameter for measuring or emphasising the localness of the local, meaning that by comparing local products with other products, which are perceived to be local in other places, the status of the actual product is highlighted. An example of this is the locally produced mustard. Since it is made in the same way as the famous French product from Dijon, but from local raw materials, the farm owner named it *Dischång*, as the word is pronounced in the Scanian dialect. In this way the product highlights its links with the local environment and its culinary heritage (c.f. Béssière 1998). Yet, the mustard also signals that it can be measured against the famous French product. As most people know Dijon mustard by flavour and appearance, this may be a reference point, which indicates that the Scanian *Dischång* mustard is just as good (and maybe even better because it is locally produced). hence, the non-local can be seen as a way of reinforcing the local, and thereby manifesting the moral benefits attached therein.

The discussion about the local as morally good can also be seen in relation to the national efforts to implement the Culinary Vision. Though the Food Network was established before the initiation of the Culinary Vision, the network members have built up and adapted certain ways of talking about and referring to the local, which fit well within the ideas of the Culinary Vision. For instance, health, nature, creativity, and pride are recurring elements in both written documents and speech acts of the network members. Using these terms may not be particularly remarkable as they are terms which are found in the promotion of the activities and products of many regions in order to put forward their special attributes. The link to the Culinary Vision thus becomes clearer when reading the invitation to the 2011 kick-off seminar, which invites participants to a debate and networking under the theme "Dags att upptäcka *himma*" (*Time to discover home*)[39]. The description of the seminar is ended with the phrase "Come and join us in building

the Culinary Nation of Sweden" (*The Food Network* 2011), which conveys a clear encouragement to engage and participate in the Culinary Vision.

Hence the ideal image, which is built up from the perspective of the national culinary actors is also emphasised; in the invitation one finds words that match the key words used in the communication of the Culinary Vision as an ideal of 'the good life'. In this context 'the good life' embraces what is communicated in the seminar invitation: good home-made food, cooked from local ingredients with Österlen origin. Furthermore, the title of the seminar "Time to discover *home*" is interesting, as home is usually associated with a nice and comfortable place, where the family gathers, and where one can feel safe and be oneself (c.f. Bell and Valentine 1997; Brownlie *et al.* 2005; Andersson and Hultman 2010). Also, home-cooked food is normally associated with food cooked from scratch and brings out a sense of honesty and transparency. The idea of home – as it is put forward in the seminar – thus signals that we do not have to travel abroad to find a good and authentic food experience; the good and safe products are the ones to be found at home – and here, home is Österlen. The practices of making good stories, which are established in the Food Network, can thus also be understood as ways of creating a community and conveying a unified image of the area, in similar ways to how it is done in the national context. In this sense, the image of the culinary nation is reproduced nationally, regionally, and locally.

As this section has shown, making good stories has become a practice within the Food Network, which is established in order to convey a feeling of being nearby, and as a way to distinguish and 'sell' the local as a (accepted) part of the culinary experience. In the stories that are put forward, certain images are portrayed, of the area, its people and its products. Hence, the practice of making good stories is established through a shared understanding of what to put forward, but they also hold knowledge of *how* to carry out activities and display and show products. In this sense it also illustrates a movement between the abstract and the concrete dimensions of *doing* the local.

Staging the local

The performing of the local not only involves agreeing on the ingredients of a good story, but also *how* these stories are being provided for and made part of the culinary tourism experience. Thus, a second performing practice embraces the ways the local is staged. By staging I refer to the planning and layout of various activities, both in terms of the physical displaying of products, as well as a more abstract staging through the use of sensory dimensions and the like. It appears to be important to the culinary actors that there is coherence in the staging, in order to be able to really sell the local as a unique story; thus, the activities involved with the staging of the local also show an integration between the physical products and the more abstract values that are put forward. So, the staging of the local involves the integration of various activities, which consider 1) the local as a multisensory activity, and 2) the role of physical materialities.

The local as a multisensory activity

In the Food Network, the multisensory is something which is often used to enhance the attractiveness of the activities offered, for instance, flowers and different vegetables or herbs are used as table decorations. Hence, the food is not only used to feed the seminar participants; it also provides a visual experience, which can enhance the visitor's feeling of being close to – or part of – the local. In studies of tourism and culinary activities and experiences the importance of the sensory dimensions has gained ground, as the possibility to feel, smell, or taste the product is perceived to be a reinforcing factor in the visitor's experience (c.f. Jacobsen 1998; Boniface 2003; Everett 2008b; Vittersø and Amilien 2011; Agapito *et al.* 2014). This development is seen as a part of a performance turn, where the visitors to a wider degree actively participate in constructing their experience (c.f. Edensor 2001; Urry and Larsen 2011; Larsen and Urry 2011; Månsson 2015). Vittersø and Amilien (2011:14), for instance, interpret this as a "concrete way to go backstage". Accordingly, the multisensory dimensions are of significant importance in the commercialisation of the local and could be seen as one explanation for the local being used to a still wider extent as a means of culinary tourism.

In the Food Network, the multisensory is also given a significant importance in the marketing of the members' activities:

> [The Ambient Restaurant] is situated in fantastic surroundings in Österlen close to Stenshuvud national park. The landscape offers wonderful nature views throughout the year. In autumn and winter the deer flock in the fringes of the deciduous forest and the bird life is rich. Here you are really in the countryside. A visit to our place is a sensory experience for both the eye and palate. Here flavour, smell, texture, colour and form are given new dimensions to the discerning palate. We are passionate about what we are doing, and we don't want to hide the competence we possess: [The Ambient Restaurant] is the perfect choice for the person who values the little details and who understands and feels the genuine thoughts that lie behind every act and dish (The Ambient Restaurant website 2014-03-06).[40]

Here, the combination of nature and food is described as "a sensory experience for the eye and palate", and the taste and smell – among other things – will provide something extraordinary. It is obvious that the terroir of this particular place affects the unique flavours of the food served. In addition, the multisensory dimensions become be a forceful mechanism in order to create local attachment. Further to this, the appealing to the multiple senses can be a way of seeking to create what Dahlgaard *et al.* (2008) refer to as "profound affection", where all senses and cognitive dimensions related to the experience interact in order to result in the state of "flow" (Dahlgaard *et al.* 2008), or what could be characterised as an extraordinary, authentic experience (c.f. Sundbo and Sørensen 2013)[41]. In terms of culinary activities, all senses are activated when looking at, feeling, smelling, seeing, listening to and tasting the products, and the interaction of the various senses could thus be expected to contribute to the visitor experiencing a similar feeling of profound affection. The idea of flow is therefore relevant in order to understand the motives for performing the local as a part of the culinary tourism experience.

Seen in a broader perspective, the interplay between the senses, the products and activities, and the place where this is offered can further be connected to the frameworks which are established in the conveying of the Culinary Vision, where the local is put forward as a part of the good life. The idea of the good life also holds sensory dimensions, which are to be experienced through the fresh, natural, high-quality products. For instance, it is argued that taste is highly linked to the

experience of specific places and products (c.f. Heldt Cassel 2003; Gyimóthy and Mykletun 2009; Agapito *et al.* 2014). The concept of taste is however a dual one. As the above examples show, different ways of referring to the senses are an important part of the practices that are established around the culinary activities provided by the Food Network. Yet, on the other hand taste means more than just the flavour of a certain product. From a sociological perspective, taste is often associated with questions of class and habitus (Bourdieu 1984) and, in this context, it is closely connected to the idea that a certain taste (e.g. for good food, nice clothes, and expensive jewellery) can be a means of differentiation in relation to other groups of consumers (c.f. Warde 2014).

The example from *The Ambient Restaurant* above reflects this perspective, showing a consciousness or wish to appeal to those with a taste for good food – "the discerning palate" – who value and understand the efforts and knowledge needed to provide an extraordinary culinary experience. The extraordinary culinary experiences which are offered in this establishment, can thereby be connected to the concept of distinction, as a visit here could be understood as a way of differentiating oneself from those with a less distinct taste (c.f. Bourdieu 1984; Warde 2014). Simultaneously, the restaurant distinguishes itself by claiming that it possesses certain competences that can fulfil these needs and holds the knowledge of the 'right' way to produce the local. In this sense there is a relationship between the understanding of taste as social-cultural means of differentiation, and the idea of taste as a (more economically oriented) way of differentiating culinary tourism experiences.

In conclusion, considering the sensory dimensions of the food experience offers a way of understanding how local food is made accessible through various tourism activities and, furthermore, it emphasises the value of using the notion of the local in culinary tourism. That is, the senses become one way to present the tourism product in a nice, attractive way. This means that it is not the food product alone that provides value for the consumer, but the food product in combination with a wide number of other attributes, which cannot simply be gazed upon, but also smelled, tasted, touched and felt. Such attributes do, however, also involve. the packaging, presentation and the more physical frameworks in which the product is presented, as well as the feelings (of quality, authenticity, safety, place-belonging etc.) that can be linked with the experience of the product. Hence, the material dimensions of the practices by which the local is enacted come to the fore.

Performing the local with materialities

A significant element in the practice of staging the local is the role of physical materialities. In the Food Network, materialities comprise primarily objects to be sold in order to sustain the producers' businesses (and, consequently, the entire network), but they also contain things that – like in the national context – enable and facilitate meetings and events, such as buildings, chairs, tables, counters, showcases, shelves, maps, brochures etc. This section focuses on two types of materialities, which illustrate how the local is staged in a more concrete sense. First, what I have labelled *guiding materialities*, which comprise elements such as maps, banners or signs placed at the roadside showing the way, or placed on or next to a product, pointing out what the products is and where it is from. Second, *displayed products* embrace how the materialities in the field are carefully staged and displayed in shops, at event sites, or referred to in brochures, websites or in the network members' presentations. In the following, I will show how these two types of materialities help to perform the local through the ways they are staged and incorporated in the doings and sayings of the culinary actors.

Guiding materialities

In the Food Network some materialities are used to literally guide visitors to the local; this involves how physical things such as maps, banners, road signs, cords, and product labels are used to point out where to find the Food Network members, both in the concrete sense as a directory, but also as more abstract representations of what is contained in the term local, and also more implicitly what is not. Apart from the actual banners and road signs which indicate where to find the culinary actors, the food products themselves are also used in order to guide the visitor along in the activities provided. This is illustrated in the annual kick-off seminars, which introduce the Food Tour event:

> Entering the establishment, I am welcomed by the owner, who provides me with a name tag and a glass of apple cider. After briefly presenting the structure of the seminar, the owner shows me, and a few others arriving at the same time, into the small restaurant which connects the kitchen with the entrance to the establishment. The first thing that meets me is a table with what looks like a mountain of bread. Four or five different kinds of homemade bread are carefully sliced by the two bakers and served with their own whipped, creamy butter. Looking to the other tables in the room I find one which offers five different sorts

> of pickled herring, another one with smoked salmon and eel, and yet another table, which is a medley of the products from four different producers: cheeses, crisp bread, and dark bread with figs and apricots. From the first room I move on to the small terrace in front of the restaurant, where another four Food Network members offer their specialties. Heading back through the first room, one enters the courtyard, where the tasting tour continues, with the main courses. The tour ends with desert and coffee at the back of the courtyard, the only place where tables and chairs are actually provided.
>
> (Field note, Terroir Kick-off seminar 2010)

This example shows how the layout of the seminar is organised as a tour that guides the visitor along, making sure nothing is missed out. The staging of the products is carefully planned so that they complement each other, the warm dishes are placed in the courtyard which is reached after passing by the 'appetisers'; thus, there is a coherence in the way the food experience is provided. In addition, the owner of the hosting establishment welcomes the seminar participants and gives directions of where to go and how to move – like a tour guide would lead the visitors. Likewise, the product labels function as a directory, pointing out where to find the local products, and furthermore emphasising their locality. When portrayed as part of the food experience every dish and product is presented with small labels, marking its name and origin, or the producer would explain the dish or crop when handing it out.

The layout of the seminar, as a "mini food tour" or a physically operationalised menu, encourages the visitor to move around along a visually indicated path, where the food and its labels act as path markers. The lack of seating opportunities (apart from the back of the courtyard where the tour ends) further reinforces the point of circulating and continuing the mini food tour, maybe as a strategy from the hosts' side to make sure nothing is missed, and to encourage interaction. The displaying of products constitutes a physically manifested directory where the products represent the members indicated on the map (see figure 6:1 in previous chapter). This way of pointing out culinary activities is a common strategy when it comes to the planning and marketing of specific routes or food trails (c.f. Boniface 2003; Meyer-Czech 2003). Also, the pre-depicted path that directs the food experience at the seminar is similarly described by Hultman (2006: 39) as "an outlined track with pre-determined stops where they [in Hultman's analysis, the tourists] will be part of a standardised (in the sense of non-random, but

directed) experience". The production of such "experience tracks" (*ibid.*) is thus a significant activity in the Food Network, which involves a continuous interaction – not only between visitors and producers – but also between visitors, producers and materialities.

Displayed products

The materialities which are performed in the Food Network are also displayed in different ways. These materialities are to be found in different contexts within the Food Network – in the members' shops and gardens, in the area's general stores (and for some products also in different specialty stores around Scania) and in the context of the annual kick-off seminars. Furthermore, the materialities are portrayed in the field, for example in the stores of the culinary actors, as well as in the printed material, such as marketing brochures, event programmes, and websites. Finally, the products are not always physically present in the performance of the culinary activities – at some points they are just referred to as parts of, or integral to the culinary experience. The products fill a very concrete function in the sense that they are the main sources of income to the culinary actors, and they must therefore be displayed in a way that is visible and appeals to the visitors – arranged, placed and labelled in a convenient way (c.f. Mossberg and Johansen 2006).

One example of how materialities are displayed is found at *The Herb Farm*, a small, family-owned company, which grows a large variety of herbs and plants which are sold in grocery stores all around the country. When arriving at the farm, the visitors enter the establishment through a small conservatory where an assortment of the season fresh herbs and plants are displayed together with different garden tools (signs to mark the names of the plants, small windmills, stones for decoration etc.). A café table with two chairs is also placed in the conservatory for the café guests who wish to enjoy their coffee there. From the conservatory the visitor enters the small shop which offers an assortment of herbs, soaps, lotions, and shower cream, displayed on wooden tree shelves. The products are all made on the farm and labelled with the company's label and logo. On an individual shelf a small assortment of mustard, jam, and ceramics from nearby producers is placed, and on the wall next to the counter one finds a small selection of flyers and brochures advertising these other producers as well as other nearby

activities. From the back of the farm shop, visitors can enter the establishment's café, which offers a variety of herb teas and homemade cookies and pastry.

The layout of the farm, the shop and the café represent a way of presenting and displaying materialities, which is typical in the Food Network. Further to this, the practice of displaying products also involves how materialities are enacted in the network's activities. Almost without exception materialities are present in these activities, whether they include an apple field safari, chocolate making or serving food in an inn. The physical products are here both the main object of the particular activity, like – for instance – a jar of mustard marked with a label, which can be portrayed, bought and consumed, and physical requisites to illustrate what is told. This becomes particularly visible at *The Herb Farm*; during the Food Tour event, the owners Camilla and John arrange different activities, and one such – very popular – activity is a herb field tour. During this tour, Camilla guides the visitors around the cultivated land, while enriching them with practical information about specific herbs, spices and reaping methods, as well as stories and anecdotes about the plants' functions and uses in cooking or beverages, or for medicinal purposes. In between, she tells anecdotes about a specific crop, related to the personal history of her family, such as how her grandmother would add southernwood (which is also used for schnapps) in the water when mopping the floors. Since the herb stuck to the cracks in the floor, the house would smell fresh and good for a long time after.

The historic anecdotes about the various crops, and the connections to old family recipes or traditions can also be connected to the notion of authenticity and the multisensory dimensions, which were explained previously; by actually seeing and being able to touch and smell the products, the visitors can feel actively involved in the stories which are told, and obtain a feeling of being even closer to the crops' or the products' origin and history (c.f. Tellström 2006). Here, the materialities become central in the making of the culinary experience all through the visit. For instance, as Camilla describes how her grandmother scrubbed the floors in the family home (which is seen in the background), she picks a stalk from the southernwood and lets the visitors touch and smell it. Hence, the materialities are not only the inventories or products to be sold; they also play a central role illustrating the historical connection as well as the connection with nature.

This corresponds to what is put forward in the literature, that materialities possess an important role as mediators of culinary and cultural heritage (c.f. Cook and

Crang 1996; Béssiere 1998; Brownlie *et al.* 2005; Germann Molz 2007; Vittersø and Amilien 2011). Whether the stories told during the guided tour are true or not, the materialities play an active role in the performance as they help to illustrate and highlight the different stories. Staged as an integrated part of the culinary experience the materialities thus become props, which help to add to the authentic feeling (c.f. Sims 2009; Bessière and Tibere 2013). Hence, the products' functions are, just as much as marketing, efforts to highlight the unique values of the area (c.f. Richards 2002), ensuring the visitor that he/she holds a local product in his/her hand. Further to this, Hultman (2006: 38) emphasises the importance of the material in the process making of a geographical region through food, arguing that without objects (such as brochures, asparagus, software, herring etc.) the networks or relations involved in the process would simply be invisible and collapse.

The displaying of materialities illustrated in this section can thereby be seen as another expression of the commercialisation of the local, where the local becomes a more concrete tool in the performance of the culinary experience. Also, there seems to be a certain routinisation in the ways the materialities are staged as physical expressions of the local, and which are not that different from other, similar food projects (c.f. Hultman 2006; Mossberg 2008; Mossberg *et al.* 2010). In this regard, one cannot neglect the parallels with the dimensions of *Disneyization* that characterises the ways experiences are being designed and enacted according to specific, standardised patterns (Bryman 1999). Paradoxically, with the attempts at creating a unique and differentiated profile of the Food Network, there is simultaneously a notion of *de-differentiation* attached to these practices.


Left picture: The chords help to guide the visitors in a Food Network establishment.
Right picture: Products from the Food Network members staged and displayed in a farm shop.

Commercialising the local

The previous section demonstrated how the culinary actors make use of the multisensory and materialities in order to stage the culinary tourism experience. The multisensory dimensions and the function of the physical materialities mark two obverse dimensions of the practices by which the local is staged, but which are of equal importance in order to create coherence in this staging. Further to this, this last section illustrates how this staging becomes integrated with the practice of making good stories and helps in the performing of the local in culinary tourism. This process can be characterised as a commercialisation process, where the local is used as a means for the creating of a particular story, in order to enhance the culinary experience and attract visitors. This commercialisation can be understood as a constitution of a whole 'experience package' which reinforces the various elements of the local; a process, which is in line with Richards' (2002) idea of creating coherence in the culinary experience.

The way the local is performed by the Food Network members can be compared to a play, where people and material things create and tell stories, assisted by different props and backdrops. In the play as a metaphor, the spectators (here, the visitors) do not sit passively gazing on the performance, but rather play an active role and create and affect the experience outcome together with the other actors (c.f. Mossberg and Johansen 2006; Mossberg 2008; Urry and Larsen 2011). Inspired by Goffman's notion of the world as a stage, Urry and Larsen (2011: 189ff) explain the performance turn as "embodied and multi-sensuous" actions, where hosts, visitors, and materialities interact and create memorable experiences. By analysing the local in terms of this metaphor, one can illustrate the process in which it is becoming (an unquestionable) part of the culinary tourism experience, taking into account both the socio-cultural and the economic dimensions.

An example of how the local is performed as a play, with performers, stage, backdrops, and props can be illustrated with the 2012 kick-off seminar, which was themed "Storytelling and food conformation", and where narratives of the local products and the producers were put at the fore of the event:

> Come and listen to our producers' stories about their products' journey from the soil to the table. /…/ And it is through a *sandwich* [Swedish sandwich] that all our members will present themselves and their story. During the Food Tour event visitors are invited to taste everything from *sillamackor* [traditional rye bread herring sandwich]to exciting appetisers or hearty sandwiches with other surprising fillings. With every sandwich comes a small story. (Seminar invitation, Food Network website 2012).[42]

The planning and the performance of the seminar shows how the culinary experience is enacted as a play; staged both in a physical way – with actors, backdrops and props – and in a more psychological sense where all senses are activated; The scene for the seminar was the barn of *The Great Farm*. Inside, the first thing that met the eye was an enormous table – measuring approximately three by twenty-five metres. Around the table network members worked intensely to place and garnish sandwiches on appointed places. Visually, the sandwiches looked like an enormous landscape of grass fields, acres, crops, and water – presumably symbolising Österlen. In the middle of the table a range of thick birch branches were placed as a green, living roof. The branches were held upright by the enormous crane of a large tractor placed next to the food landscape. At the right end of the barn a number of small booths were placed, offering products

from some of the network members for tasting and sale, as a reminder of the commercial side of the event. The other end of the barn was divided into two smaller halls by a tall, wide wooden wall, which also worked as a stage, accessed by a wooden ladder.

The enactment of the local does not, therefore, only involve the visual dimension but smelling, tasting, and textures are also activated in the performing acts. For example, the barn was filled with the smell of freshly barbecued pork meat and fresh herbs, accompanied by the buzz of endless conversations between members and visitors. The environment provided a feeling of rawness but at the same time it was ambient and inviting, maybe thanks to the smell from the barbecue and the colourful, beautifully decorated table.

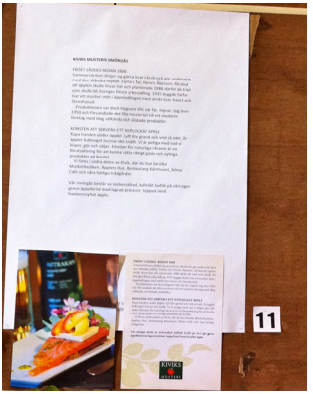
The core theme of the day, storytelling, permeated the entire seminar. Apart from the visual story of the Österlen nature and landscape, which was conveyed through the above described staging, on the side walls one could find a number of planches with *smörgås* stories and attached photos. The stories on the planches represented the contribution from each network member: an individually composed sandwich accompanied by a story, which related to the ingredients and/or their locality. Further to this, the network members would present their stories at particular *speakers' corners* (made of wooden pallets), equipped with the dish or crop about which the story was told. The stories that were put forward were all related to specific products or dishes and their local connection in terms of ingredients, nature, origin, history, or tradition. Common to the stories were the passion and engagement by which they were told as well as the presence of the physical materialities.

> The owner of *The Ambient Restaurant* tells her story, holding a plate with the dish in her hand, and carefully pointing out each ingredient as she speaks about it. The plate, she tells us – almost whispering as if she would tell a secret – symbolises the Österlen soil, and the ingredients on the plate illustrate the nature, the water, the seaweed etc. The small audience stands close by, listening curiously, noticing her every gesture, and posing questions about the ingredients and their background and origin. For a short moment, one forgets the enormous barn and the noise of all activities going on at the same time. There is just the plate and the narrative in a genuine intimate setting.
>
> (Field note, Kick-off seminar 2012)

The restaurant owner tells her story with an obvious honesty, and together with her passion for her profession, it provides a feeling of intimacy and closeness (c.f. Andersson Cederholm and Hultman 2010; Meged 2010). The use of intimacy can be a strategic effort in the restaurant owner's work with creating memorable experiences. Meged (2010) shows this when studying how tour guides create such strategies; by creating a "temporary we" (*Ibid.*: 59) the guides seek to establish a sense of closeness and confidentiality, which should eventually lead to an enhanced experience for the visitors. The interaction between the various parts of the performance thus highlights the feeling of being nearby and being part of the local as it is being produced.

The culinary actors and the materialities perform the local in an interdependent relationship. On the one hand, the materialities – crops, dishes, tractors, tables, wooden walls etc. – assist the culinary actors as they perform the local in a way that is convincing and trustworthy; the materialities work as backdrops that support and interact with the culinary actors and shape the prerequisites for the performance of the local. Yet on the other hand, the materialities are at the centre of the experience and the culinary actors take a secondary role assisting the materialities in the performance, as is the case with the restaurant owner. In conclusion, the materialities act as prerequisites for the construction of the local as their physical and psychological nature set the structures for how the local is to be displayed and enacted.

The seminar example illustrated above shows how storytelling has evolved as a core practice, which adds to create coherence in the Food Network's activities. That is, from talking about the fact that there are stories to be told and discussing how to convey them, storytelling is nowadays a natural part of the network activities and a main way of marketing products and activities. Further to this, the materialities, in terms of various food products, signs, labels etc., become representations of culinary culture (c.f. Cook and Crang 1996; Bessière 1998; Brownlie *et al.* 2005) and play an essential role in what could be characterised as a process of the actors' identity work.



Top row pictures and lower right picture: The edible Österlen landscape, staged with the help of birch branches and a giant tractor.
Lower left picture: Example of *smörgås story* planch placed on the wooden walls

Simultaneously, the stories and materialities that are put forward in the Food Network are designed and performed in order to make memorable experiences and can in this sense also be seen as a process of commercialisation. The extent of the commercialisation in these efforts does vary, however. As the analysis in this section has shown, the use of storytelling aims, on the one hand, to stress the passion and pride that exists among the Food Network members – for their profession, their skills and knowledge, and their attachment to the area. Yet, on the other hand there is also a clear commercial-economic driving force behind the practices of telling and staging for the stories, as the aim is above all (at least for the majority of the members) to sell products and experiences.

The stories, which are told within the Food Network are not just conveyed orally in small intimate settings; they also comprise narratives, which are communicated in a much broader sense, like marketing material, websites and product packages, labels etc. One example of this is *The Cider House*, who has a tradition of printing their story on the packages of their products. A story, which not only tells about the family company and its foundation, but which also tells about the special attributes of the place and the products, about traditions and innovations, and the pride of the product achieved *(see illustration below)*. This example can be interpreted as an expression of the ultimate commercialisation of the local. The product behind the story is a well-known brand, which is produced in large numbers and distributed in supermarkets across the entire region (and beyond). Simultaneously, the story of *the Cider House* is intimate and personal, and lets the reader get to know the people behind this well-known product; dedicated people for whom apples are their passion and a lifestyle, which has been handed down over several generations. Also, we learn that the place of origin is of special importance for the product – it is almost portrayed as a secret ingredient to the apple juice when it is stated that the passion for food and beverages is seasoned with the Österlen quality of life. For only those who live there would know what that entails.

"FROM THE HEART OF ÖSTERLEN

The first seed for *[The Cider factory]* was sown in 1888, when our grandfather's father Henric Åkesson planted his first apple trees in Kivik. Today we are Bengt and Kristina, fourth generation Åkessons, who run [The Cider factory]. And just as at the time of our father and grandfather, our passion for food and beverages is seasoned with Österlen life quality.

Welcome to visit us in our cider factory in Kivik. There you will find all our products and you can enjoy yourself in our café and restaurant.

The Åkesson family"

Apple juice package telling the story of the producer, the brand and the origin of the ingredients (collected 2013)[43]

When stories are told in this way, they 'travel' as the packages are distributed and sold around the country. In this sense the stories become highly commercial, as place marketing tools that emphasise a particular local. Hence, materialities are mobile as they are sold and taken along with the one who buys them. As they travel, they take their story and values with them (c.f. Paraskevaidis and Androitis 2015) – a feature that makes these materialities even more powerful when considered as representations of the local. The power of souvenirs has been further acknowledged by, for instance, Boniface (2003: 37), who claims that "special foods and drinks that are of suitable longevity can /…/ retain and bring some of the 'magic' of the vacation into the holiday afterlife and find use in the everyday." Hence, the products do not only convey these values at the moment they are displayed, they also bring on history and memories as well as the desire to visit or revisit the area from where they originate, emphasising the unique attributes of a specific locality (Boniface 2003; Béssière and Tibère 2013). In this sense they could be understood as guiding back to the memories of the local, and accordingly, the socio-cultural and the economic elements of the local are closely connected and interrelated in the commercialisation process.

The activities involved with the commercialisation of the local could thus be interpreted as a part of the turn towards a more performative perspective on tourism, where producers and consumers become active nodes in the experience production (c.f. Edensor 2001; Urry and Larsen 2011). Also, in the process of enacting the local, both people and material things can be seen as performers, as both culinary actors and various materialities are involved in this process. In conclusion, the different perspectives on the performative dimensions of experiences can be used to clarify some of the elements, which are highlighted through the local; that is, local food products, crops and various food related activities which are packaged, staged and in different ways performed in order to evoke unique and profound experiences.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have shown how the local is performed in order to create coherence in the culinary tourism activities. In the Food Network, this is expressed through three performing practices, which illustrate the actual *becoming*

of the local: the *making of good stories, the staging of the local,* and *the commercialisation of the local*. The practice of making good stories includes how the local is being made part of culinary tourism, in the performance of different activities and provision of products, and in a more general sense, as the acts of the culinary actors in the Food Network show links to the notion of the good life, which is put forward in the Culinary Vision. For instance, through the connection to nature, traditions, history and the multisensory, the notion of the good life is reinforced and translated into locally performed tourism activities. In this sense, the ideal of the culinary nation as a collective achievement is likewise emphasised. The practices and activities, which have been studied in this chapter, are thus enacted both according to more general dimensions of, for instance, origin and moral matters, but also in a more operative sense, as the reference to the multisensory and use of materialities.

Further to this, the practice of staging the local comprises how the local is enacted as a more concrete commercial tool, in terms of how materialities are displayed and/or used as means of directory or in order to accentuate the uniqueness of the food experience, to which they are linked. Here I have shown how materialities work within the Food Network, in the members' stores and in their activities offered. Further to this, the practice of commercialisation involves the ways the story-making and staging efforts are integrated and brought together in order to convey and perform *the* story of the network and its members. In this sense materialities are also able to travel outside the scope of the network, for instance as they are brought home as visitors' souvenirs or sold in grocery stores around the country. In conclusion, storytelling becomes a central strategy for creating coherence in the culinary tourism experience, signalling common efforts and a consensus of "how to enact the local". Together, these various efforts can be seen as expressions of a commercialisation of culinary experiences, and simultaneously they become expressions of an identification process where the local is a central denominator in the formation of the identity of the culinary actors or the Ystad-Österlen area.

Chapter 8:

Enacting the local in culinary tourism

In this last chapter I summarise, synthesise and discuss the findings from the analysis that was conducted in this thesis. I start out by providing a short summary of the main results, as well as pointing out some contributions from each analysis chapter. Further to this, I put forward some main points of discussion, which have become visible during the analysis process. Finally, I discuss the main contributions of the thesis.

The aim of this thesis has been to enhance the understanding of how culinary tourism is enacted within different societal contexts, through the notion of the local. *The local* has been studied as a phenomenon where both concrete, locally sourced products, and more abstract values connected to local food, such as cultural and social elements, culinary heritage, and sensory dimensions, are encompassed. By studying how culinary actors produce and enact the local, one can also better understand how culinary tourism is constructed as a cultural, social, and economic activity. I have argued that previous research has primarily focused on single case studies or studied the local as a more or less concrete tool in the execution of culinary tourism; hence little attention has been given to the interrelationships between the local food concept and the actual values embedded therein, and even less to how the notion of the local is enacted in culinary tourism in and across different societal contexts. Accordingly, I have highlighted a need to bring together different perspectives in order to obtain a more nuanced approach to this phenomenon and capture its heterogenous and multifaceted nature.

The study started from a practice-theoretical perspective, and the local as part of culinary tourism was conceptualised as a combination of in particular three practice bundles: *framing ideals of a culinary destination, organising culinary*

tourism, and *performing the local in culinary tourism*. From the empirical investigation of the nationally induced, political vision of Sweden as a culinary nation (in the thesis referred to as *the Culinary Vision*), and the local community-based *Food Network*, I identified and analysed the different ways in which the local was being framed, organised and performed. Further to this, importance was put on three constitutive practice elements, which have recently been highlighted in other studies of tourism processes (c.f. Shove and Pantzar 2005; Lamers *et al.* 2017; some chapters in James *et al.* 2019a): *competences, materialities,* and *meaning* (Shove *et al.* 2012). Through addressing these elements, the acts they entail and the ways they interlink, I argue that it is possible to identify the various ways in which the local is enacted as an (integral) part of culinary tourism, and better illustrate its multifacetedness and complex nature. Studying the local from a practice-theoretical perspective has made it possible to highlight its processual and multidimentional nature and provide an account of the different elements that constitute the local as a part of culinary tourism. Hence, by taking a practice-theoretical approach, it is possible to better understand how this work is actually done, that is, how the culinary actors frame the idea of the ideal culinary destination, organise it and eventually perform the actual culinary tourism activities.

Practices of the local

The first culinary tourism practice bundle studied was the framing of an ideal culinary destination (chapter five). The framing practices involve the ways in which the ideal culinary destination is built up and conveyed by the culinary actors in a national setting. The notion of the ideal culinary destination contains ideas of an enhanced integration between primary production and tourism activities, as well as an enhanced focus on locally produced food of high quality. In the ideals that are produced and conveyed, attractive food and food experiences are connected with good health, an active lifestyle and care for other people, animals and nature. Food, which can be linked to these values, contributes to the idea of a good (or better) life. The culinary actors do this mainly through the use of certain rhetoric, wherein particular, desired skills and understandings are highlighted – for instance in the positioning work, in the formulation and implementation of guidelines for rural policymaking, or in negotiating the local

food concept. There is a high degree of routinisation in these efforts; for instance, conveying the tasty, healthy, sustainable destination is a rhetorical practice, which is frequently expressed in documents, social media, meeting forums, and political guidelines.

Also, the chapter demonstrated how the ideal culinary destination is produced as a collective accomplishment. By offering templates for the branding work (e.g. specific positioning themes to be applied when marketing experiences and activities), arenas for participation (such as debates with audio-response techniques), and well-defined role models, the culinary actors seek to create a sense of community and a belief that the culinary destination is built up through unified efforts. Overall, materialities (both in terms of documents and other physical artefacts) play a significant role in the framing practices, as they help to carry out and maintain the desired framing.

Nonetheless, the notion of the local is rarely expressed explicitly in the framing process. Rather, the culinary actors seem to adapt certain practices for referring to the term and shape more latent ideas of what local is, such as certain ways of describing and referring to local food, in order to include it in their political and strategic work. Further to this, the first analysis chapter contributed to make visible the ways in which the notion of the local acts as an ingredient in various nation branding strategies and a means for rural policymaking (c.f. Ren and Gyimóthy 2013; Gyimóthy 2017 for a similar discussion). The framing practices illustrate how the local is constructed as a type of political effort, where the rhetoric, which is used to convey the ideal culinary destination can be seen as a way of mediating a certain image of what the culinary landscape should look like and how to achieve this. However, the ideals are not shared by everybody, as I showed by the end of chapter five. Here, the practice of abstaining from participation was illustrated with the example of McDonalds employing locally caught fish in their burgers, which was posted in the Facebook group "Vi älskar svensk mat". The post met vast resistance amongst the group members and showed aspects of anti-globalisation and ethical aspects. There is thus a link to the societal "taken-for-grantedness" around the local as being morally good, which I raised in the introductory chapter. Here, this is marked by the culinary actors seeking to provide a nuanced perspective on *local*, while the consumers express a clear abstention to the idea of local food being put in relationship with global standardised companies.

The ideal of the culinary destination was seen as providing prerequisites (~frames) for how culinary tourism can be organised in terms of regional and local community efforts, and particularly through establishing collaborative efforts. The organising of culinary tourism was thus analysed in chapter six as a second culinary tourism practice bundle, wherein the local is enacted. The first part of the chapter examined how regional and local community actors would relate to the local in their efforts to organise themselves and their activities. Here, establishing a culinary front region was seen as a practice, which involved ways of constructing the region as a centre for culinary experiences, emphasising tradition, niched products coherence and so on. This examination showed a movement from the general making of a culinary region, to the actual 'carrying out' of the strategies involved with the organising of the region's actors and activities. A main finding here was that the strategies of establishing the region as a centre for genuine culinary experiences, are to a wide extent similar to those of the national level – for instance through the use of a similar rhetoric – and in this sense the image of the ideal culinary nation is maintained. Simultaneously the region acts as a link between the interests of the national culinary actors and the local community.

The remainder of chapter six looked into the organisation of the Food Network, in terms of how the network was initiated and built up. In the examination of the Food Network, I found that the local acted as a common denominator for the network members in the practices of organising the network. The local acted as a reference point for the network members in negotiating membership criteria and content, as well as their dedication and in the process of becoming accepted. These various negotiating activities demonstrated that the local can play a significant role in the organisation of a region's culinary assets. Though culinary networks have been the focus in many studies, the ways in which the local contributes to their establishment and organisation has not yet been given much attention. Therefore, this thesis should be seen as a contribution to this stream of research.

Finally, chapter seven examined the performing of the local in culinary tourism. Here, I showed how storytelling had developed into a common strategy, which was used to create coherence in the culinary actors' activities. I illustrated how the local was being made part of this process in terms of three practices: making good stories, the staging of the local, and the commercialisation of the local. The effect of storytelling has previously been addressed in tourism research (c.f. Tellström *et*

al. 2005; Mossberg and Johansen 2006; Mossberg 2008; Mossberg and Sundström 2011), and this study confirms that telling stories is an effective way to enhance the attractiveness of a product or an area, and furthermore it has a unifying function. One interesting finding from my empirical data was the process in which storytelling had moved forward over time. From being one way, some actors in the Food Network would work to enhance the value of the activity in question, storytelling – often together with multisensory attributes – developed into a core practice in the network, which involved all members. The use of storytelling in the performing of the network activities can thus be seen as a way of gathering the competences that exist in the network. What this study has accomplished further is to highlight how the stories are put forward and made possible by materialities. Not only physical products, but also the ways the local is staged in terms of displaying products, providing maps, programmes etc., have shown to be key ingredients in the performing of the local. So, the local is being used as a commercial tool to enhance culinary tourism experiences; ultimately, the main purpose is to 'sell' the local.

The performing practices thus demonstrated how the culinary actors established shared, routinised ways of enacting the local in terms of telling certain types of stories (related to nature, history, origin) and staging products and activities in certain ways. To be able to present and tell about the local through joint efforts, as well as to complement each other in terms of crops and ingredients that fit together seems to be of value to the network members. Using the notion of the local in the making and staging of good stories proved to be a way of creating coherence in the tourism experience. In this sense the study has contributed to illustrate more clearly the various elements involved with *doing* storytelling and to show their ability to enact tourism activities. Furthermore, the study has put forward the performative dimensions of tourism, which have been highlighted as an alternative way of studying tourism phenomena (c.f. Franklin and Crang 2001; Urry and Larsen 2011).

In conclusion, the analysis has shown how the local is enacted by the culinary actors within different rural contexts: the national, the regional, and the local community. I have illustrated how this enactment is taking place as a process where a number of elements interact and make visible the multidimensional and complex nature of the phenomenon in question. Hence, the local as a constellation of culinary tourism practices involves certain ways of talking,

writing, doing things, and using materialities based on shared understandings and mutual knowledge of those who carry out these acts, as well as what makes it meaningful to act (c.f. Schatzki 2001a, 2001b; Reckwitz 2002a; Shove *et al.* 2012).

The process of enacting the local in Culinary tourism can further be seen as an expression of the experiencification process, which has been addressed in the literature (c.f. Edensor 2001, Richards 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011; Ekström and Jönsson 2016; Everett 2016). That is, the process by which food products and/or particular food related values are being turned into experiences and made part of national, regional and local efforts, mirrors a societal development where the opportunity to be actively engaged throughout the production and consumption process is a strong driving force. Further to this, the local as a way of highlighting culinary tourism is also closely related to a basic idea of saving the countryside (which is a key agenda in the general rural politics, as well as an underlying focus of the Culinary Vision); when emphasising all those values that in different ways are connected with *local*, while simultaneously highlighting physical products (and thereby reinforcing the feeling of being nearby) this highlights all the economically, socially and culturally related opportunities offered in the countryside, for (existing and potential) inhabitants as well as visitors.

The multifaceted local

Following the above account of the main findings, I will now bring forward some specific issues which have become visible in the analytical process, and which are particularly important in order to understand the complexities within a phenomenon such as the local.

First, one point of emphasis is that the local is constructed as a collective idea. In the Culinary Vision, the culinary nation is seen as the result of the collective efforts of all culinary actors, from the local community level to the national level, with shared understanding and knowhow of what is contained in 'local', and how these ideas should be implemented in the activities offered. The vision of Sweden as a culinary nation is communicated as something collectively achieved, which involves "everybody", producers as well as consumers, locally as well as on the national level (and even as a part of an international web of 'localising' practices).

However, with this ideal of "including everybody", the local inevitably becomes a means for exclusion. That is, there is a contradiction in the pervasive rhetoric of including everyone, because is it not a particular type of actor who is included? The farmers with 'the right' spirit and approach, the (young) entrepreneurs with new and innovative ideas, the successful, dedicated (male) chefs, are the characters that are put forward as "the heart of the vision", and who are identified as sources of inspiration and the factors for its success. This stereotyped presentation of the key actors, the so-called role models, becomes at the same time excluding. Here, it is about choosing what to show off (and what not to show) and how to do it, and it is interesting to me that the choice of culinary role models is so narrow (see Neuman 2018 for a similar argument).

Another type of exclusion becomes visible when studying the practices that are established in the local community context. Here, the local is a means for negotiations about network membership criteria, content and activities, and acts as a point of reference for defining whom or what could be included in the Food Network. With these negotiations, inevitably some are excluded – for example those who are not (geographically) local enough or dedicated enough. But it is not just the culinary actors who are excluded; the exclusion also involves the visitors. This was shown in the discussion of flavour and taste in chapter six, where one activity was concerned with emphasising the local as a representative for a distinct taste. Consequently, in stating this it is also postulated that the local is limited to include a certain group of visitors (and producers for that sake) – as only those with the 'right' taste will know how to appreciate the local and its values. The local is branded as a representative of a distinctive (rural) culture, and an aspect that can offer a unique dimension to the tourism experience, whether it is practised by locals or tourists travelling from abroad. Still, this type of activities and experiences are still limited to a certain group of visitors (and producers): those who possess – to use a Bourdieuan terminology – a strong cultural and economic capital (for a similar argument, see Fields 2002; Stringfellow *et al.* 2013; Paddock 2014). The local is thus produced as something desirable to be strived for; as something good and positive.

This discussion, however, needs to be nuanced, as this view may not be shared by everybody; in parallel fashion global food experiences offer similar opportunities for discovering and learning, and many food tourists still prefer mainstream culinary experiences. To these tourists, the notion of the local may not be

perceived as a specific marker of quality or distinction, in fact, to some it may even be the opposite. Neither must one forget that much of what is considered global foodstuff once started as local specialties, based on small-scale, local produces and traditions (see e.g. Born and Purcell 2006 and Ritzer 2017 for a similar discussion).

This leads on to a second point of interest, which has become visible throughout the analysis; the interrelationship between the abstract and concrete appears to be an important component in the processes that shape the local as a part of culinary tourism. That is, the enacting of the local in culinary tourism takes place both in an abstract sense as a guiding point for how to plan and implement, for instance, culinary policies and visions, as was shown in chapter five and first part of chapter six, and in a more concrete sense as I showed in the second part of chapter six and chapter seven. Here, a specific source of tension lies in the representation of authenticity, which has shown to be a significant part of the practices of producing and enacting the local. In previous research, authenticity is often put forward as a main ingredient in the promotion of culinary activities, in order to enhance the visitors' experiences. The empirical examples studied in this thesis have shown similar tendencies; in the Culinary Vision and the Food Network, the authentic is ascribed significant value in the producing of the local as a part of culinary experiences, as a meaning-creating element. To incorporate the unique and authentic seems to be a recurrent practice, both in the national and the local community context (as well as the regional). The activities with which this is done are similar; for example, to refer to origin or a particular culinary heritage is a (more or less) routinised key element in the culinary actors' efforts to produce unique and attractive food experiences. These practices meet the consumers' wishes to connect with their roots and search for experiences, which are unique and individually adjusted, and match our specific needs for differentiated experiences. The authentic thus appears to be yet another means to highlight and reproduce the local as "good".

In a broader perspective, the emphasis on local food and the values that are attached therein meet the movement towards a more conscious way of consuming and supplying food and food experiences. This can be seen as a reaction to the global food companies that dominate on a large scale around the world, supporting unsustainable patterns of mass consumption (referred to as the "McDonaldisation thesis", see Ritzer 1993). This counterreaction is characterised

by a growing demand for good quality locally produced food with clear state of origin (c.f. Ilbery *et al.* 2006; Ragnar 2014; Ritzer 2017). This development can help explain the impact of movements such as *Slow Food* and the *New Nordic Cuisine*, which build on the idea of preserving culinary culture and heritage, as well as make use of the crops the season offers. Hence, this quality movement stands as an example of a rising social, economic, and ecological sustainability awareness, which is gaining ground and can add to our understanding of the culinary destination in general. Seen in this light, the New Nordic Cuisine appears to have had a certain influence on the ways in which culinary tourism is framed, organised, and performed, and in turn, how the notion of the local has become integrated, and emphasised as 'good'.

On the other hand, this raises questions as to whether the local is in fact able to represent the unique and provide authentic experiences? The local represents a growing number of niched directions within tourism in general, a development, which reflects the growing individualisation amongst tourists, who then – as pointed out above – seek unique and differentiated experiences. Paradoxically, this individualism also results in new kinds of standardisation of experiences, where the unique is no longer unique. That is, the local is portrayed as something unique but simultaneously, the way it is enacted shows a high degree of standardisation. The local can thereby be interpreted as an object of "De-differentiation" (Bryman 1999). This may become a challenge for the ones who provide and develop experiences, because, if the local can be found everywhere, can it then be unique (see Baldacchino 2015 and Ritzer 2017 for a similar argument)?

Is the local unquestionably good?

In the prologue I described how the general store owner presented the exotic olive oil from an unknown Cretan village as a local product in line with the mustard and apple juice which were produced in the nearby area, because the man who imported the oil happened to live in the particular community. Despite the fact that the product had neither been grown nor processed in Österlen, it was still presented along with the 'other' local products of the area in a way that made me question what is actually understood by the local, and how come this taken-for-grantedness? Further to this, it was put forward that the local appears to be taken for granted as being a positive element in culinary tourism (as well as other societal

contexts), and that this is rooted in three trends, which characterise our society: the perception of the rural and a 'revival' of the countryside, the local as a contrast to the global, and an increased concern for our environment, health and (food) safety. A common denominator here is that the local represents the well-known and the nearby, which provide us with a sense of security and comfort.

As the analysis has shown, a similar taken-for-grantedness is coming forward in the practices of the culinary actors and becomes a permeating rhetoric in the ways the local is produced and enacted as a culinary tourism phenomenon. One type of rhetoric is that the local represents something good (as opposed to the global, which is often portrayed as bad), the morally correct choice. The rhetoric in which the local is put forward as the morally good is an example of practice activities, in which certain shared understanding of the social world is produced (e.g. of the ideal culinary destination or the role of local food and food related activities). This understanding is reproduced by the culinary actors across the national, regional and local community contexts – in the sense that they adopt a similar rhetoric – and accordingly practices for what is morally good are established and maintained (c.f. Reckwitz 2002a; Swidler 2001; Nicolini 2012).

With this in mind one can also better understand the taken-for-grantedness, by which the local seems to be put forward as something predominantly good and positive. Despite various – and sometimes contrasting – ways of enacting the local, it is something that the culinary actors – no matter the context – agree on as being important. In this perspective, the local could be understood as a boundary object (Starr and Griesemer 1989), which connects the various shapes and understandings that are attached, and which can bring together political and commercial visions and ideals and so forth. That is, the local is produced as a connecting force that generates a common interface and language, which the different actors can work around, and which adds meaning to their ways of performing culinary tourism. At the same time this taken-for-grantedness hints at a normatively directed force, where certain ideals are produced and demonstrate an underlying contest of who is to set the directions for the development of a desired culinary tourism profile. This study has shed light on how this taken-for-grantedness may have grown forward, but also stressed that this is by no means an all-inclusive interpretation. That is, we need to question the rather normative interpretation of 'local' as universally good and consider all aspects related to the local; otherwise, we risk getting stuck in what Born and Purcell (2006) name "the

local trap" where focus remains on scale rather than the actual efforts of the food system's actors.

Contributions of the thesis

This thesis has sought to provide a holistic account of the practices involved with the enacting of the local in culinary tourism. Accordingly, the study undertaken contributes to an enhanced understanding of tourism processes, and in particular the processes in which culinary tourism is produced and 'carried out'. By identifying the various practices in which the local is enacted, I have shown the process by which the local is becoming a central component in culinary tourism. In this sense, both the human acts – such as doings and sayings, skills and knowhow – and the material dimensions have been considered, as well as meaning and the interrelationship between these elements (c.f. Shove *et al.* 2012; James and Halkier 2019; James *et al.* 2019b). The practice perspective offers possibilities to study tourism processes, both in terms of the analysis of the smallest entities of the social (Reckwitz 2002a) – like the actual doings and sayings of culinary actors and materialities – and the consideration of such acts in a broader sense, such as how the culinary landscape is (or should be) framed and organised. In this vein, the study helps to shed light on the concrete carrying out of culinary tourism, as well as on more general, complex processes of tourism production (c.f. Bispo 2016; Lamers *et al.* 2017), and culinary tourism and rural tourism development in particular.

So, how can we understand the practices of the local from a broader perspective? And what happens when we extract the local from the context of culinary tourism? Is it possible to say something about the local as a general phenomenon? In this thesis, I have discussed how the local is often taken for granted and put forward as something good and a right way to consume – not just within the food experience, but also in other areas within the service sector, like energy or banking services. During the past few years it seems that this discourse has grown even stronger and permeated a still growing part of society; the notion of the local is expressed in services such as real estate, construction, and education, among others. This is an interesting development, which underlines the continuous relevance of this phenomenon, and highlights the still growing consciousness in

patterns of consumption and production within the service sector. Studying the practices by which a niched (tourism) activity, such as the local, is enacted, thus provides better insights into the ongoing changes and trends in today's society.

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Appendix I: Fieldwork overview

Table 2
Fieldwork overview

When	Type of activity/Setting/Length			How/who	Type of practice(s) observed
2007	Working meeting, the Food Network, *the Meetingplace*	Internal	3 hours	Participant observation Conversations with meeting participants	Organising
2008	Annual Food Tour event, the Food Network	Public	1 day	Participant observations and conversations with culinary actors (1-5) *Chocolate store* *Nursery garden* *The Monastery* *The Cider House* *The Apple farm*	Organising Performing
2009	Background interview 1		90 mins.	Project initiator	Background Organising
	Annual Food Tour event, the Food Network	Public	2 days	Participant observations and conversations with culinary actors (6-12) *The Inn* *The Herb Farm* *The Distillery* *The Asparagus Farm* *The Vineyard* *The Castle* *The Pantry*	Organising, Performing
	Background interview 2		120 mins.	Head of board	Organising
	Background interview 3		90 mins.	Bank representative	Organising Framing
	Field visit	Public	1 day	Participant observations and conversations with culinary actors (13-14) *The Pantry* *The Monastery*	Performing
2010	Annual board meeting, the Food Network *Smiley farm & hotel*	Internal	2,5 hours	Observations	Organising
	Presentation/discussion, *Business Region Skåne*	Internal	1 hour	Participant observations and conversations	Organising Framing
	Field visit, the Food Network	Internal	2 days	Participant observations (15-16) *The Dragon hotel and restaurant* w/surrounding area *The Green Store*	Organising Performing
	Kick-off seminar I, the Food Network (Terroir), *Smiley farm & hotel*	Internal	4 hours	Observations, participant observations and conversations with culinary actors	Organising Performing

	Presentation/panel debate Claus Meyer/NNC	Internal	1 hour	Participant observation and conversations	Organising Framing
	Annual Food Tour event, the Food Network	Public	2 days	Participant observations and conversations with culinary actors (17-25) *By the Sea hotel and restaurant* *Asparagus farm* *Green Store (conversations with visiting producers)* *The Cider House* *The Apple farm* *The Fisher's house* *The Fishmonger's store* *The General Store* *The Mustard farm*	Performing
2011	Rural Conference, Jönköping		2 days	Participant observations Conversations Matlandet ambassador Småland Owner/founder, food project Municipality representative Östersund (Matlandet capital 2010)	Framing
	Kick-off seminar II, the Food Network (Home), *the Ambient Restaurant*	Internal	4 hours	Participant observations and conversations with culinary actors	Organising Performing
	Presentation/panel debate, celebrity chef and C.V. representative	Internal	2 hours	Participant observation and conversations	Framing, Organising Performing
	Field visit, the Food Network	Public	2 days	Participant observations and conversations with culinary actors (26-28) *Neighbourhood Hotel/rest* *The small port and surroundings* *Neighbourhood café*	Organising Performing
	SLU telephone meeting		30 mins.	Conversation with project managers	Background
	SLU web meeting		1 hour	Participant observations Conversations/Discussions	Framing
	SLU workshop/seminar, Jönköping		3 hours	Participant observations Conversations	Framing
	'Locally Produced' Fair, Jönköping		2 days	Participant observations and conversations Panel debate chef of the year, Culinary Vision representative	Framing
2012	Kick-off seminar III, the Food Network (Storytelling), *the Big Farm*	Internal	6 hours	Participant observations and conversations with culinary actors *The General store* *Asparagus farm* *The Dragon hotel and restaurant* *The Ambient restaurant* *Nursery garden*	Organising Performing
	SLU final conference, Uppsala		3 hours	Participant observations and conversations	Framing

Appendix II: Key Documents

Table 3:a
Key documents, the Culinary Vision

Sender	Title	Type of document	Collected year
Regeringskansliet (Näringsdepartementet)	*”En strategi för att stärka utvecklingskraften i Sveriges landsbygder – en sammanfattning av Regeringens skrivelse 2008/09:167”*	Strategy document	2009a
Regeringskansliet (Jordbruksdepartementet)	*”Sverige – det nya matlandet. 10 000 nya jobb genom god mat och upplevelser. Handlingsplan”*	Plan of action	2009b
Regeringskansliet (Jordbruksdepartementet)	*”Sverige – det nya matlandet. Uppdaterad handlingsplan. Nya jobb genom god mat och upplevelser”*	Plan of action, updated version	2010a
Regeringskansliet (Landsbygdsdepartementet)	*”Sveriges landsbygdsprogram 2007-2013 – en kraftfull satsning för en levande landsbygd och för tillväxt”*	Rural programme, main points of focus	2010b
Regeringskansliet (Jordbruksdepartementet)	*”Landsbygdsprogram för Sverige år 2007-2013”*	Rural programme, full version	2010c
Regeringskansliet (Jordbruksdepartementet)	*”Ett levande matland. Jobb och tillväxt i hela landet”*	Folder	2010d
Jordbruksverket, Exportrådet, Visit Sweden	*”Så bygger vi bilden av Matlandet Sverige – det nya Matlandet. Näringsliv, organisationer och offentliga aktörer i samarbete”*	Communications strategy	2010
Visit Sweden	*“Mat och måltidsupplevelser, en tillgång för Sverige. Besöksnäringens strategi för att kommunicera Sverige som det nya matlandet i Europa”*	Communications strategy	2012
Visit Sweden	*”Besöksnäringens Kommunikationsguide. För internationell marknadsföring av destinationen Sverige. För ökad tillväxt och lönsamhet”*	Communications strategy	2014
Jordbruksverket	*Board of Agriculture website*	Website	2010-2016
Visit Sweden	*Visit Sweden website*	Website	2010-2016
Jordbruksverket	*“Vi älskar svensk mat”*	Facebook group	2010-2016
Visit Sweden/ www.matlandet.se	*”Resan mot det nya matlandet”*	Culinary Blog	2010-2016

Table 3:b
Key documents, the Food Network

Sender	Title	Type of document	Collected year
Project initiators/The Food Network	*Food Network Strategy, meeting summaries.*	Strategy document and unpublished meeting material	2007
The Food Network	*Annual Food Tour programme*	Printed programme	2008-2012
The Food Network	*Printed marketing brochures from various network members*	Printed brochures	2007-2012
The Food Network	*Main website*	Website	2008-2012
The Food Network	*Individual members' websites*	Website	2008-2012

Table 3:c
Other significant documents

Sender	Title	Type of document	Collected year
Smaka på Skåne (Taste Scania)	*"En resa i matens rike. Guiden till skånska gästgiverier, restauranger, kaféer, gårdsbutiker och odlare"*	Printed brochure	2008
Position Skåne	*"Culinary Skåne"*	Printed brochure	2009
Smaka på Skåne (Taste Scania)	*"Närproducerad och noga utvalt"*	Brochure on the Internet	2014a
ERND		Website	2014-2015
Smaka på Skåne (Taste Scania)		Website	2014-2015

Notes

[1] *Sparbanksstiftelsen* with local bank offices around the region is an example of a bank, which claims to be 'close to the customers': "We are always close at hand! We are never far away. We are the bank at home" (Sparbanken Skåne website 2018). Similarly, the energy company *Bixia* offers 'locally produced' electricity from local farms. By choosing *Bixia*, the customers can make a difference for people and the environment and contribute to a more sustainable development of local rural environments (Bixia website 2018).

[2] In an opinion poll carried out in 2008 by the Swedish government, more than 80 per cent of the participants perceived rural food and food experiences as an important part of the holiday, and three out of four thought that food experiences could even be the main target of their holiday (Regeringskansliet 2008).

[3] Eskil Erlandsson was minister of rural affairs 2010-2014, after his period as minister of agriculture 2006-2010.

[4] The other two implementation instruments comprise financial means and legal measures (e.g. simplified laws and rules, various authority assignments, and reduced administrative loads). In 2007-2009, SEK 274 million from the Rural Programme (which is given a SEK 36 billion budget throughout the programme's seven-year period) were used for Culinary Vision activities. In 2010, additionally SEK 160 million were added within the Rural Programme for the development of the Culinary Vision. The funds were directed towards different initiatives to support development of business competences, food refinement, logistics, distribution and marketing, and small-scale tourism business development (Regeringskansliet 2010b: 3).

[5] *Ideon Agro Food* was a network organisation, which functioned as an innovation development incubator/catalysator and link between academia and businesses within the food industry (www.ideonagrofood.se 2009). The organization ended 2009.

[6] The reference group consisted of representatives from the four industry associations, *The Federation of Swedish Farmers* (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund, LRF), *The Swedish Food Federation* (Livsmedelsföretagen), *Swedish Food Retailers Federation* (Svensk Dagligvaruhandel) and *Visita* (Sveriges Hotell- och Restaurangföretagare, SHR),)as well as *Swedish Consumers' Association* (Sveriges Konsumenter), and representatives from the Swedish universities.

[7] *Original quote:* "Modern, svensk mattradition grundar sig på ett samspel mellan smak, hälsa och hållbarhet. Våra besökare får ta del av nya upplevelser och unika råvaror i ett land där mat och dryck är en naturlig del av en sund livsstil och många av världens kreativa kockar växer fram. Sverige tar position i matvärlden med nyskapande livskvalitet. Vi har identifierat den globala matintresserade resenären som vår primära målgrupp. Målet är att vår kommunikation ska inspirera alla nyfikna, öppna engagerade och matintresserade resenärer att upptäcka vår dynamiska matkultur och hälsosamma livsstil. för ett godare liv, helt enkelt [sic]."

[8] *Original quote:* "Budskapet har en tydlig riktning och strävan framåt, till något som är ännu bättre. Det finns en holistisk underton i budskapet, en helhetssyn som respekterar människa, djur och natur såväl som tradition, nutid och framtid.

Det är ett löfte som berätter om naturlig, sund, hälsosam och välsmakande mat. Om mat som gör gott för människan, som både smakar bra och bjuder på nya upptäckter.

Det matchar målgruppens starka drivkraft att må bättre än bra, att unna sig, uppleva nytt och njuta av god mat som gör gott för både kropp och själ."

[9] *Original quote:* "Udda styckdetaljer, surdeg och hemstoppad korv, vad tror du blir nästa mattrend?

Per: Långkok. definitivt, alla former av slowfood-"bry sig om" mat

Isabel: enligt menu på p1, är det korvstoppning som gäller i sverige.i mitt nya hemland holland ligger dom långt efter med alla "nymodigheter" som ekologiskt och långkok.undrar just när det kommer stort här?det är dags!

Johan: Vi på camp ripan i Kiruna blir snart slow food certifierade, så det hoppas jag! Då blir vi supertrendiga!! :)

Carl-Mikael: Nästa mattrend är att att de nya bruks/husdjuren följer med in i köket. Karpar, vaktlar,duvor, kaniner... "Urban gamefood"

Ulrich: Vi äter allt på djuret. Inälvorna kommer att högaktas. Men egentligen är det väl bara att följa vad Magnus på Fäviken gör. Han är ju redan en internationell trendsättare."

[10] *Original quote:* "Förutom smak, lukt, utseende och konsistens har vi i år bedömt produkterna utifrån 'Sverige – det nya matlandets' värdeord ärlighet, naturlighet, omtanke och hänsyn. Dessutom har vi premierat producenter som förvaltat regionala mattraditioner."

[11] A key tool in rural policy is *the Rural Development Programme* ("Landsbygdsprogrammet"), which aims to strengthen the countryside as an attractive place to live and work (Regeringskansliet 2010c). *The Rural Development Programme* is funded equally by Swedish national funding and by funds from the European Union. The Programme runs for seven years at a time and is budgeted with approximately SEK 5 billion a year. *The Rural Development Programme* for the period 2007-2013, when the data for this study was collected, was centred on sustainable development of the countryside, through economic support in four main areas, which correspond to the goals stated by the EU: Enhanced competition; Administration of natural resources; Diversity and quality of life; and Leader (Regeringskansliet 2010b: 2ff.; Regeringskansliet 2010c: 88ff).

[12] *Original quote:* "Gastronomiska regioner är ett redskap för att stärka mat med tydlig geografisk identitet och avsändare och kan bidra till en kvalitetshöjning av maten som produceras i Sverige. Genom att tydliggöra och marknadsföra matens ursprung och unika kvaliteter kopplat till en geografisk plats så kan konkurrenskraften stärkas och lönsamheten öka för primärproducenter och livsmedelsindustrin som använder sig av dessa varor. Det skapar även ökade möjligheter till profilerade turistprodukter för respektive region. Utvecklingen av gastronomiska regioner kommer att kunna bidra till specifika målsättningar inom alla Matlandets fokusområden. Särskilt viktigt är det för målsättningen om att öka produktionen och lönsamheten inom primärproduktionen."

[13] *Bondens egen Marknad* is a non-profit organisation, which arranges farmers' markets in various cities across the country (Bondens Egen Marknad website)

[14] *Original quote:* "Konceptet som utmärker Bondens egen Marknad är att alla produkter kommer från gårdar som ligger nära marknadsplatsen, s.k. "närproducerade". Producenten ska själv ha odlat, fött upp eller förädlat det som säljs på marknaden. Hörnstenarna är färskhet, kvalitet, närproducerat och inga mellanhänder."

[15] *Original quote:* "Maten konsumeras och produceras lokalt (inom 25 mil):
1. Råvaror, förädling och försäljning sker inom 25 mil
2. Råvaror och försäljning sker inom 25 mil, förädling sker på annan plats (utanför 25 mils-gränsen)."

[16] *Original quote:*
1. Råvaran har sitt ursprung i Skåne, och eventuell förädling äger rum i Skåne.
2. Förädling och bearbetning är av hantverksmässig karaktär.
3. Producenten måste kunna dokumentera hur produktionen äger rum, och att den äger rum i Skåne.

[17] *Original quote:* "Vi har skapat en gemensam plattform, en gemensam rot som ska få alla blommor att blomma. Varje blad är en viktig del för den framtida helhetsbilden. Målet är att sända en tydligare bild av mat, dryck och måltidsupplevelser i Sverige, både nationellt och internationellt. Blomman är vår vägvisare och den gemensamma nämnaren, en självklar utgångspunkt i alla viktiga samverkansprojekt."

[18] *Original quote:* "Använd positionsteman som ett konkret verktyg i din vardag, när du investerar, när du produktutvecklar och skapar nya spännande upplevelser som sätter Sverige på kartan som det nya matlandet."

[19] *Original quote:* "Sverige sjuder av entreprenörer, företagare, matproducenter, turistentreprenörer och visionärer som redan i dag bidrar till förverkligandet av visionen. Det är alla dessa människor som är hjärtat i Sverige – det nya matlandet."

[20] *Original quote:* "Här på Matlandet.se berättar vi om maten i Sverige – från jord till bord. Genom nätverkande i hela landet bevakar vi och samlar in det senaste och bästa från alla som på olika sätt engagerar sig i bygget av Matlandet Sverige."

[21] *Original quote:* "Vi älskar svensk mat här på Facebook är platsen för dig som inte bara gillar att äta god mat och njuta av dryck utan också att prata om det, diskutera, engagera, tipsa, blogga, kritisera, fresta och förföra. /…/ Varsågoda, stör och berör matälskare emellan!"

[22] *Kroppkakor* is a traditional Swedish dish, made from potatoes, flour and egg yolks, filled with pork and onion or mushrooms (varies from region to region), and boiled in water.

[23] *Original quote:* "På Öland är det kroppkakorna som regerar och Eva är både expert och matlandetambassadör."

[24] *Husmanskost* is the Swedish term, which is commonly used to refer to traditional, home-cooked food, normally prepared from locally sourced ingredients. The idea of *Husmanskost* is also seen as a manifestation of Swedish culinary culture (Wretman1967/2008).

[25] *Original quote:* "Dalsland ligger mitt emellan havet och insjön, mitt i skogen och bland ängarna. Ett av de framstående landmärkena i matlandskapet är Dalsspira mejeri som i år firar 5-års jubileum. Med fokus på getmjölksprodukter är ägarinnan Carina Johansson en stolt ambassadör som helst äter husmanskost."

[26] For a more thorough discussion and analysis of the complexities of the dairy industry, see Jönsson 2005.

[27] *Original quote:* "McDonald's ställer krav på fisken i burgaren. Heja!

Adam: Who cares, McD är ju så jävla onyttigt ändå så varför liksom inte köra onyttigheten fullt ut? Lite som folk som beställer ett jätte meal och en cola light....

Bella: Varför i helvete skriver ni det på den här sidan??? DET ÄR INTE MAT DOM SERVERAR DET ÄR SKIT. S.K.I.T

Nils: Håller med föregående! Funderar på å gå ur nu

Vi älskar svensk mat: Adam, Bella och Nils: Säg gärna vad ni tycker om McDonalds här. Och oavsett vem som serverar, vad tycker ni om lokalt och hållbart fiskad MSC-certifierad torsk?

Sebastian: Hoppas att McD inte ställer så stora krav på fisken för den e ju död.

Bella: Svensk mat har inte ETT SKIT med McD att göra, jag tycker det är ytterst pinsamt att ni skriver om McD. Här med går jag ur denna grupp och uppmanar resten att följa med. Vi kan starta en ny grupp som handlar om SVENSK mat på RIKTIGT.

Nils: Helt rätt"

[28] *The Skane Food Innovation Network* also played a central role during the first years of the Food Network's establishment, providing financial and competence support. However, while this analysis is centred on the ways the local is used in the organisation of the Food Network and its members, the relations between the network and its stakeholders are not considered in further detail.

[29] *Original quote:* "/…/ Jo, så att [the project initiators] där de fick för sig att de behövde ett projekt, som de kunde söka pengar till. Och då fick man [the bank] att gå med på ett projekt där man skulle åka ut på Österlen och frälsa de dumma företagarna och lära dem vad de borde göra för någonting. Och då drog man ihop en väldig massa människor på ett möte, och med rätt så lösa riktlinjer och det var ett vidrigt möte – jag mådde så illa. Jag har sällan mått så illa vid ett möte som vid det. Och vi var flera som tyckte… det var så… det var så… alltså det var inte [the project initiators'] fel att det blev, men det var på något sätt… jag kan inte ta på det, och jag har fortfarande efter de här åren inte kunnat ta på det. Men vi var flera som tyckte att det var… just den här känslan av att 'nu ska vi hjälpa er och ni ska begripa vad ni ska göra för någonting', alltså den här Abel-attityden va. /…/."

[30] *Original quote:* "Alltså jag förstår verkligen inte varför de inte är här. Och det är ju alltid samma personer som inte kommer. Jag menar… såklart kan du ju ha anledning att… men… Vi betalar liksom samma [medlemsavgift] och så är det vissa som bara tror att de kan luta sig bak och inte göra något, medan vi andra jobbar häcken av oss för att få det att funka."

[31] *Original quote:* "En liten väg som slingrar sig fram genom bokskogen. Plötsligt öppnar sig landskapet och där inramad av mjuka kullar välkomnar den gamla skånegården. På gårdsplanen en omsorgsfullt anlagd liten renässansträdgård med kryddväxter innanför välklippta buxbomskanter.

[The Mill] är sedan 1962 naturreservat för att bevara denna unika kulturmiljö och ett populärt strävområde [sic] med väl utmärkta vandringsleder.

/…/ Tillsammans formar gården och den omgivande naturen en enastående miljö präglad av skönhet och tidlöshet. Ett par kilometer bort finns havet och oändliga sandstränder. Här finner du en rofylld och avkopplande miljö – en oas att skämma bort sig i."

[32] *Original quote:* "Kom och bo och ät i vacker och rofylld miljö med fantastisk utsikt över den mäktiga Östersjön med sin obrutna horisont. Kl. 19 serverar vi närproducerat kött och vårprimörer. Och om sparrisen är klara... Mmmmmm."

[33] *Original quote:* "Kökets menyer baseras på det bästa ur säsongens skafferi, vårens och försommarens primörer. Nässlor, sparris, nypotatis serverat med skaldjur, fisk och kött från våra Skånska gårdar. Sommarens mångfald av läckert grönt, bär och örter, höstens rikedom av slottsskogarnas vilt och svamp, frukter från Österlens odlingar. Vintern med krydda, must och värme där Skånsk tradition serveras i nya tappningar."

[34] *Original quote:* "Den som letar rätt på en äkta Östersjölax får en helt annan upplevelse än om samma matentusiast köper en odlad norsk modell /.../ Östersjölaxen har kvar sin sedan årtusanden dova originalfärg. Det andra som avslöjar den äkta varan är smaken. Östersjölaxen har en rikare smak. Fattas bara."

[35] The term 'merroir' comes from the French word mer, which means sea. The White Guide launched this concept in their 2015 edition as a way of referring to the rising number of products in Sweden that can be linked to the sea. In the same way that terroir is an expression of the properties of the soil (terre in French), merroir refers to the different ways the sea affects the taste of fish, shellfish, and sea plants – e.g. which sea they lived in, what they fed on, where and when (what time of the year) they were caught (The White guide 2015).

36 The Noma restaurant was awarded the World's best restaurant by the World's 50 Best 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2014. It has two Michelin Stars (since 2008). The name Noma is a merging between the two Danish words "Nordisk" and "Mad" [Nordic food].

[37] *Original quote:* "Varje dag under Matrundan kl 12-15. *Äggakaka*, ett skånskt kulturarv gjord på Österlen ägg, serverad med rårörda lingon och rökt bacon."

[38] *Original quote:* "Varje dag under Matrundan (11-20 maj) [Fisk] macka = Nystekt sill på grovbröd med lök och hovmästarsås i luckan /…/ Anledning: det talar för vad vi står för, tradition och nytänk, närområde klassiks och gott. [sic]."

[39] The Swedish word *hemma* has been written as it would have been pronounced in the Scanian dialectic, *himma*

[40] *Original quote:* "[Restaurangen] ligger beläget i fantastiska omgivningar på Österlen i närheten av Stenshuvud nationalpark. Landskapet bjuder på vidunderliga naturvyer alla årstider. Höst och vinter flockas rådjuren i utkanten av lövskogen och fågellivet är rikt. Här är du verkligen på landet. Besök hos oss är en sinnlig upplevelse för både öga och gom. Här får både smak, doft, konsistens, färg och form nya dimensioner för den kräsne. Vi brinner för det vi gör och vill inte sticka under stol med den kompetens vi besitter: [Restaurangen] är det perfekta valet för dig som uppskattar de små detaljerna och förstår och känner de gedigna tankar som ligger bakom varje handling och maträtt."

[41] For a throughout account of the Flow concept, see e.g. Csikszentmihalyi and Csikszentmihalyi (1988)

[42] *Original quote:* "Kom och lyssna på våra medlemmers berättelser om deras produkters resa från jord till bord. /…/ Och det är genom en smörgås som alla medlemmar kommer att presentera sig och sin historia. Under Matrundan kommer besökarna kunna avsmaka allt från sillamackor till spännande aptitretare eller en rejält matig smörgås fyllt med överraskningar. Till varje smörgås kommer det att finnas en liten historia."

[43] *Original quote:* "FRÅN HJÄRTAT AV ÖSTERLEN:

Första fröet till Kiviks Musteri såddes 1888, då vår farfars far Henric Åkesson planterarde sina första äppelträd i Kivik. Idag är det vi I fjärde generationen Åkesson, Bengt och Kristina, som driver Kiviks musteri. Och precis som på far och farfars tid, kryddas vår passion för mat och dryck med Österlensk livskvalitet.

Välkomna att hälsa på oss på vårt musteri I Kivik. Där hittar du alla våra produkter och kan njuta i vårt café och i vår restaurang.

Familjen Åkesson"

Enacting “the local” in culinary tourism

This thesis studies how culinary tourism is enacted as an economic, social, and cultural activity, through the notion of “the local”. Culinary experiences and activities with elements of “the local” are a growing niche, which mirrors the need for destinations to stand out, as well as the trend of knowing where the food originates, and that it has been grown, produced, and transported in an ecologically, socially and culturally sustainable way. To the culinary actors, the notion of “the local” seems to be something that connects the common interests and desires to offer unique and attractive food experiences.

Departing from national, regional and local community culinary actors, this thesis examines how the local is framed, organised and performed as a combination of concrete acts and more abstract elements (such as providing food products, brochures and political documents, and emphasising traditions, origin or negotiating what or who is local). The thesis contributes to understanding the processes that take place in the planning and performance of tourism experiences and activities, as well as the complexities attached therein.

This is Josefine Østrup Backe’s doctoral thesis.

Printed by Media-Tryck, Lund 2020 NORDIC SWAN ECOLABEL 3041 0903

LUND UNIVERSITY

Department of Service Management
and Service Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
Lund University

ISBN 978-91-7895-354-7