

Turismo gastronómico y desarrollo local en Cataluña: El abastecimiento y comercialización de los productos alimenticios

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GASTRONOMIC TOURISM AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN CATALONIA (SPAIN): THE SUPPLY AND COMMERCIALISATION OF AGRIFOOD PRODUCTS A shortened version



PhD Project

Gastronomic Tourism and Local Development in Catalonia (Spain): The Supply and Commercialisation of Agrifood Products.

A Shortened Version

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Barcelona, June 2013

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AFN Alternative Food Networks

CCAMC Consortium of Trade Crafts and Fashion of Catalonia

DGT Department of Tourism

DMO Destination Management Organizations

FICC Catalan Cuisine Institute Foundation

GMO Genetically Modified Organism

ICTA International Culinary Tourism Association

ID Industrial Districts ()

IDESCAT Statistical Institute of Catalonia
INDWP World of Industrial Production

INTWP World of Interpersonal Production

LAS Localized Agrifood Systems

LED Local Economic Development

LPS Localized Productive Systems

ODELA Observatory of Food

PDO Protected Designation of Origin

PETC Strategic Tourism Plan of Catalonia

PGI Protected Geographical Indication

PPP Public Private Partnerships

SCA Simple Correspondence Analysis

SFSC Short Food Supply Chains

SME Small and Medium size Enterprises s

TSG Traditional Speciality Guaranteed

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,

WTO World Tourism Organization

PREFACE

A shortened English version of this research project is presented. The abstract of the thesis is in page IX of the Spanish version. The aim of this specific version is two-fold: one the one hand, it should provide the non Spanish reader with a brief insight into its contents; while on the other hand, the text is written in compliance with the official requirements of the University of Barcelona for the award of a European Doctorate- Doctor Europaeus (*Mención del título Europeo de Doctor*)

This shortened version, extending to 110 pages, is closely linked to the original Spanish version ant to the contents of its ten chapters. For this reason, this text is included within the same volume as the original version. However, the reader should note that will encounter references in this English version to the graphic material that is only available in the Spanish version. Although this English version is designed to be a complete work in its own right, the reader is encouraged to examine the original study in order to obtain a more thorough appreciation of the issues addressed in this project.

Finally, the author would like to express her gratitude to lain Robinson, who dedicated his time to correcting the author's English. However, the author would like to apologize for the marked Spanish phraseology that remains.

Barcelona, June 2013

CHAPTER I

THE GROUNDS FOR RESEARCH

1.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the many ways we might approach the study and understanding of reality, and its various dimensions, corresponds to that provided by the field of geography, widely regarded as the "sense of place and space" that has accompanied us throughout our history (Gould and Strohmayer, 2004). It is the geographical sciences, therefore, that provide the theoretical and conceptual bases for this thesis and which, in turn, serves as its starting point. Although the discipline of geography was dominated until the early twentieth century by its physical branches (of hydrology, geology, soil studies, etc.), supported by relatively few elements of the human world, it was also in this century that a character reflective of the relationship forged between the "physical world" and "man" began to be shaped (Gould and Strohmayer, 2004).

As a result, geography came to be conceived of as a combination of subdisciplines divided into two major branches: physical geography (with strong ties to the natural sciences) and human geography (based on the sub-disciplines of economic, political and social geography) and concerned with analysing the processes of production, distribution and consumption of goods, and the diversity of relationships, social institutions and the meaning of power (Claval and Entrikin, 2004).

It is embedded within this duality that this thesis emerges, taking as its phenomenological object human geography, which seeks to explain the relationship between humans and the natural world in which they interact (Cloke et al., 2011). The methodological approach adopted is that provided by regional geography which serves as a bridge to an analysis of planning and territorial development. However, if we continue to speak in these general terms about regional or human geography our approach remains overly broad. In order to identify and apply a theoretical and conceptual framework for undertaking research in gastronomic tourism and local development, we first need to provide more precise definitions of these geographical approaches, especially if what we seek to do is to examine in depth questions of the supply and marketing of food products as a part of gastronomic tourism. As such, we need to turn our attention to economic geography as one of the pioneering branches of human geography (Benko and Scott, 2004).

Economic geography emerged from the efforts of geographers to understand how the facets of human life (economic, environmental, political, social, cultural and historical) are associated in a spatial context. As such it recognizes that both regional and human geography have evolved through various methodologies and points of reflection, which in turn demonstrates the dynamic nature of these approaches (see, for example, Massey et al., 1999; Bathelt and Glückler, 2003; Benko and Strohmayer, 2004; Yeoung, 2005; Cloke et al., 2011).

The turning point in the contemporary history of economic geography is the so-called "cultural turn" of the nineties (Cloke et al., 2011), which saw the resurrection of concern for certain specific characteristics of geography within a post-modern paradigm that introduced new radical practices in human geography. These practices recognized the heterogeneity of human existence and the perceived failings of traditional geography to address these differences (Gould and Strohmayer, 2004).

This shift in the economic geography of the seventies saw a fresh focus on the construction of general principles and theories that might explain the functioning of the economic system in a spatial context (Lloyd and Dickens, 1972). Thus, the discipline was reduced to the search for general principles that governed human action without specifically examining the actors themselves (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003).

In the second half of the nineties, as part of this "cultural turn", several authors including Yeoung (2005) made a general appeal for a renewed relational thinking in human geography, stimulating the consolidation of what came to be known as "relational economic geography." Previously, in the nineties, economic geography had been perceived as being highly specialized, focused above all on the analysis of industrial districts, learning regions and clusters, concerned solely with establishing connections with the more historical concerns of political economy, growth, development, inequality and power (Amin and Thrift, 2000).

Yet, in contrast, as Amin and Thrift (2000) show, the shift to a new economic geography was promoted by the multiplicity of actors then engaged in economic analyses from within a multiplicity of disciplines. Thus, there was a general increase in work on evolutionary economics, feminist economics, environmental economics, cultures of the economy, consumption and material culture, and organizational theory, among others. For Amin and Thrift, these are just some of the forms of economic knowledge that developed from the study of the economy.

However, Bathelt and Gluckler (2003) attribute the "cultural turn" in economic geography to the reaction to the work undertaken by Krugman (1991), who claimed to have developed a "new economic geography" that offered a fresh perspective for the conventional problems of distribution and spatial balance based on the analysis of commercial interdependencies.

The multiplicity of approaches developed as a part of "new economic geography" are the consequence of the complexity of industry and the way in which it is addressed by geography disaggregated by economic sector to include agricultural geography, geography of transport, industrial geography and the geography of trade and services, to mention just a few (Cloke et al., 2011).

Yet, Cloke et al. (2011) suggest that economic geography can be addressed not solely from the economic sectors, but also by examining three coherent parts: production, money and finance, since within the contemporary economy, they claim, the set of dominant relations are capitalist by nature and the unified process that represents the global economy can be described as a "circuit" of capital.

Taking the focus provided by economic geography, this thesis in undertaking a specific analysis of the processes of the supply and marketing of food products in the context of tourism and gastronomy adopts the more specific approach known as the "geography of production" or, perhaps, more accurately, the "geography of food". The former is rooted in capitalism, where the processes of production, consumption and exchange are combined as a means of making a profit or generating a surplus, and where this value creation occurs in specific economic areas (Cloke et al. 2011). However, the latter (the geography of food), while it is associated with the analysis of the production and consumption of food supply chains, has its roots more obviously in political geography (Morgan et al., 2006).

Yet, one way of understanding the complexity of activities involved in production is to employ the notion of the production chain (Dicken, 1998). Effective production involves the integration of a complex range of activities within and across a range of production units (firms, industries, production systems), where each contributes to the creation of value (Cloke et al. 2011).

However, in the context of the cultural turn, the analysis proposed by the geography of production seeks to address the relational approach, referred to by authors such as Yeoung (2005) as a "relational turn". This turn suggests that economic geographers should undertake their analysis of the complexity of the relations established between actors and structures, which produce dynamic changes in the spatial organization of economic activities.

This thesis, motivated by the desire to understand the relationships and interactions generated by those involved in the supply chain and the marketing of food products in the tourist modality known as gastronomic tourism, has found in relational economic geography the necessary elements to offer an explanation for the phenomenon studied and one, moreover, which serves to link two sectors: the tourist sector and the agrifood sector.

The developments of the nineties led to an evolution and the introduction of new paradigms and the creation of a "new culture of geography" that permeated, transformed and redefined the way in which geographers also now approached the study of tourism and recreation (Hall, 1999).

To establish a link between tourism and the agrifood sector, relational economic geography depends on its four "ions": organization, evolution, innovation and interaction. Additionally, it juxtaposes theoretical elements from other schools of thought such as organizational and institutional theories.

-

¹ Production is a moment in the circuits of social reproduction which sustains networks of consumption, production and exchange through space and time (Cloke et al., 2011).

The changes of the nineties, which according to Hall (1999), permeated other areas of society, also allow us to place the phenomenon in a temporal frame and identify the meeting point for both tourist and agrifood sectors. The confluence of these two sectors in a contemporary context has facilitated the emergence of a new form of tourism, that of gastronomic tourism, as will be discussed in subsequent sections.

Thus, the temporal boundaries of this research will lead the reader from the events of the late eighties through to the present day. This does not mean, however, that no references will be made to other events that affected the phenomenon and which might serve to provide a better explanation.

Finally, in terms of its spatial delimitation, this thesis analyses the phenomenon in Catalonia (regional scale), the results of which should extend beyond the interpretation of this particular case to allow the reader to interact and identify outcomes that might be applicable to his or her own situation and context. The thesis aims to contribute not only to the state of the art of gastronomic tourism in the Catalan or Spanish context in quantitative or descriptive terms, but also seeks to provide to the reader with a new perspective of the relationships and interactions of those who are involved in this form of tourism. Hence, the perspective applied is that proposed by relational economic geography.

1.2 SETTING THE SCENE

Etymologically the word gastronomy is the result of combining two Greek words: the first "gastro" which means stomach and the second, "nomos" which means law, i.e. "the law of the stomach". For Kivela and Crotts (2006), gastronomy is often referred to exclusively as the art of cooking and good eating, but this is only part of the discipline.

For other authors, gastronomy is the study of the relationship between culture and food (see Bessière, 1998; Scarpato, 2002; Contreras, 2007, Espeteix, 2007). A person who works in gastronomy is often involved in the tasting, preparing, experimenting, researching, discovering, understanding and writing about food and typically, but not exclusively, about wine too.

Gastronomy, as a fundamental part of gastronomic tourism, is today a growing sector within the overall tourism market. For many tourists, sampling food and drink is one of their main reasons for visiting new destinations. A country's gastronomy is a manifestation of its culture; its local food markets are recognized as important elements of the cultural and tourist experience of a region, its local identity being strengthened thanks to the products it sells.

Gastronomy and food in association with tourism has always been present and is significant because it represents one third of tourism expenditure (OMT, 2012). However, the importance given to the role it plays in the tourism experience has not been sufficiently studied, and academia has been surprisingly slow in recognizing the theoretical potential of this phenomenon (Everett, 2008). Other authors, such as Richards (2002), claim that it is not only important because it is central to the tourist experience but also because it has

become a key source of identity in post-modern societies (Hall and Mitchell, 2002; Everett, 2008).

However, Donaire (1995, 179) claims that the most significant change undergone by contemporary tourism is the role it now plays in society as a whole. The author cites Alvin Toffler (1971:208) who, back in the seventies, predicted a "revolutionary expansion of certain industries whose sole output consists not of manufactured goods, nor even of ordinary services, but of preprogrammed 'experiences'". Today, gastronomy tourism is perhaps one of the best expressions of our post-industrial society, in which the use of our senses – sight, smell and taste – has become the activity generated by these "industries" (food producers, processors and restaurants), whose primary purpose is to give the visitor an "experience" via the sampling of food and drink. Seen in this light, Donaire (1995) argues that gastronomy runs counter to the uniformity of urban spaces, the imitation of distant geographies and the creation of aspatial scenarios and is an alternative to the McDonaldization process first defined by Ritzer (1996), since gastronomic tourism is based on what is local, traditional and authentic in food and drink.

Gastronomic tourism as a tourist phenomenon has grown considerably and has become one of the most dynamic and creative tourist sectors. Both the tourism business and tourist destinations have realized the importance of food for diversifying their offer and boosting local, regional and national economic development (OMT, 2012). This perhaps reflects the fact that tourists and consumers, in general, are today more aware of what they consume and of their relationship with the environment in which they live. This growing awareness has in turn increased demand for local products, often in association with the trend towards a healthier lifestyle.

To the above we should add a growing ethical discourse combined with the rise in sustainable values based on the territory, the landscape, local culture, local products and authenticity as fundamental elements of gastronomic tourism (OMT, 2012), and which have served to increase demand in this sector.

Despite the importance of gastronomic tourism at all scales, tourism geography and its relationship with gastronomy has not been widely studied. Some of the most representative studies at the international level are those undertaken by Hall and Mitchell (2001); Hall and Sharples (2003) and Montanari (2009). They provide evidence that within the field of geography gastronomic tourism is a subject worthy of discussion and debate and that an understanding of the relationship between tourism and gastronomy from a geographic perspective might be achieved.

It may well be argued that there is a need for evidence to support and contribute to our knowledge of this tourist phenomenon, given that current research on gastronomic tourism is scarce and is focused mainly on wine and the "wine tourists" who are not necessarily the same individuals that engage in other non-enological or gastronomic activities (OMT, 2012).

In the case of Catalonia, gastronomy is very much a fashionable trend and the subject of much interest since the beginning of the twenty-first century. This is reflected in the numerous publications dedicated to gastronomy and culinary television sections, specialized blogs, mobile applications or websites that are motivated to varying degrees by this segment of the food system. In addition, that fact that UNESCO has recognised Catalan cuisine as being an intangible heritage of humanity has further helped to promote the sector.

However, despite the efforts of the last decade among Catalan scholars, the analysis of this phenomenon, from a global perspective and with scientific rigor, remains insufficient, because this region has a long tradition and history linked to what is now recognized in the international context as gastronomy. Added to this is the growing need for academic studies of the relationship between tourism and gastronomy in Catalonia so as to evaluate the effects of the strategies designed by the government over the last decade aimed at promoting various actions in this niche market.

Gastronomy and gastronomic tourism have been key components in the tourist policy of this territory. This is reflected in the use of gastronomy as a central component of the identity of Catalan tourism policy and, in turn, it has formed a central tenet in the planning, management, promotion and communication of the tourist offer in Catalonia (Jiménez, 2011) and a distinguishing feature of tourism to the area (Llagostera, 2009). This is clearly reflected in the Strategic Tourism Plan of Catalonia (PETC) 2005-2010 and the subsequent Plan 2012-2016.

Public intervention in the development of Catalonia's tourism has been of significant importance. In this, the autonomous government, the *Generalitat*, has played a key role in recent years, as López Palomeque and Font (2010) explain: "on the one hand, by the intensification of the dissemination of tourism throughout the region, and on the other, by the participation of government bodies in this process, resulting in the institutionalization of tourism management". Over the last eight years, local government has taken a greater role in the management of tourism throughout Catalonia (López Palomeque, 2004a), in which time the government has opted for the diversification of its tourism, seeking to relocate an activity that was traditionally focused on the "sun and beach" tourist sector.

A clear reflection of this pro-active role was the creation by the *Generalitat's* Catalan Tourist Board of the first "Gatronomic Club" in the whole of the Spanish State in 2001. Subsequently, in 2003, it established the necessary agreements for the development of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia in order to diversify their tourism offer. The Club contributes to achieving the goals in the first Strategic Tourism Plan of Catalonia (PETC) (2005-2010), i.e. the territorial diversification of Catalonia's tourist attractions, adding value to its heritage and its cultural resources.

However, despite the pioneering spirit that has accompanied the development of gastronomy and gastronomic tourism in Catalonia, research in this field has been fragmented, dispersed and concentrated mainly in gastronomy studied from the perspective of the culinary discipline, anthropology and sociology.

The study of gastronomy and gastronomic tourism from a geographical and global perspective is, despite the progress and academic efforts made in Catalonia, a pressing matter. These phenomena need to be examined in greater depth and, in particular, an analysis needs to be undertaken of the processes of production and marketing of food products exchanged under the gastronomic "label".

As discussed above, this thesis aims to provide further knowledge about the phenomenon of gastronomic tourism and to establish a broader basis for the study of this under-explored field. Taking a geographical perspective, the aim is to understand how gastronomic tourism in Catalonia is spatially and territorially configured by examining the relationships that occur in the exchange of food products from the producer to the restaurateur as part of this tourist activity. What is not included in this analysis is wine and wine tourism which represent a more mature, and more structured sector and one which has been widely studied in Catalonia.

Furthermore, this analysis of the supply and distribution processes within Catalan territory should allow us determine whether gastronomic tourism is an effective strategy for local development, and whether the actors who take part in the process of supply, distribution and food marketing as part of gastronomic tourism can hope to profit from it or not.

1.3 STATE OF ART OF GASTRONOMIC TOURISM

The starting point and the main motivation for this research (despite the fact that there is no consensus in the global academic debate concerning the definition of gastronomic tourism) corresponds to the question: what relations are established between the actors (producers, distributors and restaurateurs) in the supply chain² and the marketing of food products as part of a tourist modality known as gastronomic tourism and what are the consequences of these relations?

In Europe, scholars would seem to prefer to talk about food tourism, on the basis of evidence obtained from the meeting of the World Tourism Organization (WTO) (2000) 3 held in Cyprus. In 2002 the first book devoted to examining the the relationship between "Tourism and Gastronomy" was published. Its author. Scarpato, refers to the need to remove gastronomic tourism from the "grey zone" of cultural tourism and heritage and to recognise its unique opportunities.

Gastronomic tourism in Europe corresponds, according to Loverseed (2009), to the activity in which travellers enjoy "good food" and drink while on holiday. However, in the UK, authors seem to prefer to refer to this activity as food tourism, while in North America "culinary tourism" (visiting restaurants, participating in cooking classes) seems to be the preferred term. However, in

² The supply chain and the marketing of food products includes all actors involved in the production, processing and marketing of products: farmers, processors, retailing, wholesalers (Pasca et al., 2010).

International Conference about "Local Food and Tourism" organized by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) in 2000.

the Latin countries, the term "gastronomic tourism" predominates (Ravara de Oliveira, 2007).

According to the website of the International Culinary Tourism Association (ICTA) (2011), this type of tourism can be defined as "culinary experiences of all kinds. It is much more than just restaurant guides. It includes cooking schools, cookbooks, culinary tours and guided tours, caterers, vineyards, breweries, distilleries, food growers and manufacturers, culinary attractions and more. Authenticity is also a vital factor for culinary tourists. It is the pursuit of unique and memorable culinary experiences of all kinds". Hall and Sharples (2003), however, prefer to speak of food tourism in which there is a relationship between food, the tourism product and the tourism experience.

Although the conceptual boundaries between food, nutrition and cooking remain somewhat blurred, there is a general consensus among scholars that culinary, food or gastronomic tourism is a multifaceted research field which has developed from different branches of academic research, be they from geography, economics, tourist policy, cultural studies or sociological analysis, to name just a few.

Much of the academic literature on gastronomic tourism has tended to focus on its role as an economic generator and marketing tool (Telfer and Wall, 1996; Kneafsey et al., 2001; Okumus et al., 2007) or as a companion to wine tourism (Charters and Ali-Knight, 2002). However, the academic literature produced over the last decade (Hjalaguer and Richards, 2002; Boniface, 2003; Long, 2003) and a selection of other documentary sources (Bessière, 1998; Hall and Mitchell, 2001; Cohen and Avieli, 2004) mark a new trend in the study of gastronomic tourism. These reflect the growing need to transcend traditional disciplinary approaches towards interdisciplinary studies linking anthropological perspectives, psychological, ethnological (Beardsworth and Keil, 1997) together with studies of food production and agricultural development.

Another aspect on which most authors agree is the multiplicity of actors involved in this recent form of tourism and the diversity of relationships and interactions that are woven via the exchange of goods, in this case, food. These relationships and interactions establish themselves as the key to culinary, gastronomic or food tourism as a new tourist modality. Moreover, they manifest themselves in a variety of ways in space (associations, cooperatives, networks, etc.).

In this thesis, I will refer at all times to "gastronomic tourism" since this is how the phenomenon is understood among the public and private Organizations of Catalonia, the study area which constitutes the spatial framework for this study. In addition, and as mentioned above, the wine sector is not addressed specifically in the analysis since there is a strong research tradition not only in the sector as a whole but also more particularly of wine tourism in Catalonia and Spain. Thus, were these data to be incorporated and analysed, it might lead to a distortion in the thesis, whose specific focus is on the food products exchanged as part of gastronomic tourism and for which to date we dispose of little information for Catalonia and for Spain in general.

On the other hand, to analyse the relations established between the actors we apply the approach of relational economic geography, based on the initial studies of Storper (1997), later developed by Bathelt and Gluckler (2003), and the four "ions" they propose: namely, the organization, evolution, innovation and interaction between actors and organizations. As the authors note, these "ions" represent the central analytical categories in the study of structures and economic and social processes from a relational perspective.

However, the analysis of relations between actors has only been possible thanks to the "cultural shift" that occurred in society in the nineties and that has been discussed by such authors as Amin and Thrift (2000); Bathelt and Gluckler (2003) and Yeoung (2005) and to which reference is made in the introduction.

This change has impacted classical economics and triggered a "relational shift" in economic geography, allowing us to examine relations between actors and the way in which they interact with a changing and interactive environment, because contemporary economics should be understood, according to Hudson (2004), as processes and practices of production, distribution and consumption, which are both discursive and material through which people seek to create wealth and prosperity and build circuits of appropriation and value creation.

This cultural and relational change is also reflected in the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services in all sectors. An example of this is the demand from consumers for an alternative food production and supply system to that of agro-industrial production or the seeking of new ways to experience tourism. This allows the emergence of new types of tourism such as gastronomic tourism and with this, the search for alternative goods and services to those provided by the mass production system of Fordism.

Authors, such as Boniface (2003), refer to the food products of gastronomic tourism as local, regional, traditional crafts and specialty products. These products are identified by various authors (Ilbery and Kneafsey, 1998; Boniface, 2003; Renting et al., 2003; Ilbery and Maye, 2005, Watts et al., 2005) as alternative products that are produced above all by small and medium enterprises (SMEs).

These enterprises are understood as forms of social organization that impact on local economies through their organizational strategies (Dicken, 1998). Businesses in gastronomic tourism are supported by various public and private institutions, allowing them to promote and sell their products through strategies not only at the local level but also at the national and international levels.

Enterprises or organizations in the supply chain and the marketing of food products for gastronomic tourism are characterised by specific factors of localisation, including connectivity, tourism infrastructure, access to information, knowledge and experience of public and private actors in promoting tourism products, which allow them to enter the gastronomic tourism market and perceive it as a business opportunity.

Therefore, the links between organizations and institutions allow them to transcend the physical space by creating networks that connect municipalities, as well as counties and provinces in the case of Catalonia, so that they can better promote a tourism strategy related to food.

The links referred to are constructed by establishing close relationships between producers and consumers via the exchange of products with special features. These aspects are fundamental elements of gastronomic tourism which has come to represent and exemplify new forms of marketing and organization known as Alternative Food Networks (AFN).

The outcomes of new forms of organization and interaction in the supply chain and marketing of food products for gastronomic tourism might contribute to the establishment of a development model in the long term for regions in which tourist resources are scarce. However, the success in establishing the model will depend on the interaction and consolidation of relations between organizations and institutions.

Thus, this thesis is based on the identification of producers, distributors and restaurateurs operating in the territory so that we might know and understand their characteristics, interests and values; the mechanisms that guide the decision-making process; the strategies employed in achieving their goals; and, above all, their possible interactions. These aspects are arousing an increasing interest (Salom Carrasco and Albertos Puebla, 2009) and they are what this thesis seeks to shed further light upon.

1.4 GASTRONOMIC TOURISM AS A NEW TOURISM MODALITY

The importance given in the nineties to the intangible heritage had the effect that tourism, as Schlüter (2009) points out, attracted flows of tourists into its gastronomic sector. The research conducted by Cleave (2011) describes a temporal frame that captures the establishment of gastronomic tourism. The framework reports, by period, the main characteristics of the prevailing food contexts and how they relate with tourism. Figure 1 illustrates the evolution of this form of tourism from its birth in the early twentieth century. Furthermore, it shows that the evolution in the contexts of food and tourism are historically related.

Food context Periode Food + Tourism Tourism Activities 1914 Culinary Imperialism Awareness of the dietary Belle Époque The Farm economy & its Food Value of food -1939 Rationing Austerity, eating out as -Inter-war Travel restrictions an occasional treat Increasing of food production and economies of scale "Green revolution", 1969-Development agriculture productivism Post-war overseas travel of tourism Nouvelle Cuisine Global tourism Fast food culture 1989-1999 Fusion cuisine Food crisis Culinary "celebrification" Sustainable tourism Twentieth Century-Today Sustainable food Food tourism production Experience economy

Figure 1.Temporal frame of the establishment of gastronomic tourism in the twentieth century

Source: Author's own based on Cleave, 2012

For the World Tourism Organization (WTO), gastronomic tourism remains a small niche market that has yet to be studied as a separate sector within the global perspective it gives to tourism. To date, there are no specific statistics, no studies that allow us to assess the economic impact of the gastronomic tourism sector. In most travel surveys, food remains firmly under the heading of "accommodation".

However, the products of gastronomic tourism today are being delivered to consumers via a range of distribution channels, including food markets, festivals, restaurants and gastronomic routes (Smith and Xiao, 2008). Moreover, the research conducted demonstrates that food is indicative of the significant influence a destination can have on tourists and visitors alike (Hjalaguer and Richards, 2002; Mitchell and Scharples, 2003; Cohen and Avieli, 2004; Quang and Wang, 2004; Schlüter and Thiel 2008). It may well be argued, therefore, that gastronomy is a viable alternative for new destinations that are unable to benefit from mass tourism and especially "sun and beach" tourism.

One of the strong motivating factors of gastronomic tourism is the appreciation for regionally produced food products and beverages (Mason and Paggiaro, 2009). In referring to the regional nature of gastronomic tourism, Everett (2008)

points out that places in which gastronomic tourism is available offer ideal conceptual points in space. He examines the post-modern evolution of the consumer dimensions of tourism that become involved in individualised, heterogeneous experiences. For the author, these places provide spaces for a full sentential immersion where cultural objects are physically internalised and tourists are submerged in waves of smells, sounds, tastes and touch.

Studies of gastronomic tourism and of its impact on the lives of communities represent a number of thematic challenges for those interested in studying gastronomic tourism by taking a cross-disciplinary approach to the analysis of the relationship between tourism and gastronomy (Scarpato, 2002). According to the author, this is an unconventional approach, because until now it has been seen exclusively as a research topic within tourism and not vice versa.

An example of such a cross-disciplinary approach is provided by Smith and Xiao (2008) in their analysis of the supply chains of gastronomic tourism, which highlights the multiplicity of actors involved. For example, in the supply chain of festivals organised around gastronomy in Canada they identify twenty-five stakeholder groups (food producers, restaurants, catering companies, agents, decorators, sanitation, safety, volunteers, promoters, etc.) that are related in one way or another with gastronomic tourism.

The study interestingly emphasises the multiplicity not just of actors but of stakeholders. Consequently, a central part of this thesis is dedicated to describing these stakeholders that form a part of gastronomic tourism and identifying their main features. These are presented below.

1.4.1 Main stakeholders in gastronomic tourism

Food acts as the meeting point of production, processing, storage, transport and cooking. The meal which it comprises involves choices, customs, manners and traditions within a specific political and economic context (Antonioli Corigliano, 2002). All of which points once more to the diversity and heterogeneity of actors involved in gastronomic tourism, albeit that the central role is reserved for the tourist.

The consumers of gastronomic tourism are either tourists⁴ and/or visitors⁵. In the case of tourists, in line with Schlüter et al. (2008) when quoting Torres Bernier (2003), a distinction can be drawn between the tourists that eat because they are travelling and tourists who travel to eat. Despite this distinction, however, the profile of the culinary tourist remains unclear because, to date, no government agency has conducted a study of this niche market (Loverseed, 2009).

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⁴ Defined as a person who stays at least one night in collective or private accommodation in the place or country visited (Eurostat website, 2012).

⁵ Defined as a person who does not spend the night in collective or private accommodation in the place visited (Eurostat, 2012), the trip may have been made to another place rather than the person's habitual place of residence and the stay should not be more than 12 consecutive months.

Although, as reported by Fandos Herrera et al. (2012), gastronomic tourism remains a minority tourist practice, the fact is that it attracts a particularly select type of tourist prepared to spend heavily on very high-quality products. The gastronomic tourist seeks, above all, the authenticity of the place they visit through its food; moreover, they acknowledge the value of gastronomy as an opportunity to socialise, a space for sharing life with others, for exchanging experiences (Gaztelumendi, 2012).

According to Loverseed (2009), gastronomic tourists typically range in age between 20 and 50, although Abkarim (2006) in the USA reports a greater number of gastronomic tourists in the 20-29 age range. Gastronomic tourists tend to be adventurous, professionals that are travelling while at the peak of their careers, and they are usually highly educated and enjoy high income levels (Hjalaguer and Richards, 2002). On average, the demographic profile of such tourists correlates closely with that of cultural tourists.

A further important aspect for defining the profile of the gastronomic tourist is a good knowledge of their underlying motivations. This has been confirmed by several studies (Antonioli Corigliano, 2002; Oliveira, 2007; Schlüter et al., 2008; Mason y Paggiaro, 2009; Smith et al., 2010; Young et al., 2010) carried out to ascertain the main factors in this regard. Among the main conclusions provided by these studies is the possibility of tasting new products, of visiting the site of purchase, of accessing detailed information about the product, of discovering its origin, of visiting rural areas for weekend breaks, and for enjoying new experiences and relaxing. For Spanish tourists, for example, the main reasons they report for selecting a particular dining destination are price, quality, variety and food culture (Consejería de Cultural y Turismo de Asturias, 2010).

Thus, while it is quite clear from the literature that the central role is reserved for the tourist (as the main studies are at pains to stress), here, for the purposes of this thesis, the leading players will be assumed to be those that take a role in the supply chain and in the marketing of food products before they reach the final consumer, i.e., the tourist. Here, by contrast, the final consumer will be assumed to be the restaurateurs, the characteristics of which are outlined below together with those of the other leading players: the producers, the retailers and the institutions, which are critical for the dynamics of this tourism sector.

1.4.1.1 Producers

The producers are defined as those involved in primary production and the processing of lower grade products. Their participation in gastronomic tourism, according to Schlüter (2009), allows this group of actors to cut out the intermediaries and, thus, increase their "financial returns" through direct sales, price control and the obtaining of cash on a regular basis. Moreover, their transport needs and costs are lower and, consequently, there production costs can be kept low.

It has been argued, see, for example, Antonioli Corigliano (2002), that the successful combination of tourism and food production (as well as that of other services) is only possible if the actors are able to adopt a new business

rationale based on a broader economic vision. The producers need to recognize, accept and then exploit their mutual interdependencies. Entrepreneurs who decide to "go down this road" have to diversify their activities and redirect them to the tourist services market and so contribute to the innovation of high quality regional products (Antonioli Corigliano, 2002).

1.4.1.2 Agrifood retailers

Agrifood retailers may, on the one hand, share close links with producers and food processing firms. Often we find members of the same family running a shop selling their products (Binimelis and André Descombes, 2010). However, it is far more common to find shops specializing in organic food, products that the retailer will have purchased directly from local producers or food processors. Here, the relationship between retailer and consumer is very important, as is the provision of information to the consumers.

1.4.1.3 Restaurateurs

Restaurants are arguably the service with the closest ties to gastronomic tourism (Smith and Xiao, 2008). In market competition terms, and according to Kivela and Johns (2003), restaurants and *cuisines* will often have to respond to the emergence of new consumer patterns that seek a greater diversity of gastronomic experiences.

In line with Smith and Xiao (2008), various general and specific sources can be identified in relation to the supplying of restaurants: wholesale distributors; food and beverage processors; slaughterhouses; related consumable suppliers (stationery and cutlery); financial services; suppliers of furniture; transport and delivery companies; graphic designers, among others. This diversity of suppliers points to the complexity and the extent of the supply chain for an independent restaurant.

1.4.1.4 Institutions

The institutions operating in the tourist sector correspond to market operators, defined by Sancho and Buhalis (1998) as companies and organizations whose primary function is to facilitate the interaction between supply and demand. The authors identify the following within this category: travel agents, transport companies and public and private organizations that have a hand in organising and developing the promotion of tourism.

1.4.2 Main gastronomic destinations in Europe

As a result of the increased interest in gastronomy, various regions and cities have established themselves as places of culinary pleasure and leisure (Hjalaguer, 2002). However, within Europe, above all three countries have been identified in the literature as obvious gastronomic destinations: France, Italy and Spain.

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

The main objective of this study is to identify and analyse the actions of, and the interactions between, the actors (i.e., producers, distributors and restaurateurs) involved in the supply chain and in the marketing of food products in the emerging tourist activity of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia. The analysis is based on both qualitative and quantitative information that allows the identification of the spatial impact and consequences of these actions and interactions and the determination of how they might contribute to a model of local or regional development in the long term. To achieve this, the following specific objectives have been identified:

- 1) Establish the changes in the macro-discourses related to food that have provided the institutional preconditions for the development of the gastronomic tourist phenomenon. To achieve this goal it is necessary to:
 - a) Collect and analyse information of a range of types and from a range of sources (scientific, websites, brochures, reports, etc.) so as to determine the major discourses related to food.
 - b) Understand and analyse the theoretical discussion related to the new institutionalism and the emergence of new institutional fields, which can then be applied to the research phenomenon.
- 2) Analyse how the actors involved in the supply and marketing of food products act and interact and how they are influenced by the socio-institutional contexts related to gastronomic tourism in the places in which they operate. To this end it is necessary to:
 - a) Identify the various actors operating in the supply chain and in the marketing of food products and examine how they act.
 - b) Characterize and describe the relations and interactions that are generated, where and under which circumstances.
- 3) Identify how stakeholders are organized in the supply and marketing of food products and how this organization varies from place to place, observing the resulting consequences at the territorial level. To achieve this goal it is necessary to:
 - a) Identify the types of organizations to which the actors are linked in fulfilling their business functions.
 - b) Analyse the consequences that are manifest in one place or another and determine whether this is related to the type of organization with which they are linked.
- 4) Examine the consequences of the relationships and interactions between the actors participating in the supply and marketing of food products for the

promotion of gastronomic tourism, determining whether they can contribute to boosting development at the local or regional levels in the long term. To this end it is necessary to:

- a) Interpret the consequences of the relationships and interactions and their variations from one area to another.
- b) Collect information regarding local and regional development and to establish links with the interpretations of the consequences.

Taking into consideration the above objectives and based on the conceptual framework to be employed with reference to Catalonia, the thesis formulates the following four hypotheses:

First Hypothesis: A multiplicity of actors engaged in the agrifood and tourism sectors establish links not only through the exchange of products but also through sharing a set of rules and values related to food. As a result, these interchanges, operating at a range of different geographic scales, permit the emergence of a new institutional field that serves to legitimise and confirm gastronomic tourism as a separate tourism modality in Catalonia.

Second Hypothesis: The relationships and interactions between actors in the production and distribution of food products within gastronomic tourism serve to create new symmetries in relationships that are regulated by mechanisms such as power and trust, which depend on geographical proximity. These relationships create new forms of organization and cooperation that are expressed differently from one region to another.

Third Hypothesis: The concentration of actors involved in the chain and their links with gastronomic strategies have a direct bearing on tourism brands that attain a degree of maturity in terms of infrastructure, tourist products, the training and experience acquired by their organizations, which benefit from such factors as increased connectivity, access to more customers, enhanced infrastructure and other resources.

Fourth Hypothesis: The relationship between the actors involved and the space in which they operate is symbiotic; therefore, the effects on the socioeconomic, cultural and environmental structure are reciprocal. However, the spatial consequences arising from gastronomic phenomena are currently not visible to those involved in this activity, yet its increasing maturity can serve as a model for local and regional development in the long run.

Each of these scenarios represents a different dimension of the economic and social space of Catalonia. The first hypothesis represents the horizontal dimension and centres on an analysis of the links between the stakeholders in the food industry and tourism in Catalonia, which together are establishing gastronomic tourism. The second hypothesis represents the vertical dimension and is concerned with the hierarchy in the relationships, whether they are symmetrical or asymmetrical, dependent in this respect on relations of power and trust. In turn, these relationships can pave the way for the establishment of

new organizational forms at a range of different scales, which are also a reflection of this hierarchy. The third and fourth hypotheses represent the functional dimension of Catalonia's socio-economic space and are concerned with explaining the spatial consequences arising from the relationship between the actors and how these consequences may or may not become a model for long-term local and regional development in Catalonia.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

This thesis adopts an approach that is founded firmly on that of epistemological critical realism; additionally, it takes an evolutionary perspective that seeks to decontextualise the principles of socio-economic exchange in a spatial context. The goals of critical realism are to identify causal explanations for general mechanisms, establishing a causal explanation based on the principle of contingency (Bathelt and Gluckler, 2003: 127).

On these foundations, an analysis of the relationships and interactions between actors requires an approach developed within relational economic geography, which represents a shift away from traditional conceptualisations of economic geography (Bathelt and Gluckler, 2011: 6). Relational thinking in terms of economic action, social action and organizational and institutional analyses constitute the key to understanding, on the one hand, the rise of gastronomic tourism as a tourist phenomenon and, on the other, the organizational processes called into play and the effects on the actors involved in the supply chain and the marketing of food products.

Relational economic geography calls for the employment of combined methodologies for the undertaking of relational analyses (Bathelt and Gluckler, 2011). Thus, the challenge of understanding the relationships and interactions between the actors involved in the value chain and gastronomic tourism and its spatial expression in the Catalan context can only be undertaken by combining quantitative and qualitative analyses so as to permit methodological pluralism.

Qualitative information gathered from 22 semi-structured interviews was complemented with quantitative information obtained from conducting surveys with 320 actors involved in the production, marketing and catering (hotels and restaurants) of products promoted as gastronomic in Catalonia.

The research process takes as its starting point the theory that all data are checked and verified, resulting in a deductive process that generates hypotheses for empirical testing. The process continues with the observation and collection of data: in this case, the conducting of surveys and interviews that serve as methodological tools that incorporate the direct observation of reality.

Once the information has been collected, it is processed for statistical analysis. The subsequent interpretation of the results leads to the deduction of empirical generalizations which can be compared and contrasted with the initial research hypotheses (Dominguez and Simó, 2003). This process of acquiring scientific knowledge is configured, therefore, as a continuous feedback between theory

and empirical data employing processes of deduction and induction (Dominguez and Simó, 2003: 23).

1.6.1 Sources of information

The methodological pluralism adopted during the study, reflecting the heterogeneity of the subject studied, requires a range of information sources and research techniques to explain and analyse the exact nature of the phenomenon under study as well as possible. The data collection techniques require the adoption of information search methods combined with secondary data collection and the conducting of surveys, interviews and the systematic observation of the phenomenon. As such, the method incorporates not only qualitative and quantitative elements that generate information to provide a description in territorial terms of the study area, but also quantitative information on which future scenarios can be projected regarding the territorial implications of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia.

1.6.1.1 Bibliographic sources

The review of the literature and related documentary sources conducted in the second stage of the research centred on three conceptual aspects and the interplay between them: namely, tourism, gastronomy and the supply and marketing of agri-food products. These conceptual elements served as the starting point for the search, capture and evaluation of information. To these elements, a fourth aspect was included: namely, the territory corresponding to Catalonia. The assessment of these sources and the information they provided was conducted as follows:

- a) An initial examination of the institutions of gastronomic tourism, their structure and the actors present in the territory. This was conducted on a collection of documentary sources about gastronomic tourism in Catalonia published by the Catalan Government (*Generalitat*) and the various government bodies involved in the promotion of this type of tourism, as well as studies of various public and private institutions which are linked in one way or another with this activity.
- b) Forming part of the secondary quantitative data collected, and employing the methodology described by Ilbery et al. (2006) for a public database, a database prepared by the Consortium of Trade Crafts and Fashion of Catalonia, (CCAMC), an affiliate body of the *Generalitat*, was examined. The database is available at the "Gastroteca" website. The site consists of a public database including all those producers, distributors, hotels, restaurants and generally any establishment that has a significant proportion of Catalan food products in its agri-food supply. All the actors are interested in promoting Catalan products, which is made possible via this free site.

The database, in Excel format, comprised a total of 2.459 records in the category defined by the Consortium as: "Where to Buy". This category includes a total of 79 sub-categories, dedicated primarily to producers, processors or distributors. It is worth noting that the database had the following sections:

accommodation address, Zip (CP), City / Town, phone, fax, mail, web address, and product category. The subsequent data processing performed on this database is explained in greater detail below.

Based on earlier studies and analyses of food distribution systems, food production and its consumption (see, for example, Dixon, 1999: 158), a distinction needs to be drawn between distribution and consumption: Thus, it was decided to regroup the 79 "Where to Buy" categories established by the Consortium in just two groups reflecting the specific object of study here. Thus, we have:

- Producers: this group comprises all subcategories corresponding in the Consortium database to producers, processors or producers purchasing directly from a producer. As a result, 61 of the 79 subcategories established by the Consortium formed this new group.
- Retailers: this group comprises all subcategories corresponding in the Consortium database to shops, farm shops, cooperatives or retailers. The new group comprised all entities specifically devoted to marketing or distribution and in which no production or manufacturing processes were observed. As a result, 16 of the 79 subcategories established by the Consortium formed this new group.
- Sale to final consumer: Note that the database also included the category defined by the Consortium as: "Where to taste". This contained a total of 401 records dedicated principally to hotels and restaurants (hotels, restaurants, catering establishments, accommodation). Of the 14 subcategories established by the Consortium, here, for the purposes of the thesis, just one category corresponding to restaurateurs is recognised.

1.6.1.2 Primary sources

The primary information reported here, corresponding to new information of both a qualitative and quantitative nature, has been obtained from surveys and interviews conducted while undertaking the research. The criteria for using each of the methodological tools presented below in this scientific study are discussed in detail.

1.6.1.2.1 The database

From the 2.459 data records provided by the Consortium we eliminated those related to wine (or which were blank) obtaining a total of 1.703 records. Of these, 1.333 (78%) correspond to producers, 370 (23.13%) to distributors and 401 records to "restaurateurs", all located in the regions of Catalonia. We also determined the number in each category according to specific region as well as by "tourism brands". In this latter instance, the statistical design (see below) was

developed by tourism brands⁶ considering the producers, retailers and restaurateurs (final consumer) operating in the counties (*comarcas*) that make up each brand.

The statistical design

The sampling method selected corresponds to a stratified sampling, where the strata for each of these populations are grouped by tourism brands and the substrata correspond to the counties (*comarcas*). The tourism brands correspond to geographical areas with similar tourist characteristics. In each county, and therefore in each brand, we quantified the number of producers, retailers and restaurateurs that make up each of the strata that conform the population to be sampled (see Table 1).

Table 1. Population and strata for statistical design

Strata	Tourism Brand	Producers	Retailers	Restaurateurs
1	PIRINEOS	348	95	89
II	VAL D'ARAN	4	1	2
III	TERRES DE	189	16	19
	LLEIDA			
IV	CATALUNYA	276	62	50
	CENTRAL			
V	COSTA BRAVA	120	28	65
VI	COSTA	40	12	12
	MARESME-			
	BARCELONA			
VII	COSTA DAURADA	165	35	40
VIII	BARCELONA	15	68	46
IX	TERRES DE	97	35	39
	L'EBRE			
X	COSTA DEL	79	18	39
	GARRAF			
	TOTAL	1.333	370	401

Source: Author's own based on data provided by Gastroteca, 2012

The overall sample size distribution across strata was performed by applying a proportionate allocation of 100 surveys for each group (producers, traders, distributors) and by maintaining a relative standard error of +/- 8.7. To achieve this, a greater number should be allocated to the group of producers so as to maintain this error, given that this is the group with the most records.

Since the proportion to be applied in each of the strata is known, as is the number of surveys to be carried out in each sample group by tourism brand (120,100 and 100), the results are as follows (see Table 2):

⁶ The tourism brands are configured as the fundamental division of the territory into tourist areas and have been driven primarily by the Government of the *Generalitat* of Catalonia (Arcarons i Simo, 2009).

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Table 2. Number of surveys to be completed by sampling group

Tourism brand	N° of surveys to be completed by producers	N° of surveys to be completed by retailers	Nº of surveys to be completed by restaurateurs
PIRINEOS	31	25	22
VAL D'ARAN	1	1	1
TERRES DE LLEIDA	17	4	5
CATALUNYA CENTRAL	25	17	12
COSTA BRAVA	10	7	16
COSTA MARESME- BARCELONA	4	3	3
COSTA DAURADA	14	9	10
BARCELONA	1	20	11
TERRES DE L'EBRE	9	9	10
COSTA DEL GARRAF	8	5	10
TOTAL	120	100	100

Source: Author's own, 2012

For those tourism brands or counties in which the proportional allocation was less than one due to the low population, it was decided to conduct at least one survey so as to ensure representation in each stratum.

1.6.1.2.2 Fieldwork

The fieldwork included direct observation, the conducting of qualitative and semi-structured interviews with key players and the application of quantitative techniques through the use of surveys as discussed in the previous section. Below the interviews and surveys are described in detail.

Interviews

The primary data were drawn from twenty-two, semi-structured interviews (see Table 3), of no less than 45 minutes in duration, comprising fourteen openended questions presented to various individual stakeholders involved in this sector either as promoters or as agents of production and marketing of Catalan gastronomy at different scales.

Table 3. List of Individuals interviewed

Stakeholder Group	Name	Institution	Role	Public/ Private	Scale
Public Institutions	Rocío Baez	Tourism Catalan Agency–Catalan government	Gastronomy Club Manager	Public	Regional (all Catalonia)
	Joan Baigol	LleidaTourism Bureau	Manager tourism Bureau	Public	Regional
	Anna Bastidas	Tourism Catalan Agency – Catalan government	International tourism marketing and promotion Manager in Paris- France	Public	International
	Guillem Miralles	Regional Administration of Barcelona Province- Diputación de Barcelona	Director of the "terroir products" project	Public	County council
	Ramón Ramos	Tourism Consortium Costa Brava region	Manager tourism brand	Public	International, national, regional and local
	Ramón Santmartí	Gastroteca Catalan government	Gastroteca Manager	Public	Regional (all Catalonia)
	Damià Serrano	Regional Administration of Barcelona Province- Diputación de Barcelona	Director of tourism laboratory	Public	County council
Gastronomic intermediaries	Pepa Aymami	Catalan Cuisine Institute Foundation	Catalan Cuisine Institute Foundation Manager	Private	Regional (all Catalonia)
	Manuel Colmenero	Travel Agency - Ocio Vital	Travel Agency - Ocio Vital owner and manager	Private	International, national, regional and local
	Cecilia Lorenzo	Magazine "Viatges.cat-	Magazine "Viatges.cat- Manager	Private	Regional (all Catalonia)
	Pep Palau	Pep Palau, von Arend & Associates	Gastronomic consultancy manager	Private	International, national, regional and local
	Nuria Sala	Tourism Consortium Penedes region	Manager wine tourism brand	Public and private	International, national, regional and local
	Anna Sants Puig	Tourism Consortion Valles western region	Manager tourism promotion	Public/ private	Regional
	Oscar Úbide	La Boqueria Market	Manager La Boqueria Market	Private	International, national, regional and local
Farmers and restaurateurs	Marina Duñach	Gallecs Park	Farmer	Private farming organizati on	Local municipality

	Eva Martinez Picó	Owner of a restaurant in Camprodon Valley	Restaurant owner Intermunicipality Camprodon Valley Manager	Private/ Public	County
	Josep Pamies	Pamies Horticolas	Farmer	Private	Local municipality
	Carme Ruscalleda	Owner of restaurant Sant Pau (three Michelin stars)	Chef	Private	International, national, regional and local
	Jesús Contreras	University of Barcelona	Professor (Anthropologist)	Public	International, national, regional and local
	Jaume Font	University of Barcelona	Professor (Geographer)	Public	International, national, regional and local
University	Xavier Medina	Open University of Catalonia	Professor (Anthropologist)	Public/ private	International, national, regional and local
	Jordi Tresserras	University of Barcelona	Professor (Geographer)	Public	International, national, regional and local

Source: Author's own, 2012

The semi-structured interview allows issues to be explored in some depth (Robson, 1993). Thus, the interviewees were asked to outline opinions as to how they believed strategies of gastronomic tourism might contribute to local economic development and what type of relationship they had established with other stakeholders and institutions at the local, regional, national and international levels in order to promote gastronomic strategies in Catalonia.

The questions were structured in three sections: 1) Questions concerning the institution and the activity developed; 2) Questions relating to the perception of gastronomic tourism and 3) Questions relating to the role of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia.

In addition to the interviews, three representatives of each group of actors (public institutions, universities and private actors) were chosen at random to complete an egocentric survey in order to determine the relationships they maintain with other institutions or actors and with whom they maintain the strongest/weakest ties.

The egocentric survey is a tool applied in the social sciences to understand the relationships that individuals or social entities, referred to as "Egos", maintain with other individuals or social entities, referred to as "Alteri". The goal is to characterize the sociometric relations of the "Egos" and those of the "Alteri". It is also a way of structuring the egos and their attributes (Lozares et al., 2011).

Respondents are asked to talk about their own institution and the relationships or partnerships they have established with other organizations and institutions over the past two years. The purpose is to determine whether they have forged

strong or weak relationships with other institutions or organizations. The survey can be seen in Appendix 1.

To systematize the results of the egocentric survey, "Egonet" software was used - a tool for generating network graphs that highlight the relationships forged by actors and institutions. The software output shows, according to the size of the vertices, the frequency and strength of the relationship with other actors. The larger the vertices, the stronger the relationship - a reflection of the frequency of meetings and of participating in joint projects.

Surveys

The survey was designed for each of the groups: producers, retailers and restaurateurs. As such, it included questions common to all three groups surveyed, but some changes were introduced (particularly in the survey conducted with the "restaurateurs", as some run hotels or other forms of accommodation).

Overall, the questionnaire included four sections: a first section dedicated to collecting socio-demographic information; a second section aimed at collecting information about the enterprise's relationship with its suppliers; a third section dedicated to collecting information about the enterprise's level of demand; and, a fourth and final section was included to ask about gastronomic tourism and the interviewees perception of this phenomenon (to see the full survey see Appendix 2). The survey was conducted by telephone and had a duration of no less than eight minutes.

After the survey had been administered, all data were collected, processed and systematized. Data systematisation and processing were undertaken using the SPSS statistical software package.

Stage three in the research (the data interpretation and analysis) included a univariate analysis to obtain an exploratory description of the data set. This was conducted for all variables. This generated frequency tables and statistical indices of dispersion, central tendency, asymmetry and graphics, including histograms and box plots. Most survey variables are categorical and nominal in nature and, with some exceptions, ordinal.

Stages four and five involved the contrast and analysis of the information collected. This involved conducting inferential statistical analyses, represented primarily using contingency tables. This is a first step in understanding the relationship and dependency between qualitative variables. Subsequently, we ran Pearson's chi-squared test.

In addition to the contingency tables, a bivariate analysis was conducted in relation to issues concerning local and regional development - a simple correlation analysis was run to represent categories of two variables in a small spatial dimension. This enables us to interpret not only the similarities between the categories of a variable with respect to the categories of the other but also the relations between the two categories of variables (Ferrán Aranaz, 2001).

1.6.1.2.3 Cartographical sources

As part of methodological stages three, four and five, cartography was developed based on the collection of both primary and bibliographic information sources. The secondary sources included the maps provided by the Atlas Project: Tourism in Catalonia (2009) compiled by the University of Barcelona. The databases and mapping of this project were the pillars on which the new information could be represented spatially. In some cases the Atlas information was updated. The software used was ArcGis version 10.1.

1.7 STUDY AREA

The study is conducted in Catalonia (Spain), which lies in the north-eastern tip of the Iberian Peninsula, extending from the Pyrenees to the Mediterranean Sea. Its territory covers an area of 31,932 km², roughly half of which (15,902 km²) lie at altitudes higher than 600m a.s.l. and about 17% (5,288 km²) rise above 1000m a.s.l. These variations between sea level and the highest peaks in the Pyrenees (reaching 3000m a.s.l.) account for the marked climatic and biogeographic contrasts in the region (see, Majoral et al., 2002).

Catalonia is a predominantly mountainous region. Plains suitable for cultivation are, therefore, scarce. The rugged relief coupled with a complex geological structure and lithology explain the existence of large contrasts in the crops, livelihoods and landscapes that make up the Catalan mosaic (Majoral et al., 2002). In this sense, the particular alignment of the relief, especially that which runs parallel to the coast, has delimited, on the one hand, a coastal Catalonia from an inland Catalonia, and on the other, a Catalonia of marked contrasts in terms of its climate, landscape and human occupation (Domingo, 1996).

It is these biogeographic characteristics, however, that have endowed Catalonia with such variety in its products and cuisine for a small territorial area. Its cuisine ranges from fish and seafood dishes to the food typical of the Pyrenees and the highland areas, reflecting closely the culture and traditions of its peoples.

Catalonia has 947 municipalities in 41 counties (level preceding the municipal level) and 4 provinces (scale preceding the county level). The territory has a population of 7.565.603 inhabitants according to IDESCAT data (2012). The region's contemporary economic growth is based on industry and more recently in an expanding services sector that occupies a total of 2,188 million people. These are concentrated primarily between the shoreline and the littoral, above all in Barcelona and its metropolitan region which houses the most dynamic economic activities and the largest population.

1.7.1 Tourist activity

Tourism today is an essential element of the economy of the area - Catalonia is the Spanish destination that receives the largest number of foreign tourists with 13.8 million and which generates the most income, representing 21.3% of Spain's total tourist revenue in 2011 (Observatorio de Empresas y Empleo,

2012). According to the Catalan Government (2011), tourism in Catalonia represents 12% of Catalan GDP, provides employment for more than 400.000 people and generates almost 14.000 million euros in revenue.

According to Garcia Pascual (2009), from a spatial perspective the Catalan tourist model is defined by a sector that has reached a remarkable magnitude and degree of complexity, being present throughout the territory. López Palomeque (1997) refers to the phenomenon as the "touristification" of the region. According to López Palomeque (2004a), the Catalan tourist model has formed as a result of the behaviour of various components of the tourist system, establishing itself as a tourist region over the last four decades. López Palomeque (2004b) and Majoral et al. (2002) have identified ten geographical traits that define the model of tourism in Catalonia.

The first corresponds to the structural nature of tourism today; the second to the seasonality of tourism activities that concentrate mainly in summer; the third to the asymmetrical tourist map of Catalonia, which has a strong concentration of activities on the coast; the fourth to the diversification of the tourist flow; the fifth to the hegemony of sun and beach tourism; the sixth to the active participation of private and public actors; the seventh to tourism as a factor structuring the territory; the eighth to the dynamic model of tourism in Catalonia which in recent years has undergone various changes; the ninth to the existence of geo-tourist zones established and institutionalised as operating units; and, the tenth to the evolution and maturity of Catalonia as a tourist region.

1.7.1.1 Organization and marketing of tourism

Tourism in Catalonia is organized by the Department of Innovation, Universities and Enterprise, which presents the following structure (Arcarons i Simo, 2009):

Department of Innovation, Universities and Enterprise

- a. Ministry of Trade and Tourism (Law 13/1989), structured in:
 - General Trade Direction
 - Department of Tourism (DGT)

The Department of Tourism (DGT) established in 1980, is organized in turn in the following organs:

- General Directorate of Tourism Management
- General Directorate of Tourist Programming
- Tourism Observatory of Catalonia

Tourism in Catalonia is defined according to Arcarons i Simo (2009) as a global brand (Catalonia) with ten separate brands covering the whole of the region (Barcelona, Costa Brava, Costa Daurada, Costa del Garraf, Costa Barcelona-Maresme (Maresme), Cataluña Central (Central Catalonia), Pyrenees, Terres de l'Ebre, Terres de Lleida, Vall d'Aran) (see Figure 5 of Spanish version). However, the promotion of the brand "Catalonia" as a whole continues to pose, as the author mentions, greater complexity than the territorial brands, which have a much clearer tourist offer.

The brands are configured as the fundamental division of the territory into separate tourist areas and have been largely the initiative of the Government of the *Generalitat* of Catalonia. However, their implementation at the smaller scale has typically depended on the local authorities where organizational figures, such as the tourist consortia, have greater relevance (Arcarons i Simo, 2009).

This thesis opts to use this administrative unit of the tourist brands, because their association with specific products on a territorial basis may have a broader organizational role established in relation with their productive elements, rules, standards, controls and mechanisms of development. This means the brands can socialise the benefits from tourist improvements to tangible and intangible public goods and facilitate the efficient coordination of economic processes related to identity (Anton Clavé, 2010).

1.7.1.2 Tourism and geographical environments

Catalonia, because of its geographical characteristics, presents distinct variations and features that seem to have been extrapolated to the tourist sector, so that scholars typically speak of the regions' coastal tourism, mountain tourism, rural tourism and urban tourism. Each variety comprises various tourism brands formed of groups of counties. Below we outline the main features of the relationship between tourism and the geographical environment in Catalonia.

a) Coastal tourism

The model of coastal tourism developed primarily in the 1970s when in some stretches of the Catalan coast the number of second homes first exceeded primary residences (Fraguell and Mundet, 2009). According to these authors, coastal tourism has clear links with the real estate sector and a major influence on the construction of new homes. In turn, the fortunes of the construction sector are closely tied to the general economic fluctuations and other such circumstantial factors. The tourism brands located in coastal zones are "Costa de Barcelona-Maresme", "Costa Daurada", "Costa Brava" and "Costa del Garraf".

b) Tourism in rural areas

Agritourism is the leading mode of tourism to develop in rural settings; however, the most widespread model in Catalonia is that which has been developed in rural zones and not just in agricultural areas. This has been characterised by the proliferation of schemes to redevelop farm houses and country cottages transforming them into houses for rural tourism. However, various other tourist programmes have emerged alongside the rural tourism of Catalonia, including hiking, cycling, adventure sports, eco-tourism, among others (Calabuig i Serra, 2009).

According to Calabuig i Serra (2009), this tourism has developed above all in the sparsely populated counties of inland Catalonia. This means that the only way for many counties to position themselves in the tourism market is by cooperating within the broader network of the brand. These areas typically take the longest to participate in the tourist boom, with the exception of developments for second homes (Jimenez and Prats, 2006). The tourism brands located in rural zones are "Cataluña Central", "Terres de Lleida" and "Terres de l'Ebre".

c) Mountain tourism

According to Pallarès Blanch (2009), the mountain regions have the lowest population densities of Catalonia and the oldest populations. Furthermore, they have limited levels of infrastructure and equipment and are located furthest from the urban centres, an isolation that is accentuated by difficult accessibility.

According to Pallarès Blanch (2009), the counties of the High Pyrenees and Aran occupy the Alpine biogeographical region, while the rest of the mountain regions (Berguedà, Garrotxa, Ripollès and Solsona) occupy the Mediterranean biogeographical region, where altitudes are lower. They also lie closer to the coast and the metropolitan area of Barcelona, which guarantees them greater access to communication links and metropolitan influences.

The tourist product is concentrated primarily in snow tourism with skiing being the chief activity and attraction. Above all in the regions of the High Pyrenees and Aran, skiing has been the motivation for building second homes. As a second tourist element, developing in the 1990s, we find adventure sports focused on the regions waterways. The third element, which developed after the nineties, was the development of rural housing (Pallarès Blanch, 2009). Finally, the seasonality of mountain tourism in the Pyrenees is as marked or even more marked than that of sun and beach tourism (Jiménez y Prats, 2006).

d) Urban tourism

According to Donaire (2009), unlike other tourist regions in Catalonia, those that might be exploited for urban tourism are underdeveloped. The centripetal force of Barcelona and the dominance of the industrial function have not favoured the location of tourist activities and facilities. While Barcelona is a consolidated tourist phenomenon, neighbouring municipalities are tentatively experimenting with an incipient tourism. The urban tourism of the medium-sized cities of the pre-littoral corridor is closely related to the tourist flows to the coastal towns. Attempts by the towns and cities of central and western Catalonia to attract visitors based on their cultural and commercial offer have met with very uneven results.

In general, the main nodes of the system are the cities located in the pre-littoral corridor (above all, Girona and Tarragona) and the city of Lleida, who base their appeal on their heritage, their network of museums and other tourist initiatives. The highly distinct urban tourism brand, which has acquired enormous relevance for the whole of Catalonia, is that of Barcelona.

Tables 8, 9 and 10 (see Spanish version) present data illustrating the role played by each tourism brand within Catalan tourism as a whole. Thus, tourists

visiting Barcelona exceeded by far the numbers attracted by all other tourism brands. However, the largest number of hotels is to be found in the Costa Brava, which emphasises the importance of this brand. In other tourism products, such as rural tourism, the Pyrenees and the Costa Brava stand out in relation to the other tourism brands.

As Armesto and Gómez (2004: 85) argue, in Catalonia the tourist phenomenon is very unevenly distributed across the territory, presenting marked contrasts in terms of the characteristics of the offer and demand. In the coastal zone, comprising the tourism brands of the Costa Brava, Costa Maresme, Barcelona, Costa de Barcelona-Maresme, Costa del Garraf and Costa Daurada, we find, according to the authors, more than 86% of all the tourist accommodation in Catalonia, which in turn represents approximately 80% of Catalan, Spanish and foreigners tourists who visit Catalonia.

By contrast, in quantitative terms, the phenomenon of tourism is relegated to a position of secondary importance in inland tourist areas, especially in the tourism brands of Terres de Lleida, Val d 'Aran, and Cataluña Central (Armesto and Gomez, 2004).

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY AND THE RELATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The configuration and operation of the relationships established in the food supply chain and in the marketing of food products by the institutions and organizations involved in the promotion of gastronomic tourism, and their spatial manifestations, provide the backbone for the theoretical and conceptual background of this study.

Changes in the macro discourses (at the international level, but especially in Europe) in relation to food, on the one hand, and in relation to tourist preferences, on the other, are forcing companies (as organizations) and institutions to create and establish new relationships and strategies of cooperation and interaction for the promotion and marketing of food products in gastronomic tourism. The sections presented below discuss the relationships and interactions that are established in the production and marketing of gastronomic tourism as a value chain.

To achieve this, the study addresses key concepts from relational economic geography that enable us to incorporate elements of organizational theory, associated fundamentally with design patterns and regularities, as well as with the concepts of organizational behaviour. At the same time, the study also incorporates elements of institutional theory, which provide another view of inter-organizational relationships.

2.2 ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY AND THE RELATIONAL APPROACH

In recent decades, economists and geographers interested in the economic approach have sought to move away from the analyses provided by traditional economics to apply those approaches adopted by social sciences outside the field of economics (Amin and Thrift, 2000; Glückler, 2003; Boschma and Martin, 2010). Their interest has been in the institutional, cultural and social foundations of regional and urban development, leading to what has become known as the "cultural (or institutional) turn" (Boschma and Martin, 2010) based on the relationships established between different actors. These relationships are treated as capital, and refer to the capacity to exchange skills, the interaction between different actors, the trust and cooperation established between them and with other, complementary organizations even at a distance (Capello and Faggian, 2005).

The "relational turn" in economic geography, according to Yeung (2005), has its roots in the early debates of the eighties (particularly in the context of the social

relations of production) involving such authors as Harvey (1982), Massey (1984), Smith (1984), Gregory and Urry (1985) and Giddens (1984).

Giddens (1984) and his theory of structuration established the bases of contemporary theoretical lines of thought that include Action Network Theory (ANT) (Warf, 2011) and relational economic geography (Yeung, 2005). The latter serves as the foundation for the theoretical proposal made here, in which we analyze the relations and interactions generated in the supply chain and in the marketing of food products in gastronomic tourism.

In relational economic geography the restrictions of regional science are exceeded, since the regions are not treated as if they were economic actors themselves (Bathelt and GLückler, 2003). Regions are not real actors they are socially constructed entities, dependent on the particular economic, social, cultural and political settings and realities under which people in firms and other organizations act and interact (Maskell, 2001).

This approach does not focus on spatial distributions and location decisions, or to explain why some regions grow faster than others. These aspects are considered classics in regional science (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003) and ignore the possibility of exploring the role of the actors involved in regional dynamics and changes in their local and regional environments. To Bathelt and Glückler (2003), relational economic geography focuses on processes, such as institutional learning, creative interaction, economic innovation and interorganizational communication and investigates these through a geographic lens.

The transition from regional science toward a relational approach has fundamental consequences for analysis in economic geography on three prepositions:

- 1) Contextuality. Economic actions is embedded in specific contexts, it cannot be explained through the application of universal spatial laws.
- 2) Path-dependence. From a dynamic perspective, contextuality leads to path-dependent development because yesterday's economic decisions, actions and interactions enable and constrain the context of today's action.
- 3) Contingency. Economic processes are at the same time contingent in that the agent's strategies and actions may deviate from existing development paths. Economic action in open systems is not fully determined and cannot be predicted through universal spatial laws. Economic action is subject to changes.

According to Bathelt and Glückler (2003), relational economic geography enables a complex understanding of economic action and its localized consequences, i.e. from a spatial perspective based on evolutionary and institutional concepts. The relational economic geography leads to complex understanding of economic action and its localized consequences, i.e. from a spatial perspective (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003), based on evolutionary and institutional concepts. Storper and Walker (1989) suggests that economic actors

are actively involved in producing their own regional environments through for example and according to Bathelt and Glückler, (2011: 26), training of employees, recruitment of expertise from outside, support of newly established suppliers, outsourcing to other local suppliers and services and learning processes with nearby customers. Therefore the spatial structures are seen as being socially constructed.

In the context of relational economic geography, strategies and objectives of economic actors and their relationships with other actors and institutions are at the centre of the analysis. On the other hand, space is conceptualized as perspective, allowing contextualize all processes from the beginning of the analysis (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003), the space is not analyzed as a separate entity from the economic and social structures.

The basic elements of relational economic geography and based on Storper's (1997) conceptualization of the holy trinity, four basic concepts emerge: organization, evolution, innovation and interaction (see Figure 6 Spanish version). Bathelt and Glückler (2003) refer to these as the four "ions" of a relational economic geography. The starting point according with the authors is that economic and social processes which drive the four ions are to be analyzed and evaluated using a distinct geographical lens which integrates both economic and social theories.

Organization: a basic problem of the industrial organization of labour and production processes is to establish an efficient integration and division of labour (Sayer and Walker, 1992). If some vertical disintegration is intented, the next questions to be answered are: which suppliers from which regions will be contacted; which competences will they be given, and in which places, regions and nations will which parts of the production chain be located. These and other aspects of industrial organization can be analyzed through the application of institutional theories such as transaction cost approach in economics and the embeddedness approach in social sciences (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003).

Organizational structures are not static. At the same time, organizational structures are embedded in social, cultural and institutional relationships that can not be separated from the economic sphere (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003). The spatial organization of production is a result of complex negotiations and temporary compromises between formal institutions and authorities and takes place within the context of particular power relations (Berndt, 1999).

Evolution: this ion allows the analysis of the impact of historical structures and processes on m today's decisions. Evolutionary concepts of change assume that economic and social processes are experience base, cumulative and reflexive in nature (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003). The direction of technological change according to Bathelt and Glückler (2003) are pre-structured by existing technologies. Therefore, the selection process, mutation, variation and chance are initiated which aim at the creation of knowledge and new technologies to increase efficiency.

From the sociological approach applied to the economy, Granovetter (1985) argues that economic activities are deeply embedded in structures of social relations. Therefore firms cannot be analyzed as independent entities but must be viewed within their respective socio-economic contexts.

Innovation: this ion is related to the processes of knowledge creation, the development of new technologies and the effects of technological change, especially in a spatial perspective (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003). The creation of new technologies is seen as an interactive social process characterized by a social division of labour within the company and between different companies in the value chain, as well as between companies, universities and governmental research facilities.

As argued Bathelt and Glückler (2003), successful innovations are usually associated with the creation of new knowledge or the modification of existing knowledge. The process of generating new technologies and knowledge is path-dependent in that it depends on the actors' experiences. The spatial organization is also strongly affected by the experience of previous processes of innovation at national and regional level. Innovation systems are being modified and adjusted to local cultures and institutions, resulting in specific innovation regions.

Interaction: the particular organization of production and innovation generation processes is the result of a continuous interaction. As argued Bathelt and Glückler (2003), the processes of interactive learning, creative variation and collective knowledge production can be viewed as conceptual tools that link the ions of organization and innovation and generate an evolutionary dynamic. For the authors, learning by interacting refers to a processes through which systematic communication and adjustment between producers and users results in mostly incremental improvements of product and processes technologies and organizational routines.

2.2.1 The relational space

Any examination of the relationships and interactions established between actors in the context of relational economic geography needs to recognise that these relations are conducted in a given space: a "space" that is conceived as being relational. This space is the product of social relations and the identity of each place (Massey, 2008). The relationships that occur in this space form exchanges, practices, etc., full of power, which are characterised, according to the author, by what are known as "power geometries".

Under the gaze of relational economic geography with application to the thesis, the space can not be treated as a separate entity isolated. In the relational approach, economic action transforms the localized material and institutional conditions of future economic action (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003). Economic actors themselves produce their own regional environments (Storper, 1997). The way in which spatial categories and regional artefacts has an impact on economic action can only be understood as point out Bathelt and Glückler (2003), if the particular economic and social context of that action is analysed.

In the relational space this is not seen as a "container" but is treated as perspective. According to Bathelt and Glückler (2003, 2011), space is the starting point for asking specific questions about economic phenomena. Economic exchange becomes the primary focus of analysis, seeking explanations for localized economic processes and their consequences. All action and interaction occurs somewhere, therefore, in particular places, regions, countries and commercial blocks (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003).

2.2.2 Economic action in a spatial perspective

The institutional and social context creates opportunities for economic action and interaction, which otherwise would not exist. Therefore, economic actors develop new goals and strategies for action (Bathelt and Glückler, 2011). For authors, economic action is seen as a social process, in which special attention is paid to the structure⁷ of relations between actors and the creation of formal and informal institutions.

The economic action in the relational economic geography is viewed as a process situated in time and place, both of which are based on Giddens (1984) when the author mentions that social practices are sorted across space and time. Thus, is through their activities that actors reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible.

The action is considered an open system, thus, individual events and their specific contexts under the principle of contingency, leads to identify common patterns in different places affecting economic action. This involves identifying causal mechanisms. The relational economic geography as pointed out Bathelt and Glückler (2011) integrates the context, thus focuses on people, firms and other organizations involved in economic decision making, as well as on individuals and environments that are subject to the consequences of this action.

2.3 ORGANIZATIONS AS RELATIONS IN A SPATIAL CONTEXT

Considering the spatial perspective in relational economic geography, and the way in which economic action has an impact on space, it is important to have an understanding of how organizations and institutions are configured spatially, since in relational economic geography, the organization represents one dimension of analysis. However, just who these organizations and institutions are also needs to be clarified.

Organizations can be seen as tools used by people to coordinate their actions and to obtain something they want (Jones, 2004) or as social entities that are goal-driven. Organizations are designed as coordinated, structured systems that are linked to the environment (Daft, 2007). As such, firms understood as forms of social organizations have an impact on local economies through their organizational strategies (Dicken, 1998). These strategies are developed as

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⁷ The spatial structure is now seen not only as a space in which social life unfolds, but is a means through which social relations are produced and reproduced (Gregory and Urry, 1985: 3).

part of a specific know-how in organizational routines, rituals and habits, where this valuable tacit knowledge is not homogeneous and is distributed throughout the territory (Denicolai et al. 2010).

Organizational theory holds that organizations are made up of interested parties or the organization's 'stakeholders', if they receive rewards and contributions in relation to their skills and experiences (Jones, 2004). Thus, stakeholders are, according to Jones (2004), made up from the owners of the companies, their employees, suppliers, customers, the government, local communities and the general public, who have particular interests and motivations that require control and coordination mechanisms.

On the other hand, organizations can range from large multinational organizations to small family businesses that manufacture products or provide services facilitating innovation, adapting and influencing in a dynamic environment of change (Daft, 2007).

Location-specific factors (including, connectivity, tourism infrastructure, access to information, knowledge, experience of public and private actors in the promotion of tourism products, etc.) in a given environment for those companies or organizations that make up the supply chain and which market food products within gastronomic tourism allow companies to enter the market for this type of tourism and to perceive it as a business opportunity. This, in turn, is related to entrepreneurship, a term that refers to the process by which people recognize opportunities to satisfy needs and make use of the resources needed to meet them (as pointed out by Jones, 2004).

In the case of the agrifood sector, an entrepreneurial spirit is essential in order to create and implement initiatives related to food quality. This spirit often needs to be developed among the sector's actors by implementing training for the acquisition of the specific competences required by each type of actor in the supply chain, ensuring at the same time that they interact with other businesses (Pasca et al., 2010).

However, in the case of tourism, little attention has been paid to the role of entrepreneurial spirit and the way in which tourism businesses operate in different economies (Shaw and Williams, 1994). Additionally, studies have tended to ignore the important role that entrepreneurship plays for small and medium enterprises (SMEs) (Callot, 2006).

A firm's environment and its interaction with other actors allows new channels of commercialisation to be opened up which can lead to new forms of spatial organization. In the section that follows, the importance of an organization's interaction with the environment, and hence the role of proximity, will be discussed.

2.3.1 The organization and its interaction with the environment

The environment in which an organization operates can, according to Jones (2004), be considered a source of uncertainty. The organization needs to design its structure so that it can properly manage its relationships with stakeholders in an external environment. For this reason, and as Lüthi (2011) points out, it is not surprising that several authors mention the importance of business location as a competitive advantage.

Lüthi (2011) identifies four patterns that comprise the spatial logic of a business organization: a) competitive strategies related to a firm's location as a factor of its competitive advantage; b) locational adjustment including the time dimension in the analysis of a firm's spatial strategies and how these change over time; c) business functions in space, referring to transnational corporations and how they organize their activities in space, as well as to where its subsidiaries locate and produce goods; and, d) cluster⁸ and competition, referring to the geographical concentration of interconnected companies in a particular sector.

Organizational structures are not static. The existence of accepted rules, norms and other institutional arrangements create a reliable environment for interactive learning and has a direct impact on the organization of innovation and production processes (Hodgson, 1988; Bathelt and Glückler, 2003).

The spatial organization of production is a result of complex negotiations and temporary compromises among firms, formal institutions and authorities and takes place within the context of particular power relations (Bathelt and Glückler, 2003), where spatial and relational proximity play an important role.

The role of spatial and relational proximity

When companies operate in spatial proximity, networks and personal knowledge can be developed since the companies share the same partners or contacts and, in such cases, little interaction is needed. Geographical proximity also facilitates knowledge sharing and, hence, interactive learning and innovation (Denicolai et al., 2010).

In the case of relational proximity, this is based on the physical infrastructure, accessibility and the organizational ability of firms to facilitate interaction, as well as more subtle conditions such as cognitive, social and institutional thickness (Lüthi, 2011). In the relational proximity, strong relational ties and close colleagues in other companies in different places may have similar consequences as those presented by spatial proximity. Communication enables knowledge transfer distances between places without the need for a permanent personal contact (Bathelt and Turi, 2011).

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⁸ The most widespread cluster concept is that proposed by Porter (2000: 15), who defines a cluster as "geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, firms in related industries and associated institutions in a particular field that compete but also cooperate".

However, despite the above, it recognized other dimensions of proximity that have been addressed by different authors (Amin and Cohendet, 2004; Torre and Rallet, 2005; Boschma, 2005) such as time proximity, organizational proximity, cognitive, social and institutional. These types of proximity are also critical to the competitive advantage of firms and regions (Lüthi, 2011).

The previous paragraphs have stressed the interaction that takes place between organizations. This interaction is influenced, in one way or another, by different types of proximity. The interaction also forms part of one of the areas of analysis of relational economic geography, since the different types of interaction between actors and organizations at different spatial levels enable organizations to modify and refine their routines along existing paths (Bathelt and Glückler, 2011).

This is also extrapolated to organizations or actors involved in the supply chain and marketing of food products as a part of gastronomic tourism, where the actors experience various types of proximity but where, according to Fischer (2012), their geographical and relational proximity can prevail, thus determining either short or long chains of supply and marketing.

Once we know the influence of the external environment in which geographical and relational proximity play an important role in the performance of the organizations, we then need to understand who the actors are and what role they play in the chain, so as to be able to analyze their relationships and interactions.

2.3.2 The role of actors in organizational relations

In relational economic geography actors are individuals or groups such as companies, government institutions and other organizations. The companies are organized around structures and routines that are independent of individual actors who operate within these organizations (Lorenz, 1999; Bathelt and Glückler, 2011). The individual and collective actors are integrated into structures of socio-institutional relationships and actor networks that influence their decisions and actions (Granovetter, 1985).

As Amin (1999) has argued, there are various rationalities at work which lead to differences in the economic performance of actors. Bathelt and Glückler (2011) also refer to the different rationalities of the actors involved and how they must choose between them according to the contexts and experiences affecting their economic strategies and decision-making. Relational economic geography is capable, as Bathelt and Glückler (2011) point out, of integrating multiple rationalities and complex contexts of economic action. The dynamics in these economic, social and cultural relations define a creative field that stimulates entrepreneurship, learning and innovation.

Individual actors in organizations orient their actions toward organizational practices. These practices and routines refer to organizational structures. Giddens (1984) defines the structures as rules and resources that are

embedded in the reproduction of social systems in a recursive manner and which in turn serve as a link between structure and action.

On the other hand, trust and power serve as functionally equivalent mechanisms that allow the reduction of social complexity and stabilize the interaction between actors. Power is inherent in the constitution of social life (Giddens, 1984) and is defined as the ability to influence the choices of others, that is, to affect their set of choices as well as the selections within a set.

For the purposes of the thesis, and as Giuliani (2010) stresses, it is important to distinguish between relational trust and trust based on competences. The former is defined in terms of intention, dedication, care, leadership and benevolence, and emphasizes the social dimension of the relationship. Relational trust, therefore, underpins the transfer of tacit knowledge between firms. Trust based on competences, by contrast, is related to the perception of the actual contribution of the partners in terms of the knowledge provided in the context of interorganizational relations.

Power is clearly relevant as a mechanism for coordinating interaction, that is, for the construction of shared values and the definition of standards among actors. An actor with dominant power can make the rules and implement them more easily as well as provide both positive and negative rewards (Goldbach, 2003).

In relational economic geography, power is a relational attribute that corresponds to the sum of heterogeneous relations and is much greater than its individual parts. Power is eventually dependent on the ability of the actor to exercise it successfully (Yeung, 2005). Ultimately, for Yeung (2005), power is an emergent effect of social practices among actors who have the capacity and resources to influence each other.

Yet, just who are the players that interact together and who is likely to be regulated by such mechanisms as those of trust and power? Who is it exactly that comprises the organizations? For the purpose of this thesis, the stakeholders and organizations correspond to the producers, distributors, restaurateurs, and public and private institutions, with a primary relation to gastronomic tourism.

The description of the actors and of their roles, discussed in the next section and supported by a broad body of literature (Ilbery and Kneafsey, 1998; Hjalaguer and Richards, 2002; Boniface, 2003; Renting et al., 2003; Ilbery and Maye, 2005; Canavan et al., 2007), recognizes the particular character of SMEs as forms of social organization that typify the business related with products commercialised as local, traditional, craft, special, regional or of *la terra*. Moreover, these products and the businesses that sell them are closely tied to gastronomic tourism.

2.3.2.1 Owners of the organization

In organizational theory, and according to Jones (2004), the owners of the organization are the actors or stakeholders with claims over the organizational resources. The owners' contribution to the organization is that of investing money so that they can make a profit on their investments in the form of dividends and stock increases (Jones, 2004). The owners of the organization, or the actors as identified in this thesis, are producers, distributors and restaurateurs. However, it is important to describe the other actors that are also considered in organizational theory, such as customers and institutions, as they also play a role in organizational relationships. These are described below:

a) Production

For White (1981: 517) each producer is a distinctive firm with a distinctive product. Each side continually monitors reactions of the other through the medium of a joint social construction. Producers acts purely on self-interest based on observed actions of all others, summarized through a feedback process

b) Distributors

Retailers act as mediators between producers and consumers. They are part of the marketing experts being in charge of presenting the products and make them attractive to consumers (Baritaux et al., 2011). According to Weitz et al. (1986), cited by Baritaux et al. (2011), the actors need to have an accurate representation of the consumers' perceptions and requirements. Therefore, the effectiveness on their tasks highly depends on their ability to identify, learn and understand about the preferences and needs of their customers.

c) Restaurateurs

Restaurants place particular emphasis on reliability of supply, consistency, quality and price- all of which related to the concept of supply chain management (Murphy and Smith, 2009). According to Murphy and Smith (2009) with respect to restaurants, a properly managed supply chain also supports the chef's ability to build relationships with suppliers, identify new resources and manage supplier relationships. For organizational theory, new forms of organization (such as restaurant associations or societies), can provide new ways of marketing especially for Small and Medium size Enterprises (SMEs).

d) Customers

Organizational theory typically defines customers as an organization's largest outside stakeholder group. They are induced to select a product or service, and hence an organization from many alternatives and do this by estimating what they are getting relative to what they have to pay. The money they pay for the product or service is their contribution to the organization and reflects the value they feel they have received (Jones, 2004).

e) Institutions as mediators

Relational economic geography, in line with structuration theory, pays special attention to institutions as mediators between macro-social structures and to the analysis of economic relations. Institutions are based on habits, rules, conventions, and laws that increase the expectations of the actor in relation to the response of other actors and to the creation of certainty in social interaction (Bathelt and Glückler, 2011).

Institutions represent a social scenario for the communication process. On the one hand, they constrain the space for alternative actions (North, 1991) and, on the other, they provide the necessary conditions under which continuous interaction is made possible (Hodgson, 1988). They also create a basis for mutual communication, collective learning and problem solving, without which the technical and social division of labour and economic interaction would not be possible (Giddens, 1984). Consequently, and as argued by Hodgson (1988), if institutions "shape" economic practices, then institutions have a major impact on patterns of interaction and should be studied at the level of an economic actor.

2.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Finally, and by way of a summary and conclusion, these sections examining economic geography and its relational perspective, as well as organizations defined in terms of their relationships in a spatial context, have served to establish the theoretical bases for this thesis. The section dedicated to economic geography and its relational approach has reviewed the main elements of relational economic geography so as to shed light on economic action and interaction as processes that are influenced both by social relations and institutions, and by the consequences of earlier relations based on the principles of contingency, contextuality and path dependence.

In the context of relational economic geography, space is the product of social and economic relations. This space is analyzed from a geographical perspective which examines the institutional contexts and networks of individual and collective actors that are central to the analysis of economic structures and processes.

The region in relational economic geography is considered as being dependent of economic, social, cultural and political contexts in which individuals, firms and other organizations act and interact (Maskell, 2001). The analysis focuses on processes such as economic innovation or interorganizational communication that are carried out by organizations. Organizations are understood as social constructions of individual or collective actors. The analysis, therefore, takes into account the history of the organizations located territorially, their evolutionary history, organization, innovation and interaction processes. These elements are part of the four ions of relational economic geography.

Economic activity in regions generates spatial disparities resulting from economic action that influences local and regional structures. For this reason,

from a spatial perspective economic action is seen as a social process situated in time and place. The action is considered an open system in which individual events and their specific contexts allow us to identify common patterns in different places that affect economic action, which leads to the identification of causal mechanisms.

The section entitled "Organizations as relations in a spatial context" has presented the elements of organizational and institutional theory. Here the firm is understood as a form of social organization that impacts on local economies through their organizational strategies (Dicken, 1998). The section addressed the actors or stakeholders that make up the organizations and the role they play. It also described their organizational structures and their relations to economic action.

The section stressed that organizational structures are dynamic and, therefore, political, social and institutional factors are embedded in them and they, in turn, are incorporated in the economic dimension. The output of an organization is also dependent on the rules, policies and institutional arrangements which constitute the power relations in which spatial and relational proximity play an important role. However, the section has also discussed other types of proximity, in line with the literature, that similarly have an impact on the performance and interaction of relations between organizations.

This section has also been concerned with the ideas and concepts related to the role of actors in organizations. In this regard, it identifies trust and power as being major coordinating mechanisms of these relations. The section has likewise described the features of each of the actors that make up an organization, in line with the tenets of organizational theory. In the final, the role presented by both formal and informal institutions as mediators of inter- and intra-organizational relationships was examined.

Sections 2.2 and 2.3 can be considered the bases on which subsequent chapters are built and the foundation for the presentation of later findings. The approaches developed within relational economic geography, combined with elements of organizational and institutional theory, allow us to describe the configuration of food supply and the commercialisation chains present in gastronomic tourism. This approach is firmly based on such relational concepts as space; economic action and its effects on a territory; and social, cultural and economic contexts and their impact on both the economic action of the organizations and the region in which they are located.

The third chapter addresses theoretical aspects of the value chain in the agrifood sector. This paves the way for an in-depth discussion of the distinction between conventional and alternative food systems, with the latter characterizing gastronomic tourism.

CHAPTER III

FOOD SUPPLY AND THE COMMERCIALISATION CHAIN: A PROCESS OF RELATIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Economic geography is not only concerned with the moments of production, and consumption and the exchange of goods and services, it is also seeks to examine the circuits or value chains in which production (associated with the supply), the exchange (associated with the marketing) and the consumption of core values for the continuity of social life can be maintained through space and time (Cloke et al. 2011).

These values, as Cloke et al. (2011) point out, involve the creation of surplus value through the production of commodities and the realization of this surplus in the form of a profit through their sale. According to Ilbery et al. (2005), in the case of the value chains associated with food products, there is a complexity of relationships that constitute a number of contingent hybrids emerging toward conventional links.

The links to which Ilbery et al. (2005) refer have been established in contexts of agri-industrialized and mass food production. However, the transition towards an alternative food system is partly a consequence of consumer reactions in relation to a range of environmental, ethical and health concerns (Ilbery and Kneafsey, 1998; Renting et al., 2003; Ilbery and Maye, 2005), which are associated with "conventional" food supply systems.

In the study undertaken by Sassatelli and Scott (2001), cited by Ilbery et al. (2005), the authors interpret the growth of alternative food systems in terms of actions undertaken in innovative food markets and of marketing activities carried out by key actors (the state, consumer movements or distributors) as strategies for building trust directed at addressing the deficits caused by mistrust in the conventional food supply system.

The sections that follow discuss concepts related to the supply and commercialisation chain immersed in the "conventional" system and their transition toward an "alternative" system. To achieve this, our point of departure is the value chain and the way in which value is created by organizations to achieve the theoretical approaches to the study of alternative food supply and commercialisation systems identified by this thesis as being characteristic of gastronomic tourism. This section and subsections focus on these elements of relational economic geography.

3.2 THE VALUE CHAIN AS INTERCHANGE RELATION

From within relational economic geography, the analysis of commodity chains is concerned with the space in which consumers are connected with producers (Hughes and Reimer, 2004). However, this analysis has been transformed with the aim of understanding the producer-consumer relationships. The authors use the term "commodity circuits" as a way of differentiating the circular nature of producer-consumer relations and cultural dynamics. A further transformation proposed by Hughes and Reimer (2004) is the rethinking of the relationship as a concept of "networks", which captures the set of interdependencies between the different groups of economic actors.

The distribution of materials and of information resources that results in power and trust being executed in the value chain is, according to Goldbach (2003), a critical point. However, it is important to stress the network dimension, i.e. that relations must be based on shared values. In the value chain of gastronomic tourism a number of values shared by the various actors can be identified, including: values centred on a concern for the environment, such as organic production; economic values, such as small-scale production (as opposed to a massive or industrial use) and fairer and more equitable prices; social and cultural values, such as preserving traditional production methods and promoting the identity and culture of a territory.

3.2.1 How the organization creates value

According to Jones (2004), the way in which the organization uses human resources and technology to transform inputs into outputs determines how much value is created in the conversion stage. However, the success of organizations is influenced by other factors that are conceptualized as resources and used in the production process, such as experience, knowledge and social capital, and which are formed from such elements as trust and reputation (Denicolai et al. 2010).

Trust and reputation together with the material resources can strengthen organizational routines by increasing their singularity and hence the difficulty that organizations might be imitated (Giuliani, 2010). The following subsection discusses the distinction drawn between inter-organizational value chains and the conceptual transition of the chain towards networks of food supply and commercialisation.

3.3 CONVENTIONAL VALUE CHAINS VERSUS ALTERNATIVE CHAINS OF AGRIFOOD PRODUCTS

The powerful intermediation of global multinationals decontextualizes food and turns customers away from any sort of reference to their geographic or social roots, leading to "placeless" food production systems (Parrot et al., 2002) where the issue of provenance is important for contrasting the food with untraceable origins (Mahaffey, 2012). This, linked with the successive crises in food security registered in recent decades – as mentioned by several authors (Ilbery and

Kneafsey, 1998; Renting et al., 2003; Armesto, 2005; Ilbery and Maye, 2005, Sánchez, 2009) – established the foundations for the emergence of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs), which are diametrically opposed to conventional food supply and commercialisation systems.

The preference for the term "networks" reflects a theoretical interest in the convergence of the complex ways via which food is made available through contingent relations that sometimes defy a categorisation as simply "conventional" or "alternative" (Holloway et al., 2007). The network concept is associated with relational forms of thinking, which influences many agrifood studies, providing a dynamic character as opposed to one that remains static in the structures of analysis (Kneafsey et al., 2008).

Whatmore et al. (2003) identify three types of AFN: the "alternative", the "local" and "quality". However, it is this last one, the quality network that seems to have generated most interest among researchers, because, it would seem, the production of "quality" products can be interpreted as an alternative to agricultural productivism (Watts et al. 2007). However, Sánchez (2009: 191) identifies thirteen AFN modalities based on a review of the literature in the English speaking world. They are, namely: a) geographical indications or quality figures (figure 9); b) the private certification of food, organic food, organic or biological (figure 10); c) community agriculture; d) box schemes; e) farmers' markets (figure 11); f) direct sales; g) food supply to public institutions (figure 12); h) fair trade; j) community food projects (figure 13); k) urban orchards; l) diets linked to lifestyle; and, m) buying local food (figure 14). In other words, AFN are hybrid constructions (Goodman, 1999; Renting et al., 2003; Holloway and Kneafsey, 2004; Ilbery and Maye, 2005, Sánchez, 2009) and can be expressed in various ways.

The following section describes the concepts of short food supply chains and circuits, which are characteristic of Alternative Food Networks (AFN) and that are directly applicable to this thesis because of their links with gastronomic tourism.

3.3.1 Short chains and short circuits as alternative relations

One characteristic that defines alternative forms of food production is their resistance to the major distributors and producers (Watts et al. 2005). For Ilbery et al. (2006) implicit in the notion of a food supply system is the importance of such key concepts as location, quality, trust and embeddedness.

The critical feature of Short Food Supply Chains (SFSC), according to Ilbery et al. (2005), is that food when it reaches the final consumer has been transmitted through short chains that incorporate information related to the mode of production, provenance and distinctive aspects of product quality. Marsden et al. (2000, 2002) identified two types of SFSC at the spatial level: spatial proximity chains and spatially extended chains. Based on Renting et al. (2003), and with particular relevance to this thesis, the concept of AFN seems more appropriate within the framework of relational economic geography because this values the importance of relationships in the exchange of food products.

3.4 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE NEW EXCHANGE RELATIONS OF ALTERNATIVE AGRIFOOD PRODUCTS

In the theoretical and conceptual analysis of alternative food systems, various proposals and approaches have been used to understand and contextualize them. Authors including Murdoch et al. (2000) and Morgan et al. (2006) argue in favour of the application of such theories as "Political Economy", "Actor Network Theory (ANT)" and "Theory of Conventions". Likewise, Sforzi and Mancini (2012) present an analytical proposal based on the theory of Industrial Districts (ID) applied to local food systems.

Political economy theory has emerged as one response to the analysis of globalization processes and their impact on the food sector. This approach emphasises a variety of ideas. Overall, it undertakes an analysis of the processes of globalization, agriculture and food production, and the way in which these are integrated into a set of intersectoral and transnational production processes (Murdoch et al. 2000). On the other hand, Actor-Network Theory (ANT), a second approach developed from within sociology, places the emphasis more squarely on how natural and social entities are interconnected with food networks (Murdoch et al. 2000; Morgan et al. 2006). ANT explores how humans and objects are connected.

A similar approach to that of ANT and which is influencing agrifood studies is that of Convention Theory as proposed initially by Boltanski and Thevenot (1991) and subsequently developed by Storper and Salais (1997). This theory assumes that any form of coordination in life, be it social, economic or political (existing in chains and networks) requires agreement of some sort between its participants.

For example, based on the interaction of conventions, habits, routines and localized practices, Storper (1997) identifies four productive worlds: 1) The World of Industrial Production comprising standardized processes with the dissemination of a product in the mass market; 2) The World of Intellectual Resources in which production generates generic products for a mass market (GMOs); 3) The Market World which incorporates standardized production to a consumer market; and 4) The Interpersonal World of Production (INTWP) or the world of specialized and dedicated products, the world in which the AFN that characterizes gastronomic tourism might be found.

Morgan et al. (2006) point out that it is in the Interpersonal World that the conventions associated with trust, local recognition and spatial embeddedness might be found. For the authors, interpersonal spaces of local, typical and organic food make up the so-called "alternative sector."

A further theoretical approach applied to alternative food systems is that of Industrial Districts. This theory is used by Sforzi and Mancini (2012)⁹ to analyse

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⁹ The use of the system concept is applied by Sforzi and Mancini (2012) to refer to an extended geographical agrifood system, not as a system of places but rather as concept specialized in one or just a few parts of the process of production, processing, distribution and consumption.

agrifood systems in the context of globalization. The theory of Industrial Districts (ID) is applied in an attempt at understanding and providing new insights into the spatial dynamics of localized food systems¹⁰. The ID, recognized as a production model, reveals the ability of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to maintain the same level of competitiveness as that of a large firm. This theory is, according to Sforzi and Mancini (2012), a model of growth and social development.

Finally, having described the main characteristics of alternative agrifood chains, their conceptualization as networks and, subsequently, the main theoretical approaches for understanding alternative food systems, the following section describes the AFN types which, in line with the literature, have been identified as having a relationship with gastronomic tourism at the European, Spanish and Catalan levels.

3.5 ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF RELATIONS AND THEIR LINKS WITH GASTRONOMIC TOURISM

For authors such as Grieve and Slee (2003), the short chains that make up the AFN serve to rebuild relationships of trust between consumers. Activities such as farmers' markets and other forms of direct marketing help to increase dialogue between the two parties. Indeed, these new scenarios of direct marketing have been highlighted for their potential as tourist attractions (Hall and Mitchell, 2001; Hjalaguer and Richards, 2002; Boniface, 2003; Ibery and Kneafsey, 2005; Schlüter, 2009).

The AFN with its distinct forms of relationship and interaction between organizations and actors can manifest itself in various ways. For this reason it includes the types of commercialisation and sales that contribute to shorten the supply chain and which are, or may be, associated with tourism activities, especially in the case of Catalonia. As such it incorporates some of the features described by Sánchez (2009), as well as others identified in the literature, that lead to interactions resulting from relational and geographical proximity.

These new forms are: a) "Slow Food" as a philosophy of proximity between actors; b) farmers' markets as space scenarios for the relationship; c) direct selling *in situ* of food products; d) certification of quality as spatially extended relationships and f) routes, fairs and events as spaces of interaction between producer and consumer.

2005).

¹⁰ The definition of Localized Agrifood Systems (LAS) incorporates the territorial definition of system, a concept that is related to the Localized Productive Systems (LPS), which despite being similar the former holds that industry should be concentrated in a small area coinciding with the economic space, while the LPS considers the industry located in just one place (Sforzi and Mancini, 2012). In Catalonia, for example, there are four LPS of food and beverages, accounting for 580 establishments and employing around 12.300 people (Hernández et al.,

3.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

By way of summary and conclusion of this third chapter devoted to the description and understanding of the relationships in the supply chain and in the marketing of food products, the section first examined the value chain concept as it has been developed in economics, but in this instance applied to the geographical analysis of agrifood systems. For this reason, the section has focused on the concept of the "commodity chain" and its links with geography, a focus that is concerned with the space in which consumers are connected with producers (Hughes and Reimer, 2004). This leads to a necessary distinction between chain, value circuits and their evolution towards a network concept applied to the analysis of the supply and commercialisation chains.

The concept of networks is considered more appropriate for the analysis of relations between actors in the supply and commercialisation chain, since it allows the complexity of these relationships to be addressed given that it holds that relations are based on the shared values of those who participate in the exchange (Goldbach, 2003).

The section dedicated to examining the value chain (3.2) describes organizational relations and highlights the way in which the organization creates value through the use of various resources such as experience, knowledge and social capital, and the way in which the latter are employed by organizations as a means for being more competitive in a global market (Porter, 1985).

The section subsequently discussed the differences between conventional value chains, on the one hand, characterised by elements of Fordism and the agri-industrial sector, and alternative value chains, on the other, representative of a post-Fordist system that has turned away from mass production in the search for closer relationships between producer and consumer.

The conceptual evolution of the alternative value chains also involved a conceptual "jump" which allows us to talk of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs), which serve as manifestations of alternative value chains. The AFNs contextualize better the complexity of the relationships that occur in the exchange of food products. AFNs involve a shortening of the supply chain. AFNs lead to a distinction being drawn between short chains which are manifested spatially in two ways: a) as proximity chains and b) as spatially extended chains (Marsden et al., 2002; Renting et al., 2003).

AFNs, in general, can be expressed in different ways, but they always seek to establish relationships of proximity between the producer and consumer, as well as between all the actors involved in the exchange of food products. Whatmore et al. (2003) identified three types of AFN, while Sánchez (2009) identified thirteen. From these AFN types identified in the academic literature, this thesis has identified those that have a direct relationship with gastronomic tourism. Among the AFNs identified as being linked to tourism we find the Slow Food movement, a philosophy that promotes traditional local produce and which provides a framework for interaction and motivates those seeking this type of

product. The second AFN described corresponds to farmers' markets, which serve not only as proximity scenarios but also as tourist attractions.

The third type of AFN identified was that of "direct sales" manifested in various forms, but of particular interest for the tourism sector are "farm shops" or such modalities as "pick your own" produce. The section also described such quality certifications as PDO or PGI in relation to a broader discussion of the concept of food quality. This type of AFN allows spatially extended chains to be formed that are manifest in tourism as "gastronomic souvenirs".

Finally, food fairs and tours and gastronomic events are also treated as a type of AFN, identified as having an important role to play in boosting tourism while promoting the establishment of close relationships between actors. Boniface (2003) identified in this regard fairs, tours, events, festivals, shows, conferences, tastings, demonstrations, visits to farms and production centres as means for promoting interaction and proximity between actors.

The following chapter examines the emergence of gastronomic tourism and its legitimacy as a new mode of tourism based on concepts drawn from institutional and organizational theory. The chapter discusses the link between tourism and gastronomy as established in major international discourses which are contributing to the emergence of this new type of tourism.

CHAPTER IV

GASTRONOMIC TOURISM AS A NEW INSTITUTIONAL FIELD: THE LEGITIMACY OF NEW RELATIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Institutions are understood to lay down the rules of the game – the humanly devised constraints – in a society that shapes human interaction and which structures human exchange, whether it be political, social or economic (North, 1991). As such, institutional change, according to North (1991), concerns the way in which society evolves over time, providing the key to our understanding of historical change.

The devising of a "new" institutionalism suggests a change in the study of the features that make up the administrative structures (both legal and political) of what was classical institutionalism (Romero, 1999). As such, new institutionalism is concerned with both formal and informal rules and procedures, paying particular attention to how institutions establish values and power in relations. Furthermore, new institutionalism seeks to undertake a study not only of the impact of institutions on behaviour, but also of individual and collective interaction between actors and institutions (Clark and Southern, 2007).

The semantic composition of "gastronomic tourism" is suggestive of the relationship between two sectors: tourism, on the one hand, and gastronomy, on the other. However, the link between these two is based on a common background that has enabled them to emerge and to advance as a tourist modality in their own right. The analysis proposed in the following sections, focuses on validating and legitimizing this phenomenon from the perspectives of organizational and institutional theory, that is, as a new institutional field in which various actors interact.

To understand new institutionalism from a sociological perspective, we must consider the implicit images, the motivations of the actors, their guidance towards action and the context in which they operate (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). Seen in this light, the proposed understanding of gastronomic tourism as a new institutional field draws on elements of the changes in the macrocultural discourses that have resulted from events in both the tourism sector and in the food sector to which gastronomy is linked.

To achieve this understanding, the context of the interaction between the two sectors becomes identifiable from the perspective of postmodernism with its implicit images of gastronomy as an experiential element, and its demand factors that have resulted in the emergence of a new tourist phenomenon. In addition, and as a driver of change led by the actors, the following section

discusses aspects of gastronomy not only as a resource associated with other types of tourism, but also as a tourist product acquiring value as a result of the relationships and interactions established. Finally, the last section presents gastronomy tourism as a new institutional field, an analysis that is based primarily on a review of secondary data.

4.2 POSTMODERNITY AS A FRAMEWORK OF THE RELATION BETWEEN TOURISM AND GASTRONOMY

Based on the literature review (Urry, 1990; Harvey, 1998; Quang and Wang, 2004; Cooper and Hall, 2008), it can be deduced that the relationship between tourism and gastronomy, and its constitution in the combination of "gastronomic tourism", is based and best described within postmodernism.

The concept of tourism within the framework of postmodernism incorporates aspects that extend beyond the spatial flow and the mere fact of travelling. Tourism, as an essential part of society, reflects the changes in this, which has led to a rethinking not only of the tourist activity itself, but also of the role that each of the actors plays in its development. Accordingly, it has incorporated new concepts and trends including sustainability of destinations, the environmental certification of these, but above all, the experiences that the tourist is exposed to.

Postmodernism, as a context of action, has brought about a change in the way we perceive and conceive tourism, orienting it towards the flexibility of the offer and the satisfaction of the personalized needs of tourists who are increasingly seeking to create experiences as a result of their tourist activity. The following section examines the main motivations of actors who have permitted the emergence of this new tourism phenomena in the context of postmodernism and who have contributed to the new discourses associated with tourism.

4.2.1 Contemporary tourism and new tourism phenomena

Donaire (1995:179) claims that the most significant change undergone by contemporary tourism is the role it now plays in society as a whole. The author cites Alvin Toffler (1971: 208) who, back in the seventies, predicted a "revolutionary expansion of certain industries whose sole output consists not of manufactured goods, nor even of ordinary services, but of pre-programmed 'experiences'".

Today, gastronomic tourism is perhaps one of the best expressions of our post-industrial society, in which the use of our senses – sight, smell and taste – has become the activity generated by these "industries" (food producers, processors and restaurants), whose primary purpose is to give the visitor an "experience" via the sampling of food and drink. Seen in this light, Donaire (1995) argues that gastronomy runs counter to the uniformity of urban spaces, the imitation of distant geographies and the creation of aspatial scenarios and is an alternative to the McDonaldization process first defined by Ritzer (1996), since gastronomic tourism is based on what is local, traditional and authentic in food and drink.

One of the relations established today with food is that which has been forged with tourism, now a widespread phenomenon practiced throughout contemporary society. In recent history, tourism has acquired undeniable importance establishing itself across all areas of society (López Palomeque, 1997). In the last decade, reflecting changes in the habits and behaviours of demand, society has opted for the diversification of tourism, seasonal adjustment, innovation, sustainability and a change in the traditional models of tourism such as those typified by "sun and beach" holidays. These new elements have created new horizons focused, in the main, on generating experiences for tourists.

Gastronomic tourism has experienced momentous changes in the way in which it is conceived and perceived and, in turn, it has allowed the actions and interventions of various institutions in promoting the way in which it is appreciated. Changes, above all those in gastronomy, are related to the inherent nature of food and, thus, to such concepts as health, nutrition and product provenance which have played an important role in the international discourse. The following section examines these changes in eating behaviour and, of course, of food.

4.3 CHANGES IN THE DISCOURSES OF GASTRONOMY

The models that the mind creates and the institutions that individuals constitute are essential to the way that humans structure their environment and interact with it (Romero, 1999). Understanding the evolution taken by the concept of gastronomy, and the collective mental models created by the actors and the institutions resulting in the international discourse, should enable us to understand the rise of gastronomy tourism as a mode of tourism in its own right. These aspects are discussed in more detail below.

4.3.1 The evolution in the concept of gastronomy

Gastronomy is everywhere in society today; you only have to enter the term in any internet search engine to see the myriad of potential uses attributed to the word. Yet, it is only since the 1950s that gastronomy began to adopt a broader nature, and along with it one that brought it closer to many different social groups. Today, gastronomy adopts many guises and is present in many different settings. Thus, we see that the concept has evolved to the point that it is now inextricably linked with "culture", since according to Scarpato (2002) and her analysis of the evolution of the term gastronomy, it cannot be separated from cultural practices, and as such we can speak of "food culture".

The term "gastronomy" has evolved and today is not only linked to the eating of well prepared dishes, but also to the production of such food, which in turn is interrelated with other concepts such as nutrition, ecology, and cooking, among others. However, for the purpose of this thesis, gastronomy is recognized as a polyhedron that includes both the product and its production process – the dish and the processing of the product. The agrifood products associated with gastronomic tourism present a number of features (local, artisanal, traditional, specialty and quality) which enables them to be classified as alternative

products. Here, the faces of the polyhedron comprise the different dimensions (cultural, economic, environmental and social) making up the activities involving food.

On the other hand, gastronomy, as argued by various authors (see, for example, Hjalager and Richards, 2000), can be a tourism product or, on occasions, a tourism resource. Its conversion into a product is the result of the transformation or revalorisation of the resource, which is very much in line with the definition formulated by Anton et al. (2005), where the tourism product "comprises a set of elements that make up the tourist offer of a destination. These are the tourism resources that are exploited and which are adapted to the functions and tourist uses through their presentation and marketing". Below I provide a brief description of how gastronomy can be understood as both a tourism resource and product.

4.3.1.1 Gastronomy as a tourism resource

Gastronomy in combination with tourism has become a tourism resource for the creation of new products and for the reinvention of those that have run their course, and which, as such, often appear in the final stage of Butler's (1980) "tourism area life cycle". Butler considers destinations as amalgams of products that are geographically clustered and which include tourism products and services, and both these products and destinations need to be continually refreshed and revitalized (Cooper and Hall, 2008).

In contrast with other tourism activities and attractions, food is available all year round, any day of the week, at any time of the day, regardless of the weather. A region's gastronomy can become the "motor" that serves to reactivate a tourist destination that has suffered a decline in its life cycle as a tourism product. The combination food and tourism is increasingly occurring in formats such as agritourism, wine tours, the sale of food products as souvenirs, among others (Hjalager and Corigliano, 2000).

In the context of Spain's tourism, gastronomy is clearly an emerging product of some importance as shown by its development in recent years. On this subject, Armesto and Gómez (2004) describe the "the appearance of tourism products based mainly on culinary resources and a steady increase in the number of establishments serving food (restaurants, bars, etc.)". This increase, as the authors note, is based on the wealth of gastronomic resources thanks to the country's geographical and cultural diversity, which ensures a broad range of food types and recipes.

4.3.1.2 Gastronomy as a tourism product

The concept of the tourism product is derived from marketing and corresponds to "the set of goods and services that are used for tourist consumption by selected groups of consumers" (Sancho and Buhalis, 1998). This in turn includes both tangible and intangible products (goods and services), as well as being based on the interaction of the service provider and the consumer. A marketing approach addresses all market agents and the way in which they are

in constant interaction, thereby integrating, in line with Sancho and Buhalis (1998), tangible and intangible goods and services.

The products of gastronomy tourism are then delivered to consumers through various distribution channels, such as markets, festivals and restaurants (Smith and Xiao, 2008). According to Hjalaguer and Richards (2002) this corresponds to her four-order typology of activities that add value to gastronomy tourism and which, as such, in many cases create tourism products. First-order activities focus on sites where visitors can enjoy food, such as festivals and campaigns, among others. Second-order activities aim at promoting the visitor's better understanding of food by, for example, creating and promoting quality labels and product standardization in a region. Third-order activities refer to experimentation through packages and cooking schools, while the fourth involve exchanging knowledge about nutrition through research projects.

According to Ravenscroft and Van Westering (2002), Spain has once again successfully reinvented itself by creating a brand as a tourist destination where sun, sea and sand are equal partners to paella, gazpacho and Rioja. The global impact of its food has been surprisingly high. Spanish food products are also exported to many other countries where they enjoy notable success. Note the growing number of popular *tapas* restaurants to be found in many European cities. The authors comment that local production is the basis of regional Spanish cuisine, which highlights regional gastronomic identity, pride and tradition that can be found on the menu of most restaurants in an area.

To this we can add the large number of food festivals held in Catalonia. These include the festivals of *romesco* sauce in Cambrils, of *calçots* (a variety of mild, spring onion) in Valls, and of snails in Lleida. It is the authors belief that *romesco* sauce forms part of Catalan identity and that events of this kind today are tourist products generating gastronomy tourism, where perhaps the main reason for visiting Valls in Tarragona is the opportunity it affords of sampling the *calçots* at a *calçotada*.

New products such as these are important for the diversification of destinations, as they increase sales and exploit a competitive advantage. Cooper and Hall (2008) present the idea of the product as an experience, in which providers and destinations respond to the challenge of creating products based on experiences. Such experiences are personal, memorable and evoke an emotional response, whereby the tourist enters into a multi-faceted relationship with both the actors and the destination that provides the experience.

Having identified postmodernism as the context which allows us to establish a link between tourism and gastronomy, and having discussed the evolution of the concept and its distinction as a resource and tourist product, the following section addresses the main gastronomic discourses that have had most influence at supranational scales in the establishment of gastronomic tourism as a new tourism modality.

4.3.2 Macro-discourses linked to gastronomy

As a first discourse that has led to raise the gastronomy as a way to promote local products and its association with tourism, was the conference entitled "Local food and International Tourism", organised by the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) in Cyprus, that the importance of gastronomy for tourism was recognised. The conclusions of this macro event point to the fact that all countries and territories in every region of the world have expressed an interest in the culinary heritage that includes local foods.

The recognition of gastronomic tourism as a tourist modality, supported by the discourse derived from the UNWTO conference (2000), has been further strengthened by the "macro" discourse related to food and food security, above all in Europe. This discourse, promoted by the European Union, goes under the heading of "From Farm to Fork" (De la Granja a la Mesa) (2004) and was created as a response to the "food scares" of the nineties.

In addition to the various discourses, the discourse of a normative and legislative nature can also be considered important in the emergence of gastronomic tourism because, and as Santos (1996) argues, the realization of social practices and the articulation of space with other spheres of social totality are provided for under a system of rules (or a set of regulations) that organize the operation of a territory. Table 13 (see Spanish version) presents the evolution in the legislation that has had the greatest impact at the European, Spanish and Catalan levels and which has contributed to the growth of gastronomic tourism as a tourist phenomenon.

It should be stressed that the legislative and institutional role, via the implementation of programs and projects, has led to changes in the spatial patterns of food production, distribution and consumption. Funds for rural development, for example, have facilitated the recovery of traditional, local food products through the conversion of cottages, farms, industries, fairs and festivals, among many other actions, which have contributed to the shift in the spatial distribution of both the food industry and tourism.

4.4 GASTRONOMIC TOURISM AS A NEW INSTITUTIONAL FIELD

In neo-institutional theory, and in line with the concepts first raised by DiMaggio (1991), institutional entrepreneurship allows the emergence of the notion of institutional entrepreneurship in institutional analyses to characterize organized actors with sufficient resources to contribute to the genesis of new institutions. Subsequent discussions of institutional fields have argued for the importance of two constituent elements: a) a set of institutions that includes practices, understandings and rules; and b) a network of organizations making up the Network (DiMaggio, 1991; Lawrence and Philips, 2004).

According to Lawrence and Philips (2004) citing Berger and Luckmann (1967), the context in which new fields emerge is constituted by macro-cultural discourse, by which it means the broad discourses and associated sets of

institutions that extend beyond the boundaries of any institutional field and are widely understood and broadly accepted in a society. In the emergence of a new institutional field according to the authors, the macro institutions play a role through the ways in which they facilitate and constrain behaviour.

The basic elements described by Powell and DiMaggio (1991) on the finding of a new institutional field can be envisaged from two aspects: a) that of professionalization and b) that of structuration.

4.4.1 Professionalization

According to DiMaggio (1991), and subsequent empirical research, the concept of "professionalization" includes the production of experts trained in universities, creating a body of knowledge and increasing the relevance of professional experts.

4.4.2 Structuration

This second aspect, according to DiMaggio (1991), relates increases in the density of inter-organizational contacts with the increasing flow of information and the emergence of a centre-periphery structure.

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

By way of summary and conclusion of this fourth chapter: "Gastronomic tourism as a new institutional field: the legitimacy of new relations", aspects related to the relationship between tourism and gastronomy which have led to the creation of gastronomic tourism as a tourism modality have been presented. The legitimacy of this form of tourism is based on the concepts and approaches provided from within new institutionalism as a theoretical approach concerned with both formal and informal rules and procedures. The approach provided by new institutionalism seeks to understand the individual and collective interaction between actors and institutions operating within gastronomic tourism through the essential aspects of professionalization and structuration.

Relational economic geography stresses the importance of institutions in taking economic actions and, therefore, incorporates in its dimensions the analysis of institutions. For this reason, it can be said that the approach provided by new institutionalism, as applied to the analysis of gastronomic tourism at the international level, is based on the first ion of relational economic geography, namely that of organization.

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide the reader with an idea of gastronomic tourism seen from an institutional perspective, where this type of tourism can be seen to represent a new institutional field. This new field involves multiple actors, institutions and organizations at different spatial scales and at different hierarchical levels. Their work is developed above all through networks generated from information flows that have permitted the emergence

of this new type of tourism and its recognition within economic, sociological, anthropological and geographical contexts.

The first section has proposed postmodernism as both the starting point and the link between tourism and gastronomy, as a result of the "Fordism" to "post-Fordism" shift which has come to structure contemporary society, creating new habits, routines and the requirement of a new model that is not solely related to tourism but also to food. This new model seeks to move away from industrialized or standardized food, and stakes a claim for more personalized products – hence the importance of describing the new tourism phenomena linked to changes in the discourses associated with gastronomy.

The following section sought to clarify understanding of the evolution of the concept of gastronomy and its transition from being considered traditionally as a resource to being considered a tourist product that stands out from other forms of tourism such as cultural tourism, while its characteristics and possibilities allow it to be considered a true tourism modality.

Furthermore, to address the macro-discourses associated with gastronomy it was first necessary to legitimate the existence of gastronomic tourism – to do so required the UNWTO international conference on local foods and the normative discourses promoted by the European Union, which have had a clear impact throughout the region at various levels.

Finally, gastronomic tourism has been confirmed as representing a new institutional field based on the concept of new institutionalism developed by Powell and DiMaggio (1991), which brings together strategies at different levels, denoting professionalism and the structuring of this type of tourism in which the diffusion of gastronomic activities are guided and shaped by the emergence of structures covering the entire field at international, national and regional levels (which has been illustrated with some examples).

Institutional diffusion studies have emphasized that organizational forms enhance their legitimacy the more diffused they become (DiMaggio, 1991). As has been noted in this section, the organizational activity associated with gastronomic tourism has led to the latter's rapid diffusion in the international context, led by the increasingly important presence of organizations and institutions such as Slow Food in Europe and the U.S. and the International Culinary Tourism Association (ICTA) now rebranded as the World Food Travel Association.

CHAPTER V

LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: TOWARDS THE CONVENTIONS IN AN INTERPERSONAL WORLD OF PRODUCTION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism can facilitate the diversification of the rural community, and for marginal, isolated and peripheral areas, it can also serve as a vehicle for economic and social regeneration and development (Boniface, 2003). In the field of economics, the development of gastronomic tourism contributes to the horizontal integration of the traditional primary production function with that of a specialized tertiary function, increasing, as Armesto and Gómez (2006) argue, the sources of income and improving the levels of income and employment for local people (especially women).

However, for gastronomic tourism to become a genuine option for development, there have to be good links between the production of raw materials, the food that makes up the dishes that are served to the tourists and the tourism industry (Schlüter, 2009).

But what exactly does the word "development" imply? For Boisier (1997) development should be seen as a process of qualitative dimensions based on a quantitative process such as that of economic growth. The local and regional search for prosperity and welfare is based, according to Storper (1997), on sustained growth in employment, income and productivity, elements that are at the heart of economic development. However, the actual notions of development are socially determined by certain social groups and interests located in specific places and times (Pike et al., 2006).

According to Pike et al. (2006), the various definitions and conceptions of development serve to emphasize its different facets at local, regional, national and increasingly supranational levels, aspects which have evolved to incorporate what is important locally and regionally. Development is, therefore, a fundamentally geographical term.

Local places and regions are causal or explanatory factors of economic growth (Scott and Storper, 2003). The local and regional levels are socially constructed spatial scales via which social processes evolve (Hinrichs, 2003). According to Pike et al. (2006), citing Anderson (1996), the territory refers to spatial units defined under the jurisdiction of political and/or administrative authority. As such, a territory might constitute a city, a region or the nation state. The territory gives geographical and institutional shape to spaces of local and regional development.

The local embeddedness of participants (the social, economic and institutional actors), the dynamics of proximity that the former construct and the processes of creation and strengthening of local cultural identities, are all factors that make development a territorial phenomenon (Salom Carrasco and Albertos Puebla, 2009). For these authors, the components of regional development can be identified as including economic growth and competitiveness, technical training and culture, corporate culture, social cohesion, governance, welfare and environmental sustainability.

However, according to Salom Carrasco and Albertos Puebla (2009), achieving territorial development does not depend solely on business or economic variables, rather it is essential that there is a development strategy that is common to the social and institutional actors and which is upheld by a given social and territorial unit.

The sections of this chapter present a contextual framework for local and regional development recognizing that the difference between what is considered local or regional varies from one author to another. However, what this thesis stresses is the territorial dimension that underlies the processes of local and regional development. This is achieved by adhering to the concepts and theories that are most appropriate for undertaking the analysis of gastronomic tourism and its potential contribution to local and regional development.

5.2 THE CONTEXT OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The various theoretical approaches taken to explain local and regional development can vary markedly; however, the concepts and theories that can be used in its interpretation are closely related to responses to questions about the kind of local and regional development and for whom it is intended (Pike et al., 2006).

The focus taken in this thesis is not grounded on Keynesian territorial development approaches based on demand, which seek to explain how regions are developed from the outside as a result of the regional export of goods and services. Here, local and regional development are seen as forming part of an endogenous approach which incorporates the institutional and socio-economic focuses that seek to explain the characteristics and underlying forms of development, of a unique set of local assets and the endogenous economic capabilities on which local and regional competitiveness are constituted and established (Lüthi, 2011).

In addition to the above, it also includes concepts related to innovation, knowledge and learning as ideas that can explain and further our understanding of contemporary local and regional development. According to Esparcia (2009) these concepts allow us to interpret development as the processes of change and enhancement of what is local in a context of globalization and external competition that lead to innovation and knowledge generation through processes of training and learning.

These concepts of innovation and knowledge are linked also to the theory of conventions discussed in the third chapter, because it is considered a conceptual renovation in the study of innovation within food supply networks. According to Sánchez et al. (2010), theory of conventions provides a comprehensive account of the deep changes undergone as a consequence of the growing demand for healthy foods, prepared in a sustainable way and with a well-defined geographic origin.

5.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In summary this chapter has addressed the theories and concepts related to local and regional development that provide a better understanding of the processes in the food networks generated by in gastronomic tourism. The first subsection examined the context of local and regional development, its origins and evolution represented in the main top-down and bottom-up approaches that have been implemented by various governments.

Yet, as Jones et al. (2004) argue neither of the two approaches is able to understand the local sphere as a clearly defined administrative territory, because places are inherently multi-scalar, formed on the basis of social relationships that extend from the regional to the global scale.

This relates back to the concept of relational space discussed in earlier chapters, in which a socially constructed space is assumed. For this reason, the concept of what is local and regional can also be understood as social constructions in a given context derived from the relationships and interactions maintained by stakeholders and their organizations and institutions.

The first subsection summarizes approaches to local and regional development based primarily on the work of Pike et al. (2006). From here a number of theories, approaches and concepts are chosen that provide an explanation of regional development as a consequence of gastronomic tourism and its food supply networks.

The approaches chosen examine the institutional and socio-economic elements visible in such concepts as innovation, regional innovation systems, knowledge, types of knowledge and their transfer. Similarly, learning is approached as an adaptive capacity of local areas and regions to the development process. These concepts (innovation, knowledge and learning) contribute to the explanation and understanding of contemporary local and regional development, enabling us to interpret development as the processes of change and of enhancement of what is local in a context of globalization and external competition that lead to innovation and the generation of knowledge through processes of training and learning.

The chapter then turned to examine the "cluster" and competitive advantage approaches developed by Porter (1990) and the Industrial Districts (IDs) approach. These approaches have been employed at a range of scales as a way of explaining processes of local, regional and national development in a global context. Clusters and IDs are used given that in the agrifood and tourist

literature these concepts are often employed to explain highly localized and specialized processes centred on a product and the way in which the latter contribute to territorial dynamism.

However, due to the complexity and multiplicity of actors involved in the AFNs of gastronomic tourism, added to the importance given to environmental sustainability in this tourism mode, the choice was made to take the theory of conventions and production worlds as approaches that provide a better explanation of the exchange processes of agrifood products in the framework of gastronomic tourism and, therefore, of its potential consequences for local and regional development.

Furthermore, the theory of conventions allows a conceptual renewal of the study of innovation within the food supply networks, aspects that contribute to the establishment of a framework for understanding and analysing local and regional development associated with gastronomic tourism.

Figure 16 (see Spanish version) presents the main concepts that have been discussed throughout chapters two, three, four and five and the interrelation between them. This provides a useful overview for the subsequent analysis and understanding of the results (presented in the next few chapters) obtained from the qualitative and quantitative studies.

CHAPTER VI

GASTRONOMIC TOURISM IN CATALONIA, THE TRANSITION FROM THE WORLD OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION TO THE WORLD OF INTERPERSONAL PRODUCTION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The conventions resulting from socio-institutional contexts were introduced into economics by Storper (1997). Drawing on these ideas, the relational economic geography proposed by Bathelt and Glückler (2003) developed the "ions" of this theory (see chapter two). As such, the theory of conventions shares very close links with relational economic geography.

When applying the theory of conventions to the analysis of the agrifood sector (see Morgan et al. 2006), the results enable us to speak of the "worlds of production", which can contribute to our understanding (in the specific case of this thesis) of the heterogeneous and multiple relations and interactions established between the actors that engage in gastronomic tourism.

This and the following chapters of the thesis are concerned with presenting the results obtained from information gathered about Catalonia in recent years, as presented in a range of reports, statistical studies, and other sources of information, as well as the data derived from the surveys and interviews undertaken here to fulfil the objectives and test the hypotheses stated in earlier chapters. All the information is structured coherently incorporating the ions of relational economic geography in its organizational and institutional dimensions. This information is then linked to the elements presented by the theory of conventions that explain the formation of an Interpersonal World of Production (INTWP) in which the exchange of the agrifood products takes place in the present-day context of gastronomic tourism.

The theory of conventions allows us to understand how the composition of agrifood value chains is linked to new patterns of food and tourist consumption. Furthermore, this theory considers the way in which the conventions of the consumer (concerned with quality and value) are evaluated and contrasted with the conventions of the producer (concerned with efficiency and costs) (Murdoch and Miele, 2004). Considering food chains and the perspectives provided by conventions reveals that agrifood networks are complex processes in which different conventions are traded against each other (Wilkinson, 1997).

To achieve this, this sixth chapter discusses the features and conventions of a first world that has existed and coexisted historically as the World of Industrial Production in the study area (Catalonia). This applies to both its tourism and agrifood sectors because both present features of this global industrialized world. This chapter also describes those involved in the construction of these

conventions based on the relations and interactions that are generated from particular socioeconomic and cultural contexts which give rise to the worlds of production located in specific spaces and times.

6.2 GASTRONOMIC TOURISM: BETWEEN THE WORLD OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND THE WORLD OF INTERPERSONAL PRODUCTION

This section discusses the emergence of the World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP) of Catalan food products, in order to show how conventions have arisen and become interconnected around the conventions of the agrifood sector enabling a transition from the World of Industrial Production (INDWP) to the INTWP in which gastronomic tourism can be identified. As such, the section considers the horizontal factors, related to the socio-economic context, and the vertical factors, related to the legislative framework operating as a set of rules (Sonnino and Marsden, 2006). The latter, according to Sonnino and Marsden (2006), allow us to understand the diffusion and adoption of new conventions in a regional agrifood industry.

To do so, the section examines primarily the principle of "path dependence" as employed in relational economic geography and its ion of evolution, and by identifying the fundamental changes in the Catalan agrarian structure within the time framework of the twentieth century. It also addresses key aspects related to the policies implemented and the legislation adopted that led to the construction of the conventions and, hence, to the transition from one world to another.

The changes shaping this transition from one world to another incorporate the events that took place in the agricultural and the touristic sectors, as well as the actors that participated in the creation of food webs which established relations of proximity. These, in turn, are expressed and manifested in the Catalonia's gastronomic tourism.

6.2.1 The World of Industrial Production in the agrifood and tourism sectors

The World of Industrial Production (INDWP) is characterized by a pattern of spatial distribution in which organizations (enterprises) extend beyond national geographic and administrative boundaries to compete at the global scale. The conventions of this world are the result of agreements between actors who manifest their values strictly within the economic dimension. Accordingly, one of the characteristics of this world is the standard generic product, mass produced for a number of actors who demand and consume such products, where the main concerns are price and market.

In this World of Industrial Production (INDWP), the role played by institutions as mediators is manifest in a series of rules and regulations that lead to the granting of subsidies to increase agricultural productivity and to boost technology transfer and the development of regional infrastructure as a means of achieving rural development. Such features are also very much evident in the

tourism sector. In this world, stakeholders also offer standard, largely inflexible packages that can be characterized as a single product founded on "sun and beach" tourism concentrated along the coastline. In Catalonia this product has long formed the basis of the region's tourism sector.

The tourist firms in this World of Industrial Production (INDWP) are becoming larger and, on occasions, operate on the international stage exporting their model of tourism. In essence, it could be said that the conventions of this world for both the agrifood and tourism sectors are primarily those of the "market" and "industrial efficiency". In short, this world is characterized by the productivism that peaked in the mid-eighties. From there on, the model began to be reconsidered as a result of changes in habits, routines and of course, in socioeconomic and cultural contexts that influence the establishment of different conventions between actors, organizations and institutions.

6.2.2 The World of Interpersonal Production in the agrifood and tourism sectors

If the World of Industrial Production (INDWP) was characterized by productivism, the World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP) is characterized by post-productivism, the main elements of which have been examined by various authors (Marsden, 1995; Ilbery and Bowler, 1998, Armesto, 2003). The postproductivist transition in the agrarian sector is distinguished by the production of organic and ecological bioproducts for "green" consumers in a decentralized system of production and distribution.

These new trends are also reflected in a new set of values, understandings, habits and routines associated with traditional products, the sale of services related to tourism, sustainability, concern for food and rural development. A transition has also been experienced in the rules created by the institutions and in the actors affected by them. This is evident in Catalonia in productions regulated by certificate, such as organic production, integrated production and food crafts, and in the application of food quality certificates (DOP, IGP, DG, TSG, Brand "Q", etc.). These aspects have to characterize the World of Interpersonal Production of the agricultural sector.

Table 15 (see Spanish version) shows that Catalonia was a pioneer in Spain in the certification of its quality food products, originating with the 1986 Decrees. The Law of Food Quality represented a marked advance in the construction of the INTWP. The law established a set of rules and agreements that promoted a system of traditional manufacture and production. As evidence of a number of conventions that form the INTWP, Figure 19 (see Spanish version) shows the evolution in the number of firms registered in the production of products with quality certification.

Catalonia has also been a pioneer in the Spanish State with regard to the introduction and development of organic production. This is illustrated by Catalonia's ecological sector which has experienced remarkable growth (see Figure 21 of Spanish version). From 1996 to 2008, the area of land certified for ecological production has increased tenfold and the number of companies

engaged in the production of ecological food has increased fivefold (DAR, 2008).

In the case of tourism, and in anticipation of the changes in demand away from mass tourism, the European Union promoted rural tourism (considered a crucial alternative) based on such policies and programs as LEADER and PRODER. In Catalonia rural tourism is a recent phenomenon but over the last twenty years it has experienced significant growth (Cánoves et al., 2005) (see Figure 22 of Spanish version).

As in the certification of food products, Catalonia pioneered legislation for rural tourism in the Spanish State (1983), with norms introduced to recognize and regulate the sector. This confirms the role of the institutions to legitimize discourse and to mediate between various sectors with the establishment of a set of rules and regulations that govern their interaction.

Among the different regions of Spain, arguably Catalonia has shown the most concern to date to investigate, assess and promote its food heritage from the perspective of tourism (Tresserras et al., 2007). This has resulted in the promotion of such tourist modes as rural, cultural and, most recently, gastronomic tourism.

What underlies the valorisation of these products and the cuisine of Catalonia is the establishment of conventions by those involved: conventions such as those of "domestic value" in which the value is justified by local embeddedness; conventions of "recognition" such as widespread collective opinions; and, "green" conventions that reflect the incorporation of ecological and artisan products.

6.3 STAKEHOLDERS OF GASTRONOMIC TOURISM: ESTABLISHING CONVENTIONS THROUGH RELATIONS

In response to the analytical approach of the economic action within the framework of relational economic geography (requiring the inclusion of the actors), the interviews (initiated in July 2010 and completed in January 2013), recognised the actors as stakeholders contributing to the development of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia.

Following Donaldson and Preston (1995), the first step in the analysis conducted here involves identifying the stakeholders according to their specific interests in gastronomic tourism. In line with the aforementioned authors' reasoning it is assumed that all stakeholder interests can be considered intrinsically valuable. The second step adopted here, in line with Caffyn and Jobbins (2003), is the construction of an analytical framework that considers stakeholder interactions at two levels: intentional and structural. According to the authors, the intentional level refers to the outcome of actions expressing the values, goals, interests and purposes of stakeholders while the structural level refers to the material, social and cultural structures and contexts (institutions, rules, communication) within which that action occurs.

Once the relevant stakeholders have been identified, analysis or differentiation is possible (Sheehan and Brent, 2005). Thus, for the purposes of undertaking this study the individual stakeholders interviewed were grouped into four separate categories according to the nature of their work; the geographical scale at which they operate; and, the group that they belong to based on the intrinsic value of their interests. The table 3 (English version) lists the 22 individuals interviewed, grouped according to the four categories: public institutions, gastronomic intermediaries, farmers and restaurateurs (private) and universities (neutral).

Although objections might be raised on the grounds that one or more of the groups might lack legitimacy, as Garrod et al. (2012: 3) stress, "the group is a relevant stakeholder of the organization, which may consider it in its interests, to attend to the group's concerns". Indeed, all in all the classification adopted here is in line with the typical pattern of actors involved in tourism as identified by Garrod et al. (2012), namely, private, public and voluntary, since the provision of the products of tourism typically involves the interaction of a large number of suppliers from a wide range of economic sectors (Sheehan and Brent, 2005).

The first stakeholder group considered comprises the "public institutions" whose role it is to design projects for the promotion of local and regional products and a range of diverse tourism strategies in Catalonia. Stakeholders in this category have been well described elsewhere (e.g. Selin and Beason, 1991; Caffyn and Jobbins, 2003; Sheehan and Brent, 2005, Garrod et al., 2012), especially in relation to the study of tourism planning, tourism policy communities and destination marketing, which are the main fields to which stakeholder theory associated with tourism has been applied (Garrod et al., 2012).

The second stakeholder group can be defined as "gastronomic intermediaries"; this group, is associated with a wide range of institutions, in particular, those operating in the private sector, that have designed gastronomic strategies to promote local gastronomy in restaurants or via the creation of tourist products such as festivals, gastronomic trails, cooking schools, etc. Normally, the operating scale for these stakeholders extends from the local to the regional level; however, some of the intermediaries in the case of Catalonia work not only throughout the region but also in Spain and abroad.

The third group of stakeholders includes "farmers and restaurateurs". These are private actors involved in the running of either small- or medium-sized farms or in the selling of final products to consumers via their restaurants, at farmers' markets, or on gastronomic trails, etc. For this group, the geographical scale of their operation is essentially local.

The fourth and final group is classified as the "Universities". These stakeholders, in line with Garrod et al. (2012), could be incorporated within a group classed as volunteers, but for the purposes of the current case and given their role in gastronomic tourism, it is perhaps more appropriate to consider them as "neutral stakeholders". This group was specifically formed in response to the lack of studies, again according to Garrod et al. (2012), to capture stakeholder engagement strategies in a context of mixed public-private-

volunteers. This group is represented by experts that are well known for their work and contribution to a better understanding of gastronomy and tourism in the region. The universities have an international character and, as such, their work is conducted not only at local, regional, and state levels, but also internationally, working in the Catalan case, with organizations such as Slow Food.

The semi-structured interview allows issues to be explored in some depth (Robson, 1993). Thus, the interviewees were asked to outline opinions as to how they believed strategies of gastronomic tourism might contribute to local economic development and what type of relationship they had established with other stakeholders and institutions at the local, regional, national and international levels in order to promote gastronomic strategies in Catalonia. The aim of this was to capture similarities or differences in the perceptions of the groups.

Based on the perceptions recorded in these interviews and as part of the analysis conducted within each group, the following subsections describe the actors' interests on the basis of their responses and what they feel they can contribute in devising strategies for the development of gastronomic tourism in a given tourist area or destination.

6.3.1 Public institutions

Intervention by government in tourism is generally based on a combination of the "merit good" argument and the theory of "market failure" (Getz, 2008), a reference to a situation typified by low demand for a tourist product. This theory serves to explain the important role played by public institutions in promoting gastronomic tourism in a region and in creating or boosting demand for a specific tourist product. In the case of Catalonia, this sector is a relatively recent phenomenon in the tourist industry and so requires the full backing and support of the public institutions.

From the seven interviews conducted with members of this stakeholder group, it is apparent that not all the behaviours recorded respond to those of a destination management organization, which according to Bornhorst et al. (2010) should chiefly comprise: coordination, leadership and advocacy, development of facilities and provision of visitors service. Here, I found that the role of regional administrations in this specific sector is concerned not solely with the promotion of gastronomic tourism products but also, quite specifically, with the production of food catalogues and regional gastronomic activities. Thus, they seek to help by employing alternative strategies concerned primarily with strengthening links between farmers and food retailers.

In actions developed by public institutions, are generally observed, that this group has a strong "path dependence" which is manifested in the implementation of gastronomic strategies based on their previous experiences with other tourism products such as wine tourism.

The conventions that are created by the institutions of Catalan gastronomic tourism are the "green" (environmental) conventions and the conventions of "civic equality" where the common good is established as the standard of behaviour. This means that the actions carried out by this group are directed towards the achievement of a collective good which contributes to the positioning and recognition of Catalan food products.

The behaviour also allows the creation of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs), which are manifest in the development of food routes, festivals and other food-related events. For this group geographical, organizational and relational proximity were identified as important elements.

6.3.2 Gastronomic intermediaries

This group of stakeholders comprises private firms, including a tourist operator (its inclusion in the case study responds to the nature of its particular interests and actions in the sector of gastronomic tourism), foundations and Public Private Partnerships (PPP) such as the Tourism Consortium. These stakeholders are found at times to act as Destination Management Organizations (DMO) as reflected by their concern for the creation and support of various gastronomic events and activities (Bornhorst et al., 2010). As such, they operate on the supply side, as defined by Getz (2008), and contribute to the development of the destination, promoting events that act as a catalyst for the attraction of tourists.

Of the six stakeholders in this group, four represent institutions whose scale of operations extends from the local to the national and even international levels (see Table 1). Overall, their work demonstrates the importance of gastronomic intermediaries in the promotion of tourism. A good example of this is provided by the "Gastronomic Forum", a biennial event held in Catalonia that today is one of the largest gastronomic events in Spain. The stakeholders in this group promote their interests via the design and scheduling of events, intrinsic behaviour from the perspective of the tourism industry according to Getz (2008). Typically, in the hands of an event organization agency, such as "Pep Palau", events of this kind can be highly valued attractions.

All in all, this group of stakeholders are considered "key actors" in forging links with other stakeholder groups, in particular for connecting producers and restaurateurs with public institutions through the design and promotion of gastronomic tourist products that might include gastronomy trails, cooking schools, food tours, among others, and of course, the aforementioned events that have such a marked impact on local development. Specific evidence of this is provided by the owner of the travel agency "Ocio Vital", who in creating various gastronomic products seeks to link small local producers, restaurants and rural accommodation in territories that are not normally attractive to tourists: however, thanks to these linkages created between businesses, the agency has contributed to the local development of small areas in Catalonia because as he claims "(...) in this way, the territory keeps the money".

6.3.3 Owners of organization: Farmers, distributors and restaurateurs

Five stakeholders were interviewed in this group: two producers and one restaurant owner. For these actors, gastronomic tourism represents a great opportunity for producers and restaurateurs to combine their efforts, which can be jointly articulated in the sale and promotion of local products. In this way, the group contributes to the revitalization of the territory thanks to a process of product diversification. Private firms in the tourism industry generally consider that they are better equipped to carry out a more effective job in the promotion of destinations (Anderson and Getz, 2009). This belief was also held by this group of stakeholders, but to do so they recognised the need for direct public funding or tax support to ensure the excellence of their work.

The restaurant owner in this stakeholder group provided an example of how the territory or destination could be promoted thorough a specific food product. She described her restaurant's involvement in the design and promotion of a strategy for the consumption of horsemeat in the Pyrenees area. The initiative, which began six years ago, is now recognized throughout Catalonia as well as in other European countries, and it links horse and pony breeders and restaurateurs with institutions of local public tourism. This strategy has enabled them to promote a much-prized product of the Catalan Pyrenees and contributed to distinguishing it from other destinations. Today, gastronomic festivals are organized around the meat products of this animal.

As Anderson and Getz (2009: 848) point out, profit is a goal that secures long-term survival for private firms, and it is usually necessary to generate high revenues as well as maintain low costs in order to attain that goal. Indeed, from the answers received this appeared to be the main motivation among these stakeholders. Their central goal is to sell their products, which they consider as being highly competitive and distinctive (being local, traditional, ecological and of low-scale, artisan production) from those found in supermarkets or served in fast food restaurants. The stakeholders are motivated to engage in gastronomic tourism strategies as a means of marketing their products in a particular market niche, with good opportunities for producers, retailers, and restaurateurs of products that can be differentiated from agroindustrial production.

A number of conventions are also identified based on "green" conventions, since this group shares ecological and environmental values. However, "market" conventions are also identified, while for these stakeholders coordination mechanisms, such as trust and power considered essential to sustain the relationship, were also identified.

This group is considered especially important in the creation of networks with others who share the same activity: for example, producers associate to form cooperatives, producer associations or regulatory boards, among others; restaurateurs associate to establish "cuisine collectives", culinary networks and associations of restaurateurs; while distributors might create associations and guilds. Whatever the association, they all serve to provide actors with representation and to facilitate their participation in collective decisions. Thus,

for producers, restaurateurs and distributors alike, these entities help them to interact and to promote on a joint basis the territory of which they form a part.

6.3.4 Universities

This group can be included within what Anderson and Getz (2009) define as the voluntary stakeholders, that is, "not-for-profit associations which are based on common goals and interests". That said, they do not act as associations or societies striving to achieve the goals and interests of their members within a tourism event or activity, as would be more specifically the case of voluntary stakeholders. Yet, today's universities play an important role in regional development, above all in the knowledge-based economy, as they seek to promote synergies with the business community through the transfer of technology from academia to industry (McAdam et al., 2011). Based on the responses recorded from the stakeholders in this group, it seems they are most concerned with transferring their knowledge and research via involvement in the promotion of gastronomic tourism in the region. As such, they are active promoters of the "Gastronomic Club" strategy in which both private and public stakeholders participate.

In this study, three university professors (working at two different universities) were interviewed. The academic history of all three is very much marked by their interest in tourism and, specifically, its relationship with food. These experts, whose actions extend beyond the local scene to the regional and national scales, qualify the gastronomic tourism of Catalonia as a recent phenomenon, but one with considerable opportunities to make a contribution to local development. To ensure success, the academics stress the need to maintain a permanent dialogue between public and private stakeholders. The three stakeholders all highlight the value of Catalonia as a territorial resource and the importance of promoting the traditional, historical tourism experience in the region. In this way, they conclude, Catalonia enjoys a great opportunity to exploit a phenomenon that is experiencing increasing demand in all countries (Mak et al., 2012) and which, they argue, must be satisfied with well-structured gastronomic tourist products.

The perceptions and views reported by these stakeholders provide a global perspective, which, on the one hand, stresses the importance of bringing all the actors in the sector together so that they might discuss and analyse the possibilities of gastronomic tourism, and, on the other, offers guidelines as to how strategies might be developed for the sector. As McAdam et al. (2011) have described, the role of knowledge in society and of the university in the economy can be analysed in terms of a triple helix of university—industry—government stakeholder relations, and can be seen as a key factor in regional development.

An analysis of the above answers for the four groups reveals a number of recurrent aspects in the responses of these stakeholders. Significantly, one of these is the lack of coordination identified between the public and private sectors, which hinders the introduction of initiatives and any attempts at strengthening those already introduced.

On the other hand, returning to the ion of interaction proposed by relational economic geography and with the goal of understanding the interactions with other stakeholder groups, an actor was chosen at random from each group and he or she completed the Egocentric survey.

The Egocentric interviews also revealed the existence of highly endemic relationships between agents according to the sector in which they work. Thus, the public bodies maintain very strong, close relationships. This is the case, for example, in the links between the *Generalitat* and the *Diputación* (Provincial Councils), and in those between the latter and the consortia that promote tourism (Figure 2). However, the private sector is often sidelined in these relationships, choosing to work more closely with tourist organizations and associations and the universities (Figure 3). Moreover, cases were found in which one institution was unaware of the work being carried out by another, which meant efforts were being duplicated.

Furthermore, the figures 2 and 3 shows isomorphic and ego-centric type relationships. These two figures, represents the relationships that two institutions (one private and the other public) keep since the last two years with some other institutions that works in issues related with gastronomy. (To see the ego-centric relationships of "universities" and "gastronomic intermediaries" see figures 27 and 28 of the Spanish version).

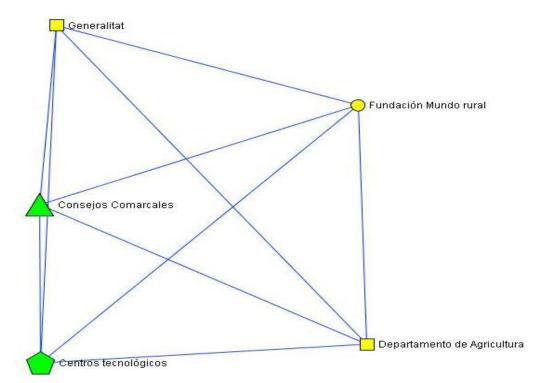


Figure 2. Relationships of Provincial Councils (Public institutions)

Figure's color = Work scale

Pink: International

Yellow: Autonomous Level

(Catalonia)

Green: Regional (County)

Blue: Municipality

Edge Color= probability that between these institutions could keeping relationships if your institution would not be involved

Probably high: Blue Probably: Purple

Is not probable: Green

Figure= Relationship frequency

Circle:1-2 times per year Square: 3-5 times per year

Pentagon:6-10 times per year

Hexagon: monthly Triangle: weekly

Figure's size= Relationship Type

Weak relationship: smaller size

Strong relationship: bigger size

Source: Author's own, 2012

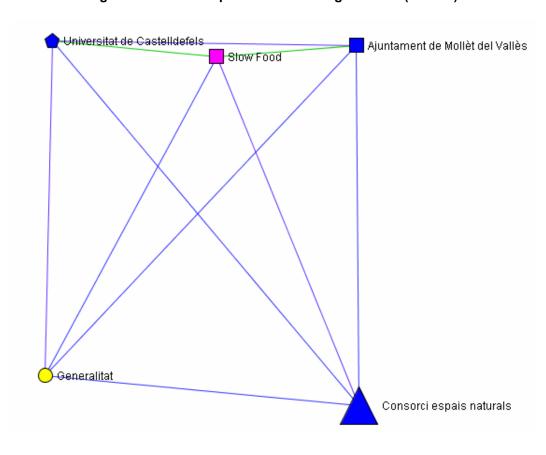


Figure 3. Relationships of owners of organization (Farmer)

Figure's color = Work scale

Pink: International

Yellow: Autonomous Level

(Catalonia)

Green: Regional (County)

Blue: Municipality

Edge Color= probability that between these institutions could keeping relationships if your institution would not be involved

Probably high: Blue Probably: Purple Is not probable: Green

Figure = Relationship frequency

Circle:1-2 times per year

Square: 3-5 times per year

Pentagon:6-10 times per year

Hexagon: monthly Triangle: weekly

Figure's size= Relationship Type

Weak relationship: smaller size

Strong relationship: bigger size

Source: Author's own, 2012

According with the relationships that a private stakeholder has, she primarily maintained relationships with the municipal level (Figure 3). The universities, however, are an example of an agent that interact and collaborate with other agents at all levels. Given that they also work with both the public and private

sectors, they play an important role in establishing a bridge of communication between the two.

A further common denominator identified from the interviews is the local development opportunities provided by gastronomy tourism in Catalonia for those areas with few possibilities of attracting other types of tourism. Likewise, opportunities exist to continue promoting this sector, thanks above all to the region's good agro food products and the great impact in the media of Catalan chefs such as Ferran Adrià and Carme Ruscalleda, who, according to the stakeholders, ensure Catalonia is competitive at a range of scales. However, they also refer to the dangers of the potential trivialization of the product in the rush to position it in the market, while managing merely to create a tourism product of insufficient content.

Likewise, the four stakeholder groups can be said to share a set of conventions that are observable in the actions performed by each group. In addition to their "green" conventions, there is also evidence of the conventions of inspiration based on the passion, emotion and creativity that they express (as described by Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) in "World of Inspiration"). This world is fully immersed in the INTWP as developed by Storper (1997). The veracity of these claims can be confirmed by reference to some of the statements extracted from the interviews enabling us to characterize the INTWP of gastronomy in the Catalan case.

- "... Catalonia is unique in its variety of territories and in the quality of its products" (Interview with Catalan travel magazine)
- "... Catalonia has won the battle of innovation; I think we safely speak of its being a world leader in gastronomic innovation, in dining experiences and in creativity" (Interview with University of Barcelona professor)

This identity – represented in the agrifood products and culinary traditions – was also recognised as being a key element in linking groups and their actors. This element can be considered an advantage in establishing an organizational proximity that can contribute to the development of strategies related to the strengthening of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia.

6.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The first section of this sixth chapter presented the characteristics of the World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP) of both the agrifood and tourist sectors. In the case of Catalonia, gastronomic tourism exists in an INTWP thanks to pre-existing tourist modes that are the result of conventions and agreements established between actors, organizations and institutions.

When these conventions overlap in a "number of layers" in the territory, they can create worlds of production that extend over space and time. Thus, socio-economic contexts that have had an influence on Catalan agriculture and tourism result in conventions that characterize the worlds of industrial and interpersonal production.

An example of the above is seen in international discourses related to sustainable development in the nineties in which "green" conventions and new values associated with the natural environment began to emerge. As part of these new values, rural areas were re-valued as a product of the exchange of the conventions found in the prevailing regulatory arrangements, representing an opportunity to promote rural development through product diversification. This was possible thanks to the important role played by institutions as mediators or restrictors of agreements.

Generally the INTWP is characterized by postproductivism in which new conventions are created. These are sustained at the same time for the tourism sector, in terms of the increase registered in rural tourism in Catalonia combined with the year-on-year increase in the number of establishments engaged in this tourism mode. This confirms a new profile both for demand and supply, which seeks to distance itself from the standardized products of the World of Industrial Production (INDWP) and move towards the customized, flexible and dedicated products of the INTWP.

In this context, the spatial nature of the agrifood and tourist sectors changed. In the case of the agrifood sector, proximity resulted in both short and long chains; in the tourism sector, tourist activity began to be distributed throughout the region. The relationship between tourism and gastronomy begins to "come alive" and starts to be valued for its potential as a form of tourism.

In seeking a temporal framework for the transition from an INDWP to an INTWP in Catalonia and taking into account the information gathered (including laws and regulations on food quality in 1986, the increase in the number of companies registered with quality certifications, the marked increase in ecological production in 2000, the increase in the number of rural tourism establishments after 1991 and the increase of overnight stays in rural tourism after 2003), it can be deduced that the transition began in the late eighties, became more evident in the middle of the nineties and truly established itself in the early years of the twenty-first century.

This transition reflects a set of actors, institutions and organizations that share a set of conventions that situate them in an INTWP where the products are personalised and customized. This world is present both in the tourism sector and the agrifood sector.

The third section of this chapter is devoted to the description and characterization of the actors involved in the Catalan gastronomic tourism based on the interviews conducted. In the first subsection we analyzed public institutions as a group of stakeholders whose behaviour is not the "typical" behaviour of an organization dedicated to "Tourist Destination Management" as described by Bornhorst et al. (2010), because in implementing their strategies they fulfil other functions such as producing catalogues of artisanal products, and publishing and disseminating information related to local food products.

It was also observed how other stakeholders, for example, the group of "gastronomic intermediaries", act as mediators, their actions serving to build bridges of interaction with other stakeholder groups. This group of stakeholders not only works at the local level but it conducts a series of activities at the national and international scale. This point suggests the relevance of this group in the promotion and dissemination of Catalan gastronomic tourism to other areas. In addition, we identified their willingness to network with other actors and institutions.

In the case of the "owners of the organizations" it was noted that these actors have been able to implement inter-sectoral strategies which are motivated mainly by the possibility of marketing their products through the niche market of gastronomic tourism, which represents a great opportunity for small and medium businesses (as reported in the interviews). In the case of the universities, knowledge transfer converts them into mediators with other stakeholders thanks to the "green" conventions that they all share. Universities make a significant contribution to the valorisation of the product and Catalan gastronomy.

In conclusion, it can be stated that each of the stakeholders are able to share conventions based on the specific interests and objectives that serve to identify them. This facilitates not only the forgoing of relationships and interactions but also the creation of new conventions embodied in agreements, strategies and actions in benefit of the positioning of Catalan gastronomy at various territorial scales.

CHAPTER VII

THE WORLD OF INTERPERSONAL PRODUCTION OF GASTRONOMIC TOURISM IN CATALONIA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have been dedicated to illustrating the transition of the tourist and agrifood sectors that make up gastronomic tourism towards a World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP), the consequence of conventions derived from the interaction of a range of different actors. According to Sánchez et al. (2010: 473), the evolution of conventions and worlds of production can only be understood by way of the analysis of the relationships within and between three levels of actors: production, organization and regulation.

Here, the level of production is related to production, distribution and consumption (Sánchez et al., 2010). For this thesis, the level is discussed under the heading of "owners of the organization". The organizational level as a second level includes collective actors who represent the common interests of the members of the production level or provide producer services: professional associations, regulatory boards of the DO, export partnerships, research institutes and training centres. For this thesis, second level is discussed as "neutral" and "gastronomic intermediaries" given their ability to stimulate both horizontal cooperation between members and vertical integration in order to disseminate specific knowledge.

The regulatory level brings together the different Public Administrations engaged in the establishment of the operational rules (Sánchez et al., 2010). For the thesis, this group was treated as "institutions". From the foregoing, it can be concluded that the analysis and the formation of the stakeholder groups (based on the information gathered from the interviews) denote a transition from World of Industrial Production (INDWP) to the World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP) in which gastronomic tourism has developed.

The following sections describe the conventions that characterize gastronomic tourism and which have allowed the region to make the transition from exploiting gastronomy as a tourist resort to the creation of tourist products based on agrifood products. This generates as a result, a series of strategies for promoting these tourism products in which various actors intervene and interact.

7.2 CONVENTIONS OF THE WORLD OF INTERPERSONAL PRODUCTION

Gastronomic tourism can be said to have recourse to a number of conventions related, according to Thévenoth et al. (2000), with ecology and environmentalism. These in turn overlap with civic and domestic conventions and those related to recognition and inspiration. This situation, in line with the interviews conducted here and based on the classifications proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot (1991), Thévenot et al. (2000) and Kirwan (2006) suggests the existence of the "recognition" convention which is established in the relations of the direct marketing of food products.

Based on the interviews and surveys two new conventions can be proposed for Catalonia: the first is that of "identity" and the second that of "tradition", because the value of the exchange is acquired when the food product has a historical component that is recognized as traditional and typical of the region by the stakeholders involved in the exchange.

The two conventions identified are confirmed by statements taken from the interviews: for example, the owner of the restaurant Sant Pau (San Pol de Mar) in claims: "... the gastronomy is the diversity of a country, of its traditions, culture and identity".

Tradition and identity and, in general, the conventions of the World of Interpersonal Production in which gastronomic tourism is immersed are evident in the gastronomic resources of the territory. These resources are transformed into tourist products centred on an element that corresponds to the food product in various stages of transformation which range from the raw material to the final dish served at the table.

The following subsections examine the tourist resources that are characteristic of Catalonia and the main tourism products that are characteristic of the INTWP of Catalan gastronomic tourism. It also discusses the strategies deployed in exploiting these resources and the subsequent creation of gastronomic tourism products which contribute to the promotion of this tourist modality in this territory.

7.3 GASTRONOMIC TOURISM RESOURCES AND CONVENTIONS

Gastronomy as a resource (see the discussion in chapter IV) can be exploited in other modes of tourism. Here, for the purposes of this thesis, the gastronomic tourist resource is understood as agrifood products and cooked dishes that represent the geographical and cultural diversity of Catalonia and which constitute the raw material for the design of various tourism products with gastronomy at their core.

To characterize the tourism resources of the gastronomic tourism of the INTWP, the starting point are the responses recorded in the surveys. The products of INTWP show, in one way or another, the productivism experienced during the

mid-twentieth century. For this reason, the production of meat also dominates the offer of INTWP.

In the World of Interpersonal Production, in contrast with that of Industrial Production, the firms engaged in production and processing are primarily family businesses (65.8%) employing traditional methods for the production, processing and preparation of the product. For the 120 producers surveyed here, there is a statistical significance (Pearson's chi-squared test), which indicates a relationship between the tourism brand and the type of enterprise (see Figure 33 of Spanish version). This confirms the relation between the productive activity and the territory in which the business is located.

Another of the gastronomic tourism resources located in the INTWP are the specialty stores. According to the 100 surveys conducted in this group, 21.78 operate as "grocery stores" selling a wide range of products (cheeses, meats, beverages, dairy products, etc.) (see Figure 34 of Spanish version).

A further tourism resource in Catalonia are its restaurants, which act as key agents of the gastronomic activity of the INTWP. According to the 100 surveys conducted, most of these establishments are dedicated to the restaurant business (55.6%).

As for the producers a statistically significant relationship (Pearson's chisquared test) was found between the type of restaurateur enterprise and the tourism brand with which the enterprise is associated. This confirms that the economic action of restaurateurs is related to the tourism brand (the area) in which they choose to locate their economic activity (see Figure 35 of Spanish version). On the other hand, the conventions that characterize the producers, distributors and restaurateurs (associated with gastronomic tourism resources) are strongly associated with "green" or "ecological" conventions as well as with other conventions (domestic and civic, as well as those of recognition, inspiration, consideration), thus resulting in the formation of new conventions.

Conventions can also be seen in the responses in which 71% of producers claim that theirs is a special or unique product. These products, which form part of the INTWP, are characterized (according to the responses) by the absence of additives, the use of artisan techniques, the feeding of livestock with organic fodder, the use of traditional recipes exclusive to the zone and vegetables and fruit produced in an integrated fashion, as well as by the originality and innovative way of making and producing foodstuffs.

In the INTWP we also identified a series of conventions represented in a range of normative agreements, such as product certifications. However, according to the survey results, and taking into account the percentage of products that have some kind of certification (PGI, PDO, Brand "Q"), the majority (55%) of products made or produced do not have any type of certification other than those satisfying prevailing health standards.

The majority of the restaurateurs (66.7%), in common with the producers and distributors, present both domestic value and identity conventions that link them

with other actors. This group believes that what customers value most in their businesses is their "good product, the cuisine and the service provided."

The conventions of "domestic value" are also reflected in the trust needed to establish this interaction. Thus 66% of these respondents prefer to buy their products from local and neighbourhood producers in their region. Moreover, when buying these products the restaurateurs are governed by "green" conventions manifest in the importance they attach to the fact that the products are fresh (33%), ecological (33%) and seasonal (33%). These conventions characterise those actors that make up the agrifood chain and which, therefore, constitute the gastronomic resources, as well as those that participate or can participate in tourism activities related to food.

Gastronomic resources in Catalonia, in general, present a strong identity based on the conventions of domestic value, civic equality and inspiration, and where priority is given, according to Boltanski and Thévenot (1991), to uniqueness and the manifestation of emotions and passions. These resources are characteristics of the tourism resources of the INTWP.

These resources are subsequently combined in order to create gastronomic tourism products which, in most cases, promote relationships of proximity through direct contact. Below the main gastronomic tourism products identified in Catalonia are presented.

7.4 TOURISM PRODUCTS: FOOD FAIRS, ROUTES AND GASTRONOMIC EVENTS

Food fairs, routes and gastronomic events involve, in the case of Catalonia, a large number of stakeholders from different sectors (public, private and mixed) (Smith and Xiao, 2008) that will sometimes interact outside the administrative boundaries of their brand. Thus, the creation of gastronomy routes as a tourism product may involve various institutional and geographical levels (municipalities, county councils, the Catalan Tourist Board, etc.).

Today in Catalonia there are 13 gastronomy routes designed by the Catalan Tourism Board, which serve to introduce the visitor to the rich offer of Catalonia's cuisine and gastronomy. Similarly, the *Gastroteca* has designed a further eleven slightly more specialised food and wine routes. These include the addresses of establishments where the visitor can sample, purchase and enjoy the food and wine of the various provinces and districts of Catalonia.

However, to date the gastronomy routes as tourism products are supported by poorly defined information and are clearly not as well developed as the mature wine routes in Catalonia, where the establishments are presented in great detail (including opening hours, the languages in which the tours are conducted, prices, accessibility, etc.), information considered essential for the tourist when opting to follow the route. Some of the observations of the respondents in relation to the routes confirm this impression.

"... in the wine sector the initiatives taken date back years and today they have established themselves as authentic products – this is the case of the wine routes (...) yet, not very often do you come across a similar product in the gastronomic tourism sector. I'm referring to a number of routes, which after a while cease to function as such – it's not easy for them to work, others yes, but a lot of work remains to be done" (Pep Palau Von Arend & Associats, 2011).

Finally, in the case of gastronomic routes as tourism products, their design can vary from one area to another depending on the actors involved in their design and implementation.

On the other hand, there are food fairs and gastronomic events in Catalonia held throughout the year and throughout the region, ranging from conferences, exhibitions, competitions, tastings, etc. Food fairs and gastronomic events are also promoted at the institutional level by the Catalan Tourist Board thanks to its creation of a gastronomic calendar. This information is disseminated via the website: "festacatalunya.cat". Based on this information, Catalonia organizes a total of 130 exhibitions and 264 gastronomic events involving mainly seasonal, artisan, traditional, typical and regional products.

Figures 40 and 41 (see Spanish version) suggest that there is a higher concentration of food-related events and fairs in the towns of the coastal and pre-coastal tourism brands. Thus, tourism brands such as Barcelona, Barcelona-Maresme, Costa Brava and Costa del Garraf organize a significant proportion of the gastronomic fairs and events held in Catalonia. This would appear to be a continuing reflection of the prevailing spatial pattern of traditional "sun and beach" tourism.

The spatial distribution of food-related fairs and events presented in Figure 40 also seems to reflect the historical evolution of organizations and institutions in Catalonia. This is manifest in the development of new tourism products by brands with established experience in the sector. This experience allows actors to develop products that reinvent, reinforce or contribute to the creation of new modes of tourism. This is observed especially in such tourism brands as the Costa Brava, Barcelona, Barcelona-Maresme and Costa del Garraf.

Based on the perceptions of the respondents (producers, distributors and restaurateurs), it seems that while food fairs, events and gastronomic markets can attract tourists from afar, most are local visitors (from neighbouring municipalities and counties). This was confirmed by 68.1% of respondents. Indeed, most of the tourists are in fact visitors that travel to the event and return home at the end of the day.

Figure 42 (see Spanish version) shows a greater perception of foreign tourists attracted to food fairs and events organised by such tourism brands as Barcelona and Pirineos. Unsurprisingly, Barcelona is the brand that is perceived as attracting most, which is presumably related to the fact that it is the brand that receives most international travellers in Catalonia (see Table 10 Spanish version). The result for the Pirineos tourism brand is surprising as it is ranked

only sixth among the brands in terms of the international travellers it attracts in general.

Thus it might be the case that gastronomic events will change the historical configuration of tourism in Catalonia, perhaps allowing new geographical areas to attract tourists to new regions (as illustrated by the Pirineos tourism brand).

Food routes, fairs and events as tourism products are a characteristic feature of the INTWP. The proliferation of such relational spaces in recent years (especially since 2000) in Catalonia shows how actors that share a set of values and conventions embedded in elements related to the territory and its identity can facilitate the building of new socio-spatial scenarios for tourist interaction.

7.5 MARKETING AND PROMOTION STRATEGIES

Further aspects that characterize the gastronomic tourism of the INTWP are the types of relationship and interaction established between actors, as discussed in previous chapters. The relationships established in this world as a result of prevailing conventions also allow a series of strategies designed to promote and market gastronomic tourism to be implemented.

The strategies applied by institutions with links to gastronomic tourism also reflect regulatory conventions such as those laid down in the Strategic Plans of Tourism of Catalonia (2005-2010 and 2011-2015). These conventions establish the contextual frameworks for interaction and relationship between actors. For example, in the PETC (2005-2010) Catalan gastronomy was identified as an icon that was to be developed for the identification of Catalonia as a tourist attraction.

According to the responses recorded in the interviews and other information gathered, the strategies of gastronomic tourism are identified as hierarchical actions which begin at a higher scale promoted by the public institutions. Over time they are expanded to include and to link up with actions at the local and regional level. In each of the territories, these are driven by private or mixed institutions. There are two main examples of large-scale global or state strategies in Catalonia: The Gastronomic Club (2003) and Gastroteca (2006).

In the case of Catalonia, in 2003, the administration led by the *Generalitat's* Catalan Tourist Board created the Gastronomic Club as the first step in its strategy to help market and, thereby, boost gastronomy tourism "in close cooperation with all companies, organizations and bodies engaged in this sector of the tourist industry". The club allows companies to participate in various strategies designed to promote Catalonia as a tourist product. Each entity pays an annual fee (350 €) entitling it to enjoy all membership privileges. The club comprises culinary associations, locally- or district-based accommodation and restaurant services, producers and service companies linked to culinary tourism.

Club members are grouped in three categories: A – Service Providers, B – Tourist Promotion Companies, and C – Partners. Group A comprises 24 tourist

service groups, 15 cuisine collectives, 14 hotel groups and 7 intermediary services. Section B is made up of 27 entities comprising municipalities, provincial tourist boards and tourist promotion groups. And, finally, Group C comprises, at present, four entities dedicated primarily to research in the field of tourism and given this focus they do not have to pay a membership fee. The Catalan Tourist Board offers its members the following main services: receipt of the Club's advertising and marketing material, a professional advisory service, participation in the Club's forum for tourist professionals and use of its tourist promotion centres abroad.

The second step in the administration's strategy to promote gastronomy tourism throughout the region was the founding in 2007 of the Gastroteca by the Directorate General for Trade of the *Generalitat* of Catalonia. This comprises a website providing promotional and marketing support for local food products. This interactive channel of communication is open to producers, distributors and establishments working in the catering industry as well as to consumers and stakeholders with an interest in gastronomy tourism.

Another strategy gaining strength in Catalonia is the nomination of Catalan cuisine for recognition by UNESCO as an "intangible cultural heritage". This strategy is being led by a private actor - the Catalan Cuisine Institute Foundation (FICC) and has facilitated the interaction of various economic sectors and a multiplicity of actors that endow Catalan cuisine with a certain heritage value, adhering to conventions of identity and tradition.

Among the strategies of a regional and local nature are those undertaken above all at the municipal and county level. These usually tend to be accompanied by the promotion of gastronomic events. However, other strategies for promoting and marketing gastronomy include those organized by the "cuisine collectives", which seek to promote the food and cuisine of the region in which they are located.

Given the multi-sectoral nature of gastronomic tourism, and based on the analysis of the strategies linked to this tourist phenomenon, it is clear that stakeholders share a set of conventions and enter into agreements that allow them to interact in the promotion and marketing of tourism in the framework provided by the INTWP. In this world, strategies link different sectors together promoting the identity of the territory, be it Catalonia, a specific brand or municipality.

7.5.1 Promotion strategies of organizations

In order to compare the general strategies promoted primarily by public institutions, we opted to determine the perception of respondents regarding the benefits of belonging to one of the "global" strategies to promote Catalan food products and gastronomic tourism, namely the Gastroteca. Overall, we observed that the dissemination of this strategy has no real effect on participants – this was confirmed by 43% of respondents who stated that they were unaware of any benefits of participating in the Gastroteca. However,

21.9% recognize the benefits gained from advertising on the website (see Figure 44 of Spanish version).

A further question aimed at contrasting information and at characterizing gastronomic tourism in Catalonia involved obtaining information as to how companies or organizations design their marketing and promotion strategies. Here, 33% of respondents claimed to use their own websites as a marketing tool. The second most important strategy (employed by 18.8% of respondents) corresponds to a combination of several tools, including the use of the local press, "word of mouth", product catalogues, etc.

However, the groups of respondents that make most use of websites are the distributors and restaurateurs. Pearson's chi-square test shows a statistically significant relationship between being a producer, distributor and restaurateur and the use of one or other of the marketing strategies for their products (see Figure 45 of Spanish version).

Finally, the tourism brands in which the actors make most use of their resources and strategies for the promotion and sale of products are Cataluña Central, Pirineos, Costa Brava, Terres de Lleida and Terres de L'Ebre.

7.6 GASTRONOMIC TOURISM: A NEW INSTITUTIONAL FIELD IN CATALONIA

In the fourth chapter gastronomic tourism was presented as a new institutional field, with a focus that took up once again the theory and the foundations of the new institutionalism as developed by Powell and Dimmagio (1991). The authors claim, in relation to the founding of a new institutional field, the need to analyse the emergence of this field through two elements: 1) that of professionalization and 2) that of structuration. Following the same structure as that used in chapter IV, here we discuss the first of these elements for the case of Catalonia:

7.6.1 Professionalization

Professionalization includes the production of university trained experts, the creation of a body of knowledge and the training of more and better prepared professionals. Each of these aspects are described below.

The production of university trained experts

In Catalonia the tourist tradition has also been transferred to academia and the universities with various faculties including tourism on their programs (both master's and professional training courses). Likewise, gastronomy, seen as the study of food and cooking, has been professionalized with schools of hostelry and cooking being opened. Today, Catalonia boasts a number of internationally recognised schools including the Hoffman School in Barcelona, the School of Hospitality and Tourism in Girona, the School of Gastronomy in l'Empordà and the Joviat Hospitality School in Manresa.

Catalan cuisine has historically been important for its citizens, as demonstrated by one of the oldest cookbooks in Europe, the "Book of Sent Sovi", a fourteenth-century Catalan recipe book whose author remains unknown. Another good example is the "Catalan Culinary Corpus" which includes 1,136 recipes of traditional dishes and ingredients.

Worthy of note in this regard is the culinary research undertaken by the Alicia Foundation created in 2004, the Romani Cooking School of Sabadell, the Osona Gastronomy Foundation and the Observatory of Food (ODELA) at the University of Barcelona. All these institutions contribute to the generation of scientific knowledge related to food and gastronomy in Catalonia.

Professional associations

Professional associations, according to Dimmagio (1991), refer to the sector's official organizations and representative bodies. As such, Catalonia has several associations representing both the tourism and agrifood sectors. Catalonia has nineteen cuisine collectives distributed throughout the territory and boasts the Catalan Academy of Gastronomy which brings together representatives from various fields.

Catalonia also has a number of non-professional associations, but which make an equally valuable contribution to the sector by strengthening its relationship with gastronomy. These are the "cultural and gastronomic associations" that, according to the Generalitat of Catalonia, number 244 in total while a further 37 associations represent the interests of a range of groups in this field.

Other organizations with similar characteristics include the "cultural gastronomic associations", "gastronomic clubs" and "associations of restaurateurs and producers" whose purpose is to bring together stakeholders interested in gastronomy. These are not strictly professional associations but they contribute greatly to knowledge transfer. The origin of most of the "cultural and gastronomic associations" can be dated to the early 21st century and are present in all four of the Catalan provinces (see Figure 48 of Spanish version).

Slow Food is also considered an organization that brings together professionals, non-professionals and anyone generally interested in gastronomy under the principles and conventions that this organization promotes. Therefore, in addition to promoting points of encounter to promote its philosophy, it also contributes to the formation of food networks in the Catalan region known as "Convivium".

Increasing the relevance of professional expertise

In the case of Catalonia, professional experts can be appraised by either the tourism sector or the catering industry owing to the different formal education programs that exist for each of the respective areas. However, the analysis of gastronomic tourism as a tourism mode occurs mainly on training courses at the master's and postgraduate levels.

7.6.2 Structuration

The second element, according to DiMaggio (1991), is related to the increase in density of inter-organizational contacts, increases in information flows and the emergence of a core-periphery structure.

• Increases in the density of inter-organizational contacts

The increase in density of inter-organizational contacts in the Catalan case is not only attributable to Slow Food but also to the Gastronomic Club thanks to the workshops and meetings organized for its members.

Other examples of networking in the sector are provided by the creation of the "Conservatory of the Mediterranean Cuisine of Catalonia" and the "Network of *Terra* Products" promoted by the Barcelona Provincial Council. This network promotes local products through the organization, dissemination and integration of various actors in the food industry at different scales.

Increases in information flows

The use of the internet in the gastronomic tourism sector in Catalonia has played an important role in disseminating the activities undertaken by producers, distributors, restaurateurs, tour operators, and other organizations and institutions. A good example is provided by the Gastronomic Forum held every two years in Catalonia. In the latest edition, held in Girona (2011), the Forum enabled virtual access to conferences through its "Live Stream" of the main activities.

The Forum has signed up to the main social networking platforms, including Facebook and Twitter. These are being increasingly used not only by events of this category, but also by all kinds of organizations and actors (universities, tour operator websites, food companies, catering industry, etc.).

The emergence of a core-periphery structure

In Catalonia food fairs, events and associations, as a fundamental part of gastronomic activity, tend to concentrate in coastal and pre-coastal areas, where important urban centres (including Barcelona, Tarragona and Girona, three of the four provincial capitals) are located. Thus, rather than a coreperiphery structure, it would be more accurate to speak of a structure centred on coastal tourism brands – Barcelona, Costa del Garraf, Costa Brava and Costa Daurada – which extends with less impetus into the inner tourism brands of Terres de Lleida, as shown in Figure 50.

Other aspects that serve to legitimise gastronomic tourism as a new institutional field in Catalonia are activities related to food products and their dissemination. Good examples of this are the first "Fish Interpretation Centre-Maram" in L'Escala (Costa Brava Tourism Brand) and festivals such as "Film & Cook" (see Figure 49) which link various actors and create institutional networks.

Finally, based on Powell and Dimmagio's (1991) neo-institutional theory and its application to gastronomic tourism as a new institutional field in Catalonia, it is clear that if we focus on the aspects of professionalization and structuration, as mentioned by the authors, the tourist activity linked to food products certainly shows considerable dynamism throughout the territory. However, it does tend to be spatially concentrated in the coastal and pre-coastal brands which in turn boast large urban centres and great experience in tourism.

7.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has identified the conventions characterising the interpersonal world of gastronomic tourism in the case of Catalonia. The main conventions are transversal and overlap with others permeating both the tourism and agrifood sectors. These results lead to the identification of "green" or ecological conventions. Based on these axial conventions, others give more structure and robustness to the overall set (including domestic, civic, recognition, inspiration, sense conventions) that characterizes gastronomic tourism in the World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP).

In addition to these, two more conventions can be defined as characterizing gastronomic tourism in Catalonia more broadly; these correspond to "identity" and "tradition". Identity as a convention plays an important role in the exchange of gastronomic tourism products and in marketing and promotion strategies (see Figure 48 in which culture is highlighted as an important element).

Once gastronomic tourism is considered with the INTWP, it becomes apparent that it boasts gastronomic resources that can be associated with other modes of tourism or which can be transformed to create tourism products (such as food fairs, routes and gastronomic events). This explains why the characteristics of both Catalan tourism resources and products are addressed here.

These findings are supported not only by data gathered at the interviews but also in the surveys of producers, distributors and restaurateurs distributed throughout all of Catalonia's tourism brands. Here, we have sought to show the relationship between the responses obtained and the tourism brands in which the actors' establishments are located in order to incorporate within the analysis the relationship between the territory as a tourist brand and the economic action of the actors involved.

In relation to the characteristics of gastronomic tourism, the chapter has also examined the strategies for the marketing and promotion of this form of tourism identified as providing information about the conventions created by institutions, and which have led the territories to promote their food products and with them their culture, traditions and history.

In order to understand how these strategies are structured, an analysis is undertaken using the classification of four orders developed by Hjalaguer (2002). This serves to undertake a structured verification not only of the strategies but also of the intersectoral relations present in a given territory. This

is illustrated with application to two counties of the Pyrenees (Alt Urgell and Ripoll).

The above information is supplemented with survey results concerning the perceptions of the actors as regards the benefits to be derived from a particular strategy (Gastroteca) and their knowledge of the strategies used by businesses and organizations for the sale and promotion of their products and services.

In general, the characteristics of the INTWP, in which gastronomic tourism can be located, and based on the survey results, it is clear that gastronomic tourism, via its resources, products and strategies related to gastronomy, requires the active participation of all its stakeholders. Moreover, it needs greater dialogue at the institutional level to obtain more effective results when it comes to communicating and promoting this type of tourism and those who participate in it.

Finally, in the last section of the chapter, gastronomic tourism is legitimized as a new institutional field in the case of Catalonia. Legitimacy is conferred in relation to the two aspects described by Powell and DiMaggio (1991): professionalization and structuration. The analysis in the context of these two aspects confirms the increase in educational training in relation to both gastronomy and tourism, the emergence of associations and organizations, the contribution of new technologies of information and communication which lead to the establishment of information flows and, therefore, to the spread of gastronomic tourism.

Likewise, the usefulness of the institutional approach is highlighted in understanding the role of institutions in placing constraints on the stakeholders' actions and in the importance of local action for constructing new institutional fields.

CHAPTER VIII

GASTRONOMIC TOURISM AND RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND MARKETING

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The transition from the World of Industrial Production (INDWP) to the World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP) has given rise to new relationships and dynamics in Catalonia's tourism industry and in its food industry. The latter is above all manifest in the increase in agricultural area dedicated to ecological production and products receiving quality certifications.

The analysis that follows discusses theoretical and conceptual elements related to alternative chains. In recent years academics have reshaped this approach in the development of "Alternative Food Networks" (AFNs) which have come to characterise the INTWP. These networks provide a good explanation of the multiplicity of actors and sectors involved in this world and, hence, of the relationships and interactions generated in the exchange of food products within the modality of gastronomic tourism.

This chapter discusses the production and marketing relations entered into in the exchange of agrifood products when these occur in spaces that can be classified as forming part of gastronomic tourism, i.e., the exchange of products that shape and characterize gastronomic tourism as a type of tourism.

To achieve this, the section considers the relationships that emerge in the production, distribution and sale of products based on the surveys reported herein. A paragraph is also dedicated to analysing the enterprises and their characteristics as organizational forms, based on the qualitative and quantitative information gathered. Finally, a discussion is undertaken of alternative forms of relationships that occur in the exchange of food products in the Catalan case.

8.2 INTERACTION BETWEEN PRODUCERS, DISTRIBUTORS AND RESTAURATEURS

In any interaction, the exchange of information and knowledge are seen as holding the key to success in establishing relationships (Murphy and Smith, 2009), while these elements contribute to the coordination mechanisms in relations of power, trust and reputation.

First and foremost, in order to characterize those who, in fact, build *conventions* from relationships it is important to determine the profile of the enterprise owners. For example, in seeking to identify differences between the kind of

businesses run by men or women, it was found that a slightly higher percentage of men are more likely to be engaged as producers or restaurateurs, while a higher percentage of women (57%) are responsible for managing the distribution or marketing of products (see Figure 50 of the Spanish version).

Another of the characteristics of those who build conventions is the education level of the respondents. The results here are interesting in that they reflect their high level of education: 33.4% of respondents have a university education and 26.6% have completed vocational courses. These two education levels taken together represent 60% of the total respondents. The educational level within each group of respondents can be seen in Figure 51 (Spanish version), which emphasises the higher academic qualifications among the distributors, a group comprised by a majority of women.

An examination of the demographic characteristics of the respondents shows that they have an average age of 44. The youngest group is formed from those between the ages of 25 and 35 and is dominated by restaurateurs, with only a slight difference in the respective numbers of producers and distributors (see Figure 52 of the Spanish version).

Based on a number of case studies selected randomly from the surveys, the application of supply chain diagrams illustrates the nature of the relations of production and marketing for the three groups surveyed (producers, distributors and restaurateurs) located in three of the four provinces of Catalonia (Girona, Barcelona and Tarragona) (see Figures 53, 54 and 56 Spanish version).

One aspect to highlight in these supply chain diagrams is the relationship with tourism and the dependence on it among some establishments (see, for example, case study number one in Figure 53). The same is not true in the case of distribution (see, case study number two in Figure 54). In this case the chain is not long and intermediation plays an important role. Note that other aspects such as enterprise size also seem to act as determinants of these relationships.

Furthermore, it was found that a large majority of producers (90%), especially farmers engaged in the production or processing of meats and cheeses, operate stores that sell directly to consumers. This point to a high level of product processing that enables producers to reach their consumers, shortening in this way their supply chain and distribution channels.

In the group of restaurateurs surveyed, the origin of their suppliers was primarily traced to other municipalities (42.9%) or other regions (36.7%), which was also found to be the case for the distributors. Figure 57 shows the provenance of suppliers for all tourism brand for restaurateurs. There is evidence that tourism brands, such as Barcelona (the only brand according to surveys) use products, such as cod, from other countries.

The decisions taken by the actors as owners of the organizations affect the territory in which they operate. In this way their actions create interregional linkages that contribute to the establishment of spatially extended chains in

Catalonia. These in turn allow the recovery or creation of new products, new dishes and other ways of operating in and involving the territory.

In addition, it was observed how the conventions related to a particular product are reflected in the purchase of supplies from the region and in local suppliers extending at the inter-county, or at most, the inter-provincial level. This became more evident when respondents were asked if they bought any of their inputs from other countries: 88.4% said they did not buy anything from abroad, but identified that their supplies came from other counties or from within the same county. This clearly bears a close relation to the conventions of identity and tradition that characterize respondents and which facilitate the exchange of products.

8.3 THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND COMMERCIALISATION

This section examines how organizations behave in their production and marketing relations. The first part is dedicated to providing a description of the organizations or enterprises in terms of the number of workers they employ, the type of ownership of the business, and their labour sources, etc. This should enable us to obtain a good understanding of the companies and of the characteristics of gastronomic tourism in the World of Interpersonal Production.

The majority (69.6%) of firms surveyed in each of the groups (producers, distributors and restaurateurs), are family businesses. However, family firms are more highly represented among the restaurateurs, while other ownerships types, such as cooperatives, are almost exclusively found among the producers. The number of workers employed, both permanently and seasonally, allows us to identify the enterprises surveyed as being small and medium-sized firms (<10 employees). Furthermore, most of the companies (62.5%) employ workers from within the county or neighbouring municipalities (33.9%).

In the inter-organizational relations what is evident is the importance of the nature of the contact with other providers and the characteristics that have to be fulfilled in this regard as prerequisites for being able to form part of the set of suppliers. Personal contact stands out above all else in the inter-organizational relations. This is coordinated by mechanisms such as trust, reputation and the power that is exercised by some stakeholders.

According to the respondents, 33.2% of enterprises contact their suppliers personally. Restaurateurs are the group that uses this form of "face-to-face" contact most, while 28.8% reported using the telephone to maintain contact with their suppliers (see Figure 59 Spanish version). The producers reported making greatest use of this medium of communication. In general, a statistical significance was found to hold when applying Pearson's chi-squared test, which indicates a relationship between the type of contact used with a supplier and the type of enterprise (producers, distributors or restaurateurs).

In order to investigate in greater depth the relevance of personal relationships and trust as coordination mechanisms, the decision "tree technique" of bivariate

analysis with SPSS was applied. This showed that personal contact remained statistically significant in relation to purchases within or outside the region in which the business is located. Figure 60 (see Spanish version) shows that the restaurateurs are the group that makes most use of their personal contacts with a supplier and, at the same time, they are the group that makes most purchases in the region if personal contact exists. Thus, it might be claimed that personal contact can increase the purchase of local raw materials.

As for the value placed on the relationships, the survey shows that 43.5% of respondents attach greatest importance to a "good product", a factor that prevails over other concerns such as "value/price ratio" (20.1%). This confirms once more that these firms are operating in the World of Interpersonal Production, which highlights elements other than those related solely to economic value.

The conventions shared in this chain are not entirely oriented to those of the market, rather other values may prevail: for example, the quality of the product or the fact that the supplier is local (9.9%). These aspects are specifically articulated with the conventions of identity. However, in these relations the distributors make up the group that are most insistent (38.2%) that the supplier has a good product, followed by producers (36%) and the restaurateurs (25.7%).

The final figures and paragraphs of this section describe how companies interact at the intra-organizational level as a means of legitimizing their actions and of making their gastronomy-related strategies more visible.

8.4 ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF RELATIONSHIP IN PRODUCT EXCHANGES

This section analyses alternative forms of relationship focusing on direct sales and agrifood markets. The findings provide a profile of the parties interested in Catalan gastronomic products – comprising, in the main, the local population, resident in neighbouring municipalities or regions. Additionally, the purchase of such products is predominant at weekends among tourists aged between 25 and 50. The findings also show an increasing interest among young couples for this kind of product. These customers are be grouped with those comprising the "family" category in the case of establishments run by restaurateurs.

In the case of farmers' markets and municipal markets, both form part of the history and traditions of Catalonia and are considered domains of interaction in which relations are built between the various stakeholders involved, in one way or another, in the exchange of food products.

Markets are seen by some authors, including Boniface (2003), as tourist attractions that contribute to the creation of tourist products. Yet, they are also events produced by and through actor-networks (Holloway and Kneafsey, 2000). "La Boqueria" market in Barcelona is an obvious example of the potential of these scenarios for tourism.

At the regional level, we find a concentration of municipal markets in Barcelona and its metropolitan area. This is a reflection of the role played by institutions as mediators responsible for establishing normative type conventions that restrict or permit economic action in a given territory. In the case of Barcelona, the implementation of plans to recover the municipal markets and the creation of an institute for their management demonstrates the relevance of the markets in this area in comparison with the rest of Catalonia.

8.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The first section of his chapter examined the interaction between the main actors that make up the supply and distribution chain, and which are the focus of this study. In doing so, we returned to the elements of relational economic geography in order to analyse how the different links in the chain (producers, distributors and restaurateurs) interact. This analysis has highlighted the importance of the production processes and the knowledge transfer that are generated as a result of this interaction.

The second section of the chapter looked at the relations established between organizations, highlighting the importance of contact with suppliers. The importance of personal contacts in inter-organizational relationships was also demonstrated, the latter being coordinated by mechanisms such as the trust, reputation and power that is exercised by some stakeholders. Furthermore, interesting aspects related to the origin of the vendors of products, characteristics involving their selection, the coordination mechanisms and the legitimacy of the activities via participation in associations were described in identifying strategies or outcomes that contribute to a fuller understanding of supply chains and Alternative Food Networks (AFN) as they relate to gastronomic tourism in Catalonia.

In the section dedicated to examining alternative ways of relating to the production and marketing of food products, direct sales and agrifood markets were identified as potential strategies of gastronomic tourism. These elements reveal characteristics of World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP) in relation to those who participate in these exchanges. The existence of agrifood markets is also regulated by the institutions that restrict or encourage the participation of stakeholders. Thus, some respondents expressed their discontentment with the fees imposed to run a "stall" in these markets and with the lack of support for the agrifood sector. In some cases they claimed markets were not solely for food, but a range of other products were also on sale, which made it difficult from the perspective of producers and vendors to obtain recognition and appreciation for their products.

Finally, the results presented here show, on the one hand, the consumer or tourist profiles, which share the same conventions, and who are therefore interested gastronomic food products. In addition, the concentration of activities related to municipal markets as domains for the exchange and concentration of gastronomic tourist products in Barcelona and its metropolitan area was analysed. This confirms once more the marked core-periphery structure in Catalonia, with Barcelona as the main pole of attraction.

CHAPTER IX

GASTRONOMIC TOURISM AND TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE INTERPERSONAL WORLD OF PRODUCTION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the potential of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia to play an influential role in local and regional development, as identified in the literature review and the surveys and interviews conducted. More specifically the chapter examines the various perceptions regarding gastronomic tourism as an option for development held by those directly involved in this type of tourism.

The key features of local development or Local Economic Development (LED), as pointed out by Ramukumba et al. (2012), are to encourage economic growth and to diversify the local economic base. The authors show how the current economic crisis has led to a local search for innovative alternatives, one of which is the present-day boom in gastronomic activities in territories of all kinds.

For some authors, see Bèssiere (1998), local development is more closely linked with the intrinsic value of a territorial area's cultural and regional identity in which the heritage can be seen as a social resource structure for local achievement. Indeed, in Europe, local development has been promoted through many rural development programmes and policies (Hjalaguer, 1996) that frequently include among their actions the promotion of typical, traditional local or regional products (Ilbery and Kneafsey, 1998; Caldentey, 2001; Tregear et al., 2007). Clearly, the promotion of such products can serve as part of a wider program for spurring regional development (Tregear et al., 2007).

The following subsection discusses how the knowledge and innovations that are created in relation to the exchange of food products can contribute to local and regional development. Finally, it examines a "new perspective" in order to promote a new understanding of local and regional development for Catalonia.

9.2 PERCEPTIONS OF GASTRONOMIC TOURISM FOR FOSTERING LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

According to the surveys conducted, 31.2% of respondents perceived "a lot" of tourist activity associated with gastronomy (including food events, fairs, and festivals, and visits to specific restaurants) being practiced in their territory, compared with 26.2% who reported "little" activity. The group of respondents that perceived most activity was the restaurateurs (43%), which suggest gastronomic tourism is most closely associated in respondents' minds with the tasting of food and restaurant dining experiences.

Producers (36.7%) are the group most likely to consider the practice of this type of tourism as not being representative. Meanwhile, the group of respondents that were most likely to perceive "very little" gastronomic tourism in their territory was the distributors (33.7%), which perhaps reflects the lower degree of connectivity of this group with activities related to gastronomic tourism.

Figure 73 (see Spanish version) shows the perceptions of all respondents by tourism brand. The main conclusion to be drawn is that the greatest perception of activities related to "gastronomic tourism" is recorded in such brands as the Costa Brava, the Pirineos and Barcelona.

On the other hand and in reply to the first question of the interview (How can gastronomy tourism help contribute to regional development?), all the respondents were unanimous in declaring that gastronomy tourism could serve to promote local development. In specifying how they believed it could act, some respondents mentioned not only the potential impact of the activity on aggregate demand, i.e., on trade and the catering industry, but also the effect the product could have as a promoter of the region. The promotion of local products in specialty stores, sold as souvenirs and the like, is seen as a means of promoting and developing the region. Some of the actual answers are recorded below to illustrate these beliefs:

"As I see it, if people are looking for it (local gastronomy) and you manage to persuade them to visit a particular place, and all that that means in terms of accommodation, then there is the immediate impact in terms of all the expenses they incur in staying there. But it also has a subsequent impact on trade by increasing demand. So it has a dual component". (Interview Manager Gastroteca, 2010)

"What gastronomy tourism does is to promote the local region, where promote means the creation of wealth, not only thanks to the tourism but also thanks to the expansion of knowledge". (Interview Producer- Gallecs Agricultural Park, 2010)

"Yes, directly from the profit made from increased sales and indirectly by helping to position the destination. A good example are the calçots of Valls, where there has been an increase in hotel accommodation, restaurants and sales to tourists, which mobilizes other elements in the territory". (Interview – Provincial Council of Barcelona, 2010).

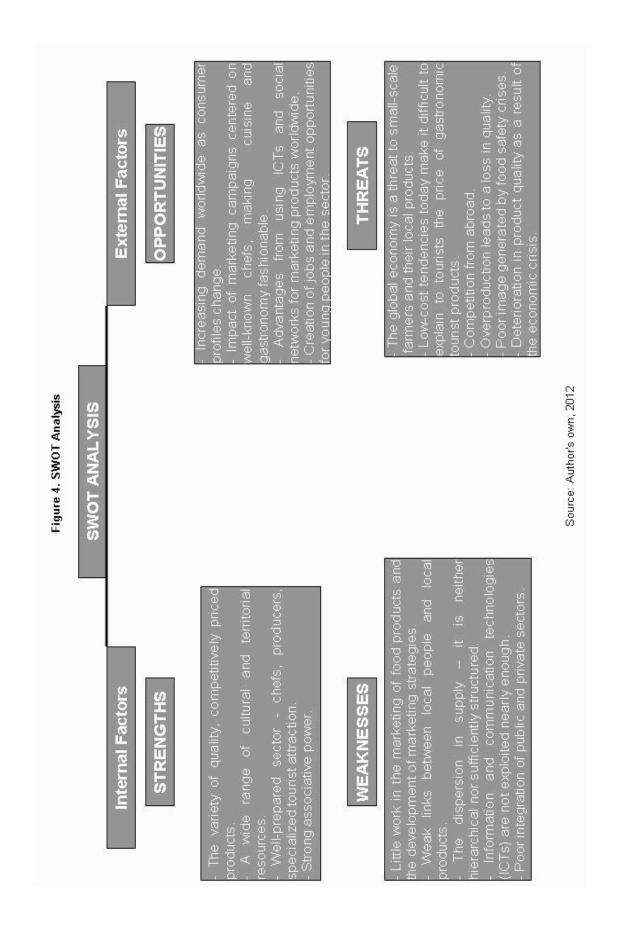
"It can help generate a lot of development, simply because gastronomy tourism is committed to exploiting the product, production, the local labour force, local catering, all of which means that the product mobilises the territory". (Interview Professor – Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2010).

Based on the responses given to the first question, all the stakeholders, but above all the producers and restaurateurs, were at pains to highlight the important synergies, in economic terms, which could be established with the creation and design of gastronomic strategies. Generally speaking, therefore, in

relation to the first question, no significant differences were found in the responses recorded by the stakeholders, independently of the institution they represented or the scale at which they worked.

A second question was made to each of the respondents: "Please mention one weakness, threat, strength and opportunity of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia". Figure 4 (English version) summarizes the stakeholders' responses grouped according to the respective strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats identified in the gastronomic tourism specifically of Catalonia, although they should apply to almost any territory.

Based on the interviews conducted, some of the strategies that emerge include the promotion of joint actions drawing on the efforts of all the stakeholder groups and the creation of stronger links with restaurateurs so that local products might be promoted in their restaurants. In this last case, the motivation is derived from the more competitive prices offered when buying locally and, as such, the shortening of restaurants' food supply chains.



The more global perspective provided by the SWOT analysis allows a number of recurrent features to be detected in the perceptions of all the stakeholders. Significant among these is the lack of coordination identified between the public and private sectors. Similar findings are reported by Selin and Beasons (1991), and in the present case such shortcomings can hinder the introduction of initiatives or attempts to strengthen those already introduced. However, as Selin and Beason (1991) point out the problem might also be seen as an opportunity for establishing future cooperative relationships.

The information provided by respondents highlights the opportunities created by gastronomic tourism for establishing networks of mutual cooperation that serve to promote gastronomic tourism and, hence, to foster local and regional development.

According to the perceptions recorded if local and regional development can result from gastronomic tourism then it requires a common effort of cooperation and collaboration from all the stakeholders that might hope to benefit or to be affected by the implementation of actions and strategies related to this form of tourism. Thus, gastronomic tourism can contribute to local and regional development when seen in its holistic and multidimensional sense.

9.3 KNOWLEDGE AND INNOVATION IN PRODUCTION AND COMMERCIALISATION RELATIONS

Knowledge is considered a relational resource as well as an element of organizational competitiveness which, in combination with geographical proximity, can serve to facilitate trust. One of the most representative and innovative of such organizations is the "cuisine collective", which has been pioneering in Catalonia in this regard. These private organizations, which have emerged in the catering industry, are particularly interesting as generators of collective knowledge from individual knowledge.

In 2009, the number of cuisine collectives and gastronomic groups reported by the Catalan Tourism Board stood at 17. By 2012 the number had increased to 20, incorporating the collectives of "Cuina Barceloneta", "Sant Carles de la Rapita-Delta de l'Ebre" and "CUBAT - Cuina del Baix Llobregat" (see Figure 75 Spanish version). Year on year, the number of stakeholders involved in these organizations increases, as reported by the Catalan Tourism Board in its annual report (2011).

The territorial distribution of the cuisine collectives points to a particular concentration in the tourism brands of the Pirineos and Costa Brava, the latter also has the second highest number of Michelin-starred restaurants (15 of the 45 restaurants in Catalonia in 2012), the first place is for Barcelona city with 19 (see Figure 76 Spanish version). The Costa Brava tourism brand also boasts some of the best restaurants and chefs in the world, with the internationally recognised Ferran Adrià and the El Bulli restaurant (closed in 2011) and the Roca brothers and their restaurant, El Celler de Can Roca.

The increased activity recorded by certain gastronomic tourism brands is associated with a higher concentration of cuisine collectives, gastronomic associations and Michelin-starred restaurants as forms of business organizations. This can be attributed to the "innovative environment" that seems to facilitate the appearance of partnerships, cooperation, and the exchange of knowledge, which in turn results in increased creativity and innovation in both products and processes (dishes). The transfer of knowledge and innovation exists but this does not mean that its territorial extrapolation will always generate the same results in other territories.

The gastronomic activity linked to tourism is giving rise to regional disparities as some regions represented by coastal and pre-coastal tourism brands are developing more rapidly than those in other areas of Catalonia. At the same time, business promotion, gastronomic activities, the establishment of associations, and the perception of gastronomic tourism are less advanced in territories belonging to tourism brands in inland Catalonia, such as the Pirineos or Val d'Aran.

Experience, knowledge transfer, dependence on tourism, among other things, are reflected in the ability to promote regions in terms of their products and activities of gastronomic tourism. As such, the knowledge resulting from these relationships and interactions can be considered a competitive advantage for local and regional development linked to the benefits of gastronomic tourism.

This allows us to identify what might be termed an "innovative gastronomic environment" located not only in the World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP), but in a "country of culinary production" in which distinct tourist brands can be identified in association with their restaurant businesses and the dishes they serve. This is the case of the Costa Brava and Barcelona which concentrate a high number of Michelin-starred restaurants, food fairs and events and where the gastronomic associations play an important role.

At the same time in this environment we can identify "countries of artisan production", present above all in such tourism brands as Cataluña Central and the Costa Daurada, given that they are more closely associated with the production and manufacture of artisan products such as sausages, cheeses and baked goods (see Figure 77 Spanish version). As such it can be said that in the World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP) there are two "countries": one that tends to dedicate itself more to the restaurant business and one that specialises in production and where the distribution function is carried out in both countries.

9.4 IMPORTING TOURISTS AND EATING LOCALLY: TOWARDS THE NEW CONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In the case of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia, because of the characteristics of those who participate in the exchange of food products, local and regional development should not be seen solely in terms of global competitiveness achieved through the export of food products or in terms of its capacity to attract foreign tourists. It would be appropriate to speak in the case of Catalonia of the

possibility of "importing" not only visitors but also local tourists since, as has been observed in surveys and interviews, local tourists are currently most interested in gastronomic tourism resources and products.

In response to the principal characteristics of local and regional development presented by Rodríguez (1998), Silva Lira (2003), Pike et al. (2006) and Noguera (2009) for the case of Catalonia, and on the basis of the survey results, it can be concluded that the enterprises involved in most instance are family businesses, with a small number of employees, engaged in artisan production and direct sales, with a variety of inputs that reflect the territorial resources, and which have considerable ability for association, collaboration, cooperation and who are concerned about maintaining the environment.

It makes little sense examining the positive effects of the alternative food networks in terms of a reduction in "food miles" or "km 0" when the internationalisation of both tourist and agrifood products are at the same time being promoted. Hence, the proposal suggests a reinvention involving the conversion of "local gastronomic visitors" into true "local gastronomic tourists". This alternative is also ratified by Morgan et al. (2006) for the case of Italian Tuscany.

9.4.1 Tourism brands and possibilities of local development

To explore in-depth the possibilities presented by gastronomic tourism for Catalonia's tourism brands in terms of their local development, each brand is evaluated according to ten attributes. These include criteria that form an intrinsic part of gastronomic tourism and which reflect the characteristics of local and regional development. The aim is to identify which brands contribute to development thanks to their gastronomic tourism.

To do so, the eight main characteristics of local and regional development can be included in the ten basic attributes that make up gastronomic tourism in Catalonia and which are discussed in the surveys and interviews. Furthermore, some of these criteria (degree of co-operation and collaboration between stakeholders, products with designation of origin and gastronomic resources) have been applied to analyze gastronomic destinations (see Sánchez Miravet, 2012).

The following table shows the criteria and characteristics of local and regional development. These permit the application of the technique "Simple Correspondence Analysis" (SCA) using SPSS software as a tool to determine the relationship between categories of two variables (tourism brands and attributes), as well as the similarities between the categories of one variable with respect to the other. Therefore, the table 4 that was built for the analysis includes the frequencies for each tourist brand mark in relation to each attribute.

Table 4. Gastronomic attributes by tourism brands Simple Correspondence Analysis (SCA)

					TOUR	TOURISM BRANDS				
ATTRIBUTES	BARCELONA	CATALUÑA CENTRAL	COSTA BRAVA	COSTA DEL GARRAF	COSTA	BARCELONA- MARESME	PIRINBOS	TERRES	TERRES	VAL D'ARAN
ARTISAN ENTERPRISES	05	R	15	23	44	10	26	11	11	0
GASTRONOMIC ASSOCIATION	49	4	58	56	6	13	8	44	7	0
PDO, PGI, TE, » Q » LABEL	10	17	11	2	54	7	o	42	43	-
MICHELIN RESTAURANTS	22	9	14	0	2	~	9	0	0	0
EVENTS	5	18	53	26	33	30	45	13	34	0
FAIRS	e	17	26	1	10	11	25	13	14	0
PRODUCERS**	73	294	116	93	155	28	333	171	26	4
DISTRIBUTORS**	89	7.1	33	35	999	12	112	98	48	-
RESTAURATEURS **	46	05	65	88	40	12	88	19	88	2
CUISINE COLLECTIVES	4	2	4	6	2	0	4	•	-	0

Source: Author's own, 2012

*** Stakeholder frequencies by tourism brand include everyone in the database provided by Gastroteca – that is, 1,394 producers, 401 distributors and 478 restaurateurs involved in promoting Catalan gastronomy.

A statistical significance was found after applying Pearson's chi-squared test, which indicates a relationship between the two variables presented in the above table (tourism brand and attributes). It was therefore decided to apply the simple correlation test for data reduction to two dimensions and thus obtain a better explanation and understanding of the model chosen to represent the tourism brands with the greatest possibilities of contributing to local development thanks to their gastronomic tourism sector.

Table 4 (English version) shows the variables and their categories and identifies those that are most closely related or that have similar characteristics (i.e. points lying closest together show greatest similarity and strongest relationship). As Figure 5 (English version) shows, Barcelona as a tourism brand is confirmed as being quite distinct from other tourism brands and is more closely related with such attributes as Michelin-starred restaurants or artisan business. However, brands such as the Maresme and the Costa Brava have a stronger association with such attributes as "food fairs and events", that is with a more popularly based local and regional development.

However, to establish a desirable scenario for an "ideal tourism brand", one that achieves maximum values for each of the attributes, except those for the producers, retailers and restaurateurs¹¹, this "ideal" is primarily associated with three attributes: a) gastronomic associations, b) producers and c) distributors, i.e. the "integral" and "endogenous" characteristics of local and regional development (see Figure 5 English version).

Thus, the Cataluña Central tourism brand, when considered under this "desirable" scenario, is actually the one that most closely approximates to the "ideal brand", and as such has the greatest potential for contributing local development via the exploitation of its gastronomic tourism.

¹¹ For the input of these attributes to the model, we opted to include half the maximum value, given that it would be both difficult and unrealistic to expect all tourism brands to present a maximum value given the restrictions imposed by a territory's resources. In other words, it would be virtually impossible for all tourism brands to have the same number of producers, distributors and restaurateurs.

Figure 5. Catalonia' tourism brands and gastronomic attributes which contribute to local and regional development (result of SCA)

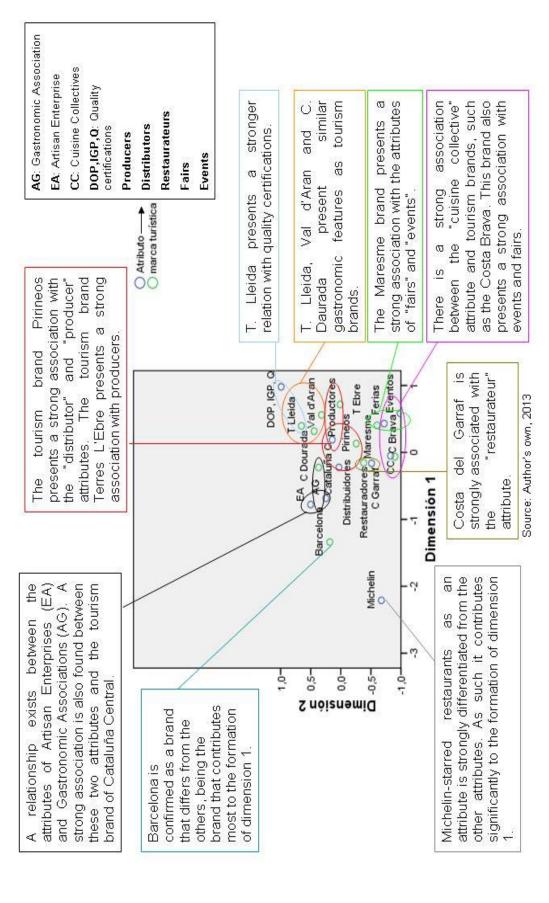
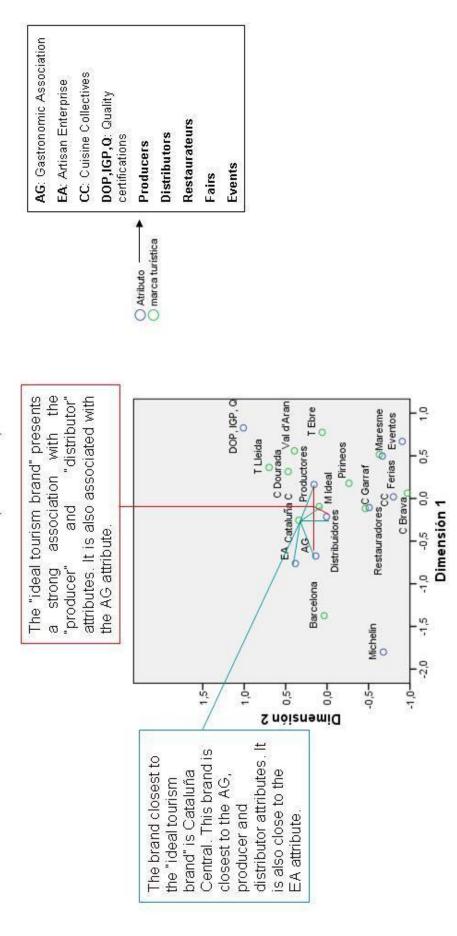


Figure 6. Catalonia' tourism brands and its position with relation to an "ideal tourism brand" defined by features linked to local development (result of SCA)



Source: Author's own, 2013

Local development might, therefore, be attributable to gastronomic tourism. However, as evidenced by the SCA, it requires a strengthening of those elements that can be considered as providing the underlying structure of local development, including all the actors involved in the production, marketing and promotion of artisan firms, as well as the constant strengthening of social initiatives such as gastronomic associations.

9.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In the first part of this chapter was discussed the consequences, effects or impacts in some cases that have been mentioned by some authors (Sancho and Buhalis, 1998, Hall and Page, 1999; Grieve and Slee, 2003) both derived from the tourism activity as the Alternative Food Networks (AFN). This generates a brief context in which then can be understood as the consequences resulting from the two activities can generate specific effects of gastronomic tourism activities in which local and regional development can be one of them.

The following sections present the perceptions of respondents versus practice gastronomic tourism in their region. This information was supplemented with information obtained from the interviews. Overall, stakeholders expressed the potential of gastronomic tourism to foster local and regional development.

A later section it discusses local and regional development as a consequence of knowledge and innovation which is reflected in actors, their organizations and how they act and interact at intra and interganizational levels. This section deals with "Cuisine Collectives" as innovative organizational form and representative of an approach "bottom-up" of local and regional development. This is because the proposals developed from individual and collective actors, are replicated and are supported by public institutions in order to provide legitimacy the process.

It also addresses the case of creative and innovative restoration and production of "innovative environments" that are generated by the creation and transfer of knowledge. However, it not only deals with restoration, but also raises issues for innovative evident both for producers as distributors.

The identification of "innovative environment" leads to raise a visible regional disparities in terms of the development of gastronomic tourism in Catalonia. Today this type of tourism is associated more with mature tourism brands (eg Costa Brava) and with a path dependence which is revealed in entrepreneurship and the ability to attract and generate various strategies related to the link between tourism and gastronomy. These aspects are also recognized as a product of the socio-institutional territories. This confirms what was mentioned by Stam (2010), who argues that entrepreneurship tends to be geographically localized phenomenon and also a spatially uneven process that tends to persist over time.

In the last section proposes a reflective change of thought versus see local and regional development not only in terms of the export of goods to achieve economic revitalization and becoming globally competitive or to attract more foreign tourists. This happens today with Catalan strategies both in tourism as the agrifood sector. The case of Catalonia, suggests that those who are interested in gastronomic tourism products is mainly the Catalan population that identifies with this products, because it shares the same conventions.

In any case, it is recognized the potential of gastronomic tourism as a territorial catalyst not only in economic, but also social, cultural and environmental. However, its consequences must be seen as the ability to promote craft enterprises, promote the inclusion of producers, traders and restaurateurs and strengthen gastronomic associations, these elements are consider as "ideals" on the road to foster local and regional development as a result of gastronomic tourism.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

10.1 CONCLUSIONS

These general conclusions seek to present a final reflection on the theory underpinning this thesis and the subsequent methods adopted in studying the phenomenon of gastronomic tourism. To do so we return immediately to the main questions posed, and hence the leading motivation for the undertaking of this study: How do the actors in the production and marketing of agrifood products interact and relate with each other in the context of the tourism phenomenon known as gastronomic tourism? And what are the consequences of these relationships?

In seeking appropriate responses to these research questions, the theory and concepts adopted were adjusted primarily in line with those developed within relational economic geography. Hence, the need was recognised to incorporate within the analysis not only economic factors but also the cultural and social activities that form part of the economic and spatial environment within the broader framework of critical realism.

Relational economic geography, by focusing on the goals of economic actors and on their relationships with others and with the prevailing institutions, contributes via its "ions" to linking organizational and institutional theories in an effort to explain the tourist phenomenon associated with food products. Additionally, it serves to provide an explanation of the relationships and interactions that take place in the production and commercialisation chain, based on the use of both qualitative and quantitative techniques that enhance the rigour of the analysis.

As a prelude to the analysis of the relationships and interactions of those involved in the exchange of food products it was first necessary to identify and characterise these actors. This meant recognising the high degree of heterogeneity and the multiplicity of actors involved both in the tourism sector and in agrifood production. It was also necessary to recognise the heterogeneity and unique nature of Catalonia as manifest in its biogeography and tourist dynamics.

The first conclusion to be drawn from this thesis is the obvious need to define and limit the meaning of both gastronomy and gastronomic tourism. Thus, based on the results reported here gastronomy can be defined as "food products that transmit identity, tradition and a style of cuisine, being those products that typically represent a particular production system in a territory". Meanwhile, gastronomic tourism can be defined as that gastronomy that contributes to the generation of tourist experiences based on the enjoyment and

tasting *in situ* or *ex situ* of agrifood products that have undergone some degree of processing.

In the collective imagination, gastronomic tourism is associated with specific agrifood products and it does not necessarily involve eating out in restaurants as is suggested by alternative modes such as "culinary tourism". Similarly, "food tourism" does not strictly refer to the differential characteristics of agrifood products; these features are best transmitted under the name of gastronomic tourism. Thus, the combination – "gastronomic tourism" – can be confirmed as being appropriate for the case of Catalonia.

A second conclusion to be drawn is that of the temporal framework established for the gastronomic tourism of Catalonia which is evidenced by the activities, strategies and, in general, by the information collected from the surveys and interviews conducted herein. Thus, although this phenomenon emerged in the late eighties and early nineties, it was not until the early years of the present century that this tourist phenomenon began to gain recognition and to differentiate itself from other modes of tourism. We conclude that one of the key elements facilitating the emergence of gastronomic tourism as a tourist modality in its own right has been the changes in society that have given rise to new macro-discourses.

In this regard, post-modernism and post-Fordism, the exact concepts of which may vary from one author to another but which tend to converge on the same set of characteristics, provide the backdrop for the association of tourism and agrifood products and facilitate the emergence of a mode of tourism based on the experimentation and enjoyment of these products.

A third conclusion concerns the existence and validity of gastronomic tourism as a new institutional field rooted in specific socio-cultural, economic and institutional contexts. This is confirmed by applying the ions of relational economic geography including those of "organization" and "interaction". This leads us to conclude that the relationships and interactions in the supply chain and in the commercialisation of the agrifood products arise thanks to the fact that those involved, be it individually or collectively, share a set of rules, values, habits, agreements and practices (or "conventions" to use the term coined by Boltanski and Thevenoth, 1991, and Thevenot et al., 2000). These allow the construction of common perceptions of the structural context (Morgan et al. 2006).

Based on the theory of conventions, and by way of our fourth conclusion, "identity" and "tradition" are recognised as two fundamental, structural conventions of gastronomic tourism. These two conventions, however, cannot be included as part of the domestic conventions that appeal to local embeddedness and trust, because identification with the agrifood products and the appreciation of their traditional and cultural values, not solely those of Catalonia but those of a specific municipality of county, is considered a highly relevant aspect for the exchange of these products.

This point to a constant feature of the promotion and commercialisation of gastronomic tourism: namely, communicating how the mode of tourism is able to transmit the identity, tradition and culture of a territory through its agrifood products.

Overall, the conventions (ecology, tradition, identity, domestic) shared by those involved in the Alternative Food Networks and which characterise gastronomic tourism locate the mode firmly within the World of Interpersonal Production – a world in which time does not stand still, according to Morgan et al. (2006). Rather it is a world characterised by innovative processes – so while traditions might be broadly maintained they are modified according to consumers' expectations. It is a world where change and continuity go hand in hand.

However, in the case of Catalonia, and forming the fifth conclusion, this territory occupies the World of Interpersonal Production which is manifest in the "agrifood clusters" or "local productive systems" in which the internationalisation of production and global competitiveness are the constant goals. This is the World of Interpersonal production characterized by dedicated products, Small and Medium size Enterprises, mostly family businesses operating at low scales of production.

The characteristics of the World of Interpersonal Production (INTWP) can be extrapolated to the characteristics of the Alternative Food Networks (AFN), which in turn form part of gastronomic tourism. Thus it can be concluded that gastronomic tourism constitutes an example of an Alternative Food Network which contrast with conventional systems of food supply and commercialisation.

The value chain of gastronomic tourism is, therefore, an alternative chain that contributes to the creation of networks whose actors seek each other out and interact in order to know the provenance of the product. As a result a selection is made by the distributors and consumers from among the set of producers that responds to the satisfaction of their interests and needs, and who in turn share a set of values. As a result, long-term relations are established between the actors participating in the exchange.

The sixth conclusion drawn by this thesis concerns the identification of the following features among the main characteristics of gastronomic tourism and its supply and commercialisation: the shortening of supply chains, the presence of chains of spatial proximity as well as those that are more spatially extended, the creation of networks, low levels of intermediation, and the constant search for direct sales (via "farm shops", or at food events, fairs and festivals). The study also highlights the importance of personal contact, trust, reputation and power as mechanisms of interaction in the relations and promotion of identity linked to products – a feature made visible on occasions with the awarding of quality certifications.

The firms in Catalonia that operate within the World of Interpersonal Production of gastronomic tourism are a clear reflection of the historical "footprint" of their socio-economic and institutional contexts and, therefore, of their path

dependence (i.e., their past). This is manifest in the decisions that the firms take today in addressing the new contexts in which they find themselves.

As a result, and by way of our seventh conclusion, the new forms of organization, collaboration and cooperation for achieving a common result, and which can be integrated within gastronomic tourism, are increasingly visible and are being extended to other commercial areas. Thus, they are not exclusive to the restaurant business, but rather sectors such as production, processing and marketing are beginning to adopt these new organizational proposals.

Bathelt and Glückler (2011) stress that the spatial organization of gastronomic tourism firms is also heavily influenced by previous processes of innovation. In the case of Catalonia this is manifest in the differences between tourism brands, which reflect local cultures, institutional practices and specific characteristics of the production. It is these factors that lead to the development of specific regions of innovation and development.

This seventh conclusion leads directly to the eighth since there are tourism brands that show themselves to be innovative and in which an "innovative gastronomic environment" can be identified. These brands combine a set of elements based on a strong, mature trajectory in tourism, manifest in product and process innovation, traditional production methods, institutional support with promotion and marketing strategies and also entrepreneurial initiative.

The Barcelona tourism brand is characterised by an innovative environment which acts as a centre of creativity and innovation, while its territorial resources provide it with obvious competitive advantages for gastronomic tourism. These advantages are strengthened by the role played by institutions and organizations in reducing uncertainties and guiding the coordination of collective action in a process of innovation (Pike et al., 2006).

Barcelona as a centre of attention and knowledge production leads the way with its actions and sets the trends that are subsequently taken up by the other coastal tourism brands (Garraf and Maresme) that also boast considerable gastronomic activity.

A further example is provided by the Costa Brava which has established itself as the region with the largest number of cuisine collectives in Catalonia, many gastronomy associations and as home to the gastronomic Forum. It is also ranked second in terms of the number of Michelin-starred restaurants, and hosts many food fairs and events. These initiatives can all be attributed to the generation and transfer of knowledge. It can thus be argued that the brand is a reflection of the territory's local, social and institutional contexts, which are associated with the recognition in this niche market of an entrepreneurial spirit that moves the firms and encourages them to cooperate and collaborate in order to legitimize their actions.

However, despite the above, it can be seen that in their search for legitimacy in the gastronomic tourism sector, businesses might become overly accepting of the environment and an element of institutional isomorphism might manifest itself. This could cause companies located in the same tourism brand to resemble each other and to lose their specificity and authenticity, which today acts as a differentiating factor of attraction for tourism activities linked to gastronomy.

In general, and by way of our ninth conclusion, gastronomic tourism can contribute to local and regional development as there exists a predisposition on the part of the actors involved in this type of tourism to buy the raw materials needed for their enterprises in their own regions and counties. Here, one of the main reasons, besides the vindication of the Catalan identity, is the importance of personal relationships as elements that can help build trust.

Trust, as demonstrated in several chapters, is closely linked with the purchase of raw materials in the local environment. This in turn can be associated with local and regional development since, as Watts et al. (2005) have argued, in the case of rural areas, the potential for generating endogenous economic development tends to be stronger and more durable where Alternative Food Networks are used to retain added value in areas where the products are produced.

Therefore, it can be claimed that any territory interested in gastronomic tourism should provide the conditions for the establishment of mechanisms of trust. This in turn occurs in large measure as a result of geographical and relational proximity, i.e. the institutions should promote the local purchase of raw materials by restaurateurs.

Furthermore, the purchase of local *in situ* products, as promoted by gastronomic tourism, is one of the main advantages of this form of tourism as it helps retain the value added in areas with few possibilities otherwise for attracting tourists. Thus, gastronomic tourism can contribute to territorial development in areas dedicated to production, and that might have been marginalized and segregated due to the impact of the World of Industrial Production and which have found fresh opportunities in the World of Interpersonal Production.

The tenth, and final, conclusion is that gastronomic tourism fulfils the basic assumptions for local and regional development considered in endogenous terms (chapter IX). As such, the contribution of this phenomenon to the local development of a set of counties being promoted as tourism brands can meet with success as long as the institutions help to strengthen the relational elements for the benefit of the actors. These include associations, organizations (and other forms of interaction), artisan production and the promotion of speciality products. In short, it is important to foster a bottom-up approach, where the institutions are often an integral element in overcoming the obstacles to development (Pike et al., 2006).

Finally, this analysis of the supply and commercialisation of agrifood products for gastronomic tourism in Catalonia contributes to our understanding of the way in which this phenomenon has been shaped at the territorial level – that is, through the relations and interactions that are produced in the exchange of

these products. Catalonia – the case study presented here – can serve as a point of reference for other territories, given that the characteristics of the Catalan phenomenon, as revealed in the analysis carried out here, can be extrapolated to other areas that are competing for a niche in the tourist market through the promotion of their gastronomic tourism resources.

APPENDICES

Because of the extent and character of the appendices of the thesis, these are presented in a digital format and are found in the CD attached to this document. The list of the files in English that can be found on the CD is provided in the following table.

	Digital file	Content
1	Egocentric survey_English.doc	Egocentric survey applied
2	Gastronomic tourism survey	Survey applied to producers and
	producers_distributors.doc	distributors.
3	Gastronomic tourism survey	Survey applied to restaurateurs
	restaurants.doc	

ANEXOS

Debido a la extensión y al carácter de los anexos de la tesis, éstos se presentan en formato digital y se encuentran en el CD adjunto a este trabajo de investigación. El listado de los anexos que se puede encontrar en este soporte se presenta en la siguiente tabla.

	Archivo digital	Contenido
1	Encuesta Turisme Gastronòmic	Cuestionario aplicado a los productores y
	Productors_Distribuidors.doc	distribuidores encuestados.
2	Encuesta Turisme Gastronòmic	Cuestionario aplicado a los restauradores
	Restauradors.doc	encuestados.
3	Afijación proporcional encuestas.xls	Afijación proporcional para el número de
		encuestas a realizar por comarca y marca
		turística.
4	Asociaciones gastronómicas.xls	Listado de asociacions gastronómicas de
_	D 1 1 1	Cataluña
5	Base de datos encuestas.sav	Base de datos con la sistematización de
	Farmer	las 320 encuestas aplicadas.
6	Empresas artesanas.xls	Listado de empresas artesanas de
7	Franceta Turiama Castronàmia	Cataluña
1	Encuesta Turisme Gastronòmic Restaurants.doc	Cuestionario aplicado a los restauradores encuestados.
8	Encuesta Egocentrada Actores.doc	Cuestionario encuesta egocentrada
0	Efficuesta Egocefitiada Actores.doc	aplicado a los encuestados seleccionados.
9	Made in Catalonia	Entrevista de radio Catalunya Radio,
3	Wade III Catalonia	Agosto 2012.
10	Ferias y eventos.xls	Listado de las ferias y eventos
. •	. enacy cremicenae	gastronómicos de Cataluña
11	Matriz DAFO.doc	Matriz DAFO con las respuestas de las 22
		entrevistas realizadas.
12	Museos y patrimonio rural.xls	Listado de muesos y patrimonio rural
		relacionado con productos
		agroalimentarios en Cataluña
13	Resultados correspondencias	Resultados de la aplicación del análisis de
	simples.spo	correspondencias simples con SPSS,
		marca turística versus atributos
	D 11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	gastronómicos.
14	Resultado técnica de árbol.spo	Resultado de la técnica de árbol con
15	Restaurantes estrella Michelin.xls	SPSS. Listado de restaurantes estrella Michelin
15	Nestaurantes estrella Michelli.xis	en Cataluña, 2012
16	Transcripción Anna Bastidas.doc	Transcripción entrevista
17	Transcripción Anna Sants.doc	Transcripción entrevista
18	Transcripción Carme Ruscalleda.doc	Transcripción entrevista
19	Transcripción Cecilia Lorenzo.doc	Transcripción entrevista
20	Transcripción Damia Serrano.doc	Transcripción entrevista
21	Transcripción Eva Martínez Pico.doc	Transcripción entrevista
22	Transcripción Guillem Miralles.doc	Transcripción entrevista
23	Transcripción Jaume Font.doc	Transcripción entrevista
24	Transcripción Joan Baigol.doc	Transcripción entrevista
25	Transcripción Jesús Contreras.doc	Transcripción entrevista
26	Transcripción Jordi Treserras.doc	Transcripción entrevista
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

27	Transcripción Josep Pamies.doc	Transcripción entrevista
28	Transcripción Manel Colmenero.doc	Transcripción entrevista
29	Transcripción Marina Duñac.doc	Transcripción entrevista
30	Transcripción Nuria Sala Rius.doc	Transcripción entrevista
31	Transcripción Oscar Ubide.doc	Transcripción entrevista
32	Transcripción Pep Palau.doc	Transcripción entrevista
33	Transcripción Pepa Aymami.doc	Transcripción entrevista
34	Transcripción Ramón Sentmartí.doc	Transcripción entrevista
35	Transcripción Ramón Ramos.doc	Transcripción entrevista
36	Transcripción Rocío Baez.doc	Transcripción entrevista
37	Transcripción Xavier Medina.doc	Transcripción entrevista