

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in *Food, Culture and Society* on 24 March 2022 available at <https://doi.org/10.1080/15528014.2022.2054504>

The Narratives of Geographical Indications as Commons: A Study on Catalan and Swedish Cases

Enric Castelló¹, Daniel Lövgren² and Göran Svensson²

(¹ Department of Communication Studies, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, ² Department of Informatics and Media, Uppsala University)

Addresses

Enric Castelló (corresponding author)
Department of Communication Studies
Universitat Rovira i Virgili
Av. Catalunya 35
43002 Tarragona Spain
enric.castello@urv.cat

Daniel Lövgren
Department of Informatics and Media
Ekonomikum (floor 3)
Kyrkogårdsgatan 10
751 20 Uppsala Sweden
daniel.lovgren@im.uu.se

Göran Svensson
Department of Informatics and Media
Ekonomikum (floor 3)
Kyrkogårdsgatan 10
751 20 Uppsala Sweden
goran.svensson@im.uu.se

Abstract

There is a growing research that considers the geographical indications (GIs) of agricultural products and foodstuffs as commons. However, narrative approaches exploring this relationship are scarce. This research analyzed stories attached to twelve Catalan and Swedish products within the European Union's Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) schemes to map out how narratives of commons are articulated. The analysis raised four key aspects of the narratives of GIs as commons: i) *historical constitution*; ii) *collective efforts* as a driving force behind their value; iii) *co-responsibility* of the community of producers and related actors; and iv) *intangible outputs* and focus on heritage. The results show that the narratives of GIs as commons have a stronger presence in Catalonia and more clearly address issues of social engagement and cultural heritage than in Sweden. Internal differences were noted in the two countries and some GIs are more commercially oriented and cater for world markets while others are non-commercial and only regionally consumed. The article contributes to the research on GIs, better connecting their complexities throughout their communicative and narrative constitution and articulation as commons.

Keywords: geographical indications; food commons; narratives of place; agricultural products; place of origin; food quality.

1. The GI schemes

The European Union has an active policy of promoting and registering products that protect geographical indications (GIs) and the traditional processes of production. The EU grants a GI label when products have “a specific link to the place where they are made” (European Commission, 2020a). The scheme distinguishes between food and agricultural products, wines and spirits, and aromatized wines. For the first category, there are three labels: Protected Geographical Indication (PGI), Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG). According to EU reports and other official information, products under the umbrella of GI protection represent a sales value of €74.76 billion (European Commission, 2020b, 2020c).

As well as having an economic impact, GIs are considered to be tools for sustainable development and, in particular, rural development, although their ability to impact these processes is affected by a variety of factors (Belletti et al., 2017; Cei et al., 2018). One of these factors approach GIs in relation to the concept of commons and of GI labels as a sort of Common Pool Resource (CPR) in the so-called new type of commons (Hess, 2008; Ostrom, 1990). GIs here become a resource from which different agents can benefit from the use of the label, but there is also a potential of ‘free riding’ by agents not following specifications, and their exploitation can be a driver of exhaustion due to overuse, bad quality control, etc. From this perspective, GIs are overall expected to have a positive outcome on those individuals, organizations and communities promoting and relating to the labels. On the other hand, GIs can be also understood as results of *communicative activities and processes*, with a base in the identity and reputation of a particular place, the geographical origin of the product, and an association with the intangible values of the surrounding communities. Thus, they build on the history of the community, the identity and identification of its members and the natural qualities of their environment. From this perspective, communication plays a central role in constituting, generating and articulating narratives around the tangible and intangible benefits of the GI for a given community.

In this article we present a framework combining theory on *commons* and *communication* to identify and explore narratives in official documentation, media stories, and promotional and commercial websites that configure the notion of GIs as a sort of commons attached to a particular geographical area. This study uses examples from two distinct realities in order to contribute to the theoretical discussion. Thus, we explore main elements of narratives of twelve selected GIs from two contexts, Catalonia (Spain) and Sweden, and how these narrative elements contribute to the constitution and articulation of GIs as commons. For our purpose, we ask the following research questions: 1) What are the key narrative elements of the GIs constituting them as commons and how are they articulated in the two cases? 2) Are there any considerable divergences when they are compared, and – if so – do they help us to better understand the role and impact of communication processes within the complex issue of GIs as commons?

The paper is structured as follows. First, it offers a literature review of the topic of GIs and the commons, and their link with communication and narrative processes. We then present the cases and thereafter proceed to analyze a corpus of selected materials to identify key aspects related to the commons embedded in the GI narratives. Our argument departs from the idea that there are specific and shared elements of GIs narratives that strengthen their being as commons, but that the socioeconomic and cultural context where they are produced and reproduced impact their status.

2. GIs, the commons, and communication

Although it is not completely new for GIs to be regarded as a sort of commons, little work has been done on GI narratives and how they constitute, and are constituted by, identity and reputation for traditions and sustainability. This is paradoxical because aspects of tradition and community know-how are central to exploring arguments for GIs. Previous cross comparative analyses have pointed out the role of institutional networks, the size of GI organizations and the participatory processes that can influence an optimum GI constitution so that it positively impacts rural development (Barbara, 2018; Quiñones-Ruiz et al., 2016, 2020; Quiñones Ruiz et al., 2015).

The perspectives mentioned focused above all on the agricultural systems in which the GIs operate and to a lesser extent on the role of GI narratives at an organizational, media or

public level. From our point of view, there are obvious connections between communication and narratives and the constitution and articulation of the commons. These connections have already been commented in earlier work on the commons, when authors highlighted the importance of communication in collaborative systems (Isaac & Walker, 1988; Ostrom & Walker, 1989). Later, Elinor Ostrom (2010, p. 652) noted that information rules and communication channels are one of the seven types of rules that organizations dealing with the commons must observe. However, research exploring the role of communication in a commons is rather concerned with instrumental cost/benefit output in a variety of situations and modalities (Bochet et al., 2006; M. Janssen et al., 2014; M. A. Janssen, 2013). Added to this, GI organizations add a new public level of governance, which needs to be regulated if multilateral cooperation is to be encouraged and free riding prevented as noted by Marta Fernández-Barcala et al. (2017). These authors discussed other implications, especially in terms of organizational communication: how to better coordinate and cultivate collaboration in a supply chain, and how to manage a co-branding strategy. Other elements such as consumer engagement and the social reputation of the GI organizers need to be considered. More researchers have argued along similar lines that an *origin label* becomes a resource from which to “extract” reputation and how some common property resources rationales established in the community of growers (Winfrey & McCluskey, 2005).

Qualitative and symbolic interaction perspectives sometimes adopt approaches to communication that steer away from dominant uses, and deal with issues of reputation, consumer cultures, or representations of place and traditions attached to food. For example, Calboli (2015) criticized the way that GIs are becoming marketing tools for large companies and urges for a better linkage with local agents and territories. GI protection of names not only prevents fraud but aims to contribute to local development, collaborative dynamics and/or consumer engagement (e.g. Calboli, 2017; Giovannucci et al., 2009). Along these lines, Bowen (2010) studied how three different GIs valorized the terroir and noted that cohesion and political context played a role for the positive impact on communities and rural development. Skuras and Dimara’s (2004) research on consumer images of the regional origin of a GI concluded that tradition, heritage and culture are all relevant and constitute the high end of the wine market in a Greek GI. We should point out here that, as an object of study, GIs may combine perspectives of alternative food networks and the local agri-food systems, as suggested by Bowen and Mutersbaugh (2014), and combine a focus on

authenticity, tradition and heritage with social, cultural and labor aspects, and – in our contribution – communication.

In organization studies, communication is increasingly called upon to understand the relationality of social and material aspects, thus *that which is said, written or done and physical 'things'*, such as a place, are mattering in the process of GIs becoming meaningful. The link between GIs and the geographical area is central, and thus also narratives of such links. We find narratives and storytelling at the core of sensemaking of human activities (Weick, 1995: 128). However, moving beyond the theorizing of Weick, we draw on insights from the *communication-as-constitutive-of-organization* (CCO) perspective to highlight how communication is material, and how the material communicates (Ashcraft et al., 2009; Cooren, 2020). Thus, such thing as a GI is – to ‘come alive’ – communicated into being by various communicative acts and relation to place, while also acting back by on the area represented by the GI, thus becoming meaningful *through* communication and *through* place (Cooren, 2004). Contemporary developments of CCO scholarship focus on the ‘organizationality’ of loose of fluid social formations (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015), including *identity, actorhood, and decision-making*. In our view, the constitution of GIs as commons would then be based on collective formations with some degree of shared identity (Brown, 2006), a status of attributed/appropriated social status (Bencherki & Cooren, 2011; King et al., 2010), and a degree of making decisions for a ‘collective’ (Bartel & Dutton, 2001).

For our purposes, all texts surrounding GIs have some impact in their organizational aspects, although at different levels and with diverse impact. For example, the narratives of official applications to the EU for GI labeling, include tradition, history, territory and social issues, among others (Castelló, 2020), what constitute GIs as attached to these attributes. Cultivating the linkage between the GI products and territory produces what authors have referred to as a “sense of place” (Trubeck 2008; Smith 2015), which, in the case of *terroir*, embeds products in storytelling through video promotions, labels, digital media and other platforms (Castelló, 2021). Consequently, it is crucial to assess how the stories refer the products to “the community” or “the place”. The narratives of tradition, history and how the products got their unique and special characteristics can then tell a story of common interest and common action, constituting the GI as a commons and at the same time articulating it as a specific commons.

3. Cases, materials and method

For the study we focused on twelve PGI and PDO labeled products in two different contexts: Catalonia in Spain, and Sweden. GIs have different traditions and histories of use in southern and northern EU countries. Spain – together with Italy and France – is part of a stronger south-western European model in terms of GI implementation and consumers are well aware of PDO (Verbeke et al., 2012). On the other hand, Sweden is part of a “Scandinavian model” of food specialty governance (Halkier et al., 2017) that considers GIs to be less central to food culture, heritage and development. Comparing these two cases was useful because although they belong and operate within the European GIs scheme, in Sweden GIs have not been of a particularly strong significance to consumers or producers and, although their influence is increasing, privately owned brands and trademarks have a longer history in the protection of products. The Catalan case, on the other hand, presents a well-established GIs scheme with different stakeholders, a public promotion of regional products and a long tradition of companies dealing with GIs products governance and commercialization. We used the EU GI database eAmbrosia to identify and collect GIs in the two countries. When we collected the materials, during 2020, the search output for Spanish GI labels totaled two hundred entries, while in Sweden only eight products were registered. At the time of the research Catalonia recorded up to twenty products and was therefore comparable to Sweden. Having a northern and a southern region is also interesting because the differences and similarities of two EU countries can be observed. Finally, we included six GIs for each country, half of which were PDOs and half PGIs, selected from different classes in the EU classification (Table 1).

Table 1. Selection of cases in Catalonia and Sweden

Product	Type	Class	Registration/ file number	Date of registration
Catalonia				
Llonganissa de Vic	PGI	1.2. Meat products (cooked, salted, smoked, etc.)	PGI-ES-2158	29/12/2001

Calçot de Valls	PDO	1.6. Fruit, vegetables, cereals and fresh or processed	PDO-ES-0171	31/05/2002
Pera de Lleida	PDO	1.6. Fruit, vegetables, cereals and fresh or processed	PDO-ES-0698	12/03/2011
Pa de Pagès Català	PGI	2.3. Bread, pastry, cakes, confectionery, biscuits and other baker's wares	PGI-ES-0880	20/02/2013
Fesols de Santa Pau	PDO	1.6. Fruit, vegetables, cereals and fresh or processed	PDO-ES-1226	31/07/2015
Gall del Penedès	PGI	1.1. Fresh meat (and offal)	PGI-ES-01308	14/06/2016
Sweden				
Svecia	PGI	1.3. Cheeses	PGI-SE-1561	25/11/1997
Skånsk spettekaka	PGI	2.3. Bread, pastry, cakes, confectionery, biscuits and other baker's wares	PGI-SE-0071	20/7/2000
Bruna bönor från Öland	PGI	1.6. Fruit, vegetables and cereals fresh or processed	PGI-SE-0692	4/11/2010
Kalix Ljörom	PDO	1.7. Fresh fish, molluscs, and crustaceans and products derived therefrom	PDO-SE-0650	13/11/2010
Upplandskubb	PDO	2.3. Bread, pastry, cakes, confectionery, biscuits and other baker's wares	PDO-SE-1084	5/8/2014
Hännlamb	PDO	1.1 Fresh meat (and offal)	PDO-SE-01327	4/11/2016

For Catalonia, we selected GIs with well-developed communication policies so the products had websites and a considerable media presence: Llonganissa de Vic, Calçot de Valls, Pera de Lleida, Pa de Pagès Català, Fesols de Santa Pau, and Gall del Penedès. Llonganissa de Vic is a salted, dry sausage made from pork meat. The *calçot* de Valls is an onion that is grown in a special way that involves the farmer “earthing up” the plant. Pera de Lleida is a highly appreciated pear cultivated on the plains of inland Catalonia. It is a well-known brand that is produced on a large scale and sold all over Spain (Corón, 2019). Pa de Pagès Catalan – literally Catalan Country Bread – is a round loaf with a thick crust and a rustic flavor that can be found in many traditional bakeries around the country. Fesols de Santa Pau are a variety of bean that is cultivated in the volcanic area of La Garrotxa. Finally, Gall del Penedès is a black chicken from the county of Penedès, south of Barcelona. These six products are all part of traditional Catalan meals for family events and festivities and day-to-day culinary and gastronomic traditions.

For Sweden we selected all the currently available PDO and PGIs: Svecia, Skånsk spettekaka, Bruna Bönor från Öland, Kalix Ljörom, Upplandskubb, and Hånnlamb. Svecia is a hard cheese with a history that stretches several centuries back in time. However, consumption – which during the 1940s was the highest of all Swedish cheeses – has significantly shrunk and is today almost negligible (Ragnar & Backurd Ivgren, 2017). Skånsk spettekaka is a traditional sweet cake from the Scania region, baked on a slowly rotating skewer. Bruna Bönor från Öland is a brown bean grown on the sandy soils of the island Öland, and primarily known as part of the dish *brown beans and pork*. The Kalix Ljörom caviar is a luxury product served fresh at fine dining restaurants or sold frozen. Upplandskubb is a boiled bread from the Uppland region. Hånnlamb, more commonly known as *Gutefår*, is a sheep with a long history, and used as a symbol for the island Gotland.

Our research was qualitative in nature, interpretative and applied a hermeneutical approach to the texts. Narrative analysis is an appropriate tool to decode ideological aspects embedded in the stories (Herman & Vervaeck, 2001: 118 and following). Qualitative media document analysis (Altheide, 2000) focuses on the narratives, themes and discourse in the material selected, and can focus on mainstream or alternative and even individual media productions. As Barbara Czarniawska (1998) points out, procedures of narrative analysis are implemented organically and adapt to researchers’ needs. In this sense, the hermeneutical approach lead us

to interpret the texts to grow our knowledge on the object of study, or as Michel Foucault states (2005, p. 48), to grow knowledge on language constructed objects we do not need to demonstrate or see, but to interpret these texts. In our case, the method was designed to closely read and interpret which are the terms, topics, and elements relevant for the GI's articulation as commons; this is a process embedded in the narratives of GI in all their complexity, throughout all sort of platforms and from all types of agents.

We made an on-line search for open access stories from official documentation, the websites and social media of a variety of associations, texts describing the product, events organized to promote them, reports on how the farmers or producers worked together in associations, cooperatives or organizations to promote the GIs, websites of regulation councils and farmers and producers, and media stories on the issue. We searched dozens of public accounts – long and short –, both textual and audiovisual materials, and selected those that told stories about GIs. The final selection consisted of 129 items, including the twelve EU official descriptions, but also GI council's publications, promotions, short videos, touristy and commercial descriptions or association's posts.

Our study was largely interpretative and in an abductive procedure (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007) we identified and isolated four aspects that contribute to articulating GIs as commons: (1) the notion of a common resource as configured in dialogue between the present and the past as *narratives on the historical roots* of GIs; (2) the *collective efforts* on which the CPR is constituted, including stories about community; (3) *cooperation and co-responsibilities* via the perception that only by joining different interests and sensibilities under the GI label can the common good be sustained; and finally (4), the contribution of the product and the GI itself to cultivate *intangible aspects* of community building in narratives of *identity* in a two-way rationale, from the product to the community and vice versa. We commented on each individual text, identifying statements referring to the presence of each element in the account.

From our research, we produced an overview grid in which we noted down our comments and reflections on the included materials. In the shared table, we added different fields: id (n), code (ex. PGI-ES01308), context (CAT/SWE), type of document (open field describing the sort of document), comment (open commentary), reference (including access date) and link. and specifically focused in commenting the elements of the narratives linked to the notion of

commons. We focused our close reading on stories about the common good, community-related aspects, the control and management of the GIs, or the connection the products have with tradition and identities, producing a 12.540 words commentary file. All examples commented in the article to illustrate the results are quote in the reference list. The stories also showed the significance over time of traditions based on collective and farmers' know-how, the importance of preserving the varieties of a specific animal or the traditional production processes. The agents did not directly use the concept of "commons" as it is used in the academic literature, and neither did they mention the term "common pool resources", a technicism found almost only in the mouths of scholars. Rather, they articulated the story of "the people", "the collective", or "the community", sometimes using deictics such as "we" to refer to the county, the producers, or the people involved in the community and organizing the GIs. Below, we illustrate how the narratives used the aforementioned elements to articulate GI as commons. The research design presented limitations in the sense that the analysis is not using a representative sample and can only be understood as valid for the selected texts and cases. However, considering these limitations, the research accomplished the aim of discussing the elements embedded in the narratives that associate GIs to the commons, constituting them as a sort of common pool resource (CPR).

4. Key narrative elements

4.1. Historical foundations

History is at the roots of the narrative constitution of GIs as commons. This call to the past is generally accentuated in the official applications for the appellations, published in the Official Journal of the European Union. One of the clearest examples is embedded in the story on the official website of the PGI Llonganissa de Vic (2020), which goes back to the year 1456. Medieval times are at the root of understanding how "historically the product was made in farmhouses" in the valley. The reputation of the Gall del Penedès has also been built "over time", proof of which comes from the "oral tradition" of the people. Its consumption and commercialization "has for centuries formed part of the customary apprenticeship for the region's farmers" (European Commission, 2019a, p. C 217/15). Knowledge is shared, collectively built and exchanged in fairs, among families, neighbors and over generations. It is presented as common knowledge grounded in history.

The PGI Pa de Pagès Català similarly tells the story of the bread on a variety of platforms which put particular emphasis on the fact that the method for making it was taken by rural migrants to the big cities over several centuries. The secret to baking the bread was passed down from one generation to another, from fathers to sons (European Commission 2019b, C128/16), a pattern that is similar to that of other PGI stories. This narrative refers to the transition to the industrial age, especially as from the middle of the 18th century. The story tells how industrialized bakeries began to produce bread on an industrial scale, with fast fermentation processes and mechanized systems. “The modernization of the bakery also involves a generalization: the *baguette*. At this point in time, bakers started to move away from round bread and opted for the *baguette*, which could be made more quickly and on an industrial scale,” explains a sponsored piece from one important on-line newspaper (El Nacional, 2018).

Some of the arguments go back to colonial times. The story about the PDO Fesols de Santa Pau, a variety of bean, suggests that they were brought over from America by the “*indians*” or colonizers who came back from the Spanish colonies (DOP Fesols de Santa Pau, 2020; Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014). This variety is also the result of years of plant selection by farmers, who were looking for plants that grew less intensively and did not need to be watched too carefully. The current variety has been created by a collective effort of historical seed selection. The history is similar to the roots of the PGI Calçot de Valls that go back to the end of the 19th century and a peasant named Xat Benaiges (European Commission, 2001; IGP Calçot de Valls, 2020), or the case of the PDO Pera de Lleida, which goes back to Roman times.

As in Catalonia, stories and descriptions of history are central to all Swedish PDO/PGIs, although there are greater differences among the individual products. History is present in the applications, on the websites of producers, and in the media. The narratives of Bruna Bönor från Öland make reference to the history of the bean on the island, and tell that as far back as 1741 Carl von Linné had recommended the island as a good place to grow beans (Kalmar Ölands Trädgårdsprodukter, 2020). Similarly, the history of Svecia cheese is reported to have origins in the 13th century, and that its modern form was “invented” in 1896 by the dairyman Theodor Ericson in Nyköping. However, the inventor himself and the town of Nyköping as a place are absent from the narratives. The historical roots of the cheese are hence not valued. Of similar age to the Svecia cheese is the Upplandskubb, which has been in the collective

regional conscience for over 100 years, and it is visible because it can be found in old recipes. In the 20th century, the history of Upplandskubb is linked to modernity and commercial production, and it has actually earned both its name and reputation from a bakery that was active from 1926 to 1991, first in Uppsala and then in Stockholm. Many stories also address Upplandskubb as an important part of the Christmas celebration, but since the 90's not available for purchasing and only homemade.

The story told about Kalix Løjrom, on the other hand, shows that tradition and people have been involved in the exclusive product for hundreds of years, and that it has been much sought after by chefs throughout the country and beyond. The PDO label was acquired thanks to the work of one man - Tryggve Bergman - around 2010. However, the product itself is produced by fishermen and other people in a careful process that is “a craft” that has spanned generations (BD Fisk, 2020). All stories of the Swedish PDO and PGIs can be traced back hundreds, and even thousands, of years. The Hånnlamb is reported to have been present for a lengthy period of time on the island of Gotland (European Commission, 2016). This heritage is one of the reasons the preservation of the sheep is considered to be important and something everyone can be a part of. Skånsk spettkaka is not as old as the Hånnlamb, but it does have its roots in the 17th century and it has connections with similar cakes in Europe that have existed for longer (Åstorp Bakery, 2020).

4.2. Collective efforts

In Catalonia achieving a GI is the result of communal effort. Although we often find that individuals lead the groups that fight for the distinction, the stories refer to the collective work, coordination and unification of interests. In the case of Gall del Penedès, the breeders' association of the PGI explain that the farmers fought to see the label on their products and claim that they produce good, identity-based food “with daily and constant work” (ACOP, 2020). In this case, the association explains that it was thanks to five farmers who worked with a public research institution in 2014 to help preserve the race of roosters that was in danger of extinction. Collective efforts are also clearly a part of the story of the PDO Fesols de Santa Pau. The small area where the beans can be produced is delimited by volcanic lands, and production is subject to strict norms and rules (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014). One video promoted by the local council shows that the beans support a small but active socio-cultural system of farmers, restaurateurs, tourism, local business and cultural events

(Planagumà, 2016). The video is especially meaningful because it shows the considerable efforts invested in a crop since the process of production requires little mechanization, and manual and artisanal methods. An interview with Montserrat Miralles and Lluís Sunyé, two farmers cultivating Fesols de Santa Pau, explains how the common good is achieved by the community. Miralles states that the PDO is a “collective success” and “obviously we have our discrepancies, but we get on well and are willing to work together to get a product that enables us to earn a living” (Fundació Miquel Agustí, 2020; Gastó et al., 2019).

However, the way in which the Swedish regions achieve and keep their GIs is not in all cases central to the storytelling of the products. In the case of Kalix Ljörom, one person recurs on different media telling the story of the idea and of how he worked to achieve the PDO (Smakriket, 2018), thus the community behind the products is not as prominent as in the Catalan cases. In the case of Hånnlamb, two local organizations support the PDO. They talk about their work on preserving the sheep and accessing the meat, while the general media do not. For Svecia cheese, the application for protected status was made by a national dairy organization, and for Skånsk spettekaka a few bakers were involved in the process but did not play a central role. The PDO Upplandskubb tells another story, probably explained by the fact that no commercial production of this bread existed for two decades. Here the achievement of the PDO in 2014 resulted from a joint work of dedicated individuals engaged in the organization *Upplandskubbens vänner*. Thus, there is generally less collective engagement and support in the processes establishing GI for the Swedish products than in Catalonia.

The collective efforts in Sweden mention the possibilities of rural development and job opportunities, but downplay the sustainability of social aspects. They do, however, emphasize natural and ecological aspects: for example, Kalix Ljörom stresses sustainable fishing, and Hånnlamb explains how the sheep help to preserve the natural landscape, an example of how GI can contribute to the commons. The Bruna bönor från Öland stories do not have such a clear link to any kind of collective ecological sustainability, but they are promoted as a healthy food choice with ecological advantages. In the case of Svecia, connection to local development was not a major part of the application or contemporary narratives.

Upplandskubb, Skånsk Spettkaka, and Hånnlamb are different in the sense that they have stronger and more pronounced regional connections in terms of their name (the name of the region is part of the registered GI) and also in the stories of their origin.

Upplandskubb has the potential to be a sustainable product, but at the time of writing this article it is only produced by one small-scale regional baker and sold by one shop, even though historically it was widespread. Its impact in terms of sustainability is limited. The organization promoting Upplandskubb face problems establishing a more widespread community around their product, with a small network of people are engaged in the strengthening of the GI, selling the product at local fairs and promoting it via social media (Upplandskubbens, n.d). The relation to a wider social collective and identity is weak at best. As shown, the narrative of the collective is not a developed element of the Swedish GIs and when relevant, it tells the story of rather closed groups fighting for protection and recognition of its product.

4.3. Communicating co-responsibility

The story of collective responsibility is of vital importance to GIs. Regulation councils (RCs) maintain quality standards and publicize aspects related to animal farming, production system, feeding, living conditions or time to harvesting, etc. It is a co-responsibility that must be shared for the common good to exist. There are, of course, formal methods of communicating and controlling these aspects (for example via inspection), but these must be reinforced by the discourse that individual decisions have an impact on collective performance. Storytelling about norms and rules also functions as a kind warning to prevent free riding, one of the risks at every commons system.

In the Catalan case of Llonganissa de Vic, the story told by the PGI insists not only on “conserving the origins and traditional ways” but also on specific procedures for preparing and drying the eighty thousand kilos of meat produced each year (vadegust.com 2020). For Gall del Penedès, the processes and procedures are at all times communicated in official documents, and on the breeders’ association website, which give detailed instructions of how the poultry must be housed, the out-door and in-door facilities, ventilation, temperature, percentage of cereal type for feeding, etc. (ACOP, 2020). Co-responsibility is highlighted by the farmers. One example is Félix Simon, who is involved in the conservation of the Gall del Penedès, and who cares about the importance of collective responsibility: “I think that we have to make a commitment, show our cards and all play together. If we don’t, this variety will disappear,” he says, conscious that preserving the Gall del Penedès is a collective matter

based on mutual trust and fairness (Repiso, 2013). “The rules, rules that we have created, must be followed if the product is to be a good one,” explains Joan Orri, another farmer working under the PDO Fesols de Santa Pau. In this TV report, the local television explained how the certification and inspection worked (Olot TV, 2015). The report covered how the technical staff visited the fields and asked about the requirements. Local media is considered to be of great value for spreading the rules and requirements that CPRs need.

In the case of the Swedish Hånnlamb, there is a focus in “racial purity” of the animals. The association GutefårAkademin (2020) describes itself as concerned with preserving the original sheep, and states on its homepage that “the original Gutefår is threatened by cross-breeding.” The other of the two organizations is Föreningen Gutefåret. Both associations generally welcome everyone interested in taking part and supporting their work of caring for a common heritage. The role of the sheep in preserving the natural landscape on Gotland as a common good is pointed out (Föreningen Gutefåret, n.d.). In the case of Bruna bönor från Öland and Kalix Løjrom, the association has a clearer role as organizer of the quality standards of the products and are referred to by the producers as central actors. The role of the organization was given particular importance in the case of Kalix Løjrom, as chefs from restaurants across Sweden had been complaining about buying Kalix roe that was not actually from the area, but a fraudulent product (Sverige, 2016). Exactly how Kalix Løjrom roe is produced is said to be a family secret, and the process varies from one roe fisher and their family to another. However, the conditions for producing Kalix Løjrom – when fishing is allowed (4-5 weeks during September and October); the area where it can be fished (because of the singular conditions of the water); and the amount of salt that can be added (4%) – are consistently communicated throughout the material studied. Co-responsibility is therefore not as strongly emphasized in the Swedish case – with the exception of Kalix Løjrom. They have quite enough to do looking out for their own survival. This struggle to survive could potentially boost cooperation between cultural entrepreneurs, farmers, bakers and local distributors/shops that are committed to keeping the product on the map, as in the case of the almost non-existent commercialized production of Upplandskubb.

4.4. Intangible values and identities

The commons are part of a process of collective identity building when we refer to heritage. The idea of constituting the community produces a “we”, a deictic acting as a marker in the

discursive unification of local people, diverse agents and stakeholders. The product assumes the role of cultural and social heritage, resulting in careful considerations that impact on environmental aspects. Therefore, the story of the GIs is not just about earning a living, but about preserving a way of life in harmony with nature. Narrated in this way, GIs are a point of confluence of economic, social, cultural and environmental sustainability.

As an example, the Granja Rural d’Espitlles (2020), a family farm breeding Gall del Penedès in Catalonia, links saving this variety of poultry with the historical vindication of the region of Penedès, now split into two different counties, to reunite. Although the political aims to unite Penedès are not a central theme of the stories, farmers do not conceal their intention when arguing about how the cultural community is related to the product. The stories also feature traditions, and the Gall del Penedès is recurrently linked to Christmas celebrations and the annual festival in Vilafranca in Penedès when a gigantic rooster and a hen representing the breed are part of the street parades and dance rituals. The deictic “we” refers not only to the farmers or the people working with commercialized products, but also to a broader collective that participates in identity processes attached to the products, the production processes, the gastronomic traditions, and the cultural festivities.

Identity-based narratives also play a role for the PGI Pa de Pagès. The stories reinforce the links between gastronomy and Catalan identity. “What would *we* be without Pa de Pagès?”, asks one specialized piece on the PGI (Gamissans, 2020, our emphasis). Here, the “we” are the people and the text refers to the importance of a culinary custom that is deeply rooted in the culture: bread rubbed with tomato and sprinkled with olive oil. Identity is also important for the PDO Fesols de Santa Pau. The immaterial output is clearly expressed in the words of Maria Costa, who has farmed the bean all her life: “It is such a simple thing that makes you happy,” she says deeply moved. Her son, Lluís Sunyer says that in the village, “*fesol* is our flagship.” It is “a symbol and an economy,” states one farmer (Palacín, 2016). One of the clearest examples of how PGIs take part in and communicate immaterial heritage are the *calçotades* and the festival that is held every year in Valls in celebration of the *calçot*, in which the PGI Calçot de Valls plays a major role. Thousands of people gather in the village

every January and enjoy the grilled onions while human towers are constructed in the town square (Ajuntament de Valls, 2020).¹

The Hånnlamb is an interesting Swedish case as the sheep is used by many Gotlandic organizations as a symbol, not least by the regional government *Region Gotland*,² and has been since the 13th century: “The fact that the island’s free farmers used ‘väduren’, an older ram, as a symbol on their seals as early as the 13th century provides further proof of the importance of sheep farming for Gotland” (European Commission, 2016). However, the term *hånnlamb*, even though it is used, is not as common as the term *gutefår*. As a symbol it represents the island’s harsh conditions and the toughness of its inhabitants – both the sheep and the people. For the *hånnlamb* there is no prominent *we* that includes the islanders in general; rather it refers to the few active breeders on the island. The name, *hånnlamb*, is described as a dialectal version of *hornlamm* or *hornfår*, meaning *horned lamb*. There is said to be only one stock of “pure” *gutefår* today on the island, and the sheep is in danger of cross breeding and thus losing its uniqueness.

Upplandskubb, like all other GI stories, is a case of returning to tradition, to traditional ways of baking. This case is especially clear because it is a product that has almost no living tradition, but which is trying to be brought back into use through the narratives. This kind of bread was never actually a core element of the regional food tradition. This role was taken by a harder oven-baked bread known as *flatbröd/knäckebröd* (Upplandskubbens vänner, n.d.). The fact that Upplandskubb had never been an essential part of the regional identity might explain the problems of giving this kind of traditional bread a new lease of life. At the same time, the Upplandskubb is very often referred to as a bread for Christmas, and as such it was very much a part of festive traditions in Uppland, just as Skånsk Spettkaka is also presented as a feature of special celebrations.

5. Conclusion

Communication is constituting of social activities, and our focus on GI narratives and storytelling is a reflection of the fundamental basis of relations, community, and hence – in

¹ Human towers, or *castells* in Catalan, is a cultural expression of Catalonia, deeply rooted in the area of Valls and Tarragona, which was declared intangible heritage in 2010 by the UNESCO (2010).

² See <https://www.gotland.se>, accessed 20 September 2020.

this case – GIs as commons. How GIs are communicated tell us about a potential for inclusion and representation. Identifying and acknowledging these underpinning aspects of GI communication inform us, if about the products standing, and the role of GI as a socially, culturally and politically promoted label. In the previous section, the first research question was answered by identifying and exemplifying key narrative elements and describing how they work to articulate GIs as commons. In the ensuing discussion we corroborate from our findings that there are specific elements of GIs narratives that contribute to understand them as commons or CPR, namely, their historical foundations, the collective efforts that the community put in constituting and keeping the GI, the co-responsibility measures and control, and the intangible values and identity engagement. These elements are, however, differently articulated and are variously weighted in relation to context.

The results revealed notable differences in rationales between the two contexts, but also internal variances. Catalonia, where GIs are well established, seems to show a more powerful structure in which agents focus on creating and spreading stories about their products. Agents and GI associations harness opportunities to manage collective efforts to develop their GIs. In particular, grassroot agents – farmers and individuals who grow and make the products – explore unresolved possibilities. To some extent, the discourse revolves around the matter noted by Bowen and Mutersbaugh (2014, p. 209), “whether the food ‘commons’ that are co-constituted through collaborative processes provide an effective alternative to individuating and neo-liberalizing dynamics of the market”. On the other hand, Swedish GIs have a seemingly weaker connection between producers and consumers in their narratives. One explanation is the tradition of private brands and trademarks so new GIs would mean giving competitors access to products (Folkesson, 2006) when GIs are really all about collective organization of a variety of producers around a traditional product.

While we were researching the stories about GIs in the two contexts, we came across clues that help to better understand a north-south contrast. In both contexts, tradition is constructed from historical facts and evidence. In Catalonia, however, the stories are more socially replicated and shared: for example, there is a strong social movement around *calçotades* (Calçot de Valls) and *castells* (human towers); thousands of people visit Vilafranca del Penedès to see the rooster fair (Gall del Penedès), and other products like *butifarra amb mongetes* (sausages with beans) or *pà de pagès* are also part of the collective imaginary. In several of the Swedish cases, public unawareness and lack of attention to the potential of GIs

for rural development seem to be key to understanding why GIs seems to be failing in reflecting and integrating communities more broadly. To illustrate the difference between the two contexts we could refer to the metaphor of a gap between market and community. In Sweden, the gap is wider while in Catalonia the narratives reveal a much smaller distance. These results suggests that an older GIs tradition like the Catalan has established stronger narrative links between the labels and its notion as a common good than a younger adoption context of GIs like in Sweden.

In terms of collective efforts and co-responsibility, we again find notable differences between the two cases. In Catalonia there is increasing talk about the importance of bringing producers together around the GI – preserving methods and qualities, as well as keeping appropriate control –, while in the Swedish case the stories seem to be more reluctant to discuss these issues. Some Swedish GIs such as Upplandskubb and Svecia are in a precarious market situation, with limited production, demand and supporting community, while tensions between commercial brands and the use of protected names may be at the root of a weaker common strategy for developing GIs in the country. However, food and drink are undergoing a local and regional revival and Swedish agents may not see the EU GI scheme as an attractive proposition. Also, the issue of heavy administrative requirements could be a cause of the lack of interest, a problem that is also present in Catalonia but which may have different consequences because of a rooted expertise in dealing with official applications and implementing government policies. Our concluding remarks offer evidence on how national context and structures produce diversity in narratives in this specific issue.

Apart from these cross-national comparisons, there are also internal divides within the stories. The most evident is the one between the large-scale, commercially oriented GIs and the smaller ones. The former can command greater resources for communication, which are used for marketing purposes and they often promote agricultural products that can be intensively cultivated on large properties. In these cases, the narratives of the commons are weaker than in the smaller initiatives. When farms are smaller and production extensive, as is the case of Fesols de Santa Pau for example, the stories on immaterial heritage, a way of life, and the preservation of the environment are stronger. In the Swedish case we also found important differences between the stories about products. On the one hand, there is Kalix Løjrom, a luxury product with considerable financial investment and a well-developed and

well-communicated story. On the other hand, there is Upplandskubb, a financially low-scale product and with a story that is less known.

Our contribution is a starting point for further international comparison of GIs narratives and their link to the commons, to which extent socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds impact how communities and organizations understand and explain the grounds of GI and their links with the communities and regions. If GI organizations and policy makers have an aim to develop GI practices in relation to a commons, they benefit from acknowledging the four elements identified in this study. Not all narratives portray GIs as a sort of commons, but particularly those whose agents (organizations and individuals creating and telling stories) believe in collective efforts to protect a product. These stories - which usually describe historical roots, collective efforts, co-responsibilities and immaterial heritage - relate the products, the production process and commercialization to core ideas of the commons embedded in sustainability, cooperation, community development, and socioeconomic and cultural reciprocity. Consequently, as we have argued in this article, such an understanding would not be possible without the continued communication around the GIs as commons and not just as marketing labels.

6. References

- ACOP. (2020). *Alimentació*. Associació de Criadors de La Raça d'Origen Penedesenca. <https://www.galldelpenedes.cat/alimentacio>
- Ajuntament de Valls. (2020). *La Calçotada*. <https://www.valls.cat/la-ciutat/la-calcotada>
- Altheide, D. L. (2000) Tracking discourse and qualitative media document analysis. *Poetics*, 27 (4), 287-299. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X\(00\)00005-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X(00)00005-X)
- Alvesson, M., & Kärreman, D. (2007). Constructing mystery: Empirical matters in theory development. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(4), 1265-1281.
- Ashcraft, K. L., Kuhn, T. R., & Cooren, F. (2009). Constitutional Amendments: “Materializing” Organizational Communication. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 3(1), 1-64.
- Åstorp Bakery. (2020). *Spettkakan*. <https://www.spettkaksbageri.se/spet.html>
- Barbara, P. (2018). Geographical indications and the Commons. What matters? In F. Girard & C. Frison (Eds.), *The Commons, Plant Breeding and Agricultural Research Challenges for Food Security and Agrobiodiversity* (pp. 226–233). London & New

York. Routledge.

- Bartel, C., & Dutton, J. (2001). Ambiguous organizational memberships: Constructing organizational identities. In M. A. Hogg and D. J. Terry (Eds.) *Social identity processes in organizational contexts*, New York. Taylor and Francis (pp. 115-130).
- BD Fisk. (2020). *Råvaror från Nordnorge och Bottenviken*. <https://bdfisk.se/om-vara-produkter/kalix-lojrom/>
- Bencherki, N., & Cooren, F. (2011). Having to be: The possessive constitution of organization. *Human Relations*, 64(12), 1579-1607.
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0018726711424227>
- Belletti, G., Marescotti, A., & Touzard, J. M. (2017). Geographical Indications, Public Goods, and Sustainable Development: The Roles of Actors' Strategies and Public Policies. *World Development*, 98, 45–57.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2015.05.004>
- Bochet, O., Page, T., & Putterman, L. (2006). Communication and punishment in voluntary contribution experiments. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 60(1), 11–26. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2003.06.006>
- Bowen, S. (2010). Embedding local places in global spaces: Geographical indications as a territorial development strategy. *Rural Sociology*, 75(2), 209–243.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1549-0831.2009.00007.x>
- Bowen, S., & Mutersbaugh, T. (2014). Local or localized? Exploring the contributions of Franco-Mediterranean agrifood theory to alternative food research. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 31(2), 201–213. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-013-9461-7>
- Brown, A. D. (2006). A narrative approach to collective identities. *Journal of Management Studies*, 43(4), 731-753. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.2006.00609.x>
- Calboli, I. (2015). Geographical Indications of Origin at the Crossroads of Local Development, Consumer Protection and Marketing Strategies. *IIC International Review of Intellectual Property and Competition Law*, 46(7), 760–780.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s40319-015-0394-0>
- Calboli, I. (2017). Geographical Indications between Trade, Development, Culture, and Marketing: Framing a Fair(er) System of Protection in the Global Economy? In pp. 3-35 I. Calboli & W. L. Ng-Loy (Eds.), *Geographical Indications at the Crossroads of Trade, Development, and Culture. Focus on Asia-Pacific*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316711002>
- Castelló, E. (2020). Storytelling in Applications for the EU Quality Schemes for Agricultural

- Products and Foodstuffs: Place, Origin and Tradition. *Spanish Journal of Agricultural Research*, 18(2), e0105. <https://doi.org/10.5424/sjar/2020182-16192>
- Castelló, E. (2021) The will for terroir. A Communicative Approach. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 86: 386-397. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.06.007>
- Cei, L., Stefani, G., Defrancesco, E., & Lombardi, G. V. (2018). Geographical indications: A first assessment of the impact on rural development in Italian NUTS3 regions. *Land Use Policy*, 75(510), 620–630. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2018.01.023>
- Cooren, F. (2004). Textual agency: How texts do things in organizational settings. *Organization*, 11(3), 373–393. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508404041998>
- Cooren, F. (2020). Beyond entanglement: (Socio-) materiality and organization studies. *Organization Theory*, 1(3), 2631787720954444.
- Corón, A. (2019, November 6). Pera de Lleida, la reina del mercat espanyol. *ViaEmpresa*. https://www.viaempresa.cat/economia/pera-lleida-producte-mercat-espanyol_2076044_102.html
- Czarniawska, B. 1998. *A Narrative Approach to Organization Studies*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage.
- Dobusch, L., & Schoeneborn, D. (2015). Fluidity, identity, and organizationality: The communicative constitution of Anonymous. *Journal of Management Studies*, 52(8), 1005-1035. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12139>
- DOP Fesols de Santa Pau. (2020). *Història dels Fesols de Santa Pau*. Fesolsdesantapau.Cat. <https://fesolsdesantapau.cat/historia-fesols-de-santa-pau/>
- El Nacional. (2018, December 24). Tot el que has de saber del Pà de Pagès Català (IGP). *Elnacional.Cat*. https://www.elnacional.cat/enblau/ca/branded-content/informacio-pa-pages-catalunya_334146_102.html
- European Commission 2001. “Publication of an Application for Registration Pursuant to Article 6(2) of Council Regulation (EEC) No 2081/92 on the Protection of Geographical Indications and Designations of Origin.” Official Journal of the European Union, 2001/C198/3, 3 July, p. C198/3.
- European Commission. (2016). Publication of an application pursuant to Article 50(2)(a) of Regulation (EU) No 1151/2012 of the European Parliament and of the Council on quality schemes for agricultural products and foodstuffs. *Offici*, C239/11, 22–25.
- European Commission (2019a). “Application for Approval of an Amendment, Which Is Not Minor, to a Product Specification Referred to in Article 53 of Regulation (EU) No 1151/2012 of the European Parliament and of the Council for the Name ‘Gall Del

- Penedès' (PGI." Official Journal of the European Union 2019/C217/06, June 28, p. C217/10.
- European Commission 2019b. "Publication of an Application Pursuant to Article 6(2) of Council Regulation (EC) No 510/2006 on the Protection of Geographical Indications and Designations of Origin for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs." Official Journal of the European Union, 2012/C128/09, May 3, p. C128/14.
- European Commission. (2020a). *Quality Schemes Explained*. https://ec.europa.eu/info/food-farming-fisheries/food-safety-and-quality/certification/quality-labels/quality-schemes-explained_en#aims
- European Commission. (2020c, April 20). Geographical Indications, a European treasure worth €75 billion Brussels. *Press Release*.
https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_20_683
- European Commission. 2021. Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development, Study on economic value of EU quality schemes, geographical indications (GIs) and traditional specialities guaranteed (TSGs): final report, Publications Office, 2021, <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2762/396490>
- Fernández-Barcala, M., González-Díaz, M., & Raynaud, E. (2017). Contrasting the governance of supply chains with and without geographical indications: complementarity between levels. *Supply Chain Management*, 22(4), 305–320.
<https://doi.org/10.1108/SCM-05-2016-0161>
- Folkesson, C. (2006). *Geografiska Ursprungsbeteckningar och landsbygdsutveckling i EU* (1). Retrieved from Livsmedelsekonomiska institutet/AgriFood:
https://www.agrifood.se/files/sli_skrift_20061.pdf
- Föreningen Gutefåret. (n.d.). *Gutefåren*. Retrieved September 22, 2020, from <https://www.gutefar.se/index.php?id=95>
- Foucault, Michel (2005) *Las palabras y las cosas*. First edition in French, 1966. Siglo XXI: Madrid.
- Fundació Miquel Agustí. (2020, July). "Hem intentat millorar les varietats locals per poder-les fer operatives mecànicament." *Https://Ruralcat.Gencat.Cat/*, 1–8.
https://ruralcat.gencat.cat/entrevista/-/journal_content/2002/20181/6152958/-hem-intentat-millorar-les-varietats-locales-per-poder-les-fer-operatives-mecanicament-
- Gamissans, J. (2020, March 2). El pa de pagès, l'etern enyorat pels qui estan a fora de casa. *Vadegust.Com*. <https://vadegust.cat/productes/el-pa-de-pages-letern-enyorat-pels-qui-estan-fora-de-casa-3486/>

- Gastó, J., Simó Cruanyes, J., & Simó Penyalva, J. (2019). *Reflexions d'un sector. Fesols de Santa Pau*. <https://youtu.be/svA3RIV6wTI>
- Generalitat de Catalunya. (2014). *Plec de Condicions de la Denominació d'Origen Protegida "Fesols de Santa Pau."* https://fesolsdesantapau.cat/wp-content/uploads/Plec-de-condicions-_CATALA_-_info-complementaria-1_.pdf
- Giovannucci, D., Josling, T., Kerr, W., O'Connor, B., & Yeung, M. T. (2009). Guide to Geographical Indications: Linking Products and Their Origins (Summary). In *International Trade Center*. <https://doi.org/10.1227/01.NEU.0000349921.14519.2A>
- Granja Rural d'Espitlles. (2020). *Autoafirmació*. <https://www.gallpenedes.com/autoafirmacio>
- GutefårAkademin. (2020). *GutefårAkademin Stämman 2020 Bli medlem i GutefårAkademin !* <http://www.hornfar.se>
- Halkier, H., James, L., & Stræte, E. P. (2017). Quality turns in Nordic food: a comparative analysis of specialty food in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. *European Planning Studies*, 25(7), 1111–1128. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2016.1261805>
- Hess, C. (2008). Mapping the New Commons. In *Working paper W08+21. Governing Shared Resources: Connecting Local Experience to Global Challenges*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1356835>
- Herman, L. and Vervaeck, B. (2001) *Handbook of Narrative Analysis*. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln and London.
- IGP Calçot de Valls. (2020). *The Calçot : more than a tradition*. <http://www.igpcalcotdevalls.cat/tradicio.php>
- Isaac, M., & Walker, J. M. (1988). Communication and Free Riding Behavior: The Voluntary Contribution Mechanism. *Economic Enquiry*, 26(4), 585–608.
- Janssen, M. A. (2013). The Role of Information in Governing the Commons : Experimental Results. *Ecology and Society*, 18(4). <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.5751/ES-05664-180404>
- Janssen, M., Lee, A., & Tyson, M. (2014). The effect of constrained communication and limited information in governing a common resource. *International Journal of the Commons*, 8(2), 617–635. <https://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.473>
- Kalmar Ölands Trädgårdsprodukter. (2020). *Bruna bönor*. <https://www.kotp.se/produkter/bonor/#>
- King, B. G., Felin, T., & Whetten, D. A. (2010). Perspective—Finding the organization in organizational theory: A meta-theory of the organization as a social actor. *Organization Science*, 21(1), 290-305.

- Olot TV. 2015. L'empresa certificadora de la DOP Fesols de Santa Pau ja ha visitat 6 dels 12 productors adherits. Olot TV. Youtube. <https://youtu.be/kG7EdvRIYYM>
- Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons. The evolution of institutions for collective action.* Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511807763>
- Ostrom, E. (2010). Beyond markets and states: Polycentric governance of complex economic systems. *American Economic Review*, 100(3), 641–672.
https://doi.org/10.1142/9789814635585_0004
- Ostrom, E., & Walker, J. N. (1989). Communication in a commons: cooperation without external enforcement. In *Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis.* Bloomington, IN.
- Palacín, M. 2016. #eustories: A Life Dedicated to “Fesols.” European Commission. La Lupa Produccions. Barcelona. Youtube <https://youtu.be/nL0afmKVliY>
- PGI Llonganissa de Vic. (2020). *History.* <http://www.llonganissadevic.cat/en/history/history-llonganissadevic/index.htm>
- Planagumà, M. 2016. Els Fesols de Santa Pau. El Fesolaire - DOP Fesols de Santa Pau. Santa Pau. Ajuntament de Santa Pau. Youtube. <https://youtu.be/hjG0KWb0M34>
- Quiñones-Ruiz, X. F., Nigmann, T., Schreiber, C., & Neilson, J. (2020). Collective action milieus and governance structures of Protected Geographical Indications for coffee in Colombia, Thailand and Indonesia. *International Journal of the Commons*, 14(1), 329–343.
- Quiñones-Ruiz, X. F., Penker, M., Belletti, G., Marescotti, A., Scaramuzzi, S., Barzini, E., Pircher, M., Leitgeb, F., & Samper-Gartner, L. F. (2016). Insights into the black box of collective efforts for the registration of Geographical Indications. *Land Use Policy*, 57, 103–116. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2016.05.021>
- Quiñones Ruiz, X. F., Penker, M., Vogl, C. R., & Samper Gartner, L. F. (2015). Can origin labels re-shape relationships along international supply chains? *International Journal of the Commons*, 9(1), 419–439.
- Ragnar, M., and M. Backurd Ivgren. 2017. Handgjord svecia – Smakvintessensen av svenskt 1900-tal. Eldrimner.
<https://www.eldrimner.com/core/files/37/sveciabroschyr1706.pdf>
- Repiso, N. 2013. Apadrina un gall. TN Produccions for Penedès TV. Vilafranca del Penedès. Vimeo. <https://vimeo.com/80679293>
- Skuras, D., & Dimara, E. (2004). Regional image and the consumption of regionally

- denominated products. *Urban Studies*, 41(4), 801–815.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098042000194115>
- Smakriket. (2018). *Historien om Sveriges första ursprungsmärkta livsmedel*.
https://youtu.be/_OdFVIhV9tg
- Smith, S. (2015). A sense of place: Place, culture and tourism. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 40(2). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2015.1049814>
- Sverige, S. (2016). *Nationellt uppdrag om skyddade beteckningar för livsmedel och jordbruksprodukter*.
<http://smakasverige.jordbruksverket.se/aktuellt/nyhetsarkiv/nationelltuppdragomskyddadebeteckningarforlivsmedelochjordbruksprodukter.1552.html>
- Trubek, A. (2008) *The taste of place. A Cultural Journey into Terroir*. University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles (CA).
- UNESCO. (2010). *Human towers*. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/human-towers-00364>
- Upplandskubbens vänner. (n.d.). *Upplands eget bröd – så kom det till*. Retrieved September 22, 2020, from <http://www.upplandskubbensvanner.se/Om.html>
- vadegust.cat. 2020. "Llonganissa de Vic, l'embotit de luxe." February 8
<https://vadegust.cat/actualitat/llonganissa-de-vic-lembotit-de-luxe-2907/>
- Verbeke, W., Pieniak, Z., Guerrero, L., & Hersleth, M. (2012). Consumers' Awareness and Attitudinal Determinants of European Union Quality Label Use on Traditional Foods. *Bio-Based and Applied Economics*, 1(2), 213–229. <https://doi.org/10.13128/bae-10558>
- Weik, K. E. (1995) *Sensemaking in organizations*. Sage: Thousand Oaks, London, Delhi.
- Winfrey, J. A., & McCluskey, J. J. (2005). Collective Reputation and Quality. *Agricultural Economics*, 87(1), 206–213.

Declarations

The authors declared that no competing interests exist

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to express our gratitude to Nicky Doyle and Emma O'Shea for their reading and suggestions.