ESCOLA DE DOUTORAMENTO
INTERNACIONAL DA USC

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Tese de doutoramento

XEOGRAFÍAS CRÍTICAS DOS PROCESOS DE CONSTRUCIÓN E DE XESTIÓN DAS FIGURAS DE INDICACIÓN XEOGRÁFICA PARA PRODUTOS AGROALIMENTARIOS

Santiago de Compostela, 2025

Programa de Doutoramento en Historia, Xeografía e Historia da Arte

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RESUMO

As Indicacións Xeográficas (IX) non deixaron de multiplicarse nos últimos anos en todo o mundo como ferramentas capaces de deparar diversos beneficios. De entre eles, con frecuencia destácase o seu potencial contribuír ao desenvolvemento rural dos espazos nos que se insiren. No entanto, a maior parte das investigacións en Ciencias Sociais e Humanas que analizan os xeitos nos que unha IX poden resultar beneficiosas non soen reparar no feito xeográfico deste tipo de instrumentos. A presente tese resitúa as IX dentro do marco analítico-teórico da Xeografía, co fin de ofrecer unha mirada crítica e sistemática aos procesos de construción e de xestión que determinan a capacidade destes instrumentos para satisfacer as necesidades pretendidas co seu establecemento. Con ese obxectivo, aplicáronse técnicas cualitativas en doce figuras de IX arredor do mundo para observar a diversidade de percepcións que existen entre os actores implicados nelas. A lectura conxunta de todos estes casos confirma a pertinencia de analizar as IX desde unha perspectiva xeográfica para facilitar que poidan alcanzar os seus obxectivos prácticos.

RESUMEN

Las Indicaciones Geográficas (IG) no han dejado de multiplicarse en los últimos años en todo el mundo como herramientas capaces de aportar diversos beneficios. Entre ellos, con frecuencia se destaca su potencial para contribuir al desarrollo rural de los espacios en los que se insertan. Sin embargo, la mayoría de las investigaciones en Ciencias Sociales y Humanas que analizan las formas en que una IG puede resultar beneficiosa suelen pasar por alto el hecho geográfico de este tipo de instrumentos. La presente tesis sitúa las IG dentro del marco analítico-teórico de la Geografía, con el fin de ofrecer una mirada crítica y sistemática a los procesos de construcción y gestión que determinan la capacidad de estos instrumentos para satisfacer las necesidades que se buscan con su establecimiento. Con ese objetivo, se aplicaron técnicas cualitativas a doce figuras de IG alrededor del mundo para observar la diversidad de percepciones que existen entre los actores implicados en ellas. La lectura conjunta de todos estos casos confirma la pertinencia de analizar las IG desde una perspectiva geográfica para facilitar que puedan alcanzar sus objetivos prácticos.

ABSTRACT

Geographical Indications (GIs) have been multiplying worldwide in recent years as tools capable of providing various benefits. Among them, their potential to contribute to rural development in the areas where they are established stands out. However, most research in Social and Human Sciences analysing how GIs can be beneficial tends to overlook the geographical aspect of these types of instruments. This thesis repositions GIs within the broader analytical-theoretical framework of Geography, in order to offer a critical and systematic perspective on the construction and management processes that determine the capacity of these instruments to meet the intended needs. To this end, qualitative techniques were applied to twelve GI figures around the world to observe the diversity of perceptions existing among the actors involved in them. A joint reading of all these cases confirms the relevance of analysing GIs from a geographical perspective to facilitate their ability to meet their practical objectives.

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1. INTRODUCIÓN

1.1 MOTIVACIÓN PERSOAL E XUSTIFICACIÓN

Como acontece en case todas as ocasións, esta tese non nace dun baleiro. Sempre hai un porqué detrás que cómpre explicar antes de situarnos na posición de investigadores (Stratford e Bradshaw, 2016). Neste caso, a presente pescuda débese a que son fillo de pementeiros, de produtores dun pequeno pemento verde, ás veces rabudo, ás veces non. Falo, por suposto, daquel que é amplamente recoñecido como «pemento de Padrón», e que, no entanto, posúe unha Denominación de Orixe Protexida baixo o nome de «pemento de Herbón».

Sendo así, resulta difícil responder á pregunta de cando xurdiu o meu interese persoal polo tema que se aborda nela. Non podo falar dun intre particular e preciso. O tema da miña tese trasládame a lembranzas fragmentarias da infancia. De tardes de verán nas que sentaba fronte a unha morea verde de pementos, cos meus pais ao carón, tratando de explicarme cales picaban e cales non (figura 1). Invoca cousas que, desde ben pequeno, estaban a suceder ao meu redor sen que chegase a comprendelas entón. Repórtame a reunións nocturnas ás que acudían os meus proxenitores tras longas xornadas de traballo. Espértame lembranzas de caras tristes, cando había que mandar os pementos «ao quilo», e de queixas porque xa non se vendían tan ben coma antes. Pero tamén me retrotrae a momentos de moito gozo; sobre todo, na festa do pemento, cando chegaba á carballeira do convento sobre o remolque do tractor, sempre decorado con algunha temática relacionada co noso cultivo (figura 2).

Figura 1. Imaxe da familia, escollendo pementos. Eu, cuns 7 anos, sitúome entre miña nai e miña irmá. Fonte: CRTVG.

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Figura 2. Imaxe da festa do pemento, co remolque do tractor decorado como o convento franciscano de Herbón —onde, supostamente, arribaron os primeiros pementos procedentes do continente americano—. Fonte: Lucía Boga.

Pero, sobre todo, ao profundar nos meus recordos, falar de Denominación de Orixe condúceme a un sentir de ilusión. A volver ver as caras de alegría incontida de meus pais ao anunciarse que finalmente nola concedían, que «aprobaran en Bruxelas» a protección do noso pemento; que «agora si que si, iamos ter un instrumento para reivindicarmos a orixe e a calidade do auténtico pemento de Herbón». Pouco e pouco, fun aprendendo o que significaban esas palabras. Pasamos de vender os pementos «ao cento», en bolsas enchidas manualmente, a envasalos nunha máquina en bolsas termoseladas; cada unha, coa súa correspondente contra-etiqueta, «para levar a trazabilidade do pemento e así asegurar que os quilos que se venden son os que se declaran da leira», tal e como imaxino que me explicaba entón miña nai. Pasamos das crebaduras de cabeza e das preocupacións de meus pais polas vendas do pemento, a ollar o debuxo da señora apañando —o logo corporativo da SAT A Pementeira, baixo a que se integrara a miña familia— nos lineais dos principais supermercados galegos. Ver as bolsas aí, no *súper*, pareceume incrible. Era coma que se lograra trocar a realidade que coñecera até ese momento.

Cando cheguei a Santiago para cursar a carreira de Xeografía e Ordenación do Territorio, nunca dubidei en presumir da miña orixe pementeira. Sentía orgullo do que meus pais, xunto con outra xente, lograran crear para mellorar as condicións ao redor do noso medio de vida. Creo que a todos os amigos que fixen neses anos lles comentei, polo menos algunha vez, que «o verdadeiro pemento de Padrón é o que se comercializa baixo a Denominación de Orixe Protexida "Pemento de Herbón"». «E por que se din de Herbón agora, se sempre se coñeceron como pementos de Padrón?», replicábanme de maneira frecuente. Comentáballes que a historia era curiosa, que unha empresa se apropiara do topónimo con fins comerciais e que desde entón houbera que procurar outras fórmulas para reivindicar a calidade diferencial d'«o noso». Así, cando chegou cuarto de carreira, e con el o momento de decidir un tema para o traballo de fin de grao, foron varias as persoas que me suxeriron investigar sobre o pemento, mais desbotei a idea. Consideraba que era un tema «demasiado complexo». Lembro dicir «non me atrevo a meterme aí» ou «non sei se sería quen de facelo ben». Porén, despois da carreira, chegou o mestrado en Planificación do Desenvolvemento Territorial e, con el, viñeron de novo os ánimos de María, de meus pais, de Valerià, para facer o traballo final de mestrado sobre o noso pemento e a súa Denominación de Orixe.

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Desa volta fixen caso das súas recomendacións, e así acabei por tomar a decisión de embarcarme na aventura de redescubrir a miña realidade máis cotiá. O traballo resultou un xeito de conectar coa miña aldea dun modo que nunca imaxinara. Posibilitoume poder conversar durante horas con moitos veciños, que antes para min apenas eran uns descoñecidos, sobre o cultivo que compartimos. Permitiume preguntarlle ao meu avó polos seus primeiros recordos ao redor do pemento. Implicou que meus pais me explicasen, xa como adulto, as cuestións que eu, de cativo, non chegara a comprender. O traballo de fin de mestrado tamén supuxo o meu primeiro achegamento académico á temática das Denominacións de Orixe Protexidas (DOP) —que aprendín a englobar a partir de entón dentro do termo máis abranguinte das Indicacións Xeográficas (IX)—. O feito de ler moitos artigos científicos sobre o tema, a maioría deles nos campos da Economía, a Socioloxía e o Dereito, permitiume dar con novas perspectivas e ollares que me levaron a reflexións máis profundas sobre a miña propia experiencia. Descubrín que existía unha palabra francesa, «*terroir*», para sintetizar o que sempre explicabamos en Herbón: que o noso val, o seu solo e clima abeizoado polo Ulla, e a nosa boa man, facía os nosos pementos distintos dos cultivados en calquera outro sitio, mesmo se eran fillos das plantas e das sementes que saíran de aquí.

Na intertextualidade deses documentos observei que, case sempre, se daba por sentado que as IX garantían a orixe dos produtos que protexían e, en consecuencia, eran quen de xerar efectos positivos en termos de desenvolvemento rural. Estaba de acordo con asumir que podían contribuír ao desenvolvemento rural. Como dicían meus pais, «a DOP foi a única maneira de poder sobrevivir». Porén, a miña experiencia dicíame que algunhas das cousas que se presupoñían na bibliografía non era tan claras. No noso caso, tiveramos que deixar de empregar o nome de Padrón, co que se coñecían maiormente os nosos pementos, porque unha empresa se apropiara del! Mentres lía moreas de textos, comezaba a facerme preguntas que nunca antes pensara en relación co caso do pemento de Herbón: «Como puideron uns poucos produtores dunha pequena aldea sacala adiante? Até que punto foi esta importante no noso devir?».

Mentres me instruía entre toda esta chea de investigacións académicas en torno ás IX, reflexionaba sobre algunhas cuestións que sempre se recalcaban na carreira de Xeografía, que, no entanto, botaba en falla na maioría dos textos. Moitas investigacións preocupábanse por analizar os posibles efectos positivos das IX sobre o territorio; dalgunha forma, trataban de corroborar as políticas que xustificaban a súa pertinencia como ferramentas para o desenvolvemento rural. En cambio, apenas unhas poucas viraban a súa atención ao rol crítico que podía ter a Xeografía para analizar os procesos de construción, ás pugnas e ás dinámicas de poder que se poden dar no marco das IX: «Que elementos resultan fundamentais para conseguir obter unha IX? Como se acorda a súa escala? Como se dan os diálogos entre produtores imbuídos no territorio e outros actores institucionais?». Así, aos poucos, durante o meu ano de mestrado, convencinme de que pagaba a pena facer unha tese que adoptase un enfoque territorial para estudar as dinámicas de construción e xestión das IX.

Entón, cando quen acabaría sendo o meu director, logo do traballo fin de grao, me comentou a posibilidade de presentarme ao programa de Formación do Profesorado Universitario (FPU) na convocatoria do ano 2019 para financiar o doutoramento, ao mesmo tempo que cursaba o mestrado, xa non dubidei en darlle continuidade a esta temática. Contaba cunha boa base de partida, pensei. Por unha banda, a miña experiencia propia sentaba unha boa base de coñecemento que me permitiría profundar na temática sen demasiado esforzo. Considerei que esas vivencias persoais me axudarían, asemade, a xerar un ambiente de empatía recíproca cos produtores que trataría de entrevistar. Por outra banda, caín na conta de que tamén contaba con numerosos contactos, quer da

administración galega, quer de produtores doutros alimentos con IX, grazas a que a miña nai era presidenta da devandita DOP do Pemento de Herbón, e tamén porque eu mesmo coñecera moitas destas persoas nalgunhas das feiras agroalimentarias nas que traballei. Contaba, por último, coa incrible oportunidade do proxecto Highlands.3,[1] dirixido polo meu director de tese en España desde 2020 e dedicado ao desenvolvemento sustentable de áreas de montaña en base a intercambios entre moitos lugares da Unión Europea e de fóra dela. Este proxecto, polo tanto, permitiríame realizar mobilidades en distintos lugares para desenvolver unha investigación baseada en casos de estudo alén das fronteiras galegas. Non podía deixar pasar todo iso.

A idea inicial que manexaba consistía en procurar unha análise comparativa de casos galegos, entre os que incluiría o pemento de Herbón, con outras experiencias internacionais para analizar os impactos territoriais das IX. Esta foi, de feito, a intención que expresei na solicitude do contrato FPU en 2019. Así, o primeiro caso galego no que puxen o ollo, alén loxicamente do de Herbón, foi o do queixo do Cebreiro. Fixera algunhas amizades durante as feiras agroalimentarias e, cando conversabamos entre nós, detectabamos que compartiamos moitas situacións similares; por exemplo, un insuficiente recoñecemento do que significaba posuír o selo de DOP nos mercados, inquedanzas sobre a falta de relevo xeracional, etc. Tamén coincidiamos en identificar a presenza de produtores que, dentro do mesmo territorio das nosas respectivas IX, preferían non pagar os custes da certificación, e acababan por facernos a competencia desde fóra. Había moitos elementos comúns, pensaba, mais quería coñecer outros exemplos para comprobar se as IX funcionaban igual ou de maneira moi distinta en función do contexto específico de cada produción. Así, coidei que unha comparativa de casos daría pé a unha reflexión interesante sobre que cuestións son esenciais para o éxito de calquera IX; entre elas, pensaba en investigar como operaban estas figuras baixo diferentes sistemas institucionais, que factores determinaban maiores ou menores efectos de desenvolvemento rural, etc. Con esas ideas en mente, iniciei o camiño.

Por suposto, comecei co que tiña estudado en casa. Grazas aos traballos previos de Parrott et al. (2002), Barham (2003), Sonnino e Marsden (2006), Fonte (2008), Bowen e Mutersbaugh (2014) e Lamine et al. (2018), sobre todo, dei por identificar dúas tradicións ou aproximacións académicas que incorporaban unha perspectiva espacial-territorial ao estudo das IX, mais que apenas dialogaban. Estas son, por unha banda, a literatura anglófona en Redes Alimentarias Alternativas (siglas AFN en inglés), que emprega o concepto de *embeddedness* para analizar alimentos diferenciados en base ao seu arraigo en espazos xeográficos concretos; e, por outra banda, trátase da literatura francófona, que presenta unha longa e prolífica tradición no estudo das IX desde conceptos coma o de *terroir* ou o de Sistemas Agroalimentarios Localizados (normalmente coas siglas SYAL). Tras moitas reviravoltas, tratando de dar sentido a todo o material que obtivera co traballo de fin de mestrado, logrei a publicación do meu primeiro artigo académico centrado no caso do pemento de Herbón, que ten como marco teórico, precisamente, estas dúas tradicións —detalladas asemade no subapartado 1.2 desta mesma introdución—.

Unha vez acadado o primeiro fito, xa tocaba despegar. Deixar atrás a experiencia propia e situarme alén, cruzar a liña do doméstico e comezar a ver mundo. Con esa ambición por viaxar e coñecer, con moita enerxía e ilusión tras os encerros da Covid-19, comecei a percorrer outros espazos rurais do planeta. Pechei o portátil e os *papers* que lía tras a pantalla transformáronse en paisaxes concretas: en eidos, pastos e montañas. As

[1] O proxecto «Highlands.3» denomínase oficialmente «*Collective Approach of Research and Innovation for Sustainable Development in Highland*». Financiado polo H2020 EXCELLENT SCIENCE - Marie-Vivien Skłodowska-Curie da Unión Europea, ten como doi 10.3030/872328. Máis información en https://www.highlands3.eu/

teorías e ideas dos textos trocaron en voces, de mulleres e homes, testemuñas directas das persoas que habitaban eses contextos diversos. A tese converteuse daquela nunha chea de lugares, de persoas e das historias que estas compartían comigo. Tamén se materializou nos riquísimos alimentos que me ofrecían: queixos, aceites, carnes, froitas, chocolates, cafés e até algún destilado... (táboa 1).

Do pemento de Herbón pasei ao, xa fichado como caso de estudo, queixo do Cebreiro. E, de alí, grazas ao proxecto Highlands.3, un pouco por carambola, fun quen de atopar outra IX de queixos en Eslovenia que compartía co caso do Cebreiro o feito de contar con moi poucos produtores inscritos. Ese feito permitiume realizar unha análise comparativa para afondar nas dinámicas desas IX máis diminutas, cuestión á que lle dediquei o segundo dos artigos contidos na tese de doutoramento.

Un bo día, nun deses intres nos que a lectura de artigos ou a redacción de textos para a tese se me facía moi pesada, por referirme de maneira elegante que estaba a procrastinar, tiven a sorte de encontrarme en internet perante unha nova que falaba dunha IX transfronteiriza de aceite de oliva na península de Istria, compartida entre Croacia e Eslovenia. Emocionado, rápido comprobei da súa existencia na base de datos eAmbrosia,[2] e decateime de que existían algunhas outras IX semellantes na UE. Deseguido, informei o meu director, que, precisamente traballa moito en Estudos fronteirizos (*Border Studies*), cuxa expresión maioritaria é en lingua inglesa. Non tiña previsto tratar un tema tan peculiar, mais a relación entre IX e fronteiras resultaba demasiado novidosa e interesante como para pasala por alto. Polo que levaba lido, ninguén antes estudara nada nesta dirección precisa. E aí fomos nós, co que deveu o terceiro da tese de doutoramento. Neste caso, tiven o apoio para a tradución e revisión do texto do proxecto competitivo de ámbito español que está a dirixir o meu director no trienio setembro de 2022-agosto de 2025.[3] Deste xeito, fun abandonando a concepción inicial da tese de cinguirme nos casos galegos e, aos poucos, concibín unha abordaxe a escala mundial. Dalgún xeito, expreso cartograficamente este tránsito no mapa co que pecho este subapartado 1.1.

Para rematar a miña tese, en calquera caso, quería —tal e como xa imaxinara desde un inicio— analizar algún caso de estudo no Perú. Desde que fora alí de viaxe a miña irmá coa miña curmá, gardara en mente a amplísima diversidade de produtos agrarios que o país andino acubilla. Porén, cando comecei a procurar algunha institución peruana na que candidatarme a unha mobilidade exterior no programa FPU, non dei con ningunha que se axustase ao marco da miña investigación. Tiven así que mudar o meu obxectivo, e acabei dirixíndoo a Ecuador onde, grazas aos contactos que un fai nos congresos internacionais, sabía que me poderían recibir. Casualidades da vida, pouco antes de comezar a planificar a miña viaxe a terras latinoamericanas, tiven un último xiro de sorte. Cando estaba a traballar coa miña nai de expositor da nosa marmelada de pementos, na Semana Verde de Silleda en 2023 atopeime cun amigo da Axencia Galega de Calidade

[2] eAmbrosia —nomeada en referencia do mitolóxico manxar de deuses grego— é a base de datos de IX oficial da Unión Europea (*eAmbrosia - Union Register of Geographical Indications*).

[3] «De la cooperación transfronteriza a la interautonómica: retos y oportunidades para la organización territorial de España. Aprendizajes en la frontera hispano-portuguesa» (TRANSINTER-A), código PID2021-126922NB-C22. Financiado polo ministerio español pertinente (en orixe, o de Ciencia e Innovación; logo, o de Ciencia, Innovación e Universidades), a Axencia Estatal de Investigación (doi: 10.13039/501100011033) e o FEDER «Un xeito de facer Europa».

Alimentaria (AGACAL), institución chave nesta tese de doutoramento[4]; despois de preguntarme como ía coa miña tese, informoume que, casualmente, acababa de coñecer unha consultora peruana que traballaba no tema das IX. Así que contactei con ela e, de novo grazas á posibilidade de financiarme con Highands.3, puiden desenvolver unha investigación maior do que tiña previsto en Latinoamérica. Até cinco casos de estudo puiden investigar nesta rexión do mundo. Sumados ao pemento, o queixo galego e mais o esloveno, e os produtos transfronteirizos, xuntei un total de 12 IX (táboa 1 e figura 3).

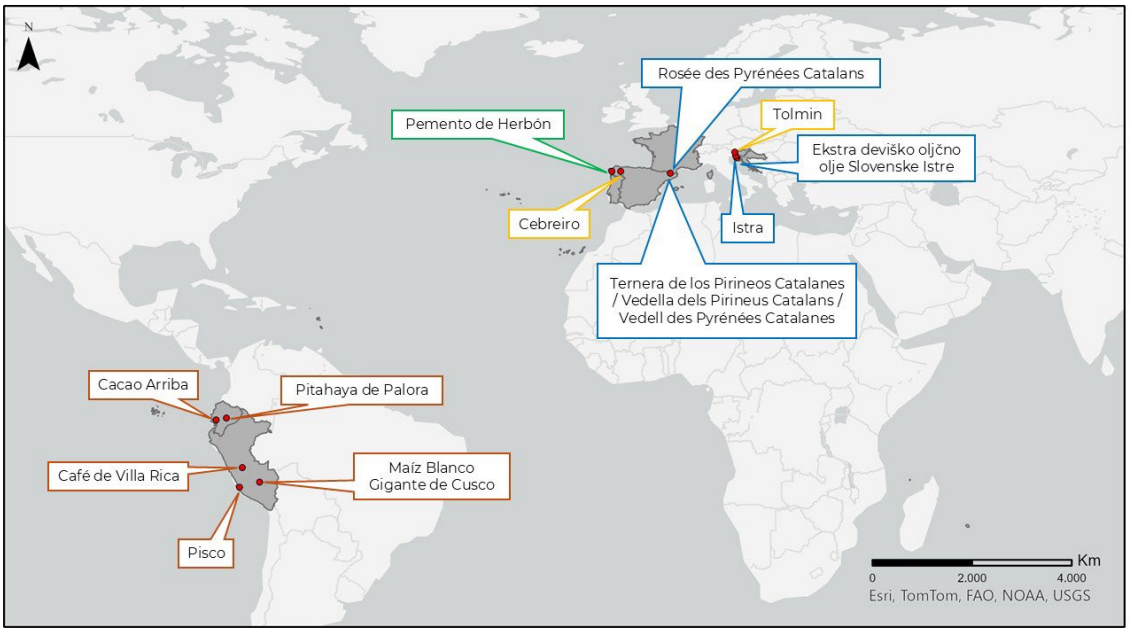
Táboa 1. As IX analizadas, por orde de estudo cronolóxica. Fonte: Elaboración propia.

Nome Oficial	Tipo de produto	País	Ano de aprobación	Ano no que se efectuou o traballo de campo
Pemento de Herbón	Hortaliza	España	2009	2020
Tolminc	Queixo	Eslovenia	2012	2021
Ekstra deviško oljčno olje Slovenske Istre	Aceite de oliva	Eslovenia	2004	2021
Istra	Aceite de oliva	Eslovenia / Croacia	2019	2021
Cebreiro	Queixo	España	2004	2022
Ternera de los Pirineos Catalanes / Vedella dels Pirineus Catalans / Vedell des Pyrénées Catalanes	Vitela	Francia / España	2016	2022
Rosée des Pyrénées Catalanes	Vitela	Francia / España	2016	2022
Café de Villa Rica	Café	Perú	2010	2023
Pisco	Augardente	Perú	1990	2023
Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco	Cereal	Perú	2005	2023
Cacao Arriba	Cacao	Ecuador	2009	2023
Pitahaya de Palora	Froita	Ecuador	2018	2023

[4] A AGACAL é a institución pública dependente da Xunta de Galicia encargada, a través da súa sección de calidade alimentaria, de brindar apoio, supervisar e coordinar todas as IX existentes no territorio galego, así como de mediar en novas aplicacións (Calidade alimentaria | AGACAL). O vencello coa persoa referida que traballa nesta institución nace do proceso de creación da DOP Pemento de Herbón. Desde entón, mantivera un contacto estreito con meus pais e cando estes lle dixeron que ía facer unha investigación sobre o pemento e outras IX, rapidamente amosou interese no meu traballo. Deste xeito, non só facilitou o contacto referido no texto, senón que tamén documentos institucionais internos sobre o proceso de aplicación da IX do pemento.

En total, botei máis de nove meses fóra da casa, entre estadías facilitadas polo proxecto Highlands.3 (en Francia, Eslovenia, Austria, Arxentina e Perú) e outras fontes de financiamento que tiven ao meu alcance, como foron o programa Iacobus (un mes na Universidade do Porto) e as axudas á mobilidade do programa FPU (dous meses na Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales FLACSO Ecuador). Nestas viaxes, fóra da casa (figura 3), descubrín unha grande multitude de realidades diferentes da miña, moi relevantes en materia de IX, mais tamén en termos de Xeografía rural ou, aínda máis amplamente, de Xeografía. Achei moitas cousas que me pareceron comúns, experiencias paralelas que non dubidaba en compartir con miña nai: «Mira, aquí no Pireneo os produtores de vitela tamén me dixeron que a Denominación de Orixe era a súa única vía para sobrevivir nos mercados»; ou «en Eslovenia houbo unha empresa que quixo rexistrar Tolmin como marca, como nos pasou a nós, e por iso se lanzaron pola IX»; e tamén «os produtores de Ica quéixanse, igual que diciades vós, de que a súa IX para o Pisco é demasiado extensa e cobre territorios que non teñen a tradición na elaboración do destilado...». «Ao final pásanos a todos igual, sexa aquí ou alá é a mesma cousa, éche ben certo...», contestábame sempre. Coñecer outros produtores, ás veces de tan lonxe, que gozaban ou padecían situacións semellantes á nosa foi case unha catarse. Implicou retomar todas as lembranzas que viviramos en carne propia e pasar a velos desde outro prisma máis colectivo.

Figura 3. Mapa de localización dos casos de estudo. Fonte: Elaboración propia.



Con toda esa acumulación de coñecementos, no entanto, desbotei a idea de facer unha tese que procurase unha comparación entre os casos. Había moitas cousas que identificaba como tópicos comúns, si, mais todas as experiencias das que aprendía dicíanme que esas situacións eran indisolubles dos seus territorios. En cada lugar as persoas tiñan as súas propias perspectivas e visións en relación con cadansúas IX, e todas eran válidas e de interese. O meu obxectivo non debía ser o de chegar ao lugar, tomar unha serie de notas, e *a posteriori* dicir quen o facía mellor ou peor e en que casos se obtivera un maior grao de desenvolvemento rural. Era consciente, en fin, de que esta é unha investigación cualitativa, que non procura grandes xeralizacións. Amais, xa se levaran a cabo dous

proxectos europeos[5] con eses obxectivos de analizar e avaliar as condicións de éxito para unha IX. Non se trataba de meramente replicalos en forma de tese de doutoramento.

Decateime de que pagaba máis a pena tomar toda esa diversidade coma un fin en si mesmo, e expoñer así a riqueza e as múltiples facetas baixo as que as IX podían operar. Demostrar que tras unha serie de cuestións eminentemente xeográficas —construción de escala, gobernanza multinivel, etc.—, residían unhas realidades moi complexas que cumpría identificar, analizar e discutir para mellorar a comprensión deste tipo de figuras desde a esfera académica, pública e política. Isto respondía a preguntas tales como as seguintes: «baixo que lóxicas se constrúe a escala nunha IX e quen fica detrás dela(s)?», «como de importantes son os límites institucionais que permean as ideas de *terroir*?», «operan as IX igual en todos os contextos institucionais?» ou «que pasa coas producións máis cativas en termos económicos?». Todas estas eran preguntas pertinentes para calquera persoa que se situase ante a necesidade de involucrarse nalgún proxecto de IX. Porén, nada diso parecía claro na bibliografía que precisamente estudaba o asunto. Pagaba a pena, polo tanto, esclarecer as múltiples arestas xeográficas que as conforman.

O deseño da tese como compilación de artigos permitía focalizarme nalgunhas destas cuestións sobre outras dunha maneira sintética. Por exemplo, o caso do Pemento de Herbón, co seu baile co nome Padrón, resultaba especialmente acaído por si só para analizar en maior profundidade as múltiples escalas sobre as que se podía construír (e discutir) unha IX. Mentres, os casos transfronteirizos, postos baixo o mesmo balanzo, representaban un marco moi interesante para pescudar até que punto resultaban importantes os límites institucionais preexistentes na configuración espacial de toda IX. Mais, en todo caso, os distintos artigos realizados seguiron unha liña partillada: a análise dos procesos de construción e de xestión das IX desde unha perspectiva xeográfica. Así, na sección 5 deste documento, preséntase unha discusión na que se poñen en común todos os casos de estudo individuais, sometidos ás mesmas chaves xeográficas xerais que permiten analizar as presentes e calquera outra IX de maneira sistemática.

No presente limiar non quería deixar de expresar a miña visión máis persoal, de dicir que esta tese foi moito máis que o que as palabras que veñen agora recollen. As páxinas que fican a continuación profundan na dimensión académica deste longo camiño de máis de máis de catro anos. Creo convencido que, alén da experiencia persoal, este traballo representa un avance na comprensión das IX en calquera que sexa o seu contexto rexional. Penso que sistematizar, baixo unha óptica xeográfica, os múltiples factores baixo os que se constrúen e operan este tipo de dispositivos pode contribuír a mellorar os deseños e aplicacións das políticas que as sosteñen. Uns deseños e manexos que fagan das IX ferramentas verdadeiramente útiles para as persoas e os territorios onde se apliquen. Coido, en fin, que paga a pena incidir na tautoloxía de situar a reflexión xeográfica no centro das IX.

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[5] Estes dous proxectos aparecen referidos no epígrafe 1.2.2 desta introdución.

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1.2. ESTADO DA CUESTIÓN

1.2.1. Definición de partida do concepto de Indicación Xeográfica

No fundamental, unha Indicación Xeográfica (IX) consiste no recoñecemento formal dun nome ou signo utilizado para identificar produtos que posúen unha reputación e/ou unhas calidades específicas derivadas da súa orixe xeográfica particular (Tregear et al., 1998; Sylvander et al., 2011). Trátase, en esencia, dun concepto xurídico que ten como fin a protección do vencello que se establece entre un produto e o territorio que se considera que o fai distintivo (Fonte, 2008; Trubek, 2008). Isto lévase a cabo mediante unha serie de normas que regulan o uso deste tipo de signos, pautan os seus métodos de produción e delimitan o seu ámbito xeográfico (Barham, 2003; Pouzenc et al., 2007).

O concepto de IX fica suxeito a diversas definicións e interpretacións, polo que existen multitude de normativas e figuras que a desenvolven, tales como as Denominacións de Orixe Protexidas (DOP) e Indicacións Xeográficas Protexidas (IXP) na Unión Europea ou as clásicas *Appellations d'Origine Contrôlée* en Francia. Cada unha delas conta cunha definición legal propia, unha énfase variable na xénese xeográfica destes produtos e unha protección legal máis ou menos estrita. Hai países que definen as IX segundo unhas normativas específicas, mentres que outros as consideran baixo leis convencionais de propiedade industrial e/ou de marcas e nomes comerciais (O'Connor e Kireeva, 2009; Marie-Vivien e Biénabe, 2017; Gangjee; 2017). Algunhas destas normativas só recoñecen produtos vitivinícolas dentro das posibilidades do réxime de IX, mentres outras esténdeno a todo tipo de produtos alimentarios, e algunhas mesmo inclúen as artesanías. Algunhas prohiben calquera tipo de imitación ou evocación da IX en cuestión, mentres que outras normas só impiden a súa utilización enganosa para designar outros produtos. Así e todo, a definición máis globalmente aceptada e integradora para as IX é a seguinte, contida no artigo 22 do Acordo sobre os Dereitos de Propiedade Intelectual relacionados co Comercio (ADPIC):

> [Enténdense por IX as] indicacións que identifiquen un produto como orixinario do territorio dun Membro ou dunha rexión ou localidade dese territorio, cando determinada calidade, reputación ou outra característica do produto sexa imputable fundamentalmente á súa orixe xeográfica. ([Organización Mundial do Comercio], 1994: 9; tradución propia).

Do mesmo xeito que no ADPIC, na presente tese considerouse oportuno facer uso da palabra «Indicación Xeográfica» como un termo abranguinte que permite incluír baixo o seu paraugas as distintas figuras legais que se analizaron esta tese, isto é, DOP e IXP nos casos europeos e, como se verá no lugar oportuno páxinas adiante, Denominacións de Orixe en Perú e en Ecuador. Ademais, IX é o nome ou acrónimo empregado na maioría de publicacións académicas enfocadas nesta materia. Por outra banda, neste traballo decidiuse considerar só produtos agroalimentarios (incluíndo os viños e as bebidas espirituosas dentro deste conxunto), ao tratarse do tipo de produtos que representan a inmensa maioría de IX recoñecidas no mundo.

1.2.2. Sistemática da investigación en IX

Se alguén procura a palabra IX ou algunha outra similar nun motor de procura de artigos científicos, tipo Google Scholar ou Web of Science, observará que estes devolven milleiros de resultados. A maioría dos estudos que aparecen consisten en investigacións encadradas nas Ciencias Naturais, na Química e na Edafoloxía. Neles, fundamentalmente estúdanse os compoñentes fisicoquímicos de certos alimentos con IX, co fin de

determinar se existen algunhas características na súa composición que se relacionen co medio xeográfico no que se producen.

Estes traballos de laboratorio, aínda que a primeira vista poden verse como investigacións técnicas e asépticas, con frecuencia teñen o propósito de determinar se o alimento procede —ou non— da zona delimitada e así evitar o fraude. É o caso de Alda et al. (2012), Amenta et al. (2015) ou Moncayo et al. (2016). Isto é relevante, pois, malia que poidan constituír artigos científica e tecnicamente impecables, resulta evidente que non se poden desvencellar do seu contexto social, cultural, ideolóxico, etc., en definitiva, humano.

Por outra banda, ao procurar artigos producidos en materia de IX, atopamos tamén publicacións en Ciencias Sociais e Humanas, aínda que menos. Estas achegas adoitan facer énfase en cuestións relacionadas coas políticas públicas que sosteñen as IX e en diferentes aspectos polos que poden contribuír ao desenvolvemento rural. Dentro deste bloque podemos distinguir até tres enfoques principais baixo os que se encadran os estudos, tal e como se recolle na táboa 2.

Táboa 2. Bloques de investigacións en IX segundo o campo académico. Fonte: Elaboración propia.

Campo académico	Temas de investigación	Autor(es) e ano
Dereito	Discusión do rol do Estado no proceso de rexistro de IX de café en Colombia e Kenya	Barjolle et al. (2017)
	Exame comparativo dos procesos de institucionalización das IX para o Basmati (India) e o Rooibos (Sudáfrica) atendendo ás regulacións propias de cada Estado	Biénabe e Marie-Vivien (2017)
Economía	Cuantificación do valor engadido para o sector agrario dos produtos con IX en Italia	Cei et al. (2018)
	Capacidade das IX para promoveren o desenvolvemento económico analizando indicadores como o PIB e a taxa de emprego dos concellos rurais de Italia posuidores dalgunha figura deste tipo	Crescenzi et al. (2021)
Socioloxía/ Antropoloxía/ Xeografía	Análise das dinámicas de tres procesos de cualificación de produtos rexionais en Italia e Inglaterra baixo selo de IX, atendendo ás motivacións e estratexias dos actores implicados e mais aos seus impactos en termos de desenvolvemento rural	Tregear et al. (2007)
	Análise da incrustación territorial da produción do queixo Comté en Francia seguindo as estratexias dos actores involucrados na súa cadea de valor	Bowen (2011)

A escala de análise dos traballos en Ciencias Sociais e Humanas tamén varía enormemente. Algúns estudos empregan un enfoque macro-escalar para, por exemplo, comparar as lexislacións e os contextos institucionais de diferentes países que contan con algún sistema de IX —é o caso de Barjolle et al. (2017) ou Marie-Vivien e Biénabe (2017)—, ou ben analizar o impacto económico das IX en países enteiros (Cei, 2018; Crescenzi et al., 2021) e mesmo a nivel da UE (Stranieri et al., 2023). Outros, en cambio, céntranse en análises micro-escalares para abordar, desde unha perspectiva sociolóxica-antropolóxica, os impactos das IX nos territorios nos que se insiren, por exemplo, Bowen (2011) e Demossier (2011).

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Cómpre destacar que as publicacións nesta materia no campo das Ciencias Sociais e Humanas proliferaron a partir da aprobación do primeiro regulamento europeo relativo a IX, o CEE 2081/92 ([Consello das Comunidades Europeas], 1992), o cal presentou estas figuras coma un instrumento útil para o desenvolvemento económico e social das áreas rurais europeas, tal e como indican Pacciani et al. (2001) e Allaire et al. (2005).[6] En efecto, a propia UE financiou dous grandes proxectos de investigación que combinaron as distintas aproximacións das Ciencias Sociais e Humanas ás IX baixo un enfoque multidisciplinar cos obxectivos de: a) mellorar a comprensión das IX en diferentes contextos económico-institucionais; e b) avanzar un marco analítico xeral para avaliar o seu grao de éxito a nivel individual.

O primeiro deles foi o DOLPHINS («*Development of Origin Labelled Products: Humanity, Innovation and Sustainability*»), que se executou entre os anos 2000 e 2004 baixo a coordinación de Bertil Sylvander, membro do INRA francés,[7] e que deu lugar a destacados traballos como o de Allaire et al. (2005) e Tregear et al. (2007) nos que se comparaban distintos casos de estudo entre varios países da UE. O segundo deles, o proxecto SINER-GI («*Strengthening International Research on Geographical Indications: from Research Foundation to Consistent Policy*») executouse deseguido, tomando a testemuña do primeiro, entre os anos 2005 e 2008. Desa quenda, o proxecto ficou baixo a dirección de Gilles Allaire, tamén membro do INRA, e ampliou a pesquisa a contextos de fóra da UE. Estoutro resultou en artigos de alto impacto coma Barjolle et al. (2009) e Mancini (2013), así como en libros referentes na materia tales coma Giovannucci et al. (2009) e Vandecandelaere et al. (2009). Moitos autores que formaron parte destas experiencias continúan a súa estela, a través de equipos de traballo e titorías a novos académicos que suman numerosas contribucións ao longo da última década.

En España, pola súa banda, tamén existen proxectos de investigación que analizan a contribución das IX ao desenvolvemento rural. Neste caso, o máis recente, liderado por xeógrafos e coordinado entre varias equipas, é o SAMUTER («*Sistemas Agroalimentarios Multifuncionales y Territorializados en España*»), que analizou, entre outras, as IX de porco ibérico (Silva et al., 2023), os viños de Castela e León (Alario et al., 2020) ou o caso específico da IX Rueda (Baraja et al., 2020).

1.2.3. Principais vantaxes das IX segundo a bibliografía

Unha gran maioría das contribucións desenvolvidas sobre as IX son laudatorias, polo que corresponde aquí revisar en que sentido(s). De entrada, a principal finalidade subliñada para toda IX é a de brindar unha protección legal aos produtos aos que fan referencia. En efecto, unha IX constitúe unha ferramenta que intervén o mercado de maneira que permite denegar o rexistro de patentes e marcas a terceiros que tenten aproveitarse da súa reputación e, asemade, outorga medios xurídicos para loitar contra imitacións, fraudes e outro tipo de prácticas desleais que incorran en enganos respecto da verdadeira orixe e da autenticidade destes tipo de produtos (Barham, 2003; Giovannucci et al., 2009; Sylvander et al., 2011; Teil, 2017). Polo tanto, as IX considéranse unha forma de propiedade intelectual de base territorial, que confire os dereitos de uso dos nomes e/ou signos que se empregan para asociar estes produtos ao territorio no que se producen (Tregear et al., 1998; Sylvander e Barham, 2011). Alégase así que constitúen un ben colectivo e intransferible, que teoricamente non pertence a ningunha persoa física ou xurídica en concreto, senón ao territorio no que se forxou a reputación e o carácter único

[6] O contexto político no que se deu este regulamento detallarase máis adiante no apartado 2.

[7] Institución de referencia en estudos agrarios e rurais, cuxas siglas son de *Institut national de la recherche agronomique*. En 2020 foi renomeado ao unirse con outro instituto. Deveu daquela INRAE (*Institut national de recherche pour l'agriculture, l'alimentation et l'environnement*).

do produto que se recoñece como IX (Barham, 2003; Dagne, 2010; Marie-Vivien e Biénabe, 2017). A partir desta protección outorgada existen, como se detalla no seguintes parágrafos, numerosos argumentos que xustifican os beneficios de dispoñer dun instrumento legal deste tipo.

En primeiro lugar, a maioría das normativas —por exemplo, o Regulamento CEE 2081/92 ([Consello das Comunidades Europeas], 1992)— que regulan as IX aducen elas mesmas a súa utilidade para satisfacer os dereitos dos consumidores a recibir información verdadeira sobre a autenticidade, a calidade e as especificidades territoriais dos produtos aos que fan referencia. Ao respecto, numerosos autores (entre eles, Giovannucci et al., 2009 e Cei et al., 2018) invocan a teoría de Arkelof (1970) sobre o problema da «asimetría de información» entre produtores e consumidores. Exposta de maneira sintética, esta teoría refire que, nunha transacción comercial, os consumidores nunca poden acadar o mesmo nivel de coñecemento que os produtores sobre a calidade dun produto. Baixo esta premisa, arguméntase que as IX —en tanto que produción recoñecidas e supervisadas institucionalmente— actúan a xeito de garantía ou de estándar de calidade, de xeito que permiten reducir a incerteza nos consumidores sobre as calidades dos produtos aos que fan referencia. Polo tanto, ao facilitarlles información sobre a orixe e os métodos de produción do alimento, posibilitan xerar confianza nos consumidores. Desta forma, eríxense como unha ferramenta útil que pode axudalos na súa toma de decisións respecto á hora da compra do produto (Krystallis et al., 2017). Dada esta capacidade para actuaren como vectores de confianza entre cliente e produtor, Renting et al. (2003), Benkahla et al. (2005) e Tregear et al. (2004, 2016), apuntan que as IX son una fórmula especialmente eficiente para transmitir as calidades relativas á orixe dun produto nos mercados distantes, onde este tipo de información dificilmente se podería trasladar doutros xeitos.

En segundo lugar, as IX tamén se consideran moi válidas como apoio para sustentar as rendas dos produtores. Ao perseguiren as fraudes e vetaren as imitacións, permiten a quen fica tras a produción destes produtos reter o valor engadido que resulta froito da súa reputación (Barham, 2003; Tregear et al., 2016; Belletti et al., 2017b). Asemade, se retomamos a teoría de Akerlof (1970), a capacidade das IX para informaren sobre a orixe e a calidade de certos alimentos pode levar a que os clientes se dispoñan a pagar máis polas súas características especiais (Fonte, 2017; Krystallis et al., 2017; Vandecandelaere, 2020). Este razoamento tamén coincide coa tese de diferenciación nos mercados, que argumenta que as IX facilitan aos seus produtores distinguirse de artigos convencionais similares, o que lles permite escapar das dinámicas mercantilistas dominantes e outorgarlles maior liberdade para marcar uns prezos superiores respecto dos seus homólogos xenéricos (Barham, 2003; Tregear et al., 2007; Giovannucci et al., 2009).

Así, Kizos e Vakoufaris (2011) e Vergamini et al. (2019) consideran así que as IX permiten xerar fenómenos de nicho de mercado. Deste xeito, cunha menor competitividade aparente, os produtores poden comercializar mellor estes produtos. De maneira similar, autores como Goodman (2004) e Unwin (2022) explican que as IX, ao faceren fincapé nos elementos territoriais —de carácter endóxeno e polo tanto inimitable— que determinan a calidade do alimento, xeran un efecto de escaseza que pode trasladarse en rendas monopolísticas de carácter territorial.

Barham (2003), Bowen (2011) e Crescenzi et al. (2024), entre outros, argumentan que a diferenciación outorgada polas IX resulta especialmente beneficiosa para as produción agrícolas máis pequenas, remotas e menos rendibles. Estas, doutro xeito, non poderían competir coas grandes produción que gozan de fortes investimentos e de economías de escala. En efecto, Parrott et al. (2002) e Kizos e Vakoufaris (2009), entre outros, amosan que a maioría das IX aprobadas en Europa se sitúan en rexións economicamente «atrasadas», como pode ser o caso de moitas áreas montañosas (Forney and Häberli,

2014; Santini et al., 2015). Dous casos paradigmáticos neste senso son os queixos Parmiggiano Reggiano (De Roest e Menghi, 2000) e Comté (Torre, 2006; Bowen, 2011). Neles, as súas respectivas IX permitiron manter un tecido numeroso de pequenos produtores artesanais grazas aos elevados prezos dos seus queixos.

En terceiro e último lugar, as IX xustifícanse polos beneficios que poden estender ao conxunto dos territorios no que se insiren, de xeito que se dan fomentado e/ou favorecido dinámicas de desenvolvemento rural. En efecto, alén do impacto económico para os produtores dentro deses mesmos territorios, as IX considéranse ferramentas que poden xerar outra serie de externalidades positivas adicionais, entre as que se inclúen fenómenos de innovación, diversificación económica e de preservación de bens territoriais. Deste xeito entran, polo tanto, na tese da multifuncionalidade da agricultura (Barjolle et al., 2011; Belletti e Marescotti, 2011; Sylvander et al., 2011).

Por unha banda, no que respecta á innovación, Sanz e Macías (2005) e Raimondi et al. (2024) afirman que as IX fortalecen a coordinación dos actores ao longo da cadea alimentaria, de xeito que permiten difundir coñecementos, prácticas e tecnoloxías en materia de calidade alimentaria que favorecen a competitividade económica da rexión —como pode ser, por exemplo, na industria de bens de equipo (Raimondi et al., 2024)—. Por outra banda, alégase que a fama ou a valorización dunha determinada IX pode contribuír á construción de marca e/ou á promoción da súa rexión (Sylvander e Barham, 2011; Forney e Häberli, 2016; Tregear et al., 2016), de xeito que transmita beneficios ás actividades produtivas interrelacionadas —desenvolvendo produtos que se aproveiten da reputación da IX (Giovannucci et al., 2009)— ou a outras como o turismo.

No que respecto do turismo, os elementos patrimoniais e as paisaxes ás que moitas IX fican aparelladas, tamén representan recursos valiosos para atraeren visitantes (Giovannucci et al., 2009; Bessière, 2011, 2013; Lois et al., 2012; Marcoz et al., 2016). Deste xeito, poden producirse dinámicas de retroalimentación positivas nas que, ao mesmo tempo, os turistas, que acoden para lecer da paisaxe, contribúen ao sostemento das actividades agrarias mediante a compra dos produtos con IX (McMorran et al., 2015; Pachoud et al., 2020).

No entanto, alén destas valoracións económicas, enténdese que as IX tamén contribúen ao desenvolvemento rural pola súa capacidade para preservaren estes recursos territoriais como un ben en si mesmo. Isto acontece, por exemplo, grazas polo pautado duns determinados métodos de produción e de ser quen de manter as actividades agrarias no territorio, de xeito que se acha que poden contribuír a preservar certos elementos —como saberes-faceres, receitas e outras tradicións— que poden chegar a considerarse patrimonios para o lecer e o sentido de identidade das persoas que habitan eses territorios rurais (Vandecandelaere et al., 2009; 2018; Bessière, 2013; Belletti et al., 2015).

Do mesmo xeito, arguméntase que as IX son útiles para conservar recursos naturais, como variedades xenéticas autóctonas —de plantas, animais, etc.— que foran desprazadas fronte as opcións máis rendibles (Belletti et al., 2015, 2017b; Dutfield, 2017), así como tamén para manteren a calidade e a biodiversidade dos ecosistemas agrarios (Sanz e Macías, 2005; Lamarque e Lambin, 2015). En consecuencia, cóidase que as IX poden salvagardar paisaxes, saberes e prácticas tradicionais que, depositarios de valores patrimoniais, conformen parte do sentido de pertenza e da identidade colectiva dos habitantes da rexión na que se atopan (Sonnino, 2007; Demossier, 2011; Bessière, 2013; Dutfield, 2017; Fonte, 2017).

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1.2.4. Perspectivas anglófonas: redes agroalimentarias alternativas e a noción de *embeddedness*

A partir dos anos 1990 xurdiu, dentro da tradición anglófona[8] dos *Food Studies* propia de Reino Unido e dos Estados Unidos, unha corrente de investigación que, preocupada polas consecuencias negativas do réxime agroalimentario convencional (degradación ambiental, crises sanitarias, desvinculación dos lugares de produción e de consumo dos alimentos, etc.), comezou a prestar atención ás distintas iniciativas e prácticas agroalimentarias que estaban a proliferar nas súas marxes (Ilbery e Kneafsey, 2000; Tregear, 2011; Goodman et al., 2012). Entre elas, por exemplo, situábanse as produciónsorgánicas, os mercados campesiños, as coñecidas como *box schemes*, etc. (Sánchez-Hernández, 2009; Goodman et al., 2012).

Este conxunto diverso de abordaxes etiquetouse baixo o título de *Alternative Food Networks* (AFN), ou Redes Agroalimentarias Alternativas, coa premisa de que todas estas modalidades tratan, en maior ou menor medida, de distanciarse das lóxicas produtivistas e mercantilistas que dominan a cadea de produción, distribución e consumo de alimentos na procura dunhas condicións máis xustas e sustentables (Feagan, 2007; Goodman et al., 2012; Paül e Haslam Mckenzie, 2013). Así, dentro deste movemento cobrou forza a idea do «xiro á calidade» (Ilbery e Kneafsey, 2000; Murdoch et al., 2000; Goodman, 2003, 2004) como xeito de expresar que, nestas AFN, as relacións de produción-consumo aparecen mediadas por unha serie de valores sociais, ambientais, sanitarios, culturais, etc. que se sitúan en oposición ao paradigma agroindustrial cuxas máximas son a redución de custes e o aumento da produtividade (Parrott et al., 2002; Barham, 2003; Feagan, 2007; Paül e Haslam Mckenzie, 2013).

Entre todos estes valores de calidade cobrou grande importancia o espazo xeográfico. En primeiro lugar, porque se recoñeceu a proximidade espacial como un xeito de reconectar produtores e consumidores na cadea alimentaria (Renting et al., 2003; Tregear et al., 2011). En segundo termo, porque se reivindicou o «local», entendido como espazo próximo e coñecido, pola súa capacidade para brindar información sobre a orixe dos produtos agroalimentarios, tecer relacións de confianza entre produtores e consumidores e acubillar unhas prácticas máis sostibles nas relacións de produción-consumo de alimentos (Hinrichs, 2003; Feagan, 2007; Moragues e Sonnino, 2012; Mckitterick, 2016). Deste xeito, múltiples autores encadraron as IX no conxunto das AFN precisamente pola súa capacidade para brindaren información sobre o «onde» e o «como» se producen os alimentos que se recoñecen baixo estas figuras (Renting et al., 2003; Goodman, 2004; Feagan, 2007; Sánchez-Hernández, 2009; Tregear, 2011). Nunha cita moi referenciada, Barham (2003: 129) expresou o seguinte en relación coas IX: «teñen o potencial para volver a vincular as produciónscos aspectos sociais, culturais e ambientais de lugares particulares, permitindo distinguir estes produtos daqueles outros anónimos, producidos en masa» (tradución propia).

Baixo este paradigma recorreuse ao concepto de *embeddedness*, que orixinalmente se empregara no campo da Socioloxía para explicar que os mercados e calquera relación económica se atopan imbuídos en prácticas sociais (Granovetter, 1985; Hinrichs, 2003; Guthman, 2007), co obxectivo de analizar as relacións de produción-consumo de alimentos dentro dun ámbito xeográfico-territorial específico. É dicir, comezou a

[8] Cómpre anotar, no entanto, que, malia que frecuentemente os construtos teóricos que se van estudar neste epígrafe 1.2.4 se sitúen dentro dun contexto anglófono, co paso do tempo, callaron tamén noutros contextos como o francés. É o caso das AMAP (*Associations pour le maintien de l'agriculture paysanne*), das *boutiques de producteurs* ou das moedas locais (Deverre e Lamine, 2010; Houdart, 2021). En España, rexístrase a súa adopción en traballos tales como Sánchez-Hernández (2009) ou Paül e Haslam McKenzie (2013).

empregarse para examinar, dun xeito relacional, os procesos polos cales unha AFN chegaba a diferenciarse das producións convencionais e a «re-conectarse» coa súa realidade xeográfica máis inmediata, incluíndo na análise o rol da natureza (Murdoch et al., 2000; Marsden, 2010; Morris e Kirwan, 2011) e da cultura (Sonnino, 2007; Bowen, 2010; Matacena e Corvo, 2020) propias de cada contexto no que se producían os alimentos. Deste xeito, a noción de *embeddedness* tornouse máis ampla e complexa ao tomar en conta non só as relacións sociais, senón tamén os factores ambientais, culturais, etc. que se entrelazaban nas interaccións económicas producidas dentro das AFN sobre un espazo dado (Sonnino e Marsden, 2006; Bowen, 2011; Moragues e Sonnino, 2012).

Con esta nova perspectiva territorial[9], o enfoque gañou unha notable capacidade analítica para explorar criticamente as dinámicas de construción de valor e de diferenciación dentro das AFN. Deste xeito puido poñerse de manifesto que os actores implicados nestas redes mobilizaban distintos recursos territoriais de maneira activa, destacando uns sobre outros, co fin de crear unhas narrativas determinadas sobre as apreciacións de calidade ou a definición do ámbito «local» (Feagan, 2007; Forney e Häberli, 2014). Por exemplo, Sonnino (2007) partiu dunha epistemoloxía construtivista para explicar como, nunha pequena vila do sur da Toscana, os actores implicados mobilizaron un discurso que subliñaba unha —suposta— longa tradición do azafrán na localidade. Así, lograron crear un sentido de calidade e de autenticidade en torno a este cultivo co que foron quen de xerar valor engadido para a produción.

Dun xeito similar, seguindo o mesmo exemplo, Sonnino (2007) demostrou a existencia de tensións entre os distintos actores que se situaban ao redor da produción do azafrán cando se trataba de definir os límites do que se dá en considerar como «ámbito local». Para algúns membros da cooperativa, o «local» tiña que estenderse alén do concello núcleo da produción para poder ofertar un maior volume de produto. En cambio, para outros actores coma o goberno municipal, o ámbito local debía restrinxirse só ao propio concello coa idea de desenvolver de maneira paralela un proxecto turístico asociado á produción. Así, a noción de *embeddedness* tamén permitiu destacar que moitas veces os actores implicados nestes procesos contan con intereses contrapostos que poden entrar en conflito e xerar tensións no seo das AFN. Moragues e Sonnino (2012) e Forney e Häberli (2014) ofreceron interesantes contribucións nesta mesma liña, ao discutiren os variables significados do «local» en función dos actores implicados e das súas estratexias comerciais.

Estes exemplos subliñan o feito de que a escala local nas AFN non é unha entidade intrínseca e ontolóxica, senón construída, producida e suxeita a dinámicas de poder (Du Puis e Goodman, 2005; Born e Purcell, 2006; Kneafsey, 2010). De feito, os procesos de construción de escalas locais non deben entenderse como algo inherentemente positivo, pois poden agochar situacións de exclusión nas que simplemente se estean a reforzar determinadas elites locais ou posicións conservaduristas e/ou defensivas que non teñen por que procurar *per se* unha maior xustiza social e/ou ambiental (Hinrichs 2003; Winter, 2003; Du Puis e Goodman, 2005).

Por último, co fin de profundar nestas dinámicas de poder dentro das AFN, e de evitar interpretacións binarias entre o «local» e o «global» (Feagan, 2007; Mount, 2012; Forney e Häberli, 2014), o concepto de *embeddedness* tamén se estendeu alén do ámbito de análise micro ou «horizontal» no que se insiren as producións agrarias para incluír unha

[9] Outros autores coma van der Ploeg et al. (2012), Scheider et al. (2016) ou Grivins e Tisenkopfs (2018) empregan o concepto similar de *nested markets* no mesmo sentido que *embeddedness* para situar as AFN dentro dun contexto territorial máis amplo sobre o que conflúen multitude de factores de diversa índole. Lémbrese, en todo caso, que «territorial» non sempre aparece en inglés porque é un concepto moi privativo das linguas románicas, tal e como recentemente alertaron desde a Xeografía latinoamericana López-Sandoval et al. (2017).

mirada «vertical» (Sonnino e Marsden, 2006; Moragues e Sonnino, 2012). É dicir, esta noción analítica relacional refinouse unha vez máis para abranguer tamén as dinámicas de gobernanza e os factores institucionais que inflúen neste tipo de procesos (Sonnino e Marsden, 2006; Mount, 2012). Estas forzas institucionais, en efecto, moitas veces determinan o grao de éxito dalgunhas AFN en función do grao de apoio que brinden ou das restricións que impoñan para o seu desenvolvemento (Tregear, 2011; Sonnino, 2013; Mckitterick, 2016).

A mirada vertical resulta especialmente relevante no estudo das IX, pois trátase dunha modalidade de AFN estreitamente afectada polos múltiples regulamentos e políticas que se sitúan sobre elas a múltiples niveis (Bowen, 2011). Tal e como sinalan Barham (2003) e Trubek (2008), os procesos polos que unha IX se lexitima e recoñece institucional e socialmente non só se levan a cabo dentro dos territorios de produción, senón que, a través de múltiples niveis, van desde o local até o global. De feito, desde un punto de vista meramente económico, as IX atópanse imbricadas en redes de distribución e consumo que se estenden alén do ámbito local. Precisamente, moitas veces é o paso dos mercados locais aos extra-locais o que require dunha protección formal de determinados produtos a través da fórmula da IX (Benkahla et al., 2005; Bowen, 2011).

1.2.5. Perspectivas francófonas: o concepto de *terroir* e o enfoque dos Sistemas Agroalimentarios Territorializados

A partir dos anos 1980-1990 deuse no contexto francés —aínda que non fose exclusivo do país galo— un fenómeno que se deu en coñecer como a «*patrimonialisation de la campagne*», ou patrimonialización do campo (Barham 1997; Delfosse, 1997, 2011). Este desenvolveuse nun escenario de crecente globalización, no que se estaban a esvaecer as diferenzas entre as variadas paisaxes arquetípicas da campiña francesa (Delfosse e Bernard, 2007; Delfosse, 2012). Produciuse tamén nun ambiente de forte contestación social fronte á rápida transformación dos sistemas agroalimentarios, coa introdución de producións masivas e baratas que facían inviable a maioría das explotacións agrarias.

Neste contexto, as producións labregas, que aínda sobrevivían coma unha actividade economicamente marxinal, comezaron a ser vistas coma depositarias xenuínas das tradicións e as identidades do campo francés (Parrott et al., 2002; Barham, 2003; Fonte, 2008). Deste xeito, estas recoñecéronse como patrimonios singulares —propios e característicos de cada lugar— nos que as poboacións rurais se reflectían, o que favorecía a creación dun sentido de pertenza que reforzaba a súa identidade colectiva (Kizos e Vakoufaris, 2011; Bessière, 2013). Asemade, pasaron a recibir unha crecente atención por parte dos consumidores, da esfera política e da académica, da man de valores coma a «orixe» e a «autenticidade» (Delfosse e Bernard, 2007; Lamine, 2018). No entanto, sobre todo, esta valorización das producións labregas deveu identificada coa noción de *terroir* (Fonte, 2008; Demossier, 2011).

Cun longo percorrido na lingua e a cultura francesa, a palabra *terroir* é dificilmente traducible en todo o seu significado a outros idiomas. Refírese a determinadas áreas produtivas ou territorios agronómicos, dunhas dimensións máis ben modestas, que producen alimentos cunhas calidades únicas, distintivos organolepticamente doutros produtos similares, froito dos factores naturais e humanos que conflúen sobre estes espazos agrarios (Unwin, 1997, 2022; Trubek, 2008). Segundo autores como Barham (2003) e Delfosse (2012), o xurdimento das IX baseouse en boa medida nesta mesma noción.

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Con todo, a súa semántica é obxecto de disputa. Non existe un consenso sobre que tipo de factores forman parte ou non dun *terroir*. Desde a Xeoloxía soe defenderse unha interpretación estritamente agronómica (Unwin, 2022). Namentres, desde as Ciencias Sociais e Humanas e, dentro delas, a Xeografía (Moustier e Consales, 2007; Pouzenc et al., 2007; Demossier, 2011; Castelló, 2021; Unwin, 2022), habitualmente inclúense:

- aqueles factores de xénese natural, coma o tipo de solo, o substrato xeolóxico, as augas, o clima, etc.;
- as prácticas culturais das persoas, incluíndo os seus coñecementos sobre a xestión dos cultivos, as tradicións, as innovacións e tamén as súas formas de consumo; e, por último,
- a propia interpretación humana ao respecto desas terras de cultivo, con toda a carga cultural e simbólica adquirida (vencello cunha paisaxe, apreciación como patrimonio e/ou como elemento identitario, reputación do produto, etc.) que os fai percibir como algo distintivo e/ou dunha calidade excepcional.

En efecto, a propia Organización das Nacións Unidas para a Educación, a Ciencia e a Cultura (UNESCO) referenda esta interpretación humana do *terroir* na súa definición do termo, recollida na «*Charte des terroirs*» (INRA-INAO-UNESCO, 2005). Esta interpretación ampla é relevante, xa que move o *terroir* desde o meramente tanxible e medible, dado *per se* —e, polo tanto, inamovible—, para situalo como un espazo que é, ante todo, (re)producido socialmente (Hinnewinkel, 2005; Demossier, 2011; Bessière, 2013; Castelló, 2021; Unwin, 2022). Deste xeito, o *terroir* transfórmase nun obxecto dinámico e maleable, que pode ser estruturado e definido por parte de diferentes actores sociais (Hinnewinkel, 2007; Demossier, 2011; Garçom, 2019).

Este tipo de ideas resultaron moi poderosas na configuración da principal epistemoloxía territorial para a análise das IX nada na tradición académica francesa: o enfoque dos *Systèmes Agroalimentaires Localisés* (SYAL), ou Sistemas Agrarios Localizados. Ademais da idea de *terroir*, o enfoque SYAL bebe de distintas teorías económico-territoriais populares no país galo, como é o caso dos distritos ou clústeres industriais, dos sistemas produtivos locais e o desenvolvemento endóxeno (Tregear, 2011; Bowen e Mutersbaugh, 2014; Chiffoleau and Touzard, 2014; Lamine et al., 2018; Raimondi et al., 2024). Acuñado polo *Centre de Coopération Internationale en Recherche Agronomique pour le Développement* (CIRAD) nos anos 1990, o concepto de SYAL non só consiste nun enfoque analítico, senón que tamén trata de condensar nun único vocábulo un fenómeno espacial consistente na conxunción de unidades produtivas agroalimentarias, empresas relacionadas —almacenistas, distribuidoras, comercializadoras, gastronómicas, etc.— e mercados que coexisten e interactúan sobre un espazo determinado (Mancini, 2012). Así, segundo a súa definición máis canónica, por SYAL enténdese do seguinte xeito:

> A contorna, os produtos, as persoas e as súas institucións, os coñecementos técnicos, os comportamentos agroalimentarios e as redes de relacións que se combinan nun territorio para dar lugar a un tipo de organización agraria e alimentaria nunha escala espacial determinada. (Muchnik, 1996 *apud* Bowen e Mutersbaugh, 2014: 203; tradución propia).

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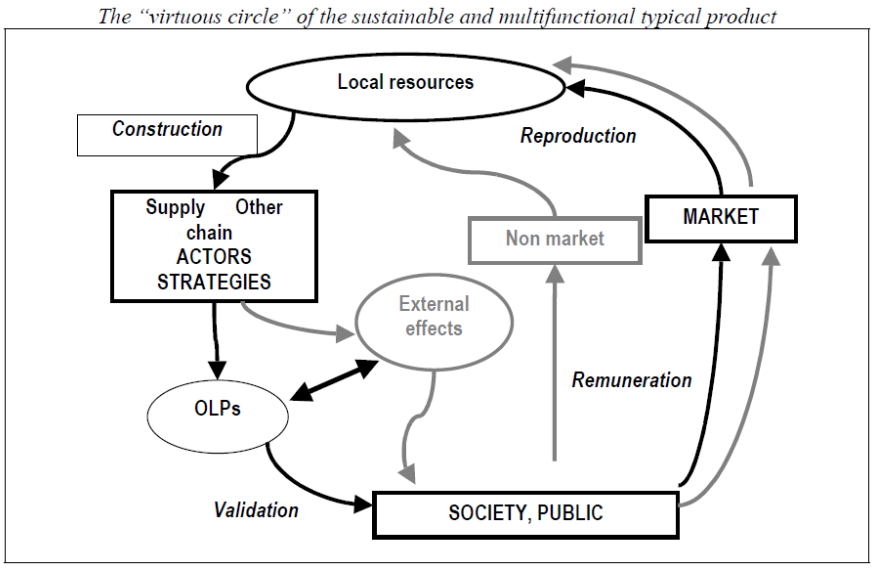
Sexa como for, o enfoque SYAL, alén dunha comprensión estática dos sistemas agrarios, achega a idea de «activación» de recursos territoriais para xerar valor engadido e favorecer dinámicas de desenvolvemento endóxeno (Boucher et al., 2010; Fournier e Muchnik, 2012; Mancini, 2013; Boucher e Reyes, 2016). Pártese da asunción que moitos lugares posúen unha serie de recursos únicos e específicos de seu. Estes poden tratarse quer de elementos naturais, quer de determinados saberes-faceres, prácticas e coñecementos propios das comunidades locais. A súa «activación», polo tanto, consistiría na mobilización dos devanditos recursos a través dalgún proceso organizativo-innovativo co fin de xerar dinámicas de desenvolvemento a partir deles (Muchnik e Sainte, 2010; Fournier e Muchnik, 2012). Neste senso, as IX preséntanse de maneira frecuente coma ferramentas que inducen a tal activación dos recursos territoriais (Bérard e Marchenay, 2008; Fournier, 2008; Zambrano, 2010; Mancini, 2012; Belletti et al., 2017b).

Estes procesos de activación, no entanto, non se limitan á comercialización de produtos agroalimentarios con valor engadido, senón que inclúen na ecuación as externalidades positivas que se poderían xerar a partir destes (Barjolle et al., 2011; Sylvander et al., 2011). En efecto, Belletti et al. (2002) propoñen a idea dun círculo virtuoso no que a valorización efectiva de determinados recursos territoriais permitiría a consecución de múltiples beneficios para o territorio alén da actividade estritamente produtiva (figura 4). Por exemplo, a valorización dunha variedade vexetal autóctona permite xerar valor engadido para os produtores, mais asemade posibilita conservar a especie polo seu valor intrínseco (Belletti et al., 2015). Do mesmo xeito, unha determinada produción agraria coma o aceite de oliva pode ser o principal axente para o mantemento dunha paisaxe mediterránea dominada por oliveiras que, ademais de beneficiar o turismo, permite xerar un sentido de pertenza entre a poboación local (Kizos e Vakoufaris, 2011). Neste senso, o enfoque SYAL converxe non só coas perspectivas de desenvolvemento endóxeno, senón tamén co concepto de multifuncionalidade (Rodríguez e Requier, 2006; Kizos e Vakoufaris, 2011; Belletti et al., 2015; 2017a). Asúmese, de feito, que as IX xerarán unha maior multifuncionalidade canto máis estreito sexa o vencello que forxen cos territorios nos que se insiren (Vandecandelaere et al., 2009; Belletti et al., 2015, 2017a).

Figura 4. Modelo do círculo virtuoso dos produtos «típicos». Fonte: Belletti et al. (2002: 20).



O enfoque SYAL outorga unha gran relevancia aos procesos de innovación (difusión de coñecementos, organización de procesos produtivos, etc.) que acontecen no seu seo (Sanz e Macías, 2005; Belletti et al., 2015). Os autores desta corrente destacan deste xeito a acción colectiva dos actores como chave principal para promover estes procesos de activación/innovación (Requier-Desjardins et al., 2003; De Rosa et al., 2017). Casos específicos nesta liña serían, por exemplo, a constitución dunha cooperativa de produtores para pór en marcha actividades de control de calidade conxuntas (Sanz e Macías, 2005; Raimondi et al., 2024), implantar novos procedementos técnicos co gallo de mellorar a calidade da produción (Chiffoleau e Touzard, 2014) ou renegociar as condicións de comercialización con outros actores da cadea alimentaria (Boucher et al., 2010; Giacomini e Mancini, 2015). Cómpre destacar que, ao igual que as perspectivas teóricas nas que se inspira, o enfoque SYAL subliña a proximidade espacial coma factor chave para a interacción e a organización dos actores que forman parte del (Filippi e Torre, 2003; Sanz e Macías, 2005), privilexiando desta maneira escalas de acción acoutadas (Marescotti e Belletti, 2016; Sanz e García, 2020).

O outro punto destacado do enfoque SYAL é a atención que concede ás institucións públicas como actores relevantes nos devanditos procesos de activación de recursos (Torres e Muchnik, 2012). En efecto, autores como Mancini (2013) subliñan a importancia de contar cuns regulamentos nacionais estritos e cunha ampla presenza do Estado para protexer os recursos alimentarios locais e posibilitar así a xeración do devandito círculo virtuoso. Por exemplo, o rexistro dunha IX —para o cal resulta precisa a intervención de institucións públicas— pode verse coma unha fórmula para protexer determinadas variedades xenéticas valiosas e evitar a súa apropiación por terceiros alleos ao territorio (Sanz e Muchnik, 2016; Belletti et al., 2017b).

Moitos estudos desta corrente SYAL mesmo desembocan en recomendacións políticas para mellorar a implantación e os resultados das IX en contextos diversos (Lamine et al., 2018). Asemade, existen numerosas publicacións baseadas no enfoque SYAL que se orientan como guieiros para a activación recursos territoriais, especialmente destinadas a contextos do Sur Global (Fournier e Muchnik, 2012; Reyes e Boucher, 2015). Neste último senso, o enfoque SYAL tamén se concibe como un modelo de desenvolvemento a escala global Norte-Sur, que ten sido promovido tamén a través de múltiples proxectos de cooperación para o desenvolvemento en rexións mundiais tales como América Latina (Mancini, 2012; Bowen e Mutersbaugh, 2014).

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1.2.6. Comparación de perspectivas

Tal e como se pode observar na táboa 3, cada un dos dous enfoques territoriais para a análise de IX presentadas nos dous epígrafes anteriores ten as súas propias axendas, perspectivas epistemolóxicas e conceptos.

Táboa 3. Comparativa epistemolóxica dos enfoques territoriais anglófono de AFN/*embeddedness* e o francófono SYAL/*terroir*. Fonte: Elaboración propia, baseada nos traballos comparativos previos de Bowen e Mutersbaugh (2014) e Lamine et al. (2018).

	AFN / *embeddedness*	SYAL / *terroir*
Obxecto de estudo	Distintos tipos de producións agrarias que tratan de distanciarse do sistema convencional de produción e consumo de alimentos	Producións agrarias diferenciadas en base ás súas calidades territoriais específicas
Axenda/obxectivos	Análise crítica relativa aos procesos de construción de calidade e de escala nun contexto de relacións de poder	Xeración de dinámicas de desenvolvemento endóxeno, creación de valor engadido e multifuncionalidade
Posición política	Oposición aos sistemas dominantes de produción, distribución e consumo de alimentos á procura dunha maior sustentabilidade ambiental e xustiza social	Integración no sistema convencional mediante reformas e regulamentos que permitan unha reconfiguración da cadea alimentaria para mellorar as condicións dos produtores e das áreas rurais que habitan
Conceptualización epistemolóxica do espazo	Idea de espazo relacional e dinámico, sobre o que conflúen múltiples factores e actores diversos, que constrúen fenómenos como a calidade ou a escala	Concepción máis profunda do territorio, incluíndo nel as dimensións temporal e cultural a través de nocións de tradición, identidade e enraizamento territorial

Do mesmo xeito, cada un destes enfoques presenta as súas respectivas eivas para a análise de IX. No que respecta á perspectiva anglófona, esta adoece ás veces dunha comprensión profunda de conceptos culturais como o de *terroir*. Moi arraigado na construción do sistema de IX, dificilmente chégase a trasladar a contextos culturais anglófonos salvo nalgunhas contribucións (Barham, 2003; Trubek, 2008, 2010; Unwin, 2022). Namentres, os autores que fan uso da perspectiva SYAL adoitan pecar de exceso de optimismo ao presentaren de maneira acrítica as IX como receita de desenvolvemento (Bowen e Mutersbaugh, 2014). En efecto, nunca parecen cuestionarse se as IX resultan, ou non, a opción máis axeitada e pertinente para dar valor a unha produción agrícola e favorecer os pequenos produtores (Hughes, 2006; Josling, 2006; Bramley, 2011; Yeung e Kerr, 2011). Tregear (2011) afirma tamén que o foco desta perspectiva no ámbito microescalar, no que se producen os alimentos, limita en gran medida a comprensión da cadea de comercialización e o posible alcance das IX nos mercados nacionais/internacionais.

1.3 HIPÓTESES E OBXECTIVOS

1.3.1. Hipóteses

Derivadas da revisión efectuada no apartado 1.2, establécense catro hipóteses de partida para esta tese de doutoramento. Cada unha delas conéctase co epígrafe na que foi mencionada esa idea.

En relación coa revisión efectuada no epígrafe 1.2.2, a **hipótese 1 (H1)** indica que cómpre empregar un enfoque territorial, que sitúe a Xeografía no centro da reflexión, para analizar de maneira crítica os procesos de construción e xestión das IX. Pode semellar tautolóxico analizar *indicación xeográficas* desde a *Xeografía*, mais resulta esencial dado que non se cultivou suficientemente até o de agora.

A exposición dos epígrafes 1.2.4, 1.2.5 e 1.2.6 pon de manifesto que existen dúas grandes perspectivas de estudo das IX: a anglófona baseada nos AFN e a francófona que descansa no modelo SYAL. Aínda que se practicaron intentos de concilialas (Bowen e Mutersbaugh, 2014; Lamine et al., 2018), a **hipótese 2 (H2)** formula que se pode transitar cara á súa converxencia efectiva a partir dos estudos de caso, en particular, mobilizando o concepto de «(re)localización», formulado como converxencia de ambos os dous (Ilbery e Maye, 2015; Baritaux et al., 2016).

Ao fío das vantaxes invocadas no epígrafe 1.2.3, a **hipótese 3** (**H3)** establece que unha IX dada é quen de xerar efectos de desenvolvemento rural ao ámbito territorial afectado, e incide de forma positiva na consecución da multifuncionalidade da agricultura que se atopa nel.

De acordo con outra das vantaxes verbalizadas no epígrafe 1.2.3, a **hipótese 4 (H4)** apunta que as IX son ferramentas legais acaídas para garantiren a viabilidade das explotacións máis pequenas, pois permiten xerar valor engadido a partir da diferenciación das súas producións e facilitan a súa inserción no mercado.

Por último, en liña co apuntado no epígrafe 1.2.6, a **hipótese 5 (H5)** considera que as estruturas formais de produtores, tales como os Consellos Reguladores, resultan entidades de xestión fundamentais para que as IX deparen os beneficios alegados no seu favor.

1.3.2. Obxectivos

O **obxectivo central** desta investigación consiste en propor unha abordaxe xeográfica das IX e testala nunha serie de casos de estudo aplicados, de xeito que se tenten comprender algúns dos procesos de construción e xestión que operan nelas. Deste xeito, aspírase a comprender mellor este tipo de procesos co fin de avanzar así cara a unha mellor xestión das IX. A partir deste obxectivo xeral e transversal, formúlanse os seguintes **obxectivos específicos**:

O.E.1. Interpretar que significados, estratexias e utilidades lles poden atribuír os actores implicados ás IX.

O.E.2. Identificar se os actores implicados nas IX perciben impactos territoriais positivos delas nos territorios que abranguen.

O.E.3. Explorar que mecanismos de gobernanza das IX son percibidos como axeitados.

O.E.4. A partir dos casos de estudo mobilizados, elucidar se existe algún tipo de escala territorial óptima para a construción e xestión das IX.

O.E.5. A partir dos casos de estudo mobilizados, pescudar se as IX de pequeno tamaño —cun reducido número de produtores— operan baixo as mesmas lóxicas e dinámicas que as de maior dimensión económica.

O.E.6. Valorar a influencia dos límites político-administrativos, particularmente os estato-nacionais, na delimitación e na xestión das IX.

O.E.7. Avaliar se o marco europeo en IX, o máis desenvolvido a escala mundial, resulta aplicable a outros contextos territoriais alleos á UE.

1.4. Estrutura da tese por artigos

A presente tese de doutoramento axústase ás indicacións recollidas pola *Resolución do 6 de agosto de 2024 pola que se ordena a publicación do Regulamento de estudos de doutoramento*, que establece na súa disposición transitoria terceira que, durante o curso 2024-25 (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2024: 48.996), cómpre remitirse ao Regulamento anteriormente vixente, isto é, a Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2020).

En primeiro lugar, cómpre facer mención expresa aos artigos nos que consiste a tese. De acordo cos regulamentos indicados, hai que compilar un mínimo de tres contribucións aceptadas para a súa publicación en acceso aberto en revistas revisadas anonimamente por pares, de recoñecido prestixio nacional ou internacional. Nesta tese compilamos catro, mais un deles, o que situamos en cuarto lugar, non está aínda aprobado. Asemade, a norma de 2020 requiría que «as publicacións deben estar recollidas en revistas de impacto recoñecido no ámbito científico correspondente, en particular, aquelas incluídas no Journal Citation Reports, JCR, ou Scopus» e, asemade, que «polo menos unha das publicacións deberá estar no primeiro ou segundo cuartil da súa categoría» (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2020: 36.183). Recentemente, este último requirimento transformouse en «polo menos unha das publicacións deberá estar no primeiro tercil da súa categoría» (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2024: 48.974). Tal e como se pode ver na seguinte táboa cumprimos ambos os dous requirimentos métricos, aínda que só nos sexa de aplicación o primeiro: dous sitúanse no primeiro cuartil do ránking JCR, e outro no segundo.

Ademais, en relación co novo criterio establecido pola Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2024: 48.974), acerca da orde das coautorías, nos casos onde as hai, a persoa doutoranda figura sempre como a primeira autora asinante. O director de tese fica como coautor en segunda —e última— posición nun caso, e en segunda posición, seguida dunha terceira, nos outros dous. En todos os casos, e isto é un requirimento compartido por Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2020: 36.183, 2024: 48.974), cómpre subliñar que a contribución persoal ás publicacións foi substancial. En efecto, todo o traballo de campo e a análise da información resultante correu a cargo do doutorando de xeito íntegro.

A relación das contribucións que conforman esta tese cos índices de calidade, as coautorías e as achegas da persoa doutoranda en cada unha delas exponse de forma resumida na táboa 4. Co fin de facilitar a súa identificación de xeito práctico, nesta tese empregaremos nomes-etiqueta para referirnos a cada un dos artigos que a compoñen. Así, o primeiro artigo denominarase de aquí en diante como «Pementos»; o segundo, «Queixos»; o terceiro, «Fronteiras»; e o cuarto, «Latam».

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Táboa 4. Relación de artigos na que se recolle de maneira sintética a información básica sobre cada un requirida na normativa á que se axusta a presente tese de doutoramento. Fonte: Elaboración propia.

Título	Padrón Peppers or Peppers from Herbón? Discussing the Controversial Attainment of a Geographical Indication in Light of Food (Re)Localisation Approaches
Identificador neste documento	Pementos
Autoría e afiliacións	• Rubén Boga, Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela • Valerià Paül, Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela • Fiona Haslam-McKenzie, Department of Geography and Planning, The University of Western Australia
Contribución do doutorando*	Conceptualización; Metodoloxía; Investigación; Recursos; Redacción do borrador orixinal; Redacción-Revisión e edición; Visualización.
Revista	*Sociologia Ruralis*
Índices de calidade	• JCR (2023). SSCI: 21 de 171 [Q1] en Geography; factor de impacto: 3,2
Referencia completa (con DOI)	Boga, R., Paül, V., & Haslam McKenzie, F. (2023). Padrón Peppers or Peppers from Herbón? Discussing the Controversial Attainment of a Geographical Indication in Light of Food (Re)Localisation Approaches. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 63(2), 287-308. https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12415
Fórmula de acceso aberto	Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License

Título	"Because of Its Size, It's Not Worth It!": The Viability of Small-Scale Geographical Indication Schemes
Identificador neste documento	Queixos
Autoría e afilicións	• Rubén Boga, Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela • Valerià Paül, Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
Contribución do doutorando*	Conceptualización; Metodoloxía; Investigación; Recursos; Redacción do borrador orixinal; Redacción-Revisión e edición; Visualización.
Revista	*Food Policy*
Índices de calidade	• JCR (2023). SSCI: 22 de 597 [Q1] en Economics / SSCI: 1 de 39 [Q1] en Agricultural Economics & Policy; factor de impacto: 6,8
Referencia completa (con DOI)	Boga, R., & Paül, V. (2023). "Because of Its Size, It's Not Worth It!": The Viability of Small-Scale Geographical Indication Schemes. *Food Policy*, 121, 102549. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2023.102549
Fórmula de acceso aberto	Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License

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Título	Quality Food Productions Beyond Borders: Examining Cross-Border Geographical Indications
Identificador neste documento	Fronteiras
Autoría e afilicións	• Rubén Boga, Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela • Valerià Paül, Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela • Juan Manuel Trillo-Santamaría, Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
Contribución do doutorando*	Conceptualización; Metodoloxía; Investigación; Recursos; Redacción do borrador orixinal; Redacción-Revisión e edición; Visualización.
Revista	*Territory, Politics, Governance*
Índices de calidade	• JCR (2023). SSCI: 57 de 171 [Q2] en Geography / SSCI: 100 de 337 [Q2] en Political Science; factor de impacto: 1,9
Referencia completa (con DOI)	Boga, R., Paül, V., & Trillo-Santamaría, J. M. (2025). Quality Food Productions Beyond Borders: Examining Cross-Border Geographical Indications. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2024.2440503
Fórmula de acceso aberto	Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License

Título	A (European) Recipe for Latin America? Insights From Five Agri-Food Geographical Indications in Peru and Ecuador
Identificador neste documento	Latam
Autoría e afilicións	• Rubén Boga, Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
Contribución do doutorando*	Conceptualización; Metodoloxía; Investigación; Recursos; Redacción do borrador orixinal; Redacción-Revisión e edición; Visualización.
Revista	Journal of Rural Studies (en proceso de revisión por pares)

*As contribucións do doutorando baséanse na taxonomía CRediT (*Contributor Roles Taxonomy*)

Seguindo os requirimentos marcados pola Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2020: 36.184, 2024: 48.975), cómpre sinalar expresamente neste punto a coherencia entre os distintos artigos que compoñen esta tese doutoral. En primeiro lugar, no que respecta ao obxecto de estudo, todos eles abordan casos de producións amparadas baixo algunha figura de IX (táboa 5). Especificamente inclúense cinco DOP e dúas IXP recoñecidas polos regulamentos da UE na materia, e cinco *Denominaciones de Origen* (DO) recoñecidas baixo a lexislación da Comunidad Andida —as cales se poderían asimilar ás DOP europeas—. Cada IX analizada correspóndese cun único caso de estudo desenvolvido sobre unha localización específica, excepto en «Fronteiras», onde para cada caso de estudo analizáronse dúas figuras de IX que se solapaban total ou parcialmente sobre o mesmo territorio.

A selección de cada un dos casos obedeceu a razóns específicas que se detallan nos respectivos artigos que compoñen este compendio. Entre os criterios que se tiveron en conta inclúense a singularidade e/ou novidade dos casos en relación cos obxectivos específicos de cada artigo, así como a accesibilidade —fontes de financiamento mediante— para realizar o traballo de campo nalgún dos contextos internacionais nos que se acometeu a investigación.

Táboa 5. Distribución das IX estudadas por cada artigo do compendio. Fonte: Elaboración propia.

Artigo	Tipo de IX	Nome Oficial da IX	Breve descrición da coherencia interna dos casos de estudo en cada artigo
Pementos	DOP	Pemento de Herbón	Análise dun caso de estudo singular centrada no Pemento de Herbón, comunmente identificado como pemento «de Padrón»
Queixos	DOP	Queixo do Cebreiro	Análise de dúas producións queixeiras de montaña que contan cun número moi reducido de produtores inseridos dentro das súas respectivas IX
	DOP	Queixo Tolminc	
Fronteiras	DOP	Istra	Análise de tres IX de carácter transfronteirizo: dúas cubrindo a mesma área no Pireneo e outra na península de Istria, onde se solapa tamén cunha cuarta IX limitada á parte da Istria eslovena
	DOP	Istria Eslovena	
	IXP	Vedella dos Pirineos	
	IXP	Rosée dos Pirineos	
Latam	DO	Café de Villa Rica	Análise de cinco IX do Sur Global, inseridas baixo o marco común da Comunidad Andina
	DO	Pisco	
	DO	Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco	
	DO	Cacao Arriba	
	DO	Pitahaya de Palora	

No que fai aos obxectivos da investigación, a fórmula do compendio de artigos amosouse óptima para abordar a diversidade de procesos de construción e de dinámicas de xestión de matriz xeográfica que afectan ás IX —unha diversidade de situacións que cumpría examinar de xeito crítico como obxectivo principal desta tese—. Malia procurar diversidade, en todos os artigos mantivéronse a maioría de obxectivos específicos trazados para o xeral da investigación (táboa 6). Do mesmo xeito, todos os casos de estudo analizáronse baixo un enfoque territorial que combina varias disciplinas e perspectivas teóricas no estudo das IX e/ou das producións agroalimentarias territorializadas. En efecto, algúns dos textos de referencia chave empregados na elaboración da teoría e/ou na discusión dos resultados obtidos aparecen citados ao longo de todos os artigos que compoñen esta tese. O conxunto da investigación baseouse asemade en técnicas investigación cualitativas que consistiron, fundamentalmente, en entrevistas semiestruturadas. Polo tanto, o compendio goza de plena coherencia interna para a súa presentación conxunta baixo este formato de tese doutoral (táboas 5 e 6).

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Táboa 6. Relación dos obxectivos específicos enunciados cos artigos individuais que compoñen a tese de doutoramento. Fonte: Elaboración propia.

Artigo	O.E.1.	O.E.2.	O.E.3.	O.E.4.	O.E.5.	O.E.6.	O.E.7.
Pementos	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Queixos	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Fronteiras	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Latam	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓

Dito isto, cómpre tamén xustificar a estrutura da presente tese de doutoramento en relación co regulamento aplicable, especialmente detallado no que fai a ela. En efecto, a Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2020: 36.184) estipula que a tese debe comezar cunha «introdución en que se realice unha presentación do marco teórico en que se inscribe o tema da tese e que especificamente contará cunha xustificación razoada da unidade e coherencia temática e metodolóxica dela». Isto resolveuse neste texto co apartado 1, que se pecha con estes parágrafos finais. Nel tamén figuraron o punto de partida e as motivacións persoais que levaron a acometer esta investigación, así como as súas principais xustificacións. Asemade, achegamos unha sección teórica que valeu de estado da cuestión da materia, seguida da enunciación das hipóteses e dos obxectivos que rexen esta tese. De acordo coa literalidade da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2020: 36.184), este último contido semella ser un punto á parte, mais aquí optouse por subsumilo no apartado 1, en concreto, no subapartado 1.3.

O apartado 2 desta tese non está requirido pola normativa aplicable, mais considérase substancial para situar as IX. No fundamental, recolle a evolución histórica e as principais normativas que regulan as IX. Remata por unha descrición da relevancia destas figuras dentro do conxunto da UE. A Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2020: 36.184) establece a necesidade de referirse aos métodos de investigación empregados, cuestión satisfeita no apartado 3. Os regulamentos recentes (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela 2020: 36.184; 2024: 48.975-48.976) discrepan sobre a colocación das contribucións que conforman estritamente o compendio de artigos que compoñen a parte principal desta investigación. Nesta tese de doutoramento, optamos pola formulación recente, de xeito que se sitúan no apartado 4, titulado «Resultados». Tal e como estipula claramente a Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2024: 48.975-48.976), distínguese entre os traballos publicados/aceptados e os non publicados, de xeito que «Pementos», «Queixos» e «Fronteiras» ubícanse como epígrafes dentro do subapartado 4.1, mentres que «Latam» figura como único traballo dentro do subapartado 4.2.

O presente texto segue cunha discusión xeral na que se poñen en común os resultados obtidos nos diferentes casos de estudo tratados nos artigos (capítulo 5) e remata cunha serie de conclusións xerais extraídas a partir dela (capítulo 6). Ambos os dous capítulos están esixidos pola Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2020: 36.184, 2024: 48.975), mais a disposición recente fixa o limiar das 5.000 palabras para a discusión, que aquí se supera. Por último, cómpre indicar que na estrutura desta tese aparecen dous apartados duplicados para facelos bilingües (galego/inglés): son, alén do resumo, a sección metodolóxica e as conclusións. Esta presenza notable da lingua inglesa ten que ver coa vontade de cumprir co artigo 38.b nas redaccións dadas polos regulamentos da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (2020: 36.185, 2024: 48.976-48.977), que, novamente, discrepan: no primeiro establecían que cando menos tiña que ser nunha lingua non oficial en España o resumo e mais as conclusións, e no segundo o 25% da extensión da tese.

2. CONTEXTUALIZACIÓN DAS IX

2.1. UN PERCORRIDO HISTÓRICO E LEGAL POLA EVOLUCIÓN DAS INDICACIÓNS XEOGRÁFICAS: DO PROTECCIONISMO AO DESENVOLVEMENTO RURAL

2.1.1. Antecedentes históricos

A idea de vencellar as calidades de determinados produtos coas orixes xeográficas onde se producen non é nova, senón que se pode atopar en multitude de culturas e tempos históricos ao longo da xeografía do planeta, dende Europa a África, e dende o occidente até o extremo oriente (Bérard e Marchenay, 2008; Sautier et al., 2011). Con todo, adóitase identificar o Mediterráneo como a rexión cultural na que máis callou esta asociación (Parrott el al., 2001; Fonte, 2008). Autores como Unwin (1991, 2022), Maher (2001) ou Allaire et al. (2011) sitúan algunhas das primeiras evidencias desta práctica na civilización romana, ao mencionaren inscricións en ánforas que reflectían as orixes dos viños, de xeito que se constata unha vontade de asocialas a determinadas valoracións das súas calidades e a evitar fraudes no seu comercio. Tamén Unwin (1997, 2022) se refire a textos antigos de Plinio o Vello e Estrabón para constatar que os romanos recoñecían a relación entre determinadas variedades de vide e os lugares nos que as cultivaban coas diferentes calidades e reputacións dos viños aos que daban froito.

Estas prácticas e coñecementos vitivinícolas continuaron no tempo, sobre todo grazas ao traballo das ordes monásticas medievais (Unwin, 1911). Cara a finais da Idade Media, podemos atopar algunhas das primeiras regulacións que definían prácticas agrícolas e ámbitos de produción específicos para produtos que xa se consideraban particulares e reputados. Así, en 1415, decidíase a primeira delimitación dos viños de Borgoña (Meloni e Swinnen, 2018). Mentres, practicamente nas mesmas datas, Carlos VI de Francia concedía mediante unha cédula real o monopolio aos habitantes de Roquefort-sur-Soulzon para maduraren os seus queixos en covas da rexión, garantíndolles o dereito exclusivo sobre a elaboración deste produto (Gutiérrez, 2003).

Con todo, é na Idade Moderna cando este tipo de regulacións comezan a aparecer por diversos puntos da xeografía europea. En 1579, as ordenanzas municipais de Ribadavia fixan as zonas de cultivo óptimas para producir «bo» viño do Ribeiro, establecendo asemade unha serie de sancións para evitar as adulteracións do produto (Santos, 1990). Asemade, en 1716, o gran duque Cosme III de Médici emite dous edictos para delimitar a área de produción do viño Chianti e controlar o seu comercio mediante unha serie de medidas represivas para controlar o seu comercio e combater a fraude (Brunori e Rossi, 2007; Meloni e Swinnen, 2018).

O caso do viño do Porto/Alto Douro representa un avance notorio na materia cando, en 1756, o Marqués de Pombal crea a *Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro*. Esta institución pasa entón a se encargar da delimitación das áreas produtoras, así como a controlar as calidades do viño para impulsar o seu comercio con Inglaterra (Meloni e Swinnen, 2018). Segundo Sousa (2007), a demarcación do Douro revela unha gran modernidade, ao establecer límites moi precisos das áreas produtoras e clasificar as parcelas segundo a calidade dos viños que producían. Deste xeito, a *Companhia* fixaba diferentes prezos en función das calidades do viño (Martins, 1996) e, asemade, aseguraba que só os caldos de maior calidade se exportaban a Inglaterra (Martins, 2024). Por outra

banda, a *Companhia* tamén tratou de erixirse como a institución encargada de regular o comercio do viño do Porto, ao negociar prezos e volumes directamente cos exportadores e exercer controis para evitar fraudes nos bocois (Martins, 1996, 2024; Sousa, 2007; Meloni e Swinnen, 2018).

Por último, tal e como recollen varios autores (Unwin 1997; Trubek, 2008), tamén cómpre salientar o sistema de clasificación dos viños de Burdeos de 1855, elaborado para a exposición universal de París dese mesmo ano. Fundamentándose na idea de *terroir*, nel establecéronse distintas categorías para identificar os viños de maior calidade e reputación, que acadaban prezos de elite do mercado (Unwin, 1997; Hinnewinkel, 2005). Con todo, esta distinción estableceuse ao nivel dos *châteaux*, as grandes explotacións de adegueiros particulares, e non das subrexións que constituían esta área de renome.

Aínda que os múltiples autores que estudaron a emerxencia das primeiras IX non chegan a poñerse de todo de acordo, resulta evidente que estas figuras emerxen definitivamente no século XIX co obxectivo de salvagardar a reputación de viños moi consolidados no comercio internacional e de protexer a renda territorial dos seus produtores. Hai varios factores que explican este auxe, mais entre eles podemos salientar a crise produtiva provocada polas sucesivas pragas de mildio, de oídio e, sobre todo, de filoxera que devastaron os viñedos en Europa na segunda metade desde século (Boulanger, 2008; Teil, 2017; Unwin, 2022). Tras a crise, produciuse un notable aumento das adulteracións e das fraudes na procedencia dos viños para compensar a súa escaseza, seguido dunha caída dos prezos coa recuperación do viñedo europeo mentres continuaban a chegar viños baratos procedentes no norte de África e doutros lugares (Unwin, 1991; Teil, 2017; Meloni e Swinnen, 2018). Polo tanto, as primeiras xustificacións en favor das IX refiren a cuestións de regulación do mercado; sobre todo, á loita contra a competencia desleal, as imitacións e as fraudes en relación coa orixe de determinados viños reputados (Sylvander et al., 2011; Teil, 2017).

Tanto foi así que un dos tratados multilaterais máis importantes asinados a finais do século XIX, o Convenio de París[10] para a Protección da Propiedade Industrial, de 1883, introduciu nunha normativa subsidiaria posterior disposicións en materia de «indicacións de procedencia». En efecto, o Arranxo de Madrid, relativo á Represión das Indicacións de Procedencia Falsas ou Enganosas de 1891 que, asinado por 34 países, tivo por obxecto prohibir a utilización «falsa e enganosa» (artigo 1) de expresións e signos que inducisen ao consumir ao erro na identificación do lugar, rexión ou país de produción de viños e outros produtos (Allaire et al., 2005; Brunori e Rossi, 2007; Thévenod e Marie-Vivien, 2011; Bonanno et al., 2020).

Neste contexto, o impulso definitivo cara á protección dos nomes xeográficos dos viños reputados obxecto de fraudes resultou da presión dos grandes produtores de rexións como Champaña, Chianti, Burdeos, etc. para que se regulase o comercio contra toda a competencia desleal (Brunori e Rossi, 2007; Hinnewinkel, 2007; Trubek et al., 2010; Gangjee, 2017; Teil, 2017; Meloni e Swinnen, 2018). No caso francés, estes viticultores argumentaban que se facía necesario dispor de medios xurídicos e políticos para protexer os produtos únicos franceses da competencia internacional (Trubek, 2008). Eses produtores, ben organizados en grupos de presión, gozaban dun notable poder político e, grazas ás súas protestas, acabaron por dispor dos aparatos do Estado francés ao seu favor (Teil, 2017; Meloni e Swinnen, 2018).

[10] Este convenio sentou as bases para un sistema internacional antecesor da actual Organización Mundial do Comercio (OMC), ao especificar que os Estados contratantes se constituirían en Unión, creando unha Oficina Internacional encargada das tarefas relativas á protección da propiedade industrial (Bodenhausen, 1968).

2.1.2. O sistema francés e a noción de *terroir*

Dados os seus antecedentes, resulta evidente que o primeiro sistema de IX é nado no seo das reivindicacións xurídicas pola protección de determinados nomes xeográficos reputados (Delfosse, 2012). Entendidas neste senso como unha forma de propiedade intelectual de base territorial (Sylvander et al., 2011), os primeiros desafíos das IX no sistema francés xiran ao redor de limitar o seu uso aos produtores dos territorios aos que facían referencia (Delfosse, 2012). Como ben explica Trubek (2008: 26) respecto dos viticultores da Champaña, estes querían «reter dereitos de propiedade sobre o nome «Champagne», agora usado ao redor do mundo, polo que recorreron á terra» (tradución propia). O *terroir* converteuse así nun argumento poderoso co que xustificar as súas reclamacións.

Un primeiro paso cara a esta protección representouno a lei de 1905, sobre a represión de fraudes na venda de mercadorías e a adulteración de produtos agrícolas (Marie-Vivien, 2010; Thévenod e Marie-Vivien, 2011). Aínda que este regulamento non se enfocaba exclusivamente ás IX, a través do seu obxectivo de garantir un comercio leal, constituíu a primeira ferramenta para combater por vía xudicial as falsificacións e fraudes na procedencia. Para acoutar legalmente o que se entendía por procedencia, a lei incluía a necesidade de especificar que rexións eran as únicas con dereito de levar o nome dunha denominación de orixe determinada (Capus, 1947). Deste xeito, legaba á administración pública a tarefa de identificar as zonas vitivinícolas con dereito a beneficiarse desta distinción (Allaire et al., 2005). Unha vez definidas estas áreas, a lei obrigaba a respectar os nomes das súas denominacións xeográficas contra indicacións de orixe falsas (Marie-Vivien, 2010). Asemade, tamén prohibía a mestura de viños procedentes de distintas denominacións de orixe para previr adulteracións (Teil, 2017).

Unha segunda regulación en forma de decreto, de 1908, veu detallar como se deberían de definir estas áreas de orixe con dereito a se beneficiar dunha protección legal. Nela, especificouse que as súas delimitacións debían basearse en criterios de «costumes locais e constantes» (Fallières e Ruau, 1908 *apud* Teil, 2017). É dicir, estas áreas debían probar unha xénese histórica dese produto no territorio para reclamar dereitos de protección. Asemade, tamén se recoñecía o rol dos produtores e das súas técnicas na creación do prestixio do produto. Así, a primeira delimitación en ser definida legalmente foi *Champagne*, no mesmo 1908 (Trubek, 2008; Teil, 2017). Con ela, establecíase a primeira de toda unha xeira de IX francesas que continúan ininterrompidamente até hoxe (Unwin, 1991; Meloni e Swinnen, 2018).

Con todo, moi pronto resultou patente a problemática consubstancial á definición desas áreas susceptibles de se beneficiar dunha IX (Barham, 2003; Thévenod e Marie-Vivien, 2011). Novamente, o caso de *Champagne* resulta moi ilustrativo ao respecto, pois a súa primeira delimitación resultou en fortísimas protestas por parte dos produtores do Aube e doutras rexións limítrofes, que ficaran sen ser recoñecidas co dereito de portar o nome do afamado espumoso (Teil, 2017; Meloni e Swinnen, 2018; Legouy e Dallot, 2019).

Unha década máis tarde chegaría, por fin, a primeira norma *sui generis* que tiña como fin específico regular as IX: a lei relativa á protección das denominacións de orixe, do 6 de maio de 1919. Con ela, creábanse as primeiras IX modernas en tanto que figuras legais propias: as *Appellations d'Origine*. Estas definíronse como un ben colectivo do territorio, que de ningún xeito se poderían considerar un nome xenérico ou permitirse o seu rexistro mediante marcas privadas (Marie-Vivien, 2010). Polo tanto, a lei de 1919 dotaba os produtores de ferramentas legais máis precisas que a regulación de 1905 para combateren as usurpacións destes nomes xeográficos por medios xudiciais (Allaire et al., 2005). A norma tamén consolidou o principio de «costumes locais, leais e constantes» como

criterio de delimitación, incorporando o requisito de seguir determinados métodos de produción «leais» (Marie-Vivien, 2010). É dicir, esta disposición lexislativa cominaba a que os produtores se axustasen aos métodos e técnicas propias da súa rexión para respectar a tipicidade do seu produto. Así, o feito de especificar os vencellos entre as características diferenciais dun produto e o seu medio xeográfico marcou un fito, ao moverse do concepto máis superficial da procedencia a outro máis complexo e profundo, o da orixe (Gutiérrez, 2003; Vandecandelaere, 2009).

Elementos como o solo, o clima, as paisaxes e as técnicas e saberes-faceres —*savoir-faire*— tradicionais, pasaron entón a se considerar probas fidedignas que permitían demostrar de maneira obxectiva o vencello entre un produto e o territorio que o facía distintivo (Barham, 2003; Pouzenc et al., 2007; Delfosse, 2012). Deste xeito, afianzábase a noción de *terroir* como o criterio fundamental para unha delimitación precisa das IX. Pode dicirse que, en certa forma, as IX pasaron a representar unha fórmula que institucionalizaba de maneira formal e normativa o *terroir* (Gade, 2008).

Cómpre destacar que a maneira de facer esa lectura conxunta desta serie de elementos naturais e culturais, derivou, en boa medida, das análises rexionais de delimitación e individualización dos *pays* que sistematizou o xeógrafo Paul Vidal de la Blache[11] pola mesma época (Dion, 1959; Delfosse, 1997, 2012; Courtot, 2007; Paül et al., 2011, 2020; Unwin, 2022). Con todo, esta lexislación baseada nunha identificación preciso da orixe aínda resultou insuficiente para garantir unhas calidades determinadas aos viños con IX, pois carecía de mecanismos para aseverar o seguimento dos métodos de produción que se presupoñían típicos para cada IX (Gangjee, 2016).

A última regulación chave que rematou por apuntalar o sistema francés de IX é o decreto-lei de 1935, relativo á defensa do mercado vitivinícola e ao réxime económico do alcol. Con este regulamento estableceuse, por vez primeira, unha complexa arquitectura para controlar a produción e garantir a calidade dos produtos[12] amparados baixo unha IX (Marie-Vivien, 2010). Así, ás *Appellations d'Origine* engadíaselle o termo de *Contrôlée*, isto é, o principio de control (Meloni e Swinnen, 2018). Polo tanto, xa non se baseaban só nos dereitos dos produtores a portaren o nome de determinados produtos afamados, senón que tamén subliñaban o dereito dos consumidores a teren garantías da súa autenticidade e calidade (Capus, 1947; Trubek, 2008; Teil, 2017).

Para iso, o decreto-lei reforzou a importancia dos requisitos referentes ás prácticas e técnicas de produción, agora como normas de obrigado cumprimento, así como o papel das agrupacións de produtores[13] na supervisión destas prácticas (Allaire et al., 2005; Marie-Vivien, 2010; Teil, 2017; Meloni e Swinnen, 2018). Por outra banda, para garantir o cumprimento deses requisitos por parte dos produtores, a norma recolleu a creación dunha institución pública, o *Comité National des Appellations d'Origine* —actualmente denominado *Institut National des Appellations dOrigine* (INAO)— dotado das capacidades de controlar e de sancionar as actividades dos produtores (Allaire et al., 2005;

[11] Aínda que Vidal de la Blache non se ocupase directamente do estudo e delimitación dos *terroirs*, numerosos discípulos seus si o fixeron seguindo a súa metodoloxía (Trubek, 2008; Schirmer, 2011; Dutton, 2019). En efecto, os xeógrafos erixíronse como profesionais privilexiados neste campo. A forma *vidaliana* de abordar as paisaxes agrarias permite doadamente identificar a identidade das producións agrarias intimamente asociadas a unha determinada paisaxe (Paül et al., 2011, 2020).

[12] Como ben indica o seu título, esta lei limitouse aos viños, excluíndo outros productos que, coma no caso de moitos queixos, foran recoñecidos como IX con anterioridade. Houbo que esperar até 1955 para que a figura de *Appellations d'Origine Contrôlée* os volvese a incluír como IX (Thévenod e Marie-Vivien, 2011), e non foi até 1990 que o espectro recollido por estas figuras non abrangueu todos os produtos agrícolas do país (Trubek, 2008).

[13] As agrupacións de produtores, no momento de aprobación da lei de 1935, xa tiñan unha longa traxectoria na maioría de IX existentes daquela, que se remontaban aos sindicatos e *lobbies* que brearon en favor das primeiras regulacións neste campo (Meloni e Swinnen, 2018).

Pouzenc et al., 2007; Trubek, 2008; Marie-Vivien, 2010). Asemade, esta institución pasaría a ter un rol activo na elaboración das normas de produción —recollidas nun documento chamado *cahier de charges*— das *Appellations d'Origine Contrôlée* para garantir a conformidade coas prácticas culturais, co *terroir*, de cada rexión (Ricard, 1999; Trubek, 2008; Trubek e Bowen, 2008; Dutton, 2019). O vínculo entre produto, *terroir* e calidade ficaba así definitivamente consagrado na lexislación e na praxe administrativa francesa.

No entanto, ao longo das seguintes décadas, as ideas respecto do vínculo entre produto e *terroir* foron mudando, pendurando entre concepcións máis humanistas e culturais e outras máis empíricas. Aos poucos, foron consolidándose controis de calidade baseados nos paneis de catas nos que, fundamentalmente, se avaliaban as características organolépticas —gustativas e olfactivas— dos viños con IX (Jacquet, 2018, 2022). Estas características vencelláronse estreitamente coas condicións microclimáticas e pedolóxicas dos solos, privilexiando así unha visión agronómica do *terroir* (Unwin, 1997; Hinnewinkel, 2005). Recórrese entón ao emprego de Ciencias Empíricas, nomeadamente ás disciplinas da Agronomía, a Edafoloxía e a Xeoloxía, para a delimitación e avaliación dos *terroirs* en detrimento da Xeografía (Demossier, 2011; Humbert 2018; Jacquet 2018; 2022). Con todo, para comezos do novo milenio, Barham (2003) conduciu un estudo entre axentes do INAO concluíndo que aproximadamente a metade dos seus entrevistados se referían ao *terroir* como un conxunto de condicións naturais locais, mentres que a outra metade tamén recoñecían a importancia dos factores humanos na configuración do seu carácter. Como indican Hinnewinkel (2005, 2007) e Unwin (2022), non existe unha única idea sobre que significa o *terroir*, de xeito que constitúe un concepto que sempre se trata de axustar en función dos intereses de cadaquén.

Por último, cabe destacar a reforma do 2006, que introduciu os últimos cambios notables no sistema francés de IX. Esta reforma, basicamente, reduciu o rol preponderante do INAO nas tarefas de supervisión e control dos métodos de produción estipulados para cada IX, de xeito que relegou maiores responsabilidades nos grupos de produtores (Torre, 2006; Marie-Vivien, 2010). Por vez primeira, recolleu a obrigatoriedade de que existise un único grupo de produtores responsable da xestión de cadansúa IX baixo a figura de *Organisme de Défense et de Gestion*, ao mesmo tempo que regulaba a súa composición e funcionamento (Marie-Vivien, 2010; Marie-Vivien et al., 2019). Asemade, dispuxo que todos os produtores dentro dunha IX debían ficar como membros dese grupo e pagaren unha cota para sostelo financeiramente (Marie-Vivien, 2010; Marie-Vivien et al., 2019). O adelgazamento do INAO tamén reforzou o papel das empresas certificadoras como institucións capacitadas para se encargaren das tarefas de inspección e verificación externas nas IX (Marie-Vivien, 2010).

Como sintetizan Pouzenc et al. (2007), existen seis cuestións básicas en torno ás que pivotan as figuras de IX e que permanecen ao longo do tempo:

- un nome de carácter xeográfico que denota unha certa reputación comercial;
- un grupo de produtores organizado para a defensa do seu produto reputado (e dos seus intereses particulares) contra as prácticas desleais; unha delimitación que precisa a área xeográfica con dereito a portar o nome do produto reputado;
- unha argumentación, baseada na idea de *terroir*, que xustifica o vínculo entre o produto e a área xeográfica delimitada á que circunscribe;
- un recoñecemento legal por parte das institucións públicas;
- e un sistema de control que garanta a autenticidade do produto respecto do seu *terroir*.

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A maioría dos autores considera que este sistema francés e o xerme das demais regulaciones *sui generis* que se multiplicaron, primeiro noutros países da área mediterránea, e culminaron coa primeira normativa europea na materia (Barham, 2003; Dagne, 2010; Marie-Vivien, 2010; Teil, 2017). Porén, cabe destacar que países como Italia (Zappalaglio, 2018) ou España tamén desenvolveron regulacións similares e propuxeron avances significativos á par que Francia neste respecto.

2.1.3. As normativas españolas

A primeira referencia legal no que respecta á protección de nomes xeográficos en España atopámola na lei de propiedade industrial e comercial de 1902 (Ministerio de Agricultura, Industria y Obras Públicas, 1902). Esta, xa en base a acordos internacionais previos como o devandito Arranxo de Madrid, sinalaba o dereito a «perseguir la competencia ilícita y las falsas indicaciones de procedencia», entendida esta última coma o nome xeográfico onde se elabora un determinado produto. En base a este marco referencial, unha coalición de cooperativas e sindicatos vitivinícolas da rexión de La Rioja solicitaron, en 1925, un regulamento de protección e uso do nome «Rioja» (Presidencia del Directorio Militar, 1925). O Estado fíxose eco da súa proposta e, nese mesmo ano, emitiu unha real orde elaborada ex professo para satisfacer unhas demandas que non se podían abordar coa lexislación en materia de propiedade intelectual vixente nese momento (Presidencia del Directorio Militar, 1925). Esta norma avanzou a necesidade de fixar os límites legais da área de produción co dereito exclusivo de portar o nome «Rioja», de xeito que recolleu que se debería de acordar o nomeamento dunha comisión para proceder á súa delimitación (Presidencia del Directorio Militar, 1925).

A devandita comisión desenvolveuse nun sucesivo real decreto, de 1926, que a instituíu coma o «Consejo regulador de la demarcación vinícola “Rioja”» (Ministerio de Trabajo, Comercio e Industria, 1926). Recoñeceuse que este Consello Regulador sería a institución representativa da rexión e dos seus produtores, e definiuse que ficaría composto tanto por autoridades públicas e funcionarios dos servizos agrarios rexionais, coma por representantes privados do sector vitivinícola da zona. O real decreto dotou ao Consello Regulador, amais, da facultade de emitir un precinto de garantía para cada botella comercializada, co que verificar as cantidades producidas e acreditar a procedencia dos viños. Tamén lle concedeu a capacidade de impoñer un réxime de sancións para perseguir as fraudes e os usos indebidos da marca colectiva.

Alén do precedente do Rioja cómpre salientar tamén, polo seu carácter novidoso nos comezos da II República, un decreto no que se obrigaba a etiquetar cun timbre específico a procedencia rexional de todas as exportacións de patacas españolas e que recollía as denominacións de Mataró, Valencia, Mallorca e Málaga (Ministerio de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio, 1932). A súa exposición de motivos amosa que esta norma pretendía valorizar este tipo de produtos no mercado internacional como fonte de riqueza (Ministerio de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio, 1932). Nesta mesma liña, outra orde de 1933, enfocada na produción da pataca no litoral central catalán coa denominación «Mataró», estudada por Paül (2006: 814-815, 2010: 168; figura 5), expresaba de maneira moi elocuente a visión contemporánea de España nesta materia:

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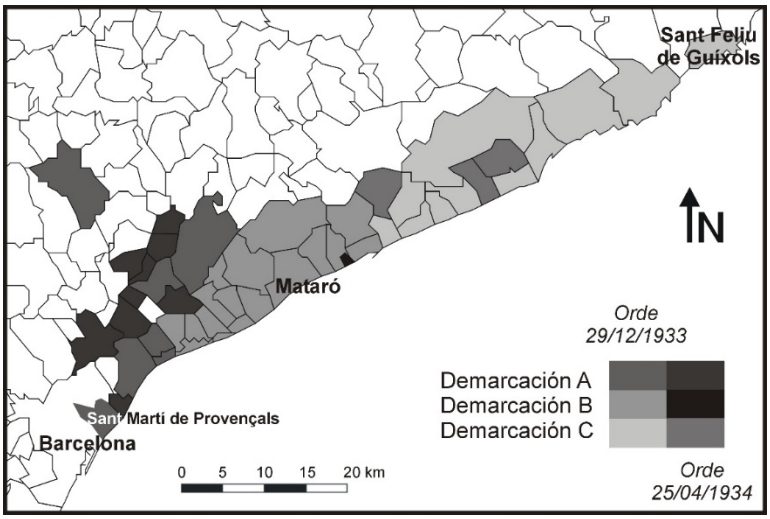
> Es hoy una norma, cada día más generalizada y extendida, garantizar el origen y la calidad de los productos agrícolas. Los nombres geográficos y los tipos peculiares de cada región han adquirido un crédito respetable y reconocido que representa el justo premio de muchos años de labor.
>
> Todo producto español debe enorgullecerse de su origen y no es justo que con nombres españoles se filtren en el mercado internacional vinos, frutos, hortalizas y, en general, productos agrícolas que sólo puede producir o produce una región de nuestro país y que ha logrado darles un renombre universal. Esta tendencia a preservar celosamente el prestigio legítimamente adquirido debe extenderse a todas las zonas de nuestra producción particular, con lo que ha de ser, indudablemente, más fácil poder soportar la intensa crisis que sufren todos los pueblos civilizados. (Ministerio de Agricultura, 1933: 718).

Figura 5. Evolución da área da denominación de orixe *Mataró Potatoes*. Fonte: adaptado de Paül (2006: 815).



Polo tanto, estamos diante dunha visión moi moderna durante a época da II República que xa recoñecía o dereito dos produtores a se beneficiaren economicamente dos alimentos reputados que producían. Ao mesmo tempo, reivindicábase a calidade dunha ampla gama de produtos agrícolas en razóns das súas orixes xeográficas, alén do viño.

Con todo, a regulación que senta o marco xurídico *sui generis* en materia de IX en España é o Estatuto do Viño[14]. Aprobado primeiro como decreto en 1932, implantaba un sistema enteiro de *Denominaciones de Origen* (DO) (Paül, 2006: 815-816), cunha primeira listaxe de 19 DO, onde aparecía o histórico Ribeiro —xa protoregulado séculos antes, como vimos máis arriba—:

> Quedan protegidos como denominaciones de origen, por reunir las condiciones que exige el artículo 31, los siguientes nombres geográficos: Rioja, Jerez, Xerez o Sherry, por ser sinónimos; Málaga, Tarragona, Priorato, Panadés, Alella, Alicante, Valencia, Utiel, Cheste, Valdepeñas, Cariñena, Rueda, Rivero, Manzanilla-Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Malvasía-Sitjes, Nobílejas y Conca de Barbará. (Ministerio de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio, 1932: 1889).

[14] Polo tanto, a pesares de sentar as bases para construir un réxime de IX que incluíse múltiples tipos de produtos agroalimentarios, a II República só chegou a desenvolver esta arquitectura para os viños.

Deste xeito, estableceu unha protección específica para unha serie de viños, que pasaban a ser recoñecidos como DO en virtude da súa tipicidade xeográfica. Deixaba de falar de procedencia e substituía ese termo polo de "orixe". No seu artigo 30 provía unha definición do que se entendía por DO:

> [S]e entenderá por denominación de origen, los nombres geográficos conocidos en el mercado nacional o extranjero, como empleados para la designación de vinos típicos que respondan a unas características especiales de producción y a unos procedimientos de elaboración y crianza utilizados en la comarca o región de la que se toman el nombre geográfico. (Ministerio de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio, 1932: 1888).

Polo tanto, o Ministerio de Agricultura español recoñecía na definición da área dunha DO, ao igual que a lexislación francesa, a conxunción de condicións xeolóxicas e climatolóxicas que concorren nun mesmo territorio coas condicións de elaboración e crianza propias de cada lugar. A súa exposición de motivos e o seu articulado amosan que esta norma pretendía valorizar este tipo de produtos no mercado internacional como fonte de riqueza (Ministerio de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio, 1932).

Este decreto deviría lei un ano logo, comunmente coñecida como «Estatuto do viño» (Ministerio de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio, 1933), con múltiples modificacións a partir dese momento mais considerado non aplicado, denominación a denominación, até a época franquista, de xeito que boa parte dos viños listados en 1932 non acadou en verdade o estatus arelado até décadas despois (Paül, 2006). Nel tamén salienta a vontade de fomentar a calidade da produción e a modernización do sector vitivinícola, en aras de incrementar a súa competitividade de cara ás exportacións. O Estatuto estaba dotado dun carácter xeralista, co que trataba de regular a produción e o comercio de todo o sector vitivinícola en España. Asemade, instituía un servizo de represión de fraudes para o seu control. Así, a pesar de sentar as bases para construir un réxime de IX que incluíse múltiples tipos de produtos agroalimentarios, a II República só chegou a desenvolver con profundidade este esquema para os viños.

O Estatuto do Viño, no título que se refería ás IX, tamén introduciu un par de aspectos moi relevantes que se adiantaron á lei francesa de 1935: por unha banda, estableceu a obrigatoriedade de que todos os produtores que quixesen beneficiarse dunha DO debían cumprir cun regulamento de uso ou prego de condicións; pola outra, elevaba a figura dos Consellos Reguladores, avanzada polo caso do Rioja, instituíndoos como a organización representativa de cada DO que se aprobase no Estado. En efecto, o Estatuto estipulou a necesidade de que, para cada DO, existise un Consello Regulador, coma unha entidade pública presidida por un representante do Ministerio de Agricultura que contase coa participación de representantes do sector vitivinícola na súa estrutura executiva. De maneira análoga ao precedente do Rioja, a norma indicou que esta entidade quedaría encargada de presentar o expediente que recollese a delimitación xeográfica de cada DO. Asemade, dotou aos Consellos Reguladores coa capacidade de elaborar os pregos de condicións que servirían para inspeccionaren eles mesmos as prácticas requiridas en cadansúa DO.

Así, trala aprobación do Estatuto do Viño, cada DO debeu de esperar por un réxime normativo propio para volverse efectiva. A primeira DO instituída como tal foi a do Jerez-Xérès-Sherry, que entrou en vigor no 1935 (Ministerio de Agricultura, 1935). Neste regulamento propio detalláronse en maior media os contidos do prego de condicións, coma o tipo de uvas permitidas ou os parámetros físico-químicos aos que se debían axustar, e ditábase un réxime de sancións acordes ao incumprimento deste regulamento

de uso. Deste xeito, clarificaba que o Consello Regulador sería o encargado de «fiscalizar» de maneira interna os requisitos para os produtores, así como de loitar contra as infraccións e fraudes que se poderían producir no mercado para co seu produto. Asemade, o regulamento do Jerez enumerou as distintas funcións adicionais que ficarían en responsabilidade do seu Consello Regulador, como «trabajar en la propaganda y expansión del vino «Jerez-Xerez-Sherry» en todos los mercados» (Ministerio de Agricultura, 1935: 658). A pesar deste primeiro expoñente, outros Consellos Reguladores de DO, hoxe moi relevantes no panorama español, tardaron moitos anos en aprobar os seus propios regulamentos de uso. En efecto, Rioja aprobou o seu prego de condicións en 1947 (Ministerio de Agricultura, 1947), mentres que o Ribeiro fixo o propio unha década despois (Ministerio de Agricultura, 1956).

A situación no país non avanzará significativamente até a aprobación da Lei 25/1970, do *Estatuto de la Viña, el Vino y los Alcoholes*, que substituíu á anterior norma. Como novidade, creábase o *Instituto Nacional de las Denominaciones de Origen* (INDO) como entidade adscrita ao Ministerio de Agricultura e encargado —nunha liña equivalente á do INAO francés— de supervisar e asistir a función dos Consellos Reguladores, así como de mediar na tramitación de novos expedientes de DO (Jefatura del Estado, 1970). Esta nova etapa tamén veu marcada pola extensión do réxime de DO a outros produtos non vitivinícolas, alén do precedente pataqueiro. Así, un decreto de 1974 incluíu ao aceite de oliva, o queixo e ao xamón curado como produtos[15] a amparar (Ministerio de Agricultura, 1974).

Coa volta da democracia e a creación do estado do estado das autonomías, as recen creadas Comunidades Autónomas pasaron —mediante os Reales Decretos 4189/1982 e 2165/1994— a asumiren as responsabilidade en materia de IX[16]. Nesta descentralización, as consellerías ou departamentos competentes ficaron encargados de tramitar novos expedientes de IX, supervisar a función dos Consellos Reguladores e previr posibles fraudes. Asemade, algúns gobernos autonómicos desenvolveron axencias propias equiparables ao extinguido INDO. Por exemplo, Cataluña, creou o *Institut Català de la Vinya i el Vi*, como órgano autónomo asociado á consellería competente, para intervir no rexistro, delimitación e asesoramento, promoción, etc. das IX especificamente vitivinícolas (Parlament de Catalunya, 2002).

Galicia, pola súa banda, creou coa Lei 2/2005 o Instituto Galego de Calidade Alimentaria para devir o «instrumento básico de actuación da Xunta de Galicia en materia de promoción e protección da calidade» de todos os seus produtos amparados con IX (Presidencia da Xunta de Galicia, 2005: 4219). Entre outras funcións, esta institución tamén se erixiu coa función de apoiar e asistir a aqueles pequenos Consellos Reguladores que atopasen dificultades para exercer tarefas de promoción ou controis de calidade de maneira autónoma polos seus elevados custes (Presidencia da Xunta de Galicia, 2005). Actualmente, este organismo público devén reconvertido na Axencia Galega de Calidade Alimentaria (AGACAL).

[15] Esta tendencia continuou coa volta da democracia, pasando en 1985 a incluír tamén os pementos (Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 1985), e culminou coa entrada en vigor do primeiro regulamento europeo na materia, o CEE 2081/92, na que o réxime en materia de IX se fixo finalmente extensible a todo tipo de productos agroalimentarios.

[16] Coa excepción daquelas IX que, polo seu carácter interautonómico, seguiron a depender do Estado, caso da polémica DO Cava (Paül, 2006). Actualmente, estas IX que abranguen máis dunha Comunidade Autónoma fican reguladas pola Lei 6/2015.

2.1.4. O sistema europeo: marco normativo

Unha das primeiras ideas básicas do proxecto europeo consistiu na construción dun Mercado Único Comunitario. Desde os comezos da Comunidade Económica Europea, fóronse dando múltiples pasos que avanzaron nesta dirección a través de sectores económicos chave; un deles, o vitivinícola. A apertura das fronteiras ao comercio libre entre estados membros, con todo, puxo de manifesto a cuestión de protexer certos viños neste novo mercado común (Bérard e Marchenay, 2008). Así, en 1970 promúlgase a primeira regulación comunitaria concerninte aos denominados «viños de calidade producidos en rexións específicas» ([Consello das Comunidades Europeas], 1970; Corsinovi e Gaeta, 2019). Nela estipuláronse unha serie de disposicións especiais obrigatorias para harmonizar as regulacións existentes en materia de IX —daqueles países membros que xa posuían disposicións legais ao respecto: Francia, Italia, Alemaña e Luxemburgo— en beneficio dos consumidores. Entre elas, destacaron os requirimentos de delimitar as rexións produtoras de acordo aos factores que contribuísen á calidade dos viños producidos nelas, incluíndo factores naturais e as variedades de uva, así como os métodos e técnicas específicos. Recollía, asemade, que as uvas para a elaboración dos viños só podían provir das rexións demarcadas. Alén desas normas comúns básicas, o regulamento confiáballes a cada estado membro o control e a protección dos seus viños de calidade xeográfica e mais a liberdade para que establecesen disposicións máis restritivas ao respecto.

Máis adiante, en 1989, o Regulamento CEE 1576/89 pasou a protexer tamén como «denominacións xeográficas» os nomes dunha serie de bebidas espirituosas, das que definía as súas características fisicoquímicas e os seus métodos de obtención ([Consello das Comunidades Europeas], 1989). Porén, esta norma non establecía requirimentos no que respectaba á súa delimitación xeográfica. Estes precedentes, polo tanto, non constituían mais ca uns primeiros avances que nin tan só invocaban de maneira explícita o concepto de IX.

O gran paso de xigante, o avance chave na construción dun sistema europeo de IX verdadeiramente coherente, deuno en 1992 a promulgación do Regulamento CEE 2018/92 para produtos alimentarios ([Consello das Comunidades Europeas], 1992). Con el inaugurouse unha lexislación europea propia na materia e un novo ollar cara a este tipo de instrumentos. A nivel normativo, o regulamento comunitario resultou novidoso por diferenciar entre dúas figuras de IX: as Denominacións de Orixe Protexidas (DOP) e as Indicacións Xeográficas Protexidas (IXP), as cales se manteñen ata a actualidade e cuxas definicións e diferenzas se recollen na táboa 7.

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Táboa 7. Logotipos e características polas que se define un produto como DOP ou IXP, de acordo coa última norma na materia. Fonte: Elaboración propia a partir de Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea (2024).

DOP	IXP
Un nome que identifica un produto orixinario dun lugar determinado, dunha rexión ou, excepcionalmente, dun país.	Un nome que identifica un produto orixinario dun lugar determinado, unha rexión ou un país determinados.
A súa calidade ou características son debidas fundamental ou exclusivamente a un medio xeográfico particular, cos factores naturais e humanos inherentes a el.	A súa calidade, reputación ou outra característica específica son esencialmente atribuíbles á súa orixe xeográfica.
As súas fases de produción teñen lugar na súa totalidade dentro da zona xeográfica definida.	Polo menos unha das súas fases de produción/transformación ten lugar dentro da zona xeográfica definida.

Así, para unha DOP, a singularidade do produto atribúese ao medio xeográfico, entendido como o espazo sobre o que se combinan factores naturais e humanos para determinar as características únicas do alimento. Polo tanto, a figura da DOP alude a unha sorte de noción de *terroir*, tal e como avanzaran as normativas francesas (Barham, 2003; Bérard, 2016) ao respecto ao longo do século XX. En consecuencia lóxica, a norma obriga a que nun produto con DOP, todas as fases de produción e transformación deban realizarse dentro da mesma zona xeográfica (Krystallis el al., 2017). Namentres, para unha IXP só se require que unha destas fases teña lugar dentro da área xeográfica delimitada, entendendo que esa fase de produción/transformación é o momento crítico que determina a calidade final do produto. Polo tanto, a figura de IXP concede unha importancia chave aos factores humanos, ás técnicas de elaboración e saberes-faceres propias de cada lugar, máis que á materia prima e o medio natural no que se produce. Asemade, a descrición que se fai das IXP recolle o matiz de que estas poden abranguer un país enteiro[17]. En suma, as DOP posúen un vencello territorial máis forte e un carácter máis restritivo que as IXP (Parrott el al., 2002; Bérard, 2016; Krystallis et al., 2017; Nacevski, 2019).

Segundo Moran (1993), Parrott et al. (2002), Fonte (2008) e Krystallis et al. (2017), esta dualidade no xeito de regular as IX ten que ver coas diferentes tradicións e nocións culturais dos membros da UE. En efecto, se as DOP viñan a referendar os sistemas *sui generis* implantados en moitos dos países mediterráneos que se facían eco da noción de *terroir*, as IXP recoñecían unha interpretación máis laxa das IX para permitir a protección de produtos como a cervexa, moi estendida no norte de Europa —e na que primaban os métodos de elaboración por riba da procedencia das maltas e os lúpulos— (Parrott et al., 2002). Polo tanto, a introdución de dúas figuras de IX distintas era unha medida que satisfacía todos. Boa proba disto é a constatación de que existe unha maior concentración das DOP no sur de Europa, mentres que as IXP tenden a ser a opción maioritaria nos países do norte (Parrott et al., 2002; Rodil e Paül, 2013; Krystallis et al., 2017; Cei et al., 2018).

[17] Esta extensión ampla, se ben tamén se permite nas DOP, considérase menos apropiado nestoutro caso.

O Regulamento CEE 2081/92 tamén introduciu a obriga, ao igual que nas normas españolas e francesas, de elaborar un prego de condicións como o conxunto de requirimentos cos que cada IX debe cumprir, e que resultan necesarios para a súa tramitación ([Consello das Comunidades Europeas], 1992). A norma recolleu que os contidos mínimos destes pregos debían incluír:

- o nome do produto a rexistrar como IX;
- a descrición das súas principais características físicas, químicas e organolépticas;
- a descrición dos seus métodos de produción, tales como prácticas de cultivo, métodos locais de elaboración, xestión da paisaxe, etc.;
- a delimitación da área de produción; e
- unha exposición de probas que xustifiquen o seu vencello co territorio.

Grazas a esta serie de cuestións, o Regulamento CEE 2081/92 supuxo un fito ao establecer un sistema unitario de rexistro e unhas normativas que garantían o mesmo nivel de definición e protección para os produtos alimentarios con IX no seo da propia Unión Europea ante a paulatina multiplicación de réximes *sui generis* entre os seus estados membros (Allaire et al., 2005; Dagne, 2010; Krystallis, 2017). Porén, houbo que agardar até 2008 para que este réxime normativo común pasase, mediante o regulamento UE 479/2008, a rexistrar baixo as figuras de DOP ou IXP os produtos vitivinícolas ([Consello da Unión Europea], 2008), e até 2013 para que este marco se fixese extensivo aos viños que xa foran previamente recoñecidos baixo IX nacionais ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2013)[18].

O Regulamento CEE 2081/92 tampouco acabou de harmonizar os réximes nacionais de IX agroalimentarias no que respectaba á organización dos produtores encargados do seu control e xestión (Marie-Vivien, 2010; Penker et al., 2022). Neste senso non recoñecía a necesidade de dispor dun único grupo de produtores facultados con tales capacidades. Tan só facía unha referencia imprecisa aos grupos de produtores como os encargados de solicitar unha IX, mais sen detallar a súa composición, representatividade nin forma legal (Marie-Vivien et al., 2019). Polo tanto, mentres que países como España ou Francia (esta última desde a reforma nacional de 2006) establecían a obriga de contar con este tipo de asociacións formais para a xestión de cada IX, outros como Austria ou Italia deixaban maior flexibilidade nas fórmulas de representación destas producións (Marie-Vivien et al., 2019; Penker et al., 2022).

Houbo que agardar até o Regulamento UE 1151/2012 —a terceira norma para IX agroalimentarias que actualizaba o Regulamento CEE 2081/92— para que o sistema comunitario recoñecese por vez primeira a importancia deste tipo de agrupacións de produtores, alentando aos estados membros a que apoiasen a conformación deste tipo de institucións ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2012; Marie-Vivien et al., 2019). Asemade, o Regulamento UE 1151/2012 recolleu os roles que debían asumir este tipo de agrupacións de produtores, entre os que se incluíron: perseguir e sancionar os usos fraudulentos do nome da IX; solicitar, elaborar e modificar o prego de condicións da IX; controlar e garantir o cumprimento do prego de condicións e dos estándares de calidade da IX; e desenvolver actividades de publicidade e promoción do produto ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2012).

[18] As bebidas espirituosas manteñen a designación simple de «Indicacións Xeográficas», definíndose de acordo ao tratado internacional ADPIC, polo que non se clasifican como DOP ou IXP, a diferenza dos demais produtos ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2013).

Con todo, non foi até a promulgación da última norma comunitaria, o Regulamento UE 2024/1143 —aprobado no momento de redacción desta tese—, que finalmente se recolleu a obriga de que, para cada IX, se recoñeza unha única organización de produtores encargada da súa administración e xestión ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2024). Estableceu ademais unha serie de criterios mínimos para a súa composición e funcionamento democráticos e incidiu de novo nos roles que deben asumir este tipo de institucións. Así, o sistema europeo acabou por incorporar un dos elementos chave deseñados nos modelos español e francés dentro da súa propia arquitectura xurídica. Cómpre destacar que este novo Regulamento UE 2024/1143, asemade, acabou por unificar en boa medida as normas en IX que se foran aprobando para os tres sectores —agroalimentarios, vitivinícola e das bebidas espirituosas— de maneira individual, baixo un mesmo réxime ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2024).

2.1.5. O sistema europeo: o contexto e a xustificación do desenvolvemento rural

Alén dos aspectos técnicos e legais do sistema europeo, cómpre destacar que a súa instauración tras o primeiro Regulamento CEE 2018/92 ([Consello das Comunidades Europeas], 1992), a comezos da década de 1990, deuse nun contexto de importantes cambios no seo do clube comunitario. De feito, produciuse no medio da gran liberalización á que veu sometida a súa Política Agraria Común (PAC), por mor das negociacións que se estaban a dar no marco da Organización Mundial do Comercio. En efecto, esta norma apróbase no mesmo ano que se executa a coñecida como «reforma Mcsharry», na que se comezaba a deixar de apoiar a produtividade das explotacións agroalimentarias mediante o sistema de axudas únicas aos prezos[19] e se introducían unha serie de pagos compensatorios aos labregos baseados en criterios ambientais e outros aspectos (Josling, 2006; Goodman et al., 2012; Parlamento Europeo, 2023). Isto traducíase, na práctica, nun abandono progresivo da protección aos produtores mediante os subsidios directos ([Comisión Europea], 2003; Paül e Hernández, 2022).

Asemade, viña de xurdir a iniciativa LEADER (acrónimo de «*Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale*») como un programa experimental que procuraba a diversificación económica das áreas rurais a partir da posta en valor dos recursos propios destes territorios, por exemplo, a través da vinculación de produtos típicos e turismo (Pacciani et al., 2001; Allaire et al., 2005; Woods, 2010; Bessière, 2013; Paül, 2013; Paül e Hernández, 2022). É dicir, estábase a producir unha reorientación desde o tradicional enfoque eminentemente produtivista e agrario dos espazos rurais cara a outro baseado na idea dun desenvolvemento rural territorial, entendido en sentido máis amplo (Van der Ploeg et al., 2000; Goodman et al., 2012; Paül e Hernández, 2022).

Todas estas ideas víronse cristalizadas finalmente na Declaración de Cork de 1996, onde o mandato produtivista deixaba definitivamente de ser o modelo preponderante para os espazos rurais europeos. En canto ás producións agrarias, recoñecíase expresamente que pagaba a pena manter aquelas que, malia non seren competitivas economicamente, proporcionasen bens para a cidadanía. É dicir, aquelas que acubillasen valores ambientais, sociais e culturais alén da súa función básica de forneceren alimentos ás persoas (Ray, 1998; Pacciani et al., 2001; Broude, 2005; Woods, 2010; Robinson, 2019; Paül e Hernández, 2022).

[19] Moitos actores no seo da Organización Mundial do Comercio, que por aquel entón estaba a negociar o GATT, entendían esta práctica de subsidios directos (denominada política de prezos garantidos) á produción coma unha forma de *dumping* institucional que distorsionaba o libre mercado.

Dentro deste novo paradigma, os esquemas de IX pasaron a representar unha oportunidade para promocionar determinadas producións agrarias, con características especiais vencelladas ás súas orixes xeográficas, que deixaran de ser competitivas baixo as lóxicas liberais e produtivistas dominantes (Pacciani et al., 2001; Allaire et al., 2005). Segundo este punto de vista, as IX podían facer economicamente viables a estas producións dentro segmento do mercado de calidade (Barjolle e Sylvander, 1999; Ilbery e Kneafsey, 2000; Pacciani et al., 2001; Robinson, 2019). Un memorando da propia Comisión Europea (2003: 1) resumía esta idea baixo a premisa de «competir internacionalmente en calidade, no canto de en cantidade» (tradución propia).

De acordo a Matthews (2015), Bonanno et al. (2020) e Huysmans (2022), esta promoción das IX como ferramentas capaces de contribuíren ao desenvolvemento rural foi, en parte, un xeito de compensar os produtores que se viran máis prexudicados pola crecente liberalización da PAC. Isto afectara especialmente nos países do arco mediterráneo, que mantiñan unha agricultura campesiña menos capitalizada e competitiva que os socios comunitarios do norte de Europa (Parrott et al., 2002; Fonte, 2008). En efecto, as propias institucións comunitarias recoñecían, a través do seu Comité das Rexións, que esta estratexia de fomento das IX podía ser especialmente útil para os contextos rurais que máis dificultades socioeconómicas padecían, debido a circunstancias como a súa localización periférica —considerándose as zonas fronteirizas e de montaña parte deste grupo— e/ou polas súas características estruturais (Ilbery e Kneafsey, 2000; Parrott et al., 2002; Mcmorran et al., 2015).

Podemos atopar boa evidencia desta retórica na exposición de motivos contida no propio Regulamento CEE 2081/92 ([Consello das Comunidades Europeas], 1992: 1), onde se expresaba que a promoción de determinados produtos mediante IX podía «converterse nun trunfo importante para o mundo rural, nomeadamente nas zonas desfavorecidas ou afastadas, mediante, por unha banda, a mellora do rendemento dos agricultores e, por outra, a fixación da poboación rural nestas zonas» (tradución propia). Con todo, aínda que aí xa se deixaba entrever, a xustificación relativa ao desenvolvemento rural non se volve totalmente explícita até 20 anos despois da promulgación da primeira lexislación europea en IX, co Regulamento UE 1151/2012:

> Ao recompensar os produtores polos seus esforzos de produción dunha gama diversificada de produtos de calidade, os réximes de calidade poden ser vantaxosos para a economía rural. Isto é particularmente verdade para as zonas desfavorecidas, as zonas de montaña e as rexións ultraperiféricas, onde o sector agrícola representa unha parte significativa da economía e os custos de produción son elevados. Desta forma, os réximes de calidade poden contribuír e servir de complemento tanto á política de desenvolvemento rural, como ás políticas de apoio ao mercado e de sostemento da renda que se aplican no marco da política agrícola común (PAC). Poden, nomeadamente, contribuír nas zonas en que o sector agrícola ten un peso económico máis importante, e en especial nas zonas desfavorecias. ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2012: 1; tradución propia).

O apoio ás políticas en IX tamén se lexitimou nos termos da economía cultural, na que os valores culturais e ambientais destas producións considerábanse activos útiles, por exemplo, para incrementaren o valor engadido dos produtos e/ou favoreceren o turismo (Moran, 1993; Ray, 1998; Allaire et al., 2005; Woods, 2010; Lois et al., 2012; Rodil e Paül, 2013). No entanto, o Regulamento CEE 2081/92 fixo énfase nos dereitos dos consumidores a dispor de suficiente información sobre a orixe dos alimentos ([Consello

das Comunidades Europeas], 1992), xustificándose nun suposto auxe na demanda por produtos de calidade. Polo tanto, as institucións europeas asumían que a orixe é un compoñente importante nas apreciacións de calidade dos alimentos, de xeito que refrendaba a loita contra a competencia desleal non só como un dereito dos produtores, senón tamén dos consumidores.

Alén destes argumentos de índole socio-económica —máis centrados nos beneficios das IX para os propios produtores— o Regulamento dos anos 1990 tamén fixo referencia, por vez primeira, á conservación da diversidade de tradicións e do patrimonio cultural e gastronómico da UE como un argumento de peso para xustificar a pertinencia de contar cun réxime xurídico de seu para as IX ([Consello das Comunidades Europeas] , 1992)[20]. Referendaba así a idea de que as IX contribuían a preservar patrimonios e recursos culturais e naturais, tal e como se viña defendendo con anterioridade desde as propias esferas comunitarias ([Comisión Europea], 2003; Broude, 2005; Robinson, 2019).

Finalmente, o Regulamento 2024/1143 introduce con afán a noción de «sustentabilidade», pois a palabra aparece citada até en 40 ocasións no texto ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2024). Polo de agora, trátase do último dos argumentos dos beneficios do sistema de IX en termos de desenvolvemento rural. Esta norma, tal e como se declara no propio texto, bebe do contexto do Pacto Verde Europeo, da Estratexia da granxa á mesa da Comisión Europea (2020) —tamén, de maneira indirecta, da Declaración de Cork 2.0 que reafirma a retórica da Comisión de fortalecer as políticas de desenvolvemento rural ([Comisión Europea], 2016)— e, en termos xerais, de todo o copioso caudal comunitario de políticas ambientais, progresivamente máis confluíntes coas agrarias e rurais (Olcina e Blàzquez, 2019; Paül e Hernández, 2022). Por todo iso, o Regulamento 2024/1143 fai referencia a que as IX poden contribuír na «transición» cara a un sistema agroalimentario máis sustentable e xusto ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2024). Así, a principal novidade práctica da norma reside no seu artigo 46, que abre a porta á inclusión dunha serie de prácticas de sustentabilidade, de carácter específico e opcional, que poden ser incorporadas nos pregos de condicións de cada IX se os produtores que a conforman así o decidiren ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2024)[21].

O propio Regulamento 2024/1143 expón unha serie de obxectivos que recoñece como piares dese concepto de sustentabilidade. Estes inclúen, por unha banda, criterios de carácter ambiental como a conservación dos solos e das variedades/razas vexetais e animais autóctonas, a protección das paisaxes e da biodiversidade, etc ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2024). Por outra banda, nomea outra serie de cuestións socioeconómicas entre as que destacan a mellora das condicións de traballo e das rendas dos labregos, así como garantir o mantemento de empregos e o relevo xeracional nas explotacións agrarias ([Parlamento Europeo e Consello da Unión Europea], 2024). Polo tanto, a xustificación da sustentabilidade non semellan distar daquelas referencias ao desenvolvemento rural ás que aludían os regulamentos anteriores, as cales xa incluían a preservación de recursos e patrimonios entre os propósitos que alegaban.

[20] Cómpre anotar que, segundo Allaire et al. (2005), esta interpretación das IX en asociación coa idea de desenvolvemento rural xa se viña defendendo desde os ámbitos académicos e políticos franceses nas décadas anteriores á chegada da primeira regulación comunitaria. É moi plausible que, igual que sinalan os mesmos autores, a ascendencia francesa sobre as políticas agrarias da UE conducise a esta férrea defensa dos beneficios multidimensionais das IX.

[21] De acordo coa liña argumental da *Estratexia da granxa á mesa* da Comisión Europea (2020), a adopción destes criterios prácticos de sustentabilidade elevaría as IX á vangarda das transformacións do sistema alimentario. Seguindo a liña da hipótese de Porter e Van der Linde (1995) a mesma *Estratexia da granxa á mesa* expresa que unhas normativas de sustentabilidade estritas fomentarían as innovacións e, finalmente, suporían unha mellor competitividade comercial para as IX que adoptaren estas medidas de cara ao futuro.

En conxunto, podemos resumir as xustificacións que amosa a UE en defensa das IX nos seguintes tres puntos:

- o dereito dos consumidores á información veraz sobre a orixe e a calidade dos produtos reputados vencellados ás súas orixes xeográficas;
- a necesidade de regular o comercio e a competencia en favor das rendas dos agricultores que os producen; e
- os seus beneficios estendidos, en termos de desenvolvemento rural, o que inclúe a preservación de recursos e patrimonios, tanto de carácter cultural como natural.

2.1.6. As IX no plano internacional

A nivel internacional, o regulamento máis estendido que inclúe disposicións en materia de IX é o acordo coñecido coas siglas ADPIC (Acordo sobre os Aspectos dos Dereitos de Propiedade Intelectual relacionados co Comercio) de 1994 (Gutiérrez, 2003; Thévenod e Marie-Vivien, 2011). Negociado no seo do *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (GATT) —previa conformación da Organización Mundial do Comercio (OMC)—, este acordo establece a obriga de que todos os 164 países membros desenvolvan provisións e medios para protexeren as súas IX (Gervais, 2016). Asemade, proporciona a definición máis globalmente aceptada desta figura legal, exposta no apartado introdutorio desta tese (véxase epígrafe 1.2.1.). En verdade, esta trátase dunha definición conservadora, que non detalla o tipo de vencello territorial que debe existir entre produto e territorio, nin fai referencia algunha aos factores humanos na configuración da súa singularidade, como si conteñen as regulacións europeas (Corsinovi e Gaeta, 2019). De feito, por ese motivo, países como EE. UU. ou Australia empregan una interpretación estritamente agronómica do *terroir* (sic) na súa lexislación (Unwin, 2022).

Malia ser o principal acordo na cuestión das IX a nivel mundial, a aplicación normativa do ADPIC dista de ser homoxénea e coherente entre todos os estados que o subscribiron, pois o acordo non especifica ningún sistema de rexistro e protección en concreto ([Organización Mundial do Comercio], 1994). Así, algúns países, a falta dunha tradición propia no ámbito das IX, baseáronse no modelo europeo para desenvolveren normativas *sui generis*. En cambio, outros aplicaron o acordo a través das súas leis de marcas comerciais existentes, polo xeral máis flexibles e con menor carga normativa (Giovannucci et al., 2009; Molina, 2011; Marie-Vivien e Biénabe, 2017; Gangjee; 2017; Silva, 2021). Como se amosa na figura 6, ningún dos dous modelos semellou imporse sobre o outro.

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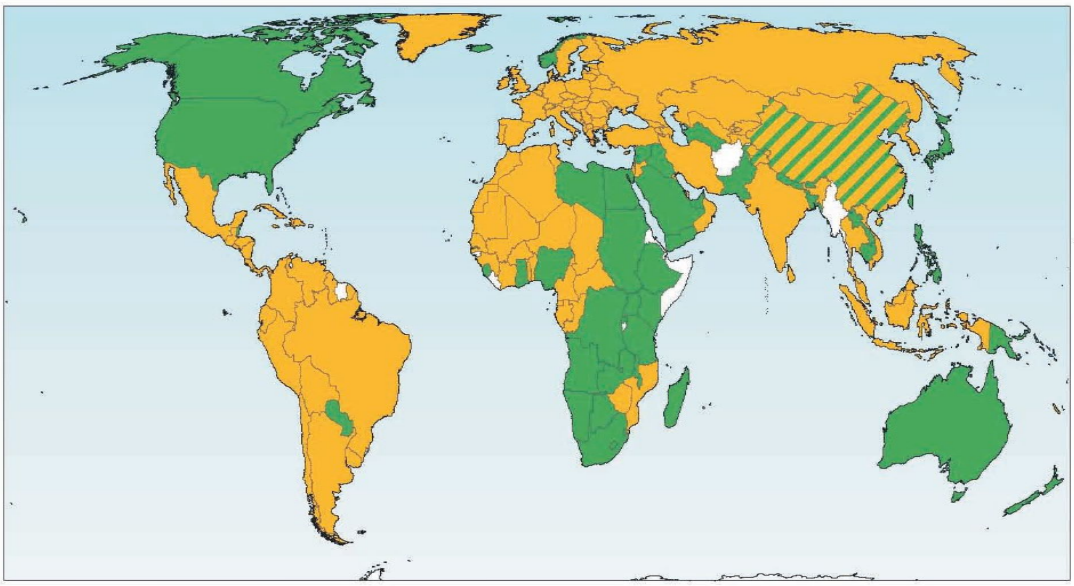
Figura 6. Modelos de protección de IX a nivel mundial. En laranxa, os países que posúen un modelo *sui generis* para as IX. En verde, aqueles que empregan o sistema de marcas xerais para a súa protección. Fonte: O'Connor e Kireeva (2009).



Ao mesmo tempo, o ADPIC outorga unha protección mínima e bastante modesta para a maioría das IX, pois só prohibe a utilización enganosa dun nome xeográfico cando este conduza a erro sobre a súa procedencia aos consumidores (Josling, 2006; Giovannucci et al., 2009). Isto non impide, por exemplo, que se comercialice «arroz Basmati cultivado nos EE. UU.», tal e como apunta Dagne (2015: 699), pois neste caso deixa claro que a verdadeira orixe do produto son os EE. UU., malia empregar un nome que evoca unha rexión do subcontinente hindustánico.

Así e todo, este acordo outorga un grao máis elevado de protección para os viños e as bebidas espirituosas. No seu artigo 23, que regula este tipo de produtos, deixa claro que prohibe toda utilización enganosa dun nome xeográfico, mesmo nos casos nos que esta se acompañe de fórmulas como «clase», «tipo», «estilo», «imitación» ou outras similares ([Organización Mundial do Comercio], 1994: 329). Polo tanto, o ADPIC impide a utilización de nomes de viños e bebidas espirituosas con IX a todo produto alleo á súa rexión orixinal (Dagne, 2015; Corsinovi e Gaeta, 2019). Deste xeito, tal e como explica Handler (2016: 148), unha destilaría de Nova Celandia non podería comercializar o seu alcohol como «cognac de Nova Celandia», nin describilo como un brandy «ao estilo cognac».

Con todo, o artigo 24.6 do ADPIC permite excepcións á norma nos casos relativos a nomes de produtos que se consideren semi-xenéricos en certos países. Deste xeito, exime da obriga de restrinxir o uso de nomes como «Porto» ou «Champagne» como descritores de viños fortificados ou espumosos, respectivamente, que desde o século XIX se comercializan como tales nos EE. UU. ou en Australia (Josling, 2006; Handler, 2016). Polo tanto, na práctica, estes países poden seguir a empregar certos nomes protexidos con IX para describiren distintos tipos de viños que producen no seu territorio, sen vencello algunha coas orixes xeográficas deses termos.

Ante a escasa protección xeral que ofrece o ADPIC, a UE, xunto con outros países afíns, axiña avogaron por aumentar o nivel de protección xeral para todas as IX, así como por desenvolver un sistema de rexistro multilateral que protexese as IX a nivel internacional, tal e como recolle o propio acordo no seu artigo 23 (Gervais, 2016; Handler, 2016). En efecto, a India é un dos estados que máis se amosou a favor de estender a

protección das IX á súa ampla gama de produtos baseados en «coñecementos tradicionais» (Dagne, 2010; Dutfield, 2017). En paralelo, Perú ou Ecuador foron pioneiros en estender a protección con IX a produtos artesanais non agrícolas[22] —coma as cerámicas de Chulucanas ou os sombreiros de Montecristi— mediante as súas regulacións *sui generis* (Bramley, 2011; Sidali et al., 2015). Incluso, desde organismos internacionais como a FAO (Vandecandelaere et al., 2009; 2018) e acordos coma a Convención na Diversidade Biolóxica (Dutfiled, 2017) se defenderon as IX como unha fórmula efectiva para protexer bens tradicionais como patrimonios culturais e xenéticos, así como para promover uns sistemas de alimentación máis equitativos e sustentables.

No que fai á UE, algúns autores expoñen que a forte defensa deste conxunto en favor das IX foi froito do contexto máis xeral de negociacións do GATT no que se xestou o ADPIC. En efecto, argumentan que o apoio ás IX resultou unha forma de compensar as concesións realizadas na liberalización da PAC (Josling, 2006; Handler, 2016; Matthews, 2016), así como de manter a competitividade das exportacións en sectores chave coma o vitivinícola ([Comisión Europea], 2021; Huysmans, 2022).

Porén, este conxunto de países atopouse coa oposición do grupo de Cairns —composto por nacións agroexportadoras como EE. UU., Canadá, Australia e Arxentina— e doutras tantas, que xulgaron estas demandas como medidas proteccionistas contra o libre mercado (Barham, 2003; Hughes, 2006; Josling, 2006; Dagne, 2010). En palabras de Handler (2016: 155) «para estes países e outros similares, os plans da UE [en favor de estender o réxime de IX] semellan pouco máis ca unha vulgar tentativa de garantir monopolios aos produtores europeos, protexendo os nomes de certos produtos valiosos contra a competencia» (tradución propia).

As principais teimas deste último conxunto tiveron que ver, de novo, coa protección de nomes cun alto perfil comercial, que se empregan de maneira xenérica nos seus territorios (Barham, 2003; Huysmans, 2022). É o caso, por exemplo, do queixo «Feta». En efecto, a extensión da protección das IX baixo un sistema multilateral obrigaría a trocar o nome da meirande parte dos queixos que se venden baixo ese nome no mercado norteamericano, ao non proviren de Grecia (Huysmans, 2022). Isto suporía, desde a perspectiva norteamericana, un atranco para os consumidores, que terían que facer maiores esforzos por atoparen os queixos frescos de ovella en salmoira que se venden tras ese nome (Handler, 2016).

Con todo, os autores que exploraron o choque entre o bloque liderado pola UE e o abandeirado polos EE. UU. expoñen, desde un punto de vista máis cultural, outro motivo que xace baixo esta disputa. De acordo con Barham (2003: 129), as IX como forma de propiedade intelectual colectiva, ancoradas no territorio, «desafían as leis, a cultura e a lóxica económica do negocio estadounidense, orientadas cara a unha teoría económica intelectual baseada na propiedade individual... [e] no libre fluxo de bens, traballo e capital» (tradución propia). De feito, a idea dunha intervención estatal para regular o mercado en favor de determinadas producións reputadas tamén contravén as doutrinas liberais, que aducen que a competencia leal e xusta só pode darse no libre mercado (Bonanno et al., 2020). Lonxe de resolver a súa disputa, estes bloques con visións opostas manteñen as súas discrepancias sen avanzar cara a ningún resultado significativo máis de 20 anos despois da creación da Ronda de Doha en 2001, conformada coa pretensión de resolver, polo menos, un sistema de rexistro multilateral para as IX.

[22] A UE recentemente estendeu, mediante o Regulamento UE 2023/2411, o réxime de protección de IX a produtos non agrícolas (Comissão Europeia 2023).

Fóra do ADPIC, o outro acordo internacional chave en IX —e enfocado exclusivamente nesta materia— é o Arranxo de Lisboa, relativo á protección das DO e o seu rexistro internacional (Gutiérrez, 2003; Thévenod e Marie-Vivien, 2011). Establecido en 1958 no marco do Convenio de París (Allaire et al., 2005), trátase da tentativa máis ambiciosa até o de agora por constituír un sistema de IX coherente a nivel internacional. Neste caso, a normativa incluíu unha definición de IX máis precisa, estrita e exclusiva que a provista polo ADPIC, pois emprega o concepto de DO para incluír só aqueles produtos cuxas calidades e características se deban «exclusiva» ou «esencialmente» ao seu medio xeográfico, facendo referencia explícita tamén aos factores humanos na configuración da calidade destes produtos (Thévenod e Marie-Vivien, 2011). En efecto, trátase da mesma definición que recolleron con posterioridade as normativas da UE para a súa figura de DOP —inspirándose ambas as dúas no concepto das *Appellations d'Origine Contrôlée*—. A protección que ofrece o Arranxo de Lisboa, asemade, é máis ampla que a prevista no ADPIC, de xeito que impide a utilización enganosa do nome de calquera produto recoñecido como IX por terceiros (Gutiérrez, 2003).

Por outra banda, o Arranxo de Lisboa tamén acadou establecer un sistema de rexistro multilateral, administrado pola Organización Mundial da Propiedade Intelectual (OMPI)[23], para favorecer o recoñecemento mutuo e os intercambios comerciais de IX entre os países que o subscribiron (Allaire et al., 2005; Thévenod e Marie-Vivien, 2011). Con este sistema de rexistro, as IX que eran recoñecidas no seu país de orixe pasaban a gozar do mesmo nivel de protección nos demais estados membros subscritores do acordo, sen necesidade de máis procedementos administrativos (Giovannucci et al., 2009). No entanto, admitíase que os países membros puidesen rexeitar conferir protección exclusiva en determinadas situacións, para permitir a coexistencia de dúas IX homónimas ou en conflito, tal e como se daba no caso do «Pisco», rexistrado tanto por Chile como por Perú (Giovannucci et al., 2009).

Este réxime foi actualizado mediante a Acta de Xenebra, aprobada en 2015, coa que se introduciu unha maior flexibilidade nos requisitos de solicitudes de novas IX e foi ampliada protección a artesanías e outros produtos non alimentarios ([Organización Mundial da Propiedade Intelectual], 2015, 2021). Esta última modificación tamén pasou a permitir que bloques comerciais se adscribisen no seu conxunto ao acordo, admitindo dese xeito a UE e a Organización Africana da Propiedade Intelectual. Malia iso, até o momento de redacción desta tese, a Acta de Xenebra tan só foi ratificada por 22 membros ([Organización Mundial da Propiedade Intelectual], 2024). Polo tanto, aínda dista de converterse nun acordo global (Allaire et al., 2005; [Organización Mundial da Propiedade Intelectual], 2023).

Ante o escaso e limitado éxito dos tratados multilaterais en IX, estas ultimamente gañaron peso nas negociacións de tratados bilaterais. A UE, novamente, resulta un actor chave neste sentido, ao ter subscribido máis de 30 tratados bilaterais ou rexionais que incluíron disposicións en IX dentro dos seus capítulos ([Comisión Europea] , 2021, 2023). Entre eles inclúense, por poñer dous exemplos, o Acordo Económico e Comercial Global UE-Canadá (CETA) e o Acordo Marco de Cooperación UE-Comunidade Andina —que inclúe a Bolivia, Perú, Ecuador e Colombia— (Molina, 2011; Huysmans, 2022).

Con esta estratexia, o bloque comunitario pretende superar a limitada protección ofrecida polo ADPIC (Giovannucci et al., 2009; Cogeca, 2014; [Comisión Europea] , 2023), de xeito que acada a protección de moitas das súas IX en países que non forman parte do sistema do Arranxo de Lisboa. En efecto, este tipo de acordos considéranse un

[23] Esta institución é un organismo adscrito á Organización Mundial do Comercio, con sede na cidade de Xenebra.

dos principais intereses «ofensivos» da UE nas súas negociacións comerciais ([Comisión Europea] , 2021; Duvaleix et al., 2021; Huysmans, 2022). Segundo apuntan Duvaleix et al. (2021), as IX gozan dunha crecente relevancia no comercio internacional da UE, ao cubriren algo máis do 15% de todas as súas exportacións no seu sector alimentario, por un valor que superaba os 17.000 millóns de euros para o ano 2017. En moitos casos, a protección das IX europeas en terceiros países é negociada de maneira individual, de xeito que se adoitan incorporar aquelas de maior perfil comercial —onde os beneficios resultan maiores—, xunto con algunhas outras de menor notoriedade (Curzi e Olper, 2012; Agostino e Trivieri, 2014; Duvaleix et al., 2021).

No entanto, alén desta importancia económica, a preponderancia outorgada ás IX tamén ten que ver con cuestións políticas e simbólicas nas relacións internacionais (Huysmans, 2022). Por exemplo, Huysmans (2022) expón que Grecia ameazou con non asinar o CETA ao considerar que non protexía o suficiente o queixo «Feta». En paralelo, Hamrick et al. (2022) amosan que Perú gastou grandes esforzos por protexer a súa IX «Pisco» aínda en países onde as vendas deste destilado resultaban completamente irrelevantes.

Ademais dos acordos bilaterais —e, en moitos casos, de maneira paralela á súa negociación—, a UE tamén dirixe múltiples iniciativas de cooperación internacional co fin de promover as IX (Molina, 2011; Huysmans, 2022; De Filippis et al., 2022; [Comisión Europea] , 2023). Entre elas, destacan tres grandes programas de cooperación internacional, denominados *IP-Key*, que teñen o obxectivo de implantar uns niveis de respecto e protección dos dereitos de propiedade intelectual comparables aos seus en terceiros países. Enfocados en China, no Sueste Asiático e en América Latina, superan os 10 millóns de euros de orzamento ([Comisión Europea] , 2023). En conxunto, con esta estratexia a UE semella imporse ao outro bloque liderado polos EE. UU. na batalla diplomática por promocionar o seu sistema legal e o seu enfoque político en materia de IX no plano internacional (O'Connor e Bossio, 2017; Huysmans, 2022; Duvaleix et al., 2021).

2.2. Relevancia económica das IX na Unión Europea

Non resulta doado expor a relevancia do obxecto de estudo a nivel mundial pola falla (e fragmentación) de coherencia dos datos e de rexistros homologables que puidesen permitir unha análise comparativa. A *Organization for an International Geographical Indications Network* (oriGIn), a asociación privada que agrupa a algunhas das IX máis relevantes a nivel mundial, conta coa compilación máis ambiciosa e ampla levada a cabo até a data. Nela recolle un total de 8.135 rexistros de IX alimentarias no mundo (oriGIn, 2024). No entanto, esta base de datos non se pode considerar coherente[24], nin tampouco permite a explotación dos seus datos.

A outra gran base de datos que existe a nivel mundial denomínase GIview[25]. Elaborada pola UE, nela recóllense un total de 5.111 rexistros que inclúen todas as IX dos seus países membros (3.480), así coma as de terceiros países (1.631) que, ou ben rexistraron as súas propias IX no mercado comunitario, ou ben subscribiron algún acordo comercial coa UE nas que estas se viron incluídas. Así, aínda que non se trate dun rexistro que inclúa de maneira pormenorizada todas as IX a nivel mundial —por exemplo, apenas

[24] Isto débese a que os rexistros que inclúen se introducen de maneira individual por algún dos membros da asociación, sen ningún tipo de supervisión institucional por parte dalgunha organización internacional oficial, como podería ser a Organización Mundial da Propiedade Intelectual. En efecto, os datos deste rexistro non coinciden cos oficiais administrados pola UE. A modo de exemplo, para España, oriGIn só recoñece 376 IX, mentres que a UE inclúe na súa base de datos oficial eAmbrosia até 408 rexistros na data de redacción deste texto.

[25] No entanto, cabe ter en conta que a base de datos oficial da UE para as súas IX denomínase eAmbrosia.

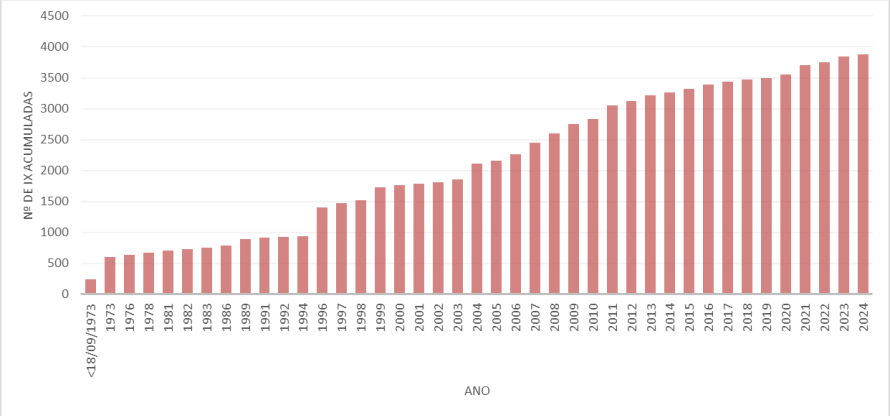
inclúe un produto para Brasil e tres para a India, ao non contar con ningún acordo coa UE que recoñeza todas as súas IX—, constitúe un punto de partida oportuno para observar a distribución global deste tipo de figuras (figura 7). A base de datos permite afirmar, neste senso, a predominancia do conxunto da UE como a rexión que concentra a maior cantidade de IX a nivel mundial. Debido a esta posición e á abundancia de datos dispoñibles, os seguintes parágrafos sobre a relevancia económica das IX centrarase nesta rexión mundial.

Figura 7. Distribución global das IX de terceiros países recoñecidas pola UE a través de tratados e/ou do rexistro comunitarios. Fonte: GIview (Data de consulta: 06/08/2024).

Segundo os rexistros, a UE conta entre todos os seus países membros con máis de 3.500 IX —número que por outra parte se atopa en constante crecemento (figura 8)—. Tal e como recolle un informe encargado pola Comisión Europea (2021), para o ano 2017[26], o valor das vendas dos produtos con IX ascendía a máis de 76.000 millóns de euros, o que representaba un 7% da cota de mercado de todo o sector agroalimentario da UE. De acordo co mesmo informe, os mercados nacionais representan o 58% das vendas dos produtos con IX. Outro 20% comercializase dentro da UE, mentres que as exportacións fóra da UE se sitúan no 22% —uns 17.000 millóns de euros— do total de vendas dos produtos con IX. Para a Comisión Europea (2021) as IX son moi relevantes no mercado extracomunitario, xa que ocupan máis do 15% de todas as exportacións de produtos agroalimentarios da UE, seguindo unha tendencia ascendente.

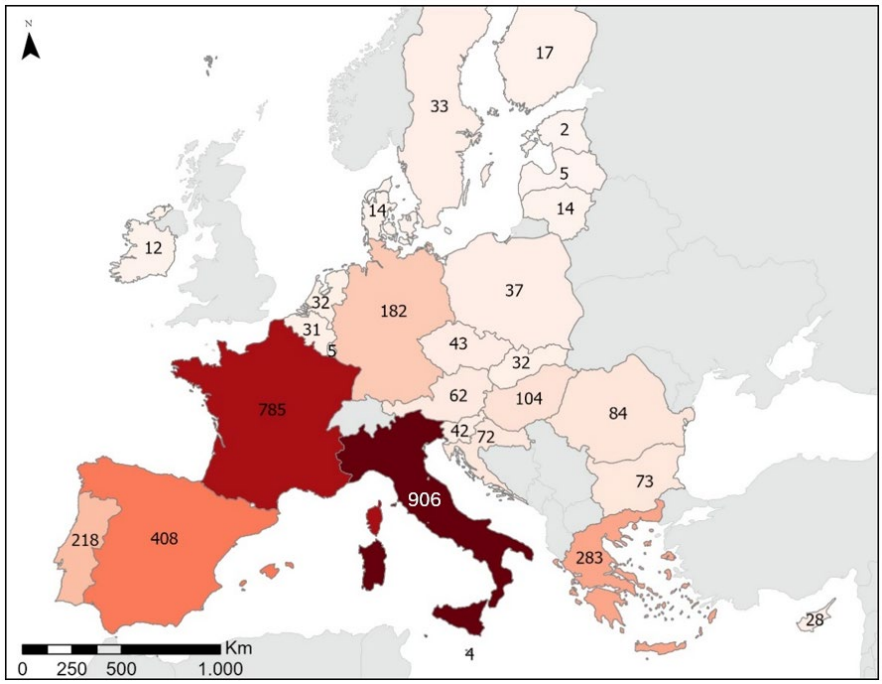
[26] Cómpre destacar que os datos tomados neste informe, o máis recente que se atopa dispoñible, aínda inclúen o Reino Unido coma un país membro da UE. Polo tanto, a información podería variar significativamente nalgúns casos coa exclusión deste país.

Figura 8. Evolución do número de IX rexistradas na UE nos últimos 50 anos. Fonte: elaboración propia a partir da base de datos eAmbrosia[27] (Data de consulta: 10/07/2024).



Con todo, pódese observar que a distribución de IX na UE é desigual, de xeito que se concentran sobre todo nos países do sur de Europa (figura 9), nunha distribución territorial que xa fora analizada por Parrott et al. (2002) e Rodil e Paül (2013). Nomeadamente, destaca Italia como o país que máis IX acubilla (26% do total), seguida por Francia (22%) e, a maior distancia, por España (12%). Só estes tres países xuntan máis da metade de todas as IX da UE. Grecia e Portugal son os outros dous países do sur de Europa que pechan o quinteto que xunta un maior número de IX. De feito, malia as súas reducidas dimensións territoriais, posúen unha alta concentración destas figuras. Este conxunto tamén acapara os maiores valores económicos de produtos con IX.

Figura 9. Distribución do número de IX rexistradas na UE por países membros. Nelas non se inclúen as IX transfronteirizas, que cobren dous ou máis países. Fonte: elaboración propia a partir da base de datos eAmbrosia (Data de consulta: 10/07/2024).



[27] Os datos que se ofrecen para as IX dentro da UE foron tomados a partir da base de datos oficial da Comisión Europea eAmbrosia. A diferenza de GIview, estoutra base de datos comunitaria inclúe información máis detallada e pormenorizada de todas as IX recoñecidas no seu seo, incluíndo o estado membro, as datas de rexistro e as especificacións de cada produto.

Polo tanto, a relevancia das IX é relativa dentro do conxunto da UE, de xeito que resultan máis populares nos países do sur de Europa. Segundo Parrott et al. (2002) e Fonte (2008), isto débese a que estes países manteñen unha tradición cultural mediterránea máis propensa a vincular as calidades dos produtos ás súas orixes xeográficas. No entanto, Parrott et al. (2002), Larson (2007), e Fonte (2008) tamén argumentan que esta maior concentración de IX no sur de Europa se debe á supervivencia dunha agricultura campesiña, pouco industrializada, que foi obxecto das políticas de desenvolvemento rural baixo as que se aprobaron moitas destas IX. En efecto, Parrott et al. (2002) e Cei et al. (2021) indican que a gran maioría das IX aprobadas na UE se identifican con rexións europeas pouco desenvolvidas e/ou economicamente atrasadas. Kizos e Vakoufaris (2009) aducen estes mesmos motivos para a existencia de moitas IX nas illas gregas máis periféricas, mentres que McMorran et al. (2015) expresan o propio para as rexións montañosas de Europa.

Esta variabilidade na relevancia das IX dentro da UE fica igualmente patente se atendemos ao seu valor económico. En efecto, segundo a Comisión Europea (2021), o valor económico de vendas de produtos con IX supera os 10.000 millóns de euros en Francia e Italia, e España sitúase lixeiramente por debaixo dese limiar. Pola contra, este valor económico das IX resulta inferior aos 500 millóns de euros en Polonia, Hungría, Suecia, Eslovenia, Romanía, Dinamarca, Croacia, Eslovaquia, Bulgaria, Bélxica, Luxemburgo, Finlandia, Chipre, Lituania e Malta. Dun xeito similar, en cifras relativas, as IX superan o 15% de todo o sector agroalimentario en Francia, sitúanse tamén por riba da media europea (7%) en Italia, Portugal e Eslovenia e, asemade, atópanse preto dese limiar en países como Grecia ou España. En cambio, noutros estados membros, as IX supoñen menos do 2% das vendas dos seus sectores agroalimentarios nacionais ([Comisión Europea] , 2021). Se atendemos ás exportacións, Italia e Francia destacan de novo ao xuntaren máis da metade de todas as vendas de produtos con IX noutros estados membros ([Comisión Europea], 2021).

Ademais da variable relevancia económica das IX por países, existen importantes diferenzas en canto ao tipo de produto que representan. Cómpre destacar que case a metade de todas as IX aprobadas na UE se corresponden con viños (figura 10), posiblemente froito do profundo vínculo cultural e histórico entre este tipo de produtos e o concepto de IX (Unwin, 1991; Rodil e Paül, 2013). Séguenas, de lonxe, as IX correspondentes con froitas, vexetais e cereais (14%), que non supoñen unha transformación do produto fresco. Estas están seguidas das IX cárnicas (13%), que abranguen de maneira máis ou menos equivalente produtos frescos e elaborados como xamóns curados ou afumados, e as IX para queixos (8%). Xa en quinta posición aparecen as IX para bebidas destiladas (7%).

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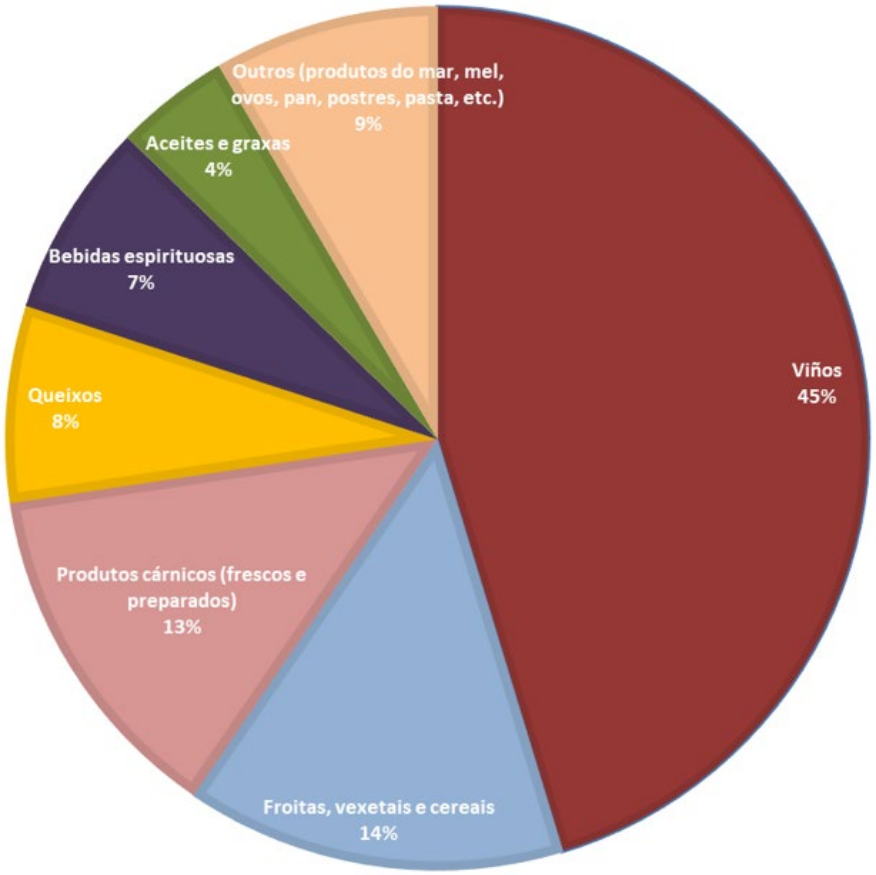
Figura 10. Distribución porcentual das IX aprobadas na UE segundo o tipo de produto agroalimentario. Fonte: elaboración propia a partir da base de datos eAmbrosia (Data de consulta: 10/07/2024).



Segundo a Comisión Europea (2021), o sector vitivinícola tamén concentra —en base aos datos de 2017— pouco máis da metade (51%) do valor total das vendas dos produtos con IX comunitarios, isto é, uns 39.100 millóns de €. As bebidas espirituosas, pola súa banda, supoñen sobre o 13% (10.000 millóns de €). O 35% (27 mil millóns de €) represéntano os demais produtos agroalimentarios. As IX vitivinícolas tamén destacan no referente ás exportacións, pois representan o 76% do total do comercio extracomunitario de produtos con IX, en concreto, uns 11.000 millóns de € sobre os 17.000 millóns de euros do total. Ademais, as exportacións fóra da UE non pararon de medrar significativamente tanto en volume de produto como valor durante os últimos anos, mentres que o consumo interno permaneceu relativamente estable ([Comisión Europea], 2020). Francia, Italia e España destacan como os principais produtores e exportadores de viños dentro do conxunto da UE.

O valor económico dos viños e das bebidas espirituosas resulta maior á proporción de IX existentes para estes sectores. Esta sobre-representación económica das bebidas alcohólicas respecto ás demais IX ten relación co valor engadido, ou prima de valor, que acadan sobre produtos comparables sen IX. De feito, estímase que os viños acadan un valor económico 2,85 veces superior ao correspondente prezo de venda dos seus homólogos convencionais, mentres que as bebidas espirituosas con IX acadan prezos 2,52 veces superiores a outros destilados sen IX. En cambio, estes valores redúcense até os 1,5 puntos sobre os prezos estándares para os demais produtos agroalimentarios ([Comisión Europea], 2021).

De igual xeito, atopamos importantes diferenzas dentro das distintas categorías de produtos alimentarios. Así, aínda que as froitas e vexetais concentren un 14% do total de IX aprobadas, apenas supoñen 1.900 millóns de euros de facturación, de xeito que só representan un 2,5% do valor económico total das IX europeas ([Comisión Europea], 2019). Unha posible explicación a este fenómeno podemos atopala partindo da base de que se tratan de produtos frescos, pouco ou nada transformados, que reciben escaso valor engadido (Secretaría General de Agricultura y Alimentación, 2019). España destaca nesta categoría ao acubillar até un terzo da produción dentro desta categoría. Os produtos cárnicos, pola súa parte, suman un 11% do volume de vendas totais de IX; destacan dentro deste sector as carnes curadas. Pola súa banda, os queixos salientan cun 12% do valor económico total das vendas de produtos con IX, isto é, uns 9.000 millóns de euros para o ano 2017, malia concentraren só o 8% do número total de IX. Segundo a Comisión Europea (2020), este último sector foi dos que máis medrou economicamente nos últimos anos e, en países como Grecia e Italia, os queixos producidos baixo IX chegan a supor até un 37% e 22% do PIB do seu sector lácteo, respectivamente.

É preciso destacar, asemade, as grandes diferenzas que poden chegar a existir entre unhas IX e outras a nivel individual. Se tomamos por exemplo o sector queixeiro, observamos que cinco IX de queixo de Francia representan máis da metade do volume de vendas de todo sector de queixos con IX franceses, mentres que só a IX de queixo Feta supón o 70% do valor de vendas de todos os produtos con IX en Grecia ([Comisión Europea], 2020). En efecto, só as 137 IX máis grandes da UE (é dicir, o 4,4% do número total de IX aprobadas) concentran un 73% do valor total de vendas das IX comunitarias. Pola contra, o 50% de todas as IX que se aprobaron na UE xeran menos dun millón de euros anualmente, de forma que representan só o 0,5% do valor total das vendas baixo IX. Algunhas delas mesmo facturan valores irrisorios, como é o caso da IX Pemento de Mougán, que apenas xera 1.600 € de facturación anual (AGACAL, 2019). Se sometemos as IX europeas a unha análise temporal para o período 2005-2017, observamos asemade traxectorias moi diversas, cun 64% que amosan un aumento de vendas, por un 33% que diminuíron o seu volume de negocio ([Comisión Europea], 2021).

Por último, para acabar de expor a relevancia das IX dentro da UE, cómpre facer alusión á súa notoriedade entre os consumidores. En xeral, existe un maior coñecemento de nomes protexidos que sobre a propia figura de IX. Así, segundo unha enquisa electrónica encargada pola Comisión Europea (2021), algúns nomes como *Champagne* ou *Parmiggiano Reggiano* son amplamente recoñecidos a escala da UE, mentres que outros como *Jabugo* ou *Pesto Genovese* contan cun amplo nivel de coñecemento entre os cidadáns dos países dos que proveñen, mais non do resto. No entanto, segundo o eurobarómetro especial dedicado á percepción dos europeos acerca da Agricultura e da PAC ([Comisión Europea], 2022), só un 20% dos cidadáns se amosan coñecedores de algún dos logotipos de IX empregados na UE. Igualmente, unha porcentaxe aínda inferior se amosa coñecedora do que significa a posesión dun símbolo deste tipo. No entanto, a sensibilización co que significa a figura de IX resulta variable entre países, de xeito que en Italia, Francia e España máis da metade dos cidadáns se expresan coñecedores desta, mentres que a súa comprensión descende drasticamente entre cidadáns doutros países como República Checa ou Países Baixos ([Comisión Europea], 2021).

Polo tanto, a relevancia das IX resulta moi variable independentemente dos termos nos que se considere. Así, no que fai á xeografía, resultan moito máis relevantes nos países do sur de Europa, onde se concentra un maior número destas figuras e onde tamén acadan uns maiores volumes económicos e de notoriedade entre os consumidores. Asemade, o tipo de produto que protexen tamén dá lugar a profundas diferenzas, de xeito que o sector vitivinícola goza de maior prominencia e valor engadido.

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3. MÉTODOS

Esta tese ten como obxectivo ofrecer unha perspectiva xeográfica crítica sobre a construción, desenvolvemento e as dinámicas e procesos socio-espaciais das IX seleccionadas como casos de estudo. Consecuentemente, a parte empírica desta investigación baséase en métodos cualitativos. Esta aproximación metodolóxica parte da ampla traxectoria investigadora do director de tese nos últimos anos, particularmente no ámbito dos Estudos Fronteirizos entre Galicia e Portugal. Para unha discusión exhaustiva sobre esta traxectoria, véxase Trillo-Santamaría e Paül (2023), onde se revisa a súa investigación en tres rexións fronteirizas entre Galicia e Portugal. Este capítulo de libro recoñece que a metodoloxía empregada deriva principalmente do traballo de V. Paül durante os anos 2012-2013 cun equipo de investigación especializado na *Université de Toulouse II-Le Mirail*, actualmente *Université Jean Jaurès*. Esta investigación enmárcase na tradición francesa da Xeografía Social, previamente aplicada ao estudo das IX en Francia, culminando na publicación de Bessière (2011). No contexto da Xeografía Rural galega, V. Paül dirixiu a tese doutoral de Rodil (2017), que empregou este mesmo marco metodolóxico para examinar os chamados establecementos de turismo rural en Galicia, incorporando reflexións sobre as IX, tal e como se discute en Rodil e Paül (2013).

No que respecta á coherencia entre os catro artigos que compoñen esta tese, os métodos cualitativos empregados consisten fundamentalmente en entrevistas semiestruturadas con actores vinculados, en maior ou menor medida, ás IX seleccionadas como casos de estudo (Dunn, 2016). Porén, en varios dos traballos que forman parte da mesma tamén se consideraron outros métodos cualitativos, como a análise textual, co fin de triangular e complementar a información obtida nas entrevistas. Deste xeito, esta investigación inscríbese na tendencia das Xeografías Radicais, que empregan e reivindican as técnicas cualitativas no ámbito da Xeografía Humana (Hitchings e Latham, 2020; Cope e Hay, 2021). Estas aproximacións cualitativas, no canto de buscar representatividade ou leis xerais, o que perseguen é recoñecer a diversidade de significados e experiencias que conforman o coñecemento humano e se expresan a través da linguaxe (Graham, 2005; Valentine, 2005). Non pretenden así ofrecer unha interpretación única e «correcta», senón explorar a ampla variedade de percepcións e comportamentos dos actores implicados (Winchester e Rolfe, 2016). Estas técnicas procuran, polo tanto, producir un tipo de información crítica que non podería ser recollida mediante métodos positivistas (Graham, 2005).

Específicamente, a preferencia polo uso de entrevistas semiestruturadas débese á súa capacidade para abranguir unha ampla panoplia de temas a través de respostas abertas, permitindo obter información profunda e detallada segundo o grao de coñecemento e experiencia de cada informante (Glaser e Strauss, 1967; Kvale, 2011; Dunn, 2016). Ao mesmo tempo, este tipo de métodos ofrece unha grande flexibilidade para adaptar as preguntas segundo o desenvolvemento da conversa, así como para introducir cuestións non previstas polo investigador nun comezo (Silverman, 2006; Dunn, 2016). Polo tanto, o emprego desta técnica permitiu colleitar información valiosa para examinar as actitudes dos actores fronte ás IX: valores e crenzas, desexos e motivacións subxacentes, necesidades e obxectivos, estratexias e relacións, etc. (Longhurst, 2010; Winchester e Rolfe, 2016).

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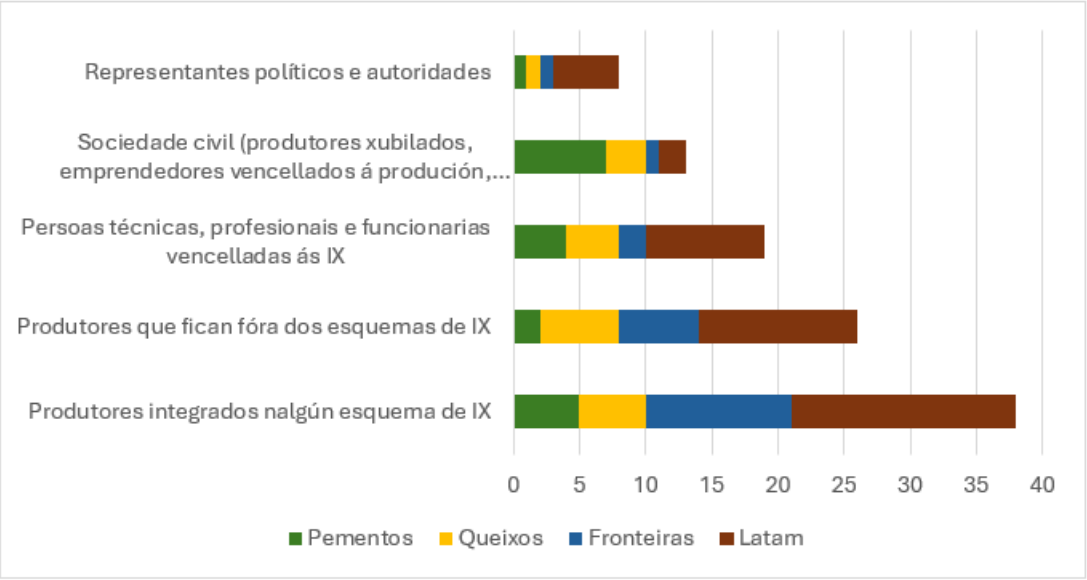
Para os propósitos desta investigación, as entrevistas centráronse principalmente nos produtores, incluíndose tanto aqueles directamente implicados no esquema das IX —algúns deles presidindo as institucións encargadas da xestión das IX— como outros que decidían permanecer á marxe das IX a pesares de ficar dentro da área amparada. Esta diversidade permitiu comprender a súa vontade a participar —ou non— nas IX, coñecer as súas opinións sobre o rendemento e utilidade das mesmas, pescudar as interpretacións e xustificacións que fan sobre a orixe dos produtos e a súa vinculación co territorio, así como achar os principais desafíos e limitacións que perciben. Non obstante, tamén se contactou con outros informantes relevantes relacionados coas IX e/ou coas producións vinculadas. Estes informantes incluíron unha ampla gama de perfís, agrupados en tres categorías (figura 11):

- Persoal profesional, composto tanto por asesores externos privados como por funcionarios públicos e técnicos de desenvolvemento rural, cunha ampla experiencia técnica e formal sobre as IX, implicados no proceso de solicitude e/ou na xestión das IX estudadas.
- Membros da sociedade civil, incluíndo agricultores xubilados —algúns deles participantes nos esquemas das IX e/ou no proceso de solicitude— e emprendedores vinculados á cadea de valor dos produtos con IX.
- Políticos e autoridades gobernamentais responsables da xestión, supervisión e/ou actividades de promoción das IX analizadas, moitos deles dirixentes das institucións públicas encargadas destas actividades, como AGACAL en Galicia, INDECOPI en Perú e SENADI en Ecuador.

Figura 11. Distribución dos entrevistados segundo o seu rol nos artigos que constitúen esta tese. Fonte: elaboración propia.



En total, realizáronse 104 entrevistas[28], como se mostra na figura 12, coa súa distribución para cada caso de estudo e artigo de investigación. A selección destes participantes non se realizou de xeito aleatorio. Estes, pola contra, foron escollidos de maneira intencional, considerándose aquelas persoas capaces de ofrecer información relevante (Flick, 2007; Stratford e Bradshaw, 2016). Neste sentido, diversos informantes foron contactados directamente grazas á labor de identificación realizada polo investigador antes do traballo de campo; os participantes restantes, mentres, foron contactados a través da técnica de «bola de neve», na cal se accedeu aos entrevistados coa axuda de participantes previos, que actuaron como «*gatekeepers*» ou «porteiros» facilitando o seu contacto (Valentine, 2005; Stratford e Bradshaw, 2016). Varios colaboradores locais, achegados de relacións persoais previas do investigador e/ou do director de tese —así como do proxecto Highlands.3 no caso da IX do queixo Tolminc— tamén xogaron un papel crucial actuando como «porteiros». Para varios casos de estudo, estes facilitaron o traballo de campo e a identificación de entrevistados chave. A súa valiosa axuda reflíctese na sección de agradecementos desta tese.

Figura 12. Distribución dos entrevistados para cada caso de estudo nos artigos que constitúen esta tese. Fonte: elaboración propia.

[28] Cómpre salientar que as 19 entrevistas relativas á IX Pemento de Herbón foron mobilizadas con anterioridade á tese do candidato no marco do seu traballo de fin de mestrado, referido na sección 1.1. (Boga, 2020).

Cómpre salientar que non se fixo ningún intento por buscar un número equivalente de entrevistas para todos os estudos de caso, tal e como deixa patente a figura 12. Isto débese a que as entrevistas —ao contrario doutros métodos como os cuestionarios, que gañan precisión a medida que aumenta o seu número— non teñen como obxectivo a representatividade (Seidman, 2006). De feito, realizar un maior número de entrevistas no caso de «Queixos», que se centrou en IX con moi poucos produtores, obviamente non podería ter proporcionado moita máis información da que se logrou obter coas entrevistas realizadas. Idealmente, o número de persoas entrevistadas baseouse no concepto de «saturación teórica», no que, a pesares do aumento do número de entrevistados, non parecían xurdir novos conceptos, ideas, perspectivas ou temas (Glaser e Strauss, 1967; Seidman, 2006). Porén, cómpre recoñecer que, nalgúns casos, non se puideron realizar algunhas das entrevistas previstas debido ao rexeitamento e/ou á falta de dispoñibilidade por parte dos potenciais participantes identificados.

As entrevistas foron deseñadas coa idea de semellarse á forma dunha conversa ou diálogo. Deste xeito, no canto de consistir nun formato ríxido de pregunta-resposta —que puidese semellar un interrogatorio para a mera extracción de información—, procurábase xerar empatía e unha boa relación cos informantes (Valentine, 2005; Dunn, 2016). Seguindo a Valentine (2005: 111), «a vantaxe deste enfoque é que é sensible e centrado nas persoas, permitindo aos entrevistados construír os seus propios relatos das súas experiencias» (tradución propia).

En calquera caso, as entrevistas aplicáronse seguindo un guieiro ou esquema de entrevista preparado para cada unha das investigacións que forman parte desta tese, conforme ás indicacións de Valentine (2005) e Dunn (2016). Esta guía consistíu nunha lista de temas e preguntas a tratar nas entrevistas, e serviu como apoio para evitar pasar por alto temas importantes, así como para asegurar a comparabilidade dos resultados (Dunn, 2016; Winchester e Rofe, 2016). En xeral, malia variacións sutís que dependeron da énfase posta en cada artigo, o guieiro mantivo a mesma estrutura e temas clave ao longo de todo o desenvolvemento desta tese.

O esquema das entrevistas seguiu case sempre unha estrutura de «funil» segundo as convencións de Dunn (2016). Nela, diferenciábanse as seguintes partes:

- Primeiro, convidando aos participantes a presentarse e tratando temas xerais arredor da produción alimentaria en xeral —por exemplo, descrición da área de produción, explicación sobre as características do produto, etc.—.
- A continuación, abordando as experiencias persoais e opinións dos informantes sobre a propia IX —por exemplo, percepcións sobre o seu impacto e consecuencias, a súa gobernanza e xestión—, onde a miúdo xurdían cuestións sensibles e controversias.
- Os últimos temas tratados nas entrevistas foron de novo máis xerais e abstractos —por exemplo, opinións sobre o futuro da produción e da IX—, proporcionando a oportunidade de facer unha reflexión xeral da conversa.

Sexa como for, as preguntas non foron formuladas sempre na mesma orde, senón que se adaptaron ao fluxo da entrevista para manter a naturalidade da conversación (Dunn, 2016).

O guieiro de entrevista tamén se estruturou segundo unha categorización de preguntas, dende as máis abertas e abstractas até as máis específicas. Na medida do posible, empregouse un estilo de preguntas abertas, como «fálame de...» (Valentine, 2005), para animar aos entrevistados a expresaren as súas experiencias coas súas propias palabras. Ao mesmo tempo, o guieiro incluía preguntas de segunda orde ou

«seguimento», máis directas e específicas, para seren formuladas no caso de que as preguntas de primeira orde non obtivesen o resultado esperado (Longhurst, 2010; Dunn, 2016).

Amais, no transcurso das entrevistas, tamén se estableceron unha serie de palabras «prohibidas», en liña coas convencións expostas por Cameron (2016) para grupos focais. Este procedemento foi tomado orixinalmente da experiencia de V. Paül en contacto coa Xeografía Social francesa (*mots interdits*), como se mencionou anteriormente, e logo reflectiuse con precisión en Morange e Schmoll (2016: 96). Seguindo esta técnica, ao inicio das conversas evitáronse certos conceptos e termos como «desenvolvemento rural» ou «patrimonio» para non influír nas respostas. Igualmente, serviu para dilucidar se estes termos xurdían —ou non— espontaneamente dos entrevistados, a fin de comprender a significación que lles outorgaban. Algunhas palabras prohibidas mantivéronse en todas as entrevistas. En particular, tentouse omitir sempre o nome de rexións específicas para pescudar como os entrevistados percibían as áreas produtoras dos alimentos investigados. Outras, pola súa banda, foron establecidas como «palabras prohibidas» para os propósitos específicos dos artigos que compoñen esta tese doutoral. Por exemplo, no artigo sobre queixos con denominación de orixe con poucos produtores evitouse a palabra «pequeno», mentres que no artigo sobre denominacións de orixe transfronteirizas se eludiu a palabra «fronteira». Non obstante, en certos casos, dada a importancia de termos como «fronteira» para os obxectivos da investigación correspondente, houbo que preguntar por eles especificamente ao final das conversas se non xurdían de forma espontánea durante a entrevista.

A duración dos diálogos adoitou ser aproximadamente dunha hora. Porén, houbo importantes variacións dependendo do entusiasmo e da disposición dos entrevistados para falar. Deste xeito, houbo entrevistas de menos de 20 minutos e outras que se estenderon máis de 2 horas. Sempre que resultou posible, as entrevistas foron gravadas logo de solicitar permiso aos participantes. Nas poucas excepcións nas que os informantes preferiron non gravar a conversa para sentirse máis cómodos, a entrevista foi rexistrada en forma de notas manuscritas durante a súa realización.

Cabe sinalar que todas as entrevistas levadas a cabo seguiron os procedementos éticos pertinentes prescritos para a investigación cualitativa (Longhurst, 2010; Cameron, 2016), sendo tamén aprobadas polo comité de bioética da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela o 12 de novembro de 2021 baixo o rexistro USC-50/2021. En consecuencia, garantiuse sempre o anonimato dos participantes mediante o uso de nomes falsos ao atribuír as súas declaracións —excepto no artigo sobre «Pementos», onde se empregou un índice alfabético (Informante A, B, C...)—. Estes procedementos tamén incluíron o feito de informar aos participantes sobre a duración estimada da conversa e os seus dereitos a non responderen determinadas preguntas, así como solicitar o seu consentimento para a gravación das sesións. O obxectivo principal e os propósitos da investigación tamén debían ser indicados para obter o consentimento informado dos participantes; porén, estes foron detallados ao final da conversa para evitar influír ou condicionar as respostas durante a entrevista (Kvale, 2011). En relación cos aspectos éticos, ao final das entrevistas manifestouse a intención de pór os resultados a disposición das persoas participantes co fin de permitir o seu escrutinio e a súa revisión a través dunha publicación (Stratford e Bradshaw, 2016).

Cómpre indicar que algunhas das entrevistas foron realizadas en inglés, lingua que non era materna nin para o investigador nin para os entrevistados. Particularmente este foi o caso das entrevistas realizadas en Eslovenia e Croacia para os artigos de «Queixos» e «Fronteiras». Con respecto a este último, algunhas entrevistas adicionais foron realizadas en catalán ou francés polo director desta tese, que acompañou ao estudante de

doutoramento no traballo de campo nos Pireneos para o caso das IX de vitela. O resto das entrevistas foron realizadas polo propio investigador en español e galego. De acordo con Winchester e Rolfe (2016), cómpre tamén salientar o posible sesgo de proximidade do autor no estudo de caso do artigo sobre «Pementos», tal como se reflicte na introdución desta disertación. Porén, cabe destacar que a familiaridade e experiencia persoal do investigador con este proceso específico de IX facilitou en moitas ocasións a creación de vínculos e confianza cos participantes na investigación ao longo de toda a tese (Valentine, 2005), permitindo profundar nas conversas mantidas cos informantes.

As entrevistas foron posteriormente transcritas nas linguas orixinais empregadas, que incluíron o español, galego, inglés, italiano[29], catalán e francés. Debido ao número extenso de entrevistas realizadas para o artigo sobre América Latina (44), neste caso as conversas foron transcritas de maneira semiautomática coa axuda do software libre Buzz[30] —sendo sempre supervisadas e escoitadas de novo pola persoa doutoranda—.

Unha vez obtidos, os datos procesábanse de forma inductiva. Primeiro, as entrevistas transcritas codificáronse en códigos «*emic*» —ou descriptivos— e códigos «*etic*» —ou analíticos— (Crang, 2005; Waitt, 2016; Cope e Hay, 2021). Os primeiros referíanse a termos e conceptos expresados directamente polos propios entrevistados, resultando útiles para agrupar ideas e temas frecuentes repetidos ao longo das entrevistas. Os segundos foron asignados posteriormente polo investigador para afondar de maneira máis analítica nas cuestións presentadas. Cómpre sinalar, porén, que algúns códigos foron identificados como «*emic*» ou «*etic*» segundo o contexto cultural dos entrevistados. Este foi o caso, por exemplo, de termos como «terroir» e «propiedade intelectual».

Os códigos foron posteriormente organizados en clusters atendendo á semiótica (Crang, 2005), co obxectivo de identificar discursos comúns respecto ás IX, así como para descubrir relacións percibidas entre actores, elementos materiais e discursos codificados (Glükler e Panitz, 2021). Este procedemento resultou ser axeitado para avaliar os impactos alegados e percibidos das IX analizadas. Os resultados presentáronse para cada caso de estudo específico seguindo esta organización semiótica e relacional. Ademais, en seis casos, os clusters foron representados graficamente nos respectivos artigos, contendo os códigos relevantes: pp. 296, 297 e 299 no artigo sobre «Pementos»; dous na p. 6 do artigo sobre «Queixos»; e nas pp. 9 e 19 no artigo sobre «Fronteiras». Ademais, algunhas citas directas dos entrevistados adoitaron de incluírse xunto cos resultados para proporcionar exemplos relevantes e reforzar as perspectivas dos actores presentados.

A información recompilada mediante as entrevistas tamén foi triangulada coa análise textual co obxectivo de completar, aclarar ou contrastar a información recollida (Winchester e Rolfe, 2016; Roche, 2016). Isto incluíu, en todos os estudos de caso, o exame dos pregos de condicións ou expedientes técnicos das IX, onde se reflicten especificacións como a vinculación espacial do produto e os seus métodos de produción. Tamén, sempre que foi posible, realizouse un esforzo para incluír diversos materiais técnicos, legais, científicos e de prensa relacionados coas IX dispoñibles en Internet, así como materiais —tales como folletos de promoción— recollidos durante o traballo de campo. A análise textual utilizouse de forma máis extensa no artigo «Pementos», dado que a familia do doutorando posúe un arquivo de máis de 70 artigos de prensa —que

[29] Este foi o caso dalgunhas entrevistas conducidas na rexión de Istria, onde o italiano é unha lingua oficial falada por gran parte da poboación. O doutorando posúe unha comprensión suficiente desta lingua que permitiu atender e transcribir as entrevistas nela sen necesidade de recurrir a terceiros.

[30] Este software emprega tecnoloxía de Intelixencia Artificial do modelo Whisper de OpenAI. Ao ficar instalalo no ordenador propio do candidato, evitouse transferir dato algún a ningunha empresa privada en Internet.

abarcan dende hai 40 anos ata a actualidade— relacionados co proceso que levou á obtención da IX. Neste caso concreto tamén foi posible acceder a informes de literatura gris do goberno galego grazas a contactos persoais. Estes materiais permitiron, neste caso particular, desenvolver un exame diacrónico do caso de estudo. Todos os textos recompilados foron codificados conxuntamente coas entrevistas (Crang, 2005; Cope e Hay, 2021).

Ademais da análise textual, empregáronse diversas fontes de información para complementar as entrevistas. Na investigación sobre «Fronteiras» —concretamente para a IX esloveno-croata Istra— tamén se distribuíron cuestionarios por correo electrónico entre persoas que non estaban dispoñibles para realizar unha entrevista. Estes incluíron autoridades rexionais de agricultura no lado croata de Istria e representantes de empresas de transformación alimentaria. Finalmente, os envases dos produtos (Figura 13), etiquetas de prezos e fotografías foron outros materiais que proporcionaron información útil para complementar as entrevistas.

Figura 13. Algúns exemplos de envases de chocolate recollidos durante o traballo de campo en Ecuador. Os envases amosan diferentes nomes para referirse á orixe xeográfica do chocolate: dous deles empregan os nomes das provincias de "Los Ríos" e "Manabí", resaltando orixes máis específicas dentro de Ecuador, mentres que os outros dous utilizan o nome "Cacao Arriba", aínda que só o chocolate do envase amarelo está certificado coa Denominación de Orixe. Fonte: elaboración propia.

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3. METHODS

This thesis aims at offering a critical geographical perspective to the construction, development and socio-spatial dynamics/processes of the Geographical Indications (GIs) selected as case studies. Accordingly, the empirical part of this thesis is based on qualitative methods. This methodological approach departs from the supervisor's extensive research experience in recent years, particularly within the field of Border Studies in Galicia-Portugal. For a comprehensive discussion on this trajectory, see Trillo-Santamaría and Paül (2023), which reviews their research across three border regions between Galicia and Portugal. This book chapter acknowledges that the methodology was primarily derived from V. Paül's work during 2012–2013 with a dedicated research team at the *Université de Toulouse II-Le Mirail*, now known as *Université Jean Jaurès*. This research was grounded in the French tradition of Social Geography, which had previously been applied to the study of GIs in France, culminating in Bessière's (2011) publication. In the context of Galician Rural Geography, V. Paül supervised Rodil's (2017) PhD dissertation, which employed the same methodological framework to examine the so-called farm tourism establishments in Galicia, incorporating reflections on GIs as discussed in Rodil and Paül (2013).

With regard to the consistency between the four papers that compose this thesis, the qualitative methods employed consist basically of semi-structured interviews with actors somewhat linked to the case-studies GIs (Dunn, 2016). However, other qualitative methods such as textual analysis have also been considered in various papers to triangulate and complement the information gathered from the interviews. Hence, this research follows the trend within the Radical Geographies that intentionally employ and vindicate qualitative techniques in the field of Human Geography (Hitchings and Latham, 2020; Cope and Hay, 2021). Instead of seeking for representativity and general laws, qualitative approaches pursue the diversity of meanings and experiences that constitute human knowledge and are expressed through language (Graham, 2005; Valentine, 2005). As such, they do not pretend to offer a unique "right" interpretation, but rather to explore the wide range of perceptions and behaviours of stakeholders (Winchester and Rolfe, 2016). Thus, these techniques attempt to produce critical information that could not be gathered with positivist methods (Graham, 2005).

The preference for making use of semi-structured interviews lies in their capacity to cover a panoply of topics through open responses, while allowing to obtain in-depth and detailed information depending on the knowledge and experience of each informant (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Kvale, 2011; Dunn, 2016). At the same time, this sort of methods offers great flexibility to adapt questions according to the flow of the conversation, as well as to raise issues that may have not been anticipated by the researcher (Silverman, 2006; Dunn, 2016). Therefore, the use of this technique enabled to gather valuable information to examine the attitudes of stakeholders towards the GIs: their values and beliefs, their underlying desires and motivations, their needs and objectives, their strategies and relationships, etc. (Longhurst, 2010; Winchester and Rofe, 2016).

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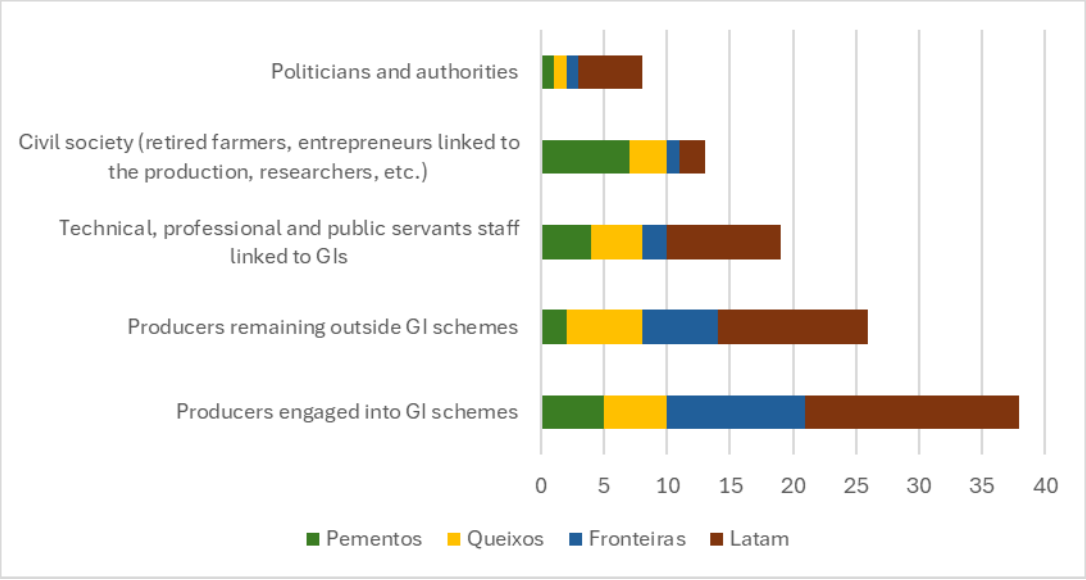
For the purposes of this research, interviews were primarily focused on producers. These included those directly involved in the GI scheme, with some of them being chairing the institutions entitled to manage the GIs. Additionally, some producers who decided to remain in the sidelines of the GI while being in the entitled area were also considered. This variety allowed to grasp their willingness to participate (or not) into the GI, their opinions about the GI performance and utility, their understandings and justifications conceded to the foods' origins and their links with place, the main challenges and limitations they perceive to face, etc. Nevertheless, other relevant informants related to the GIs and/or the productions related were also contacted. These included a varied range of profiles, which are grouped here into three categories (figure 11):

- professional staff, consisting of both private external advisors as well as public servants and rural development officers, with extensive technical and formal expertise on GIs, who were involved in the application process and/or the management of the case studies' GIs;
- civil society members, including retired farmers — some of them having participated into the GI schemes and/or their application — and entrepreneurs linked to the GI product value chain; and
- politicians and government authorities responsible for the management, supervision and/or promotional activities of the analysed GIs — many of them being heads of the corresponding public institutions in charge of these activities, such as AGACAL, in Galicia, INDECOPI in Perú and SENADI in Ecuador.

Figure 11. Distribution of interviewees according to their role within the articles constituting this thesis. Source: own elaboration.



In total, 104 interviews were conducted[31], as shown in figure 12 with their distribution for each case study and research article. The selection of these participants was not based on a random sample of producers. Instead, they were "purposively" chosen considering those individuals capable of offering relevant information (Flick, 2007; Stratford and Bradshaw, 2016). In this sense, various informants were contacted directly by the identification work done by the researcher prior to fieldwork, but the remaining participants were contacted through "snowball" sampling in which interviewees were accessed with the help of previous participants who acted as "gatekeepers", facilitating their contact (Valentine, 2005; Stratford and Bradshaw, 2016). Local collaborators from previous personal relationships of the researcher and/or the PhD supervisor — as well as from the Highlands.3 project in the case of Tolminc cheese GI — also played a pivotal role acting as gatekeepers, by facilitating the fieldwork and the identification of key interviewees. Their valuable help is reflected in the acknowledgments section of this thesis.

Figure 12. Distribution of interviewees for each case study within the articles constituting this thesis. Source: own elaboration.

[31] It should be noted that the 19 interviews referred to the Herbón peppers GI had been previously mobilised for the final Master Thesis of the PhD candidate (Boga, 2020).

It is worth noting that no attempt was made to seek an equivalent number of interviews for all case studies, as evidenced by figure 12. This is because interviews do not aim for representativity, contrary to other methods like questionnaires, which gain accuracy the higher is their number (Seidman, 2006). Indeed, conducting a larger number of interviews in the "Queixos", which focused on GIs with very few producers, obviously could not have yielded much more information than was obtained with the interviews applied. Ideally, the number of people interviewed was based on the concept of "theoretical saturation", in which, despite the increase of the number of interviewees, no new concepts, ideas, perspectives or topics seem to emerge (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Seidman, 2006). However, it should be recognised that in a few cases, interviews that were pretended could not be conducted due to the rejection and/or the lack of time available from the potential participants identified.

Interviews were designed to take the form of a conversation or a dialogue, seeking to generate empathy and good rapport with the informants, rather than consisting of a rigid question-answer format that could be looked like an interrogation for mere information extraction (Valentine, 2005; Dunn, 2016). Following Valentine (2005: 111), "the advantage of this approach is that it is sensitive and people-oriented, allowing interviewees to construct their own accounts of their experiences".

Be that as it may, the interviews were applied following a prepared interview guideline or schedule for each of the investigations that are part of this thesis, following Valentine's (2005) and Dunn's (2016) indications. This guideline consisted of a list of topics and questions to address in the interviews and served as a support to avoid overlooking important topics, as well as to ensure the comparability of the results along different interviews (Dunn, 2016; Winchester and Rofe, 2016). In general, despite subtle variations depending on the emphasis placed on each article, the same structure and key topics along the whole development of this thesis has been kept.

The interview schedule followed a "funnel" structure established in different sections, following Dunn (2016):

- firstly, inviting participants to present themselves and raising broad topics around the food production in general — e.g., description of the area of production, explanation about the characteristics of the product, etc.;
- then, moving on to the informants' personal experiences and opinions about the GI itself — e.g., perceptions about its impact and consequences, its governance and management —, where sensitive issues and controversies often arose; and
- the last themes raised in the interviews were once again more general and abstract — e.g., opinions about the future of the production and of the GI —, bringing the opportunity to provide a general reflection of the conversation.

Nevertheless, the questions were not formulated always in the same order but adapted to the flow of the interview to maintain the naturality of the conversation (Dunn, 2016).

The interview schedule was also structured according to a categorisation of questions, from the more open and abstract to the more specific. As far as possible, an open-ended style of questions such as "tell me about..." (Valentine, 2005) was employed, to encourage interviewees to articulate their experiences in their own words. At the same time, the interview guideline included second order or "follow-up" questions, more direct and specific, to be asked in the case the first order questions did not get the expected result (Longhurst, 2010; Dunn, 2016).

Additionally, in the course of the interviews, a series of "forbidden" words were also established, in line with Cameron's (2016) conventions expounded for focus groups. This

procedure was originally taken from V. Paül's experience in contact with French Social Geography (*mots interdits*), as earlier said, and then precisely reflected in Morange and Schmoll (2016: 96). Following this technique, certain concepts and terms such as "rural development" or "heritage" were eluded in first time to avoid biasing responses. Equally, it served to elucidate if these terms emerged — or not — spontaneously from the interviewees, so as to understand the significance they conferred to them. Some forbidden words were maintained in all the interviews. Particularly, the name of specific regions was frequently skipped to grasp what the interviewees understood about the producing regions of the investigated products. Others meanwhile were established as forbidden words for the specific purposes of the papers that compound this doctoral thesis. For example, the word "tiny" was banned in the article about GI cheeses with few producers, while "border" was equally eluded in the article on cross-border GIs. However, in some cases, given the importance of words like "border" for the objectives of the corresponding research, they were specifically asked before concluding the conversation if they had not emerged during the interview.

The duration of the dialogues used to take approximately one hour. However, there were important variations depending on the interviewees enthusiasm and willingness to talk, with some interviews of less than 20 minutes of duration, and others that extended beyond 2 hours. As often as possible, the interviews were recorded after asking permission to the participants. In the few exceptions the informants preferred not to record the conversation to feel more confident, the interviews were recorded in the form of manuscript notes along the conversations took place.

It should be noted that all the interviews undertaken have followed the pertinent ethics procedures prescribed for qualitative research (Longhurst, 2010; Cameron, 2016), being approved by the bioethics committee of the University of Santiago de Compostela the 12th November of 2021 under the registry USC-50/2021. Accordingly, the anonymity of the participants has been guaranteed by using false names when attributing statements to our interviewees — except in the "Pementos" paper, where an alphabetical index (Informant A, B, C...) was employed instead. These procedures also included informing participants about the estimated duration of the conversation and their rights to not to answer certain questions, as well as asking them consent for recording sessions. The principal aim and purposes of the research must be equally stated to get the informed consent of the participants. However, these were detailed at the end of the conversation to avoid biasing or conditioning the responses during the interview (Kvale, 2011). Regarding the ethical aspects, at the end of the interviews the intention to provide feedback to the participants was stated, ensuring that the findings would be open to their scrutiny through a publication (Stratford and Bradshaw, 2016).

Importantly, it must be indicated that some of the interviews were conducted in English, which is not the native language neither of the researcher neither of the interviewees. This was particularly the case of those interviews conducted in Slovenia and Croatia for the "Queixos" and the "Fronteiras" articles. With respect to the latter, a few more interviews were also conducted in Catalan or French by the supervisor of this thesis, who accompanied the PhD student in the fieldwork in the Pyrenees for the case of the beef's GIs. The rest of the interviews have been conducted by the researcher himself in Spanish and Galician. In accordance with Winchester and Rolfe (2016), the potential home-bias of the author in the "Pementos" article case-study must also be highlighted — as reflected in the introduction of this dissertation. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the familiarity and personal experience of the researcher with this particular GI process has facilitated on many occasions building rapport and trust with the research participants

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throughout the whole thesis investigation (Valentine, 2005), allowing to deepen the conversations held with the informants.

The interviews were later transcribed in their original languages being used, thus including Spanish, Galician, English, Italian[32], Catalan and French. Due to the extensive number of interviews applied in the Latam article (44), in this case the conversations were transcribed semi-automatically — being always supervised and re-listented — with the assistance of Buzz[33] free software.

Then, the obtained data has been processed in an inductive manner. First, the interviews transcribed have been coded into "*emic*" — or descriptive — codes and "*etic*" — or analytic — codes (Crang, 2005; Waitt, 2016; Cope and Hay, 2021). The former referred to terms and concepts directly expressed by the interviewees themselves and were useful to condense/group frequent ideas and topics repeated through the interviews. The latter were assigned afterwards by the researcher to delve more analytically into the presented issues. It must be noted however that some codes have been identified as "*emic*" or "*ethic*" depending on the cultural background of the interviewee. This was the case, for example, of terms such as "*terroir*" and "intellectual property".

These codes have then been organised into clusters attending to semiotics (Crang, 2005), to identify common discourses regarding the GIs, as well as attending to the grasped relations between actors, material elements and discourses codified (Glükler and Panitz, 2021). This procedure proved being convenient to assess the alleged and perceived impacts of the GIs analysed in each case study. Results have been presented for each specific case study following this semiotic and relational clustering. Moreover, in six cases the clusters have been graphically represented in the respective papers, containing the relevant codes: pp. 296, 297 and 299 in the "Pementos" paper; two in p. 6 of the "Queixos" paper; and pp. 9 and 19 in the "Fronteiras" paper. In addition, direct quotations from the interviewees are frequently included along with the results to provide relevant examples and reinforce the stakeholders' perspectives being presented.

The information gathered with the interviews have been also triangulated with textual analysis, to complete, clarify or contrast the information collected from the interviews (Winchester and Rolfe, 2016; Roche, 2016). This included, for all the case-studies, the examination of the GIs codes of practice or technical expedient, where specifications such as the spatial link of the product and the methods to obtain must be reflected. Whenever possible, efforts were also made to include various technical, legal, scientific and press materials related to the GIs available on the Internet, as well as materials collected during the fieldwork such as brochures. Textual analysis was used more extensively in the "Pementos" article, given that the family of the PhD student holds an archive of more than 70 press articles — ranging from 40 years ago until the present — related to the process leading towards the GI and that grey literature reports from the Galician government in this respect were easily accessible by means of personal contacts. These materials allowed in this case to develop a diachronic examination of this case study. All the collected texts were codified together with the interviews (Crang; 2005; Cope and Hay, 2021).

Apart from textual analysis, other various information sources were used to complement the interviews. In the "Fronteiras" research — for the Slovenian-Croatian

[32] This was the case for some interviews conducted in the Istria region, where Italian is an official language spoken by a large part of the population. The PhD student has a sufficient understanding of this language, which made it possible to conduct and transcribe the interviews without the need to resort to third parties.

[33] This software is powered by the Artificial Intelligence technology of Whisper model from OpenAI. By installing it on the PhD candidate's own computer, no data has been transferred to any private company on the internet.

Istra GI specifically — email questionnaires were also distributed among people who were not available to perform an interview. These included regional agriculture authorities in the Croatian side of Istria and officers of food processing companies. Lastly, products' packages (Figure 13), price tickets and photos were other materials containing information useful to complement the interviews.

Figure 13. Some examples of chocolate packages collected during the fieldwork in Ecuador. The packages show different names to refer to the geographical origin of the chocolate: two of them use the names of "Los Ríos" and "Manabí" provinces, emphasising more specific origins within Ecuador, the other two employ the name "Cacao Arriba", but just the yellow package chocolate is certified with the Designation of Origin. Source: own elaboration.

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4. COMPENDIO DE ARTIGOS

4.1. ARTIGOS PUBLICADOS

4.1.1. Pementos

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Padrón peppers or peppers from Herbón? Discussing the controversial attainment of a geographical indication in light of food (re)localisation approaches

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Abstract

Globally, Padrón peppers are a widely known vegetable. Unknown to most, its origin lies in a small village, Herbón, located on the outskirts of the town of Padrón (Galicia, North-West Spain). Local farmers have faced serious problems due to competition with producers from elsewhere commercialising peppers as 'Padron'. In response, local farmers sought to protect the specificities of the place of origin, a claim leading to the achievement of a geographical indication (GI) label in 2009. This initiative has been controversial, as the name of the pepper and the town were appropriated by a private company, and the GI boundaries were disputed by producers across Galicia. In the context of recent theoretical discussions on food studies, this article makes use of a territorial/spatial approach that integrates Anglophone and Francophone literature to develop a transversal explanation of the development of the GI designation. The institutional landscape, the negotiation of the GI specificities of the food, the local food culture and the

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collective action of farmers are revealed as key issues in its evolution and establishment.

KEYWORDS
alternative food networks, geographical indications, Padrón/Herbón peppers, (re)localisation, systèmes agroalimentaires localisés

INTRODUCTION

Padrón peppers are a very popular gastronomic product in Spain, usually associated with Galicia, an autonomous jurisdiction located in the north-west of the country. However, it is not widely known that its specific origin lies in Herbón, a small village and parish (614 inhabitants in 2020, with a land area of 9.3 km^2) near the town of Padrón (3012 inhabitants in 2020), the toponym associated with the famous peppers. Over the last few decades, Padrón pepper production has expanded across the world, reaching California (US) and Queensland (Australia), where 'Padron chilli or capsicum' is widely marketed and consumed. While the pepper has been gaining momentum on the national and international market as a global commodity, the link between the product and its place of origin has evanesced.

National and international producers and big retailers have taken advantage of this ambiguity. Since the 1980s, Galician markets have received 'Padrón peppers' (sic) produced in Southern Spain, Morocco and further abroad. This scenario has severely impacted traditional producers, compromising their economic sustainability. In response, they began to defend the specificities of the place of origin by claiming a geographical indication (GI). Despite strong resistance to this GI bid and the controversies that arose, they achieved a protected designation of origin (PDO)[1] label in 2009. How farmers from a small village accomplished such a feat is the focus of this article.

This article will specifically analyse the factors and mechanisms that were pivotal for success in obtaining that GI. To do so, we make use of recent food studies considering this type of process from a spatial and/or territorial[2] perspective. In Anglophone literature, the research on the so-called alternative food networks (AFNs) proposes the concept of embeddedness to refer to the reattachment of food to certain localities. Meanwhile, Francophone literature on the matter presents a long, and particular, tradition studying local food systems. Both sets of work have been developed separately, making it pertinent to consider them together, albeit with some linguistic nuances (Bidwell et al., 2018; Bowen & Muterbaugh, 2014; Lamine et al., 2018; Mancini, 2013). We will employ '(re)localisation' to refer to the common idea of place-based food initiatives (consistent with Baritaux et al., 2016).

The remainder of the article is organised as follows. In the next section, a thorough comparison of Anglophone and Francophone theoretical perspectives is outlined. After outlining the methods employed, the results section will analyse the GI development process for 'Padrón peppers' that, as will be explained, have become 'Herbón peppers' since the GI materialised. The article then discusses the pivotal factors for the development of GI and how they relate to the theoretical foundations. The conclusion discusses the usefulness of the employed approach and its potential for future developments.

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SPATIAL/TERRITORIAL APPROACHES TO FOOD STUDIES: TWO TRADITIONS

Anglophone perspectives: AFNs and the notion of embeddedness

The literature on AFNs is based on the assumption that industrialisation, standardisation and globalisation have disconnected food production from consumption and vice-versa, a process raising health, environmental and ethical concerns (Winter, 2003; Wiskerke, 2009). The term 'AFN' is employed as an umbrella phrase (Sarmiento, 2017; Wiskerke, 2009) to include a wide range of modalities (GIs, organic farming, fair trade, etc.) that, to a greater or lesser extent, try to counter the prevailing trends (Goodman et al., 2012; Paül & Haslam-Mckenzie, 2013). Generally, these alternative modes of food production–consumption appear mediated by a process of social and spatial 'reconnection' (Forney & Häberli, 2016; Mount, 2012; Paül & Haslam-Mckenzie, 2013), where 'proximity', 'trust' and 'quality' are central concepts (Higgins et al., 2008; Mckitterick et al., 2016; Renting et al., 2003; Tregear, 2011).

Within that context, the notion of embeddedness emerges as a platform to analyse how non-economic values can be agreed between producers and consumers to generate product differentiation (Schneider et al., 2014). Thus, embeddedness helps to understand, for instance, how producers could regain control in food market transactions and increase added value from products (Grivings & Tisenkopfs, 2018; Van der Ploeg et al., 2012). The notion has also been employed to account for the role of local resources/ecologies (Marsden, 2010; Morris & Kirwan, 2011) and even contextual cultural factors (Bowen, 2010; Matacena & Corvo, 2020) in food production–consumption relations. Consequently, most scholars frame embeddedness as the local scale under the notion of 'relocalisation' (Tregear, 2011).

However, DuPuis and Goodman (2005) and Born and Purcell (2006) have warned against considering the local scale as intrinsically positive. They highlight the 'defensive localism' of some AFNs and its potential reactionary and exclusionary backdrop by, for instance, erecting regulatory entry barriers (Goodman 2004; May, 2017; Rangnekar, 2011). Furthermore, Goodman (2004) suggested these kinds of foods are niche-market products, only available for a narrow/elitist consumer sector but nonetheless still integrated into the dominant conventional food market. Kirwan (2004) and Guthman (2004, 2007) highlights the prevalence of conventional, market-oriented and pro-competitive dynamics within some AFNs, such as organic food, and the appropriation of some AFNs by large companies. Consequently, these modes of production should be conceived in terms of hybridity between opposites such as alternative/conventional and local/global (Goodman et al., 2012; Mount, 2012; Sarmiento, 2017). The blurring of these boundaries has analytical potential for exploring the values and strategies of actors within AFNs, who may be guided by both conventional and alternative standards (Goodman et al., 2012; Schneider et al., 2016).

Following this idea, some authors have discussed embeddedness as a process where different actors and resources are interrelated (Bowen, 2010, 2011; Marsden, 2010; Moragues-Faus & Sonnino, 2012). Sonnino (2007) drew from a constructivist perspective to trace the discourses of locality within an AFN, revealing the tensions and power relations inherent to the negotiation of their features. By questioning the ways these 'alternative' and 'local' productions could deliver sustainable outcomes, it has been shown that the transformative potential of the AFNs is contingent on how they are constructed and governed (Nizam, 2020; Sonnino, 2007; Tregear et al., 2007). Consequently, Rippon (2014) analysed the construction of place and scale for the Stilton GI in the UK. These findings are in line with Born and Purcell (2006, p. 196), who highlighted that '[local

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food] scale is not ontologically given but socially constructed'. Moreover, Moragues-Faus and Sonnino (2012, p. 230) stated that the process of quality construction between food and place 'shapes the control of the network', assessing the discursive dimension of embeddedness processes.

Francophone perspectives: GIs, terroir and the *Systèmes Agroalimentaires Localisés* (SYAL) approach

Francophone academics stand out for having developed a long-standing trajectory in the study of the spatial attributes of food production. The establishment of one of the oldest, if not the oldest, legal GI schemes in the world at the beginning of the 20th century (Barham, 2003; Dagne, 2010; Pratt, 2007) impelled a specific line of research on this topic (Bérard & Marchenay, 1996; Teil, 2017). Here, in contrast with the dominant Anglophone perspective, the focus lies in the foods' origins, which is more than a spatial term (Fonte, 2008, 2017; Goodman et al., 2012). This concern is commonplace in Mediterranean countries, including France (Fonte, 2008; Parrot et al., 2002), bearing witness to the ancient notion of *terroir*, referring to productive areas where a particular local environment, farmers' know-how and sociocultural representations confer a distinctive quality to the respective foods (Castelló, 2021; Hinnewinkel, 2005; Moustier & Consales, 2007). The *terroir* concept connects with heritage, history and tradition (Bessière, 2013; Demossier, 2011; Teil, 2017). Thus, *produits de terroir* are linked to a culturally and historically marked territory where local people have a feeling of identity (Bessière, 2013; Fonte, 2008). These qualitative aspects have profound implications for both consumers and producers. Consumers recognise certain foods depending on their cultural framing (Requier-Desjardins, 2010; Sanz & Muchnik, 2016). For producers, identity and heritage considerations can explain producers' long-term commitment to *terroirs* (Hinnewinkel, 2007; Muchnik et al., 2008).

Given this intellectual background, some scholars developed the French SYAL approach, translated into English as 'Localised Agri-food Systems'). Based within the *Centre de Coopération Internationale en Recherche Agronomique pour le Développement* in the 1990s, SYAL highlights the diverse elements linked to an area that 'produce[s] a type of agricultural and food organization in a given spatial scale' (Muchnik, 1996 *apud* Barjolle et al., 2014, p. 7). SYAL sought to understand the links between certain places and the emergence of specific food production (Bowen & Muttersbaugh, 2014). By doing so, the notions of 'anchoring' and 'localisation' manifested to explain the factors and dynamics necessary to produce the distinctiveness of place-based foods (Barjolle et al., 2014; Fournier & Muchnik, 2012; Requier-Desjardins, 2010). Thus, SYAL scholars pose concerns about the construction of food products. However, contrary to embeddedness perspectives, SYAL academics assume that 'localisation' implies the 'activation' of capacities and resources already present in particular regions (Boucher & Reyes-González, 2016; Fournier & Muchnik, 2012), for example, valorising (and protecting) genetic resources to differentiate and avoid misappropriation (Belletti et al., 2017a; Garçon et al., 2017; Sanz & Muchnik, 2016). The idea of activation relates to a model of development based on the enhancement of local resources (Mancini, 2013), where firms' innovation is significant (Belletti et al., 2015; Sanz & Macías, 2005).

GI schemes[3] are privileged objects of study within SYAL, and often these studies have resulted in policy recommendations (Fonte, 2008; Lamine et al., 2018; Mancini, 2013). At the same time, this framework enabled the recognition of the role of governments, regulatory boards and broader political issues regarding the evolution of food systems (Belletti et al., 2017b; Sanz & Macías, 2005). Institutional actors are seen as critical in this respect. From a legal perspective, Biénabe and Marie-Vivien (2017) and Geuze (2017) argue that GI regulations avoid 'delocalisation', work-

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ing as a kind of intellectual property that protects the producers of the region that have forged the reputation of the food. However, regulations do not always grant the protection of those producers. Gangjee (2017) and Fernández-Zarza et al. (2019) identified lax GI regulations that work against traditional farmers and favour the most powerful actors exploiting the product's reputation. Meanwhile, stricter national legislation, such as those in France, arguably transferred to the EU as a whole, are more pertinent for protection of local food resources (Mancini, 2013). An important learning from this literature is the influence of powerful merchants' unions on state's regulations for the protection of Champagne (Meloni & Swinnen, 2018) and Rooibos (Biénabe & Marie-Vivien, 2017).

Constrasting and linking both approaches

Table 1 highlights the main differences between Anglophone embeddedness and Francophone SYAL approaches.

After the approval of the 1992 2081/92 Regulation on GIs within the framework of the European Common Agricultural Policy reform, some Anglophone authors began to interrogate the Francophone research perspectives (e.g., Ilbery & Kneafsey, 1999; Tregear et al., 1998). This work lead Sonnino and Marsden (2006), Bowen (2011) and Moragues-Faus and Sonnino (2012) to consider the role of institutions, by establishing two dimensions, (horizontal and vertical), to analyse embeddedness on AFNs. The former offers a flat perspective on social, economic and ecological interrelations that shape and develop the process within a specific context, while the latter pays attention to the broader political, institutional and regulatory frameworks and its implications for the governance of the food network. The latter dimension has also been considered by Van der Ploeg et al. (2012), Marsden (2013) and Schneider et al. (2014). These authors defend a proactive role by the state in ensuring 'reflexive governance' able to provide mechanisms for participation within AFNs, as well as to recognise and defend the specificity of these productions.

At the same time, *terroir* has also been incorporated into Anglophone literature on food cultural studies (Gade, 2004; Singer, 2018; Trubek & Bowen, 2008; Unwin, 1991, 2022). These studies converge with Francophone research on GIs, emphasising the agency of consumers for the creation and support of GI reputation and status, with additional value promoted when reputation is elevated as part of a nation's identity, playing a further role in protecting GIs as a public good (Gangjee, 2017; Dutton, 2019; Ramshaw, 2015). This literature, however, remains marginal in mainstream AFN research (Unwin, 2022).

In the late 2000s, some Francophone authors also began to consider the research on AFNs,[4] with a focus on governance and conflict, to explain the dynamics of place-based food productions. Within a SYAL framework, Pachoud et al. (2019) conducted a network analysis to address the capacity of collective action in a localised agro-food system in South Brazil. Coq et al. (2017) also identified conflicting strategies between conventional, organic and GI production within the Sierra de Segura olive oil production system, similar to Belletti et al. (2017a) who described the clash between producers from two municipalities within the Sorana bean GI. The Anglophone-based relational perspective was also topical for critically studying the construction and validation of *terroirs* within GI application processes. Demossier (2011), Grasseni (2016) and Garçon (2019) showed that stakeholders can make use of an array of evidence such as historic documents or agronomic measurements to reinforce certain GI territorial bonds and, by doing so, exclude other producers. Meanwhile, other GIs present a weaker product–*terroir* link with a bias towards

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TABLE 1 Differences between both food spatial/territorial approaches. *Source*: The authors, based on Bowen and Mutersbaugh (2014) and Lamine et al. (2018)

	Anglophone/embeddedness perspective	**Francophone/SYAL perspective**
Object of study	Focused on modes of production, it can hold different types of foods	Focused on specific foodstuffs (e.g., geographical indication)
Conceptualisation of space	Relational and networked, consisting of components, nodes and flows	Deeper notion of *territoire* (consisting of place identity, *terroir* and institutions), acting at different spatial scales
Underlying ontology	Locality and quality as contingent social constructions	Localised food as the result of specific existing elements, for example, cultural and political-institutional
Research spotlight	Search for the configuration of power relations	Search for the consistency and originality of regions and places
Position in relation to conventional models of food production, distribution and consumption	Mainly oppositional, considering non-economic values	Reformist, engages with policies and mainstream markets
Main mobilized quality dimensions	Locally produced, safety, health, sustainability (eco and fair)	Taste, heritage, certification as institutional guarantee
Theoretical strengths	The process is sustained by stakeholders pursuing certain objectives	Model of development, 'activation' of territorial resources
Disadvantages/critical review	Difficulties in analysing a myriad of factors and actors	Problems at delimitating the food system

Abbreviation: SYAL, *Systèmes Agroalimentaires Localisés*.

tourism development and/or production growth (Alonso & Parga, 2018; Bowen & Zapata, 2009; Brunori & Rossi, 2007).

In the last decade, both Anglophone and Francophone scholars have paid attention to the externalities/multifunctionality of (re)localised foods beyond production. They analyse the contribution of GIs on the branding of regions (Forney & Häberli, 2016; Tregear et al., 2016) and even on economic diversification (Crescenzi et al., 2022). Many of these scholars defend the use of actor-network-theory and conventions theory to epistemologically ground their analyses (Kizos and Vakoufaris, 2011; Coq et al., 2017; Sarmiento, 2017; Letelier et al., 2021). From the reviewed literature in this theoretical section, three main dimensions are identified to articulate the analysis: actor's organisation (including their strategies, institutions and governance dynamics), discourse (attending to actors' narratives) and the geographic space (presenting resources, food cultures and socioeconomic factors spatially embedded). These dimensions are represented in Figure 1.

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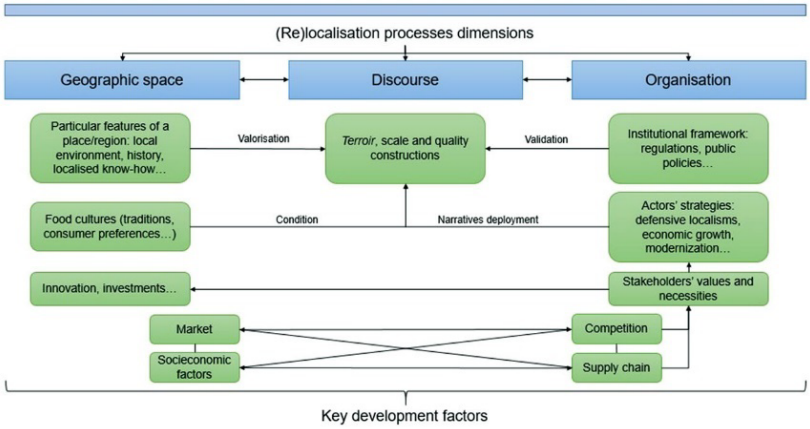

FIGURE 1 Theoretical model cross-fertilising the two considered approaches. *Source*: The authors, based on the reviewed literature of spatial/territorial approaches to food studies: two traditions

METHODS

The role of actors is central to the construction and development of a food (re)localisation initiative, from both Anglophone and Francophone perspectives. Thus, it was appropriate to develop a qualitative methodology capable of exploring their values, strategies and relationships around pepper production. We contacted key informants who had a common feature: They were involved with pepper production in the village of Herbón. As such, we selected 19 participants:

- Five PDO producers (working in three different firms, three of them being members of the PDO Regulatory Board);
- two active pepper-growers who have left the PDO scheme;
- seven others who are residents in the village (including the elderly and retired farmers) and
- five professionals (technical staff, civil servants, governmental authorities, etc.) directly involved in the PDO application process.

We conducted semi-structured interviews. These were favoured due to the flexibility they allow in adapting questions according to the flow of the conversation, thus generating empathy and trust with the informants (Dunn, 2016). In addition, we sought a differential accent for each interview, to highlight the features that each person favoured most (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This technique allowed us to obtain more in-depth and detailed information about each interviewee's perspective.

The interview model had a hybrid structure following Dunn's (2016) conventions. First, we asked participants about their relationship with Padrón/Herbón and the pepper, guiding them towards the core topics. Then, we moved on to informants' personal experiences to reveal potential controversies around pepper production and in the construction of the PDO. As far as possible, we used an open-ended style of questions such as 'tell me about…' (Valentine, 1997), maintaining a neutral position so the informants could articulate their experiences in their own words. Thus, we avoided anticipating terms such as 'PDO' to understand the context of each informant (Cameron, 2016). The interviews were concluded with more abstract questions, such as 'how did they see the future of the crop' and of the village in general.

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TABLE 2 Relation of grey literature texts

Title	Pages	Citation in this article
Report on the current situation of the Padrón Pepper ('Pimiento de Padrón') [potential] Designation of Origin (2003)	3	Document 1
Report on the geographical area to be covered by the Galician Padrón Pepper ('Pimiento Padrón de Galicia') [potential] PDO ('Pimiento Padrón de Galicia'; 2004)	8	Document 2
Draft Code of Practice of the [potential] PDO Galician Padrón Pepper (2004)	22	Document 3

Abbreviation: PDO, protected designation of origin.

In the results, we refer to each informant following an alphabetical index (Informant A, B, C…). One of the authors of the article is a resident of Herbón, and his/her family has been directly involved in the GI application process, reflecting a bias (Winchester & Rolfe, 2016). However, this has facilitated easy access to several interviewees.

Interviewing was complemented with textual analysis, including examination of diverse written sources that were useful to complete, clarify or contrast—with a diachronic and comparative perspective—the information collected from the interviews (Roche, 2016; Winchester & Rolfe, 2016). We made use of four kinds of textual materials:

- a set of approximately 75 press articles—ranging from 40 years ago until the present day—related to pepper production in the area;
- the *Herbón Pepper ('Pemento de Herbón') PDO Code of Practice* passed in 2009—current EU Regulation 1151/12 requires the drafting of such a code for each GI registration, including specifications such as the delimitation of the production area;
- grey literature on the process leading to the PDO constitution, including reports by the Galician Government (Table 2) and
- scientific articles related to the biological research on the pepper (in biochemical and botanical terms).

All the gathered data were processed through descriptive and analytic codes (Cope, 2016; Waitt, 2016). The former were employed to group evident topics and to condense frequent ideas repeated through the interviews and texts. The latter are mainly deductive given that they make use of previous literature. These codes served to delve deeper into values, discourses and relationships between people, institutions and material elements that were intertwined in the production of peppers. We organised all the codes in clusters of ideas (Crang, 2005). Three main clusters were established, and they constitute the results section: The disputes over the rights to use the name 'Padrón'; the clash of perspectives about pepper uniqueness and the area for the PDO and the implications of the GI since it was approved. The quotes are our translation.

RESULTS

Disputes over control of the pepper name

Varied horticultural farming has been the dominant occupation of residents in the village of Herbón, mainly for self-consumption. In this context, the elderly interviewees reported that peppers

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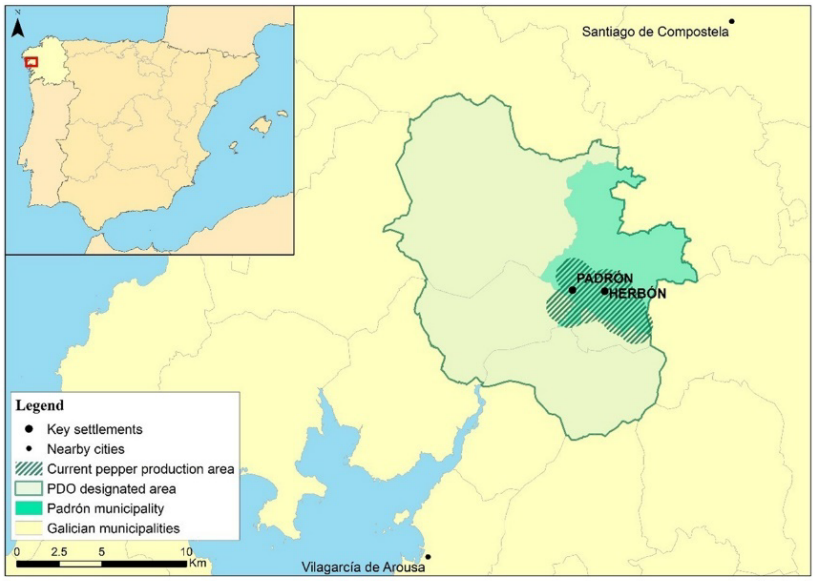

FIGURE 2 Location map of Padrón and Herbón. PDO, protected designation of origin.

occupied a small percentage of farmland and any surplus was sold in nearby markets such as Santiago de Compostela. According to them, this little vegetable already had a premium reputation in their youth (1950s and earlier). Then, the name 'Padrón' was commonly assigned to it, in recognition of this bigger adjacent town (see Figure 2), which was better known than was the case for the tiny village of Herbón. From the 1970s, the farms of the village embraced modernisation and began to specialise in the production of their most profitable crop: the pepper. In this new, emerging market economy, production rapidly increased, reaching distant markets through big retailers and sophisticated logistics networks. The interviewees explained that during the 1970s to 1980s, with the first exports reaching Madrid, the peppers acquired greater popularity throughout Spain.

However, their success prompted the development of plantations in other locations, including Southern Galicia (O Salnés, O Rosal) and other Spanish regions (Murcia, Almería). Interviewees explained that these farms were larger, more capitalised, with lower production costs and able to maintain all-year farming due to warmer climatic conditions, whereas in Herbón, the climate inhibits the plants' growth in winter. In short, Herbón was less competitive.

However, according to the farmer interviewees, the principle problem was wholesalers who commercialised peppers grown elsewhere (50, 100 or 1000 km away), marketing them as if they were from Padrón. Both informants and many press articles suggested that these practices deliberately intended to mislead consumers, taking advantage of the Herbón peppers' fame and reputation and making it difficult to differentiate the authentic peppers from others. Thus, Herbón farmers felt they were no longer in control of their *own* peppers. Indeed, the increasing market growth of vegetables grown elsewhere, even in their own traditional markets, was perceived as a reason for considerable loss of sales. These problems of perceived 'unfair competition' persisted over time with long-lasting legal battles around trademark imitations and copies (e.g., Figure 3). As one informant explained, there was great confusion in the market:

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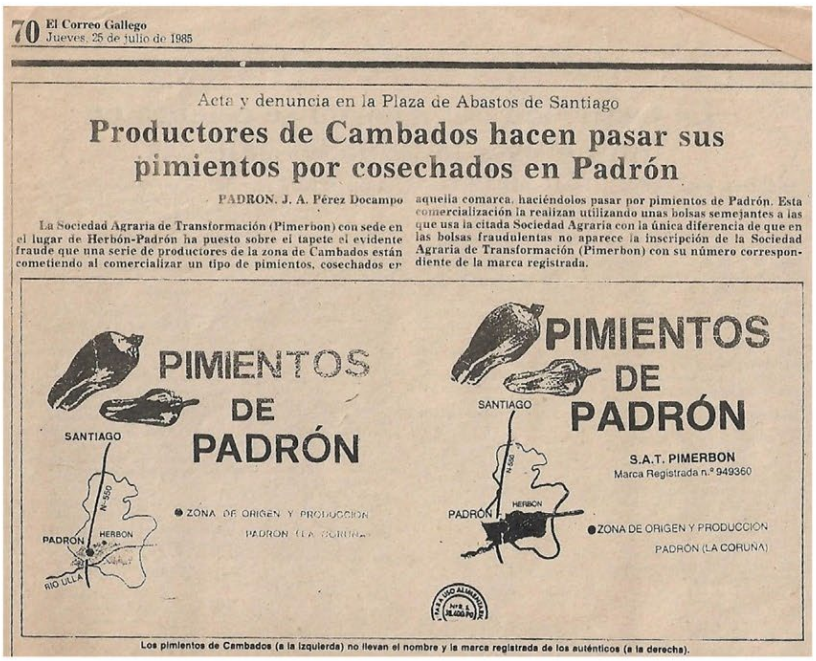

70 El Correo Gallego
Jueves, 25 de julio de 1985

Acta y denuncia en la Plaza de Abastos de Santiago

Productores de Cambados hacen pasar sus pimientos por cosechados en Padrón

PADRON. J. A. Pérez Docampo

La Sociedad Agraria de Transformación (Pimerbon) con sede en el lugar de Herbón-Padrón ha puesto sobre el tapete el evidente fraude que una serie de productores de la zona de Cambados están cometiendo al comercializar un tipo de pimientos, cosechados en aquella comarca, haciéndolos pasar por pimientos de Padrón. Esta comercialización la realizan utilizando unas bolsas semejantes a las que usa la citada Sociedad Agraria con la única diferencia de que en las bolsas fraudulentas no aparece la inscripción de la Sociedad Agraria de Transformación (Pimerbon) con su número correspondiente de la marca registrada.

Los pimientos de Cambados (a la izquierda) no llevan el nombre y la marca registrada de los auténticos (a la derecha).

FIGURE 3 Press headline of 1985 echoing the claims of Herbón pepper producers regarding packaging and copies. On the right is the real logo of Pimerbón co-operative (from Herbón), with its registry number. On the left is the fake packaging from another Galician area, audaciously showing a map of the municipality of Padrón. Source: *El Correo Gallego*, 25 July 1985.

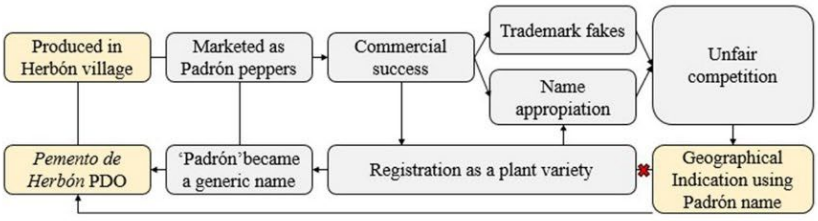

FIGURE 4 Delocalisation process of the peppers from Padrón/Herbón (in grey) and Herbón farmers' response (in yellow). PDO, protected designation of origin.

There were consumers who said: 'these other peppers are cheaper'—but they aren't from Padrón—'why not? On the bag it says Padrón… Maybe yours aren't from Padrón either'. (Informant J)

Consequently, in the late 1970s, the idea of a GI was raised to 'distinguish' and 'protect' the real Padrón peppers (Figure 4). The farmers involved explained that this solution came about through their relationship with public servants working in agricultural extension services. The farmers had no knowledge of this protection but agricultural extension officers thought it was a sensible strategy. This occurred when the existing GI legislation in Spain—Act 25/1970 on the Statute of Vines, Wines and Alcohols—was beginning to be applied—through Royal Decrees—to other items labelled as GIs rather than wines and spirits. Indeed, some interviewees remembered that

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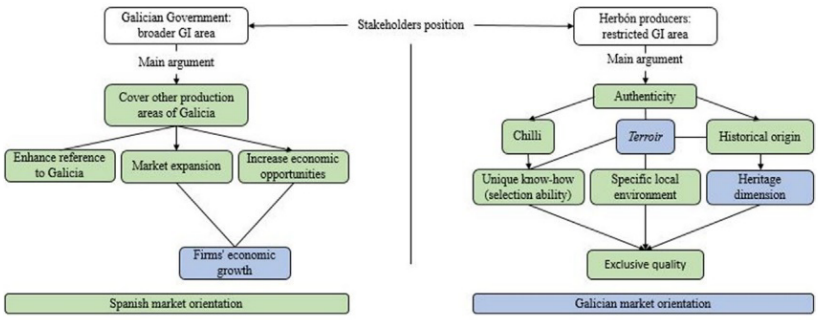

FIGURE 5 Cluster of ideas showing the different positions between the Galician Government and Herbón producers over the definition of the geographical indication (GI). Green represents the descriptive codes, while the analytical codes are in blue.

in the mid-1980s, they had direct knowledge of specific legislation allowing horticultural products to be designated as GIs—probably referring to the Spanish Royal Decree 2671/1985 explicitly mentioning that 'Padrón Peppers' should be considered a GI.

When Herbón producers proceeded to formally request a GI for their pepper, they noticed that 'Padrón' had already been registered as a plant and seed variety name, having been appropriated by a private company. Some interviewees pointed out that at that time, the legislation did not prevent the registration of place names as trademarks. Nonetheless, they questioned how that name could have been accepted for registration when, simultaneously, they were processing a GI for it.

> The people of Herbón were dedicated to producing and working, not to seeing what was published in the Gazette; but no-one in the Local Council [of Padrón], or the Galician Government informed us that the seed had been registered. (Informant H)

The interviewees believe that, with stronger negotiation power, they could have reversed that registration. In any case, local producers lost control of the seed name—which became generic—and the aspiration for a GI for the 'Padrón pepper' was lost (Figure 4). Instead, the route chosen to apply for the GI was to use the toponym of Herbón, bypassing legal issues related to the former name. Although Herbón had the handicap of not being notable or recognised at a commercial level, it facilitated the differentiation of the 'authentic' pepper from the already generic Padrón.

GI Area: The essence of the pepper

The interviewees acknowledged that by the end of the 1990s, the idea of a GI was revisited because of the increasing perception of loss of local sales due to the expanding production of peppers from elsewhere being labelled as 'Padrón'. Importantly, by then the GI regulations were already dependent on European legislation (Spain joined the European Communities in 1986). However, as they recall, the geographical delimitation of the GI caused major controversy at the time. Herbón producers aspired to a restricted GI, while the Galician Government wanted a broader geographical area for the so-called 'Galician Padrón Pepper'. Each of the stakeholders deployed different arguments to defend their position (Figure 5).

Several interviewees, as well as the analysed grey literature (Documents 1, 2, 3), show that the intention of the Galician Government was to define a broad area that would cover all Galician

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production of this variety of pepper. An internal report (Document 1: 3) outlined the objective of expanding the production area under the GI scheme to accommodate markets that 'will surely increase their demand'. This strategy made sense, as some informants admitted Padrón peppers are widely associated with Galicia by Spanish customers outside Galicia. Another article (Document 2) expressed that with such a quality scheme, more producers and firms might benefit, thus making a veiled reference to economic growth objectives. In sum, they were presuming a broader area would allow more production and economies of scale. Furthermore, the position of the Herbón producers was criticised:

[As] these producers have historically been the forerunners of the initiative to create the PDO [...], they believe they have a series of acquired rights; including the fact that the 'authentic' Padrón peppers only come from their farmlands [...]. This solution would considerably limit the expansion of the product in neighbouring municipalities without agronomic or market reasons that would [justify it]. (Document 2: 5)

On the other hand, Herbón producers claimed that there really were 'market' and 'agronomic' reasons to reject a broader territorial extension. From an economic point of view, they presented the other production areas as industrialised and mass production-oriented, in contrast to their own area and more artisanal production. They argued, that if the GI production area had been expanded, competitive relations with large companies would have displaced them. By so doing, some interviewees believed they would face a serious risk of disappearing, despite being 'the origin' of the pepper.

Indeed, the main reason they gave for rejecting the Galician Government's proposal referred to the authenticity of their unique food. Local informants stress that the historical origin of the crop lies only in their village as a right of belonging since, they surmise, Franciscans brought the seed from Mexico in the 16th–17th centuries, and then adapted it to the local environment. Herbón farmers also pointed out that they continue to grow their distinctive crop, guarding and selecting the seeds from one season to another, as opposed to other producers who buy the registered Padrón variety, as well as hybrid versions that have eliminated the spiciness. Nonetheless, the organoleptic qualities of the pepper produced in Herbón—which interviewees link to a superior taste—are highlighted as the most distinctive feature of this food. Different producers cite anecdotes from customers that support this argument:

When people came, if there were different Padrón peppers in the market and they knew Herbón ones, they bought Herbón and not the others. Why? Because the real Padrón peppers are ours, by origin and because they are the ones that taste best. (Informant N)

Many friends say: 'I plant peppers [in other areas of Galicia], but they don't taste like yours'. The place, Herbón, the valley must be the heart of the pepper. (Informant M)

One informant mentioned a doctoral thesis that corroborated the pepper cultivated in Herbón could be distinguished (from similar ones planted elsewhere) by its chemical composition. Local producers also emphasise their know-how when distinguishing and selecting the pepper that is hot from the one that is not. Many informants underline this ability as fundamental to the quality of the product and for consumers' high appreciation of it.

The people from Herbón always knew the pepper, they knew which was spicy and which was not, they selected it [...]. That's why they were famous because they recognised the peppers. (Informant J)

We said: how are we going to allow them to put 'Galician Padrón Pepper' when our pepper has nothing to do with what is produced in O Rosal or O Salnés [regions in Southern Galicia], when there are important organoleptic differences... it has nothing to do with the taste or work

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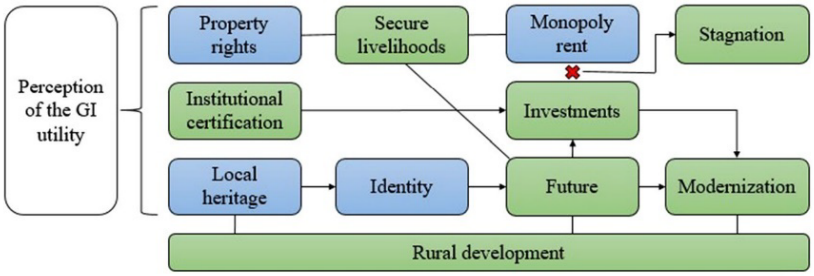

FIGURE 6 Perceptions and values on GI utility found among Herbón farmers. Blue and green represent the same as in Figure 5.

traditions. And in selection, which is another important aspect, the farmers [from O Rosal and O Salnés] don't know how to choose the pepper. (Informant H)

[Producers from other areas] insisted, but they had nothing, they had no justification. They always went after us to see what they could get. (Informant C)

As expressed by several informants—with opposing interests at the time — there was no way to move forward with the GI application if the 'hard core' farmers of pepper production remained on the sidelines, as they were pivotal to sustaining the product–territory link, its historic and natural roots, as well as consumers' appreciation. The process stagnated between 2004 and 2008, but in the face of the local producers' immovable position against a larger area GI, the geographical area was finally agreed, based on the municipality of Padrón. The GI agreement complied with EU rules, showing a demonstrable link between the product and a specific area. While the Herbón farms defended powerful arguments in their favour, the other areas aspiring to achieve the GI status were not able to claim to hold the same seed selection traditions or growing conditions. Nonetheless, the GI also includes some bordering municipalities beyond Padrón (Figure 2) as a concession to the Galician Government and their bid for production growth expansion.

The approval of the 'Herbón Pepper' PDO

Having resolved the conflict over the GI area, a new and definitive code of practice was drawn up, inclusive of all the arguments put forward by Herbón farmers. The PDO name—Herbón Pepper—symbolising the 'return to the origin' of the crop, reinforced authenticity despite the broadening of the traditional production area.

When the GI was finally achieved in 2009—more than 30 years after the initial concept was mooted, not all pepper producers from Herbón registered. During the interviews, the different perceptions of the statutory PDO were articulated (Figure 6). The idea of a protection scheme was broadly attractive because of its profitability. However, the qualification required a set of costs (related to traceability, provenance and health controls), which—according to some informants—not all producers were willing to assume, implying that they detached themselves from the PDO when it was finally implemented. Those farmers who have subsequently excluded themselves from the PDO claim that their peppers are as authentic as those with PDO certification.

Meanwhile, the farmers, mostly women, who trusted the GI as the only option for the future of their quality production, organised themselves to comply with the requisites. They created a new co-operative, *A Pementeira*, and 10 years later, it encompasses more than half of the production

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of the PDO. Over time, other producers have individually joined the GI. The interviewees participating in the PDO state that new markets have been reached (e.g., London) and derived products have been developed over the last few years, including different types of PDO-Herbón pepper jam.

DISCUSSION

As noted earlier, this article analyses how a GI has been attained for Padrón/Herbón peppers in light of the spatial/territorial theorisations developed in recent food studies in both the Anglophone and Francophone traditions. At first glance, the emergence of the Herbón Pepper PDO follows the mainstream GI development framework. Hence, an original food consisting of a variety of small green peppers (characterised by the alternation of spicy and non-spicy peppers, sold fresh at the market to be fried for consumption), linked to a specific area, has been recognised, taking into account ecological, cultural, historical and identity elements widely quoted by the interviewees. This aligns with how *terroir* is mobilised to construct a specific GI institutionalisation (Fonte, 2008; Moustier & Consales, 2007). In this sense, the studied process is consistent with the assumption that a GI consists of activating the unique resources present in a given area to capture added value and with the SYAL approach as a whole (Boucher & Reyes-González, 2016; Fournier & Muchnik, 2012; Sanz & Muchnik, 2016). However, despite all the constituents being present for the designation of GI, the case study shows that the Herbón Pepper PDO finally came about after three rounds of interwoven conflicts that are discussed here, evidence that the discursive dimension of *terroir* and scale constructions and the underlying power behind regulations have been key factors in the process.

The first identified conflict was the registration of a pepper seed with the toponym 'Padrón' in the mid-1980s by a private company, when, simultaneously, local producers were seeking to create a GI to address perceived unfair competition. Although local producers tried to revert this registration, they were unsuccessful, and consequently Padrón became a generic, and delocalised, plant variety name. This study underscores the relevance of this finding, showing that even the most basic point of a 'geographical' indication, that is, the place/region name, is not necessarily assured. Despite the GI ultimately being achieved, the place-name Padrón remains detached from the place. This is an important addition to the existing literature in this domain, as most literature on food (re)localisation reviewed in the theoretical section assumes that GIs grant the protection of the foods' place/region names (Dagne, 2010; Gangjee, 2017; Geuze 2017), which is not always true. In our case, the strong commercial interests that may play against these processes led to the appropriation of the toponym 'Padrón'.

The case of Padrón pepper is significant, given that both Champagne at the beginning of the 20th century and Rooibos in the 2010s were able to challenge the misuse of these names by outsiders (Biénabe & Marie-Vivien, 2017; Teil, 2017; Trubek & Bowen, 2008). On the contrary, this was not possible for Padrón because regulations did not impede the registration of place names as trademarks in Spain in the 1980s, but also because both the Galician and the Spanish governments did nothing to stop appropriation of the place name by outside interests. A possible explanation is that French Champagne and South African Rooibos had powerful merchants' unions pressuring their governments for protection (Biénabe & Marie-Vivien, 2017; Meloni & Swinnen, 2018). This finding underpins the necessity for an adequate institutional organisation as a priori requisite for the effective protection of GIs.

The second conflict deals with the geographical scope of the GI. The results of our study indicate that prior to the designation passed in 2009, there were at least three scales at stake:

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- the global scale because the pepper is a mere commodity that can be produced anywhere in the world;
- Galicia, particularly as the Galician Government intended to create a designation for Galicia as a whole under the name 'Galician Padrón Pepper' (using two toponyms: Padrón and Galicia) and
- Herbón itself—which is the toponym ultimately adopted in 2009.

While the spatial/territorial literature on food studies has been attentive to the contestation on the geographical scope of a given GI (Brunori & Rossi, 2007; Meloni & Swinnen, 2018; Sonnino, 2007), this research provides valuable insights, showing that the social and political construction of scale applies when the GI development is taking place. This is in line with previous political and social geography research (Häkli, 2018; Marston, 2000) and Born and Purcell (2006) specifically for food studies. In this case, we saw that stakeholders discursively selected the spatial attributes that better suited their strategies and that the definition of the GI scale was adapted according to the interests of each one.

At the Galician wide-scale, the GI can be interpreted as a politically driven construction taken with obvious economic development intentions, in line with other Spanish cases (Alonso & Parga, 2018; Moragues-Faus & Sonnino, 2012. The scale of Herbón, as manifested by the local stakeholders, bears witness to the notion of authenticity linked to a unique *terroir* identified by Fonte (2008) and Bessière (2013), amongst others, as already argued here. Herbón farmers emphasised these localised resources and qualities to justify the distinctiveness of the production and their rights over it. This construction of *terroir*, given its spatial limitation, served as a discursive framework against the introduction in the GI of other companies (Garçon, 2019). Importantly, some AFN scholars have tended to blame this kind of position as 'defensive localism' based on exclusionary practices (DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; May, 2017). However, the approval of the Galician-wide scope would have represented a risk of conventionalisation as Guthman (2004, 2007) inferred when studying other AFNs and Bowen and Zapata (2009) specifically for the case of Tequila GI.

Hence, the results suggest that, when dealing with territorialised/spatialised foods, the different scales at stake can allow the construction of various discourses where (re)localisation takes place, echoing the differing Anglophone and Francophone approaches that become attached to particular scales. Arguably, we can infer that part of the gap between both theoretical approaches is related to the fact they have been conceived referring to different scales: the former keener to engage with/confront the global scenario and the latter more territorially bound and limited.

The final designation does not match with the territory of the village of Herbón but includes five different municipalities (Padrón and four others; Figure 2). This was an outcome of the negotiation between the Herbón and the Galician scales. Nevertheless, the fact that the local vision has been more successful than the Galician-wide option is consistent with the Francophone experiences in this respect (e.g., Bowen, 2010, 2011). This power has been possible given that the discourse deployed by Herbón farmers—highlighting the specificities of their production—was in line with the EU requirements needed for attaining a GI (Barham, 2003; Bérard & Marchenay, 1996; among others). Thus, in terms of the theoretical distinction between horizontal and vertical embeddedness (Moragues-Faus & Sonnino, 2012; Sonnino & Marsden, 2006) this case study shows how they have both played a role: the former given that the local conditions have been crucial and the latter in the sense that the EU framework was also pivotal. The local scale might not have been able to counter-balance the economic-wide forces without the EU regulations in force. Accordingly, our research confirms the relevance given to institutions both in SYAL and embeddedness literature on GIs.

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The interviews conducted for this research did not engage with consumers. However, the interviewees often mentioned the prestige afforded by Galician consumers on the pepper produced in Herbón as one of the main reasons to justify the GI and the modest geographical coverage. Although not directly investigated, this perceived purchasing behaviour is consistent with the Southern European context, where linking particular tastes to specific places and traditions is recurrent (Fonte, 2008; Muchnik et al., 2008; Parrot et al., 2002), and affirms the agency of consumers' culture as a conditioning factor for a GI development.

Finally, the conflicts have not ended despite the PDO being set in 2009, implying a third set of contestations that is worth discussing. Hence, a new area of conflict has emerged between the producers in Herbón committed to the PDO, who have a role in its management, and those who have decided to remain on the sidelines. Again, this is a practical verification of the embeddedness approach, underscoring the relevance of the involved stakeholders and their values and strategies (Moragues-Faus & Sonnino, 2012). In this sense, SYAL scholars, such as Mancini (2013), enthusiastically argue that traditional farmers in Latin America are favored by GI regulations, but even traditional farmers cannot be monolithically understood as a single set of people. In this case, although Herbón farmers' initial motivations for collective action were about securing rents and retaining local control of the resource, their claims for a GI based on the origin and the heritage of the product also led to the emergence for some of a set of non-economic values around pepper production. These include a collective sense of identity and appreciation of product authenticity as Demossier (2011) and Forney and Häberli (2016) found in other cases. These values, in turn, favoured their commitment to the PDO and led them to innovate, by creating an agrarian cooperative, investing in the modernisation of the process and launching derived products, a trend which is consistent with Sanz and Macías (2005).

CONCLUSION

This article has shown how an almost powerless group of farmers, despite several conflicts, have achieved a GI for the popular 'Padrón' peppers. The GI, by defending the link of pepper production with the area of Herbón, has preserved the identity marker of the village and ensured the economic sustainability of Herbón farmers, maintaining their traditional livelihoods and shielding them from displacement by large-scale productions.

We have made use of the notion of '(re)localisation' to provide a bridge between the Anglophone and Francophone spatial/territorial theoretical approaches to food studies. The inferences from this study allow us to argue that the brackets remain necessary. The GI for peppers comes from a recognition of a botanical resource, technique, local knowledge and traditions fixed in place, and the strategy to assert the local specificities of Herbón is based on the fact that the product is 'localised'. However, this same product has been 'relocalised' because the link between the product and its place of origin had disappeared, and, at least to some degree, it has been re-established. Nonetheless the toponym 'Padrón' remains global and generic, unlinked from the place. Consequently, it is possible to produce 'Padron peppers' across the world, in Queensland and California, with no association with a Galician town, or a GI, at all.

We are not the first to interrogate the interrelationships of Anglophone and Francophone traditions. Previous research making use of both approaches include Bowen and Muterbaugh (2014) and Lamine et al. (2018), to name a few. However, this article confirms that both traditions combined together provide worthwhile investigation on the construction of (re)localisation processes. Indeed, the achievement of the Herbón Pepper PDO can only be explained through the interrela-

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tionship of both theoretical sets, validating the model advanced in Figure 1. From this integrated model, we have evidenced the elemental relevance of the spatial/territorial, discursive and organisational dimensions that interplay on these processes. The Herbón Pepper GI has been made possible due to the strong organisation of Herbón producers. It is also due to their mobilisation of a discourse about *terroir* aligned with the specific resources present in their space/territory, with an EU regulatory framework, that recognised such link. The food culture of Galician consumers, conceding prestige to the peppers cultivated in that area, also contributed to the GI.

We have demonstrated that part of the gap between the AFN and SYAL approaches is due to different scales of analysis: the former looks more at the (re)localisation process on the global scenario, and the latter focuses more on the outcomes of (re)localisation at the ground level. Further clarification of this difference could contribute to the discussion of whether GIs are a protectionist mechanism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to all the people who collaborated in this work, all those who immersed us in the history, culture and efforts of so many families who, over time, built the reality of Herbón and its farming. Without their invaluable help, without their profound knowledge, it would have been impossible to write this article. We also want to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable insights to strengthen the theoretical section.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest that could be perceived as prejudicing the impartiality of the research reported.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

ETHICS STATEMENT

Participants in the research have been adequately informed about the aims of the investigation and their rights. The research methods comply and have been approved by the ethical commission of the University of Santiago de Compostela.

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ENDNOTES

[1] PDOs, established through the European Union (EU) Regulation 2081/92, are the most exclusive type of food GIs in the EU.

[2] 'Territorial' and 'spatial' are not synonyms but their specific conceptualisation is beyond the remit of this article. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight that 'territorial' and 'spatial' have different meetings in Latin languages (including French) and English, making articles from both traditions somewhat incomparable.

[3] Slow Food Presidia is another way to qualify products from *terroir* commonly referred in this literature.

[4] Paradoxically, most Francophone scholars who have adopted an AFN approach do not consider GIs as alternative productions, being focused on short supply chains (*circuits de proximité*) such as urban foodsheds, farmers' unions like the *Confédération Paysanne* and so forth, where the focus is not on 'distinctive' foods but on ordinary products (Aubry & Kebir, 2013; Garçon et al., 2017).

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4.1.2. Queixos

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'Because of its size, it's not worth it!': The viability of small-scale geographical indication schemes

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ABSTRACT

We analyse the theoretical tenets underpinning geographical indications (GIs) and seek to determine whether the number of producers engaged in them matters. To do so, we develop a qualitative methodology to focus on two small-scale cheese productions located in mountain areas endowed with a GI: Cebreiro (Galicia, NW Spain) and Tolminc (Slovenia). In both instances, just two dairies actively produce the GI-certified cheeses; yet, the two case studies differ greatly. In Cebreiro, the GI is seen as an opportunity for development, but the scant number of producers compromises its sustainability. In Tolminc, the GI is monopolised by one company and offers few benefits for the many disengaged producers throughout the region. We conclude that the number of producers engaged in a GI scheme is not a critical factor in their success; rather, public institutional support and the presence/absence of a GI producers' management structure are pivotal.

1. Introduction

Research into geographical indications (GIs) for food has been gaining momentum over the last 20 years. Within a rhetorical context of a transition towards a green economy and the enhancement of quality products, granting GIs has been widely seen as useful for overcoming trends towards the increasing concentration and industrialisation of mainstream agriculture (Barham and Sylvander, 2011; Lamarque and Lambin, 2015). Moreover, GIs have been intensively promoted as a means for rural development (Sylvander et al., 2011; Krystallis et al., 2017). However, their outcomes are highly dependent on the way they are constructed, managed and articulated by actors operating in their respective communities (Fonte, 2008). In parallel, GIs are quite often criticised in the sense that they are seen as spatial monopolies, arguably promoting exclusionary and defensive localism practices (Goodman et al., 2012; Hegnes, 2019). Thus, a rural development *vis-à-vis* monopoly dichotomy is latent in much of the GI literature, albeit few papers have addressed this debate directly to date (for exceptions, see Goodman, 2004; Tregear, 2011).

Much of the literature in this field focuses on large GI productions,[1] such as Parmigiano Reggiano (De Roest and Menghi, 2000) and Comté (Bowen, 2010; 2011) cheeses, with approximately 6,000 and 3,200 producers, respectively, involved in each. However, studies of GIs involving only a small number of producers are scarce. Indeed, based on a review of more than 100 papers analysing specific GIs carried out herein, we have detected just one, Belletti et al., (2017a: 253), that *intentionally* highlights their objective of focusing on 'a very small production system, where a few small farms are using a GI' — albeit they actually include a total of 23 registered farmers in their case-study of the Sorana bean. We further identified two studies — May (2017) and Leonhardt and Sidali (2017) — that deal with GIs that comprise just one or two producers, but this feature was not specifically highlighted in their respective discussions. This focus is quite remarkable, given that according to the European Commission's (2021) evaluation of GIs, small-scale[2] indications account for 48 % of the total number of GIs in the European Union (EU).

Given this obvious gap in the research, in this paper we seek to elucidate if the limited size of a GI — in terms, more specifically, of the small number of producers involved in the scheme — matters. What impact does this have, for example, on its governance? Can small-scale GIs deliver benefits to the region in which they are embedded, and/or do they constitute a monopoly for the few producers engaged in them? The

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[1] Note, however, that data on the number of producers using a given GI are not always available via official registers.

[2] The European Commission defines 'small-scale' GIs as those with a sales value of less than EUR 1 million. It does not, however, specifically consider the total number of producers engaged in this definition.

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question is of evident relevance given the growing political interest in GIs and the fact that public bodies have to go to considerable lengths to register a GI, and while this public support is broadly accepted in the case of large-scale GIs, it is often questioned in the case of their smaller counterparts (Belletti et al., 2017a; European Commission, 2021). To address these questions, we report two case studies of small-scale cheese productions in mountain areas: Cebreiro (Galicia, NW Spain) and Tolmin[3] (Slovenia), with just two active producers of certified cheeses involved in the respective GI schemes. By 'producer' we refer to cheese-making producers officially registered in their respective protected designations of origin; however, it should be noted that these producers may also be milk producers, though not exclusively.

In what follows, we undertake a theoretical study of GIs, first, by examining the arguments forwarded to justify their existence and the implications they have had for certain geographical areas, and, second, by summarising the main criticisms raised against them. We then present and justify the two case studies analysed herein and describe the materials and methods employed in this study. After advancing the results for each case study, we discuss the impact the GIs have had in both areas in terms of development. Finally, we conclude by reflecting as to whether small-scale GIs are worth protecting.

2. Understanding GIs: Their Justification, criticisms and insights into their governance

2.1. Justification: From trade regulation to rural development and multifunctionality

The roots of the GI scheme lie in efforts to tie specific products to their geographical origin, based on the assumption that consumers are willing to pay a price premium to maintain those links (Belletti et al., 2015, 2017b; Gangjee, 2017). As such, the primary justification for GIs — and one that can be traced back to their very origins in the 18th century — concerns matters of market regulation: the fight against unfair competition, imitations and fraud in relation to guarantees of food origin and processing (Sylvander et al., 2011; Teil, 2017). Since the very first GIs, the State's role in protecting and providing consumers with guarantees of the food–place of origin link has been critical, especially as far as trade and exports are concerned, as illustrated by Port and Chianti wines (Meloni and Swinnen, 2018). Today, GIs continue to generate consumer trust, even when they find themselves distant from producers (Tregear et al., 2016). Indeed, Benkahla et al. (2005) and Mancini (2013) claim that the main strength of GIs is their ability to increase their market scope beyond that of the purely local scale. De Filippis et al. (2022), based on a *meta*-analysis of GIs and trade, conclude that the establishment of a GI has positive effects for the internationalisation of markets.

Given their basis on inimitable resources, as defined by their geographical origin, GIs are widely justified as an instrument for endogenous rural development (Ray, 2000; Woods, 2010). Indeed, the association between GIs and development constitutes the second justification for their existence: first, because GIs serve to both valorise and differentiate specific productions from mass commodities and, so, generate added-value at the local scale (Woods, 2010; Cei et al., 2021; Duvaleix et al., 2021); and, secondly, because they are supposed to avoid competition with extra-local actors, thus creating a niche market (Kizos and Vakoufaris, 2011; Vergamini et al., 2019). Two paradigmatic cases where the GI-rural development link is especially evident are provided by the GIs of the Parmigiano Reggiano and Comté cheeses. According to De Roest and Menghi (2000), the former has allowed producers to obtain higher prices than those paid for similar productions; and the recognition of labour-intensive and artisan techniques has helped stabilise employment in the region through the maintenance of small farms. Similar findings are reported by Bowen (2010; 2011) for the latter GI, who further stresses that the designation has allowed local producers to maintain economic control over the resource by keeping external companies out.

The third justification for GIs concerns their externalities, that is, the positive effects they have in the wider rural context in which they are embedded (Barjolle et al., 2011; Sylvander et al., 2011). Thus, GIs are typically considered as multifunctional (Sonnino, 2007; Belletti et al., 2015). The protection afforded by GIs ensures the maintenance of the resources — i.e. the traditions, heritage, landscape, etc. — in those areas in which they are based. These resources, in turn, constitute precious assets for other economic activities, primarily tourism (Bessière, 2013; Marcoz et al., 2016). Multiple examples of mountain cheese productions across Europe highlight the reciprocal nature of these linkages (McMorran et al., 2015; Pachoud et al., 2020). Typically, in these settings, cattle grazing maintains the high pastures, a landscape that is especially valued by people visiting the area while, by buying the mountain cheeses, these tourists help sustain farming in the area. Indeed, the valorisation of GI products can contribute to the construction, branding and promotion of their regions (Forney and Häberli, 2016; Tregear et al., 2016).

Beyond any obvious economic valorisation, GIs can be considered multifunctional in their capacity to preserve local resources on the grounds of their intrinsic value, including specific know-how and traditions that can be conceptualised as cultural heritage and, thus, form part of the inhabitants' shared identity (Kizos and Vakoufaris, 2011; Bessière, 2013). Réviron and Chappuis (2011) and Belletti and Marescotti (2011) highlight the importance of the creation of identity in boosting collective actions and innovation in rural communities. As regards innovation, Sanz and Macías (2005) report that Spanish olive oil GIs favour the inter-organisation of stakeholders, the dissemination of knowledge and, ultimately, the adoption of environmental practices as applied to food processing. Indeed, from an environmental perspective, GIs have a positive impact on the protection of specific indigenous breeds (plants, cattle, etc.) and the sustainability of agrarian ecosystems (Belletti et al., 2015; Lamarque and Lambin, 2015).

2.2. Criticisms and Debates: Are GIs Exclusionary?

Despite the justifications forwarded in support of their existence, GIs have also come in for considerable criticism. The first set of complaints concerns the fact that not all the producers of a specific food in a delimited region participate in the GI. This seems to be attributable to the fact that these producers consider the scheme to be unprofitable (Bouamra-Mechemache and Chaaban, 2010; Belletti et al., 2015). Indeed, many of these reluctant producers appear to see few incentives to join the GI scheme, especially when the rules of production hinder their meeting the standards required for certification (Barjolle et al., 2017; Pachoud et al., 2019). This is of particular relevance in the case of small-scale producers (Pachoud et al., 2019), and calls into question the assumption that GIs serve to provide them with support in the face of competition from larger producers (Marie-Vivien, 2010; Parasecoli, 2017).

Moreover, Du Puis and Goodman (2005) develop a thesis — so-called 'unreflexive localism' — with which they also question the potential of GIs to benefit local communities, since they contend that they favour reduced groups or local elites within these communities. Several GIs have been reported in which small-scale producers have been displaced by larger, more powerful actors, who take over the product's supply chain (Bowen and Zapata, 2009; Mancini, 2013). Other reasons why small producers can feel excluded is when the leading role is taken by scientific knowledge (Fonte, 2008), rural development professionals (Tregear et al., 2016), local/regional governments (Tregear et al., 2007) or even by the State (Rangnekar, 2011).

[3] Tolmin is the place-name of the main town and municipality where the cheese is produced. Tolminc is an adjective meaning 'of Tolmin' and the name registered as the GI.

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GIs have also been accused of being exclusionary because of their geographically bounded nature. Demossier (2011) and May (2017) suggest that, by defining certain limits, producers situated immediately adjacent to the GI border can feel excluded. Meanwhile, Goodman (2004) criticises GIs on the grounds that they generate quasi-monopoly rents precisely because of their strict delimitation. In this sense, Moragues-Faus and Sonnino (2012: 231), in their study of the olive oil sector of Alto Palancia (Spain), note that an overly narrow and excessively strong link of production with the local area can hamper the creation of larger economic spaces that would provide more 'opportunities for a range of quality food producers and other rural actors'.

However, the fiercest critics of GIs are in the USA, where they are branded as protectionist tools that distort the free market by strangling competition, prescribing the usage of geographical names in product names and even creating a monopoly for European products (Hughes, 2006; Osgood and Feng, 2018). Guthman (2007), moreover, considers that GIs favour the commoditisation of place-based moral values, in an appraisal that echoes David Harvey's (2002) critique on the commodification of tradition in order to extract monopoly rents.

The critics of GIs have been contested by their proponents who consider them a form of 'collective intellectual property' (Sylvander et al., 2011). As such, they claim they belong to the regions in which they are located, given the collective nature of those who contribute to establishing the reputation of a given food (Duvaleix et al., 2021). This means that everyone within the production area that complies with the specific regulations of production has a right to use it. This line of argument implies guaranteeing fair and equitable representation of stakeholders, and adhering to the necessary governance structures regulating GIs to achieve legitimacy (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Sylvander et al., 2011). French law is widely seen as paradigmatic in this sense, requiring producer organisations to assume a key role in the democratic management of GIs (Marie-Vivien, 2010, 2019).

3. Selection of case studies and methods

The two GI case studies conducted here have been selected in line with the following criteria: (a) the small number of producers associated with each; (b) their location in mountain areas facing problems of outmigration and ageing (Steinicke et al., 2012; Lois and Paül, 2016); and (c) their protection of productions of cheese made from cow's milk enjoying the same GI status within the EU scheme. Their eventual selection was, however, dictated by the researchers' prior knowledge of the existence of these two productions and their previous research experience.

We opt here to employ the number of producers as an indicator of small-scale GIs as opposed to other criteria — e.g., production volume or land area — because this indicator is more closely related to the aims of this research, that is, our focus on issues concerning governance and monopolies. The figures in both instances were available via the web services of the respective public institutions: DOP Cebreiro | Portal da Consellería do Medio Rural (xunta.gal) and https://storitve-mkgp.gov.si/esk-zunanji/#/dashboard. Thus, we have identified four producers in the case of Cebreiro,[4] and two in that of Tolminc.

In identifying the two case studies as constituting mountain areas — Cebreiro, located in the Western Cantabrian Mountains; Tolmin in the Eastern Alps — we employed the definition of mountain regions provided by the HIGHLANDS.3 project. By focusing our study on mountain regions, we make various assumptions regarding the object of our study:

- they are likely to present high levels of biodiversity, landscape heterogeneity and richness of cultural traditions related to small-scale agriculture (McMorran et al., 2015),
- they are likely to be depopulated areas of the Global North, with few active producers (Wymann von Dach and Ruiz Peyré, 2020), and
- they are likely to exploit their designation as GIs as development instruments (Cei et al., 2021).

Both productions are embedded in EU legislation and currently hold the same GI category — i.e. a Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), the most restrictive version of GIs in the EU (Thévenod and Marie-Vivien, 2011). Cebreiro achieved its European designation in 2004, while Tolminc did so in 2012, although both had previously been designated GIs under national schemes. The respective characteristics of the two case study areas and their productions are shown in Table 1 and Fig. 1.

A qualitative methodology, exploiting semi-structured interviews, was adopted to examine the perceptions and strategies of stakeholders associated with the PDO cheese productions in both cases studies. We contacted cheese producers — both engaged (n = 5) and disengaged (n = 6) from the GI —, milk farmers (n = 7), rural development officers (n = 3), researchers (n = 1), politicians (n = 1) and the technical staff of a PDO Regulatory Board[5] (n = 1); some participants fell into more than one of these categories. In total, 19 people were interviewed: 8 in Tolmin

Table 1
Basic characterisation of the Tolminc and Cebreiro GI areas.

	Tolminc PDO area	Cebreiro PDO area	Sources
Altitude range (m. a.s.l.)	126–2780	200–1935	Copernicus Land Monitoring Service (2022): https://land.copernicus.eu/
Land area (km^2)	942	2,332	Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia (2022): e-Surveying data (gov.si) / Government of Galicia (2022): Información Xeográfica de Galicia (xunta.gal)
Population	18,234	22,346	SIStat (2021): https://pxweb.stat.si/SiStatData/pxweb/en/Data/-/05C4008S.px / IGE (2020): Nomenclátor estatístico de Galicia (ige.gal)
Population density (inhabs./km^2)	19.3	9.6	Own data based on above sources
Tourism	Hiking, rafting and music festivals	*Camiño de Santiago* (Way of St. James)	Kozorog (2011)/ Fernández et al. (2021)
GI cheese production volumes (T)	130	39.6	Ogorevc (2007)/ Consellería de Medio Rural (2022): DOP Cebreiro | Portal da Consellería do Medio Rural (xunta.gal)
Evolution in production volumes (2012–2022)	No information	+173 %	Consellería de Medio Rural (2022): DOP Cebreiro | Portal da Consellería do Medio Rural (xunta.gal)
Cheese price (€) per kilo	15	12 (fresh) 18 (mature)	Own data based on fieldwork

[4] Officially, there are four cheese-producers registered in the Cebreiro Protected Designation of Origin (PDO). However, during fieldwork it became apparent that only two of them continue to be active producers. We conducted interviews with these two active producers as well as with one cheese-maker no longer producing PDO cheese.

[5] In Spain, this institution, with separate legal personality, is mandatory for the management of every GI.

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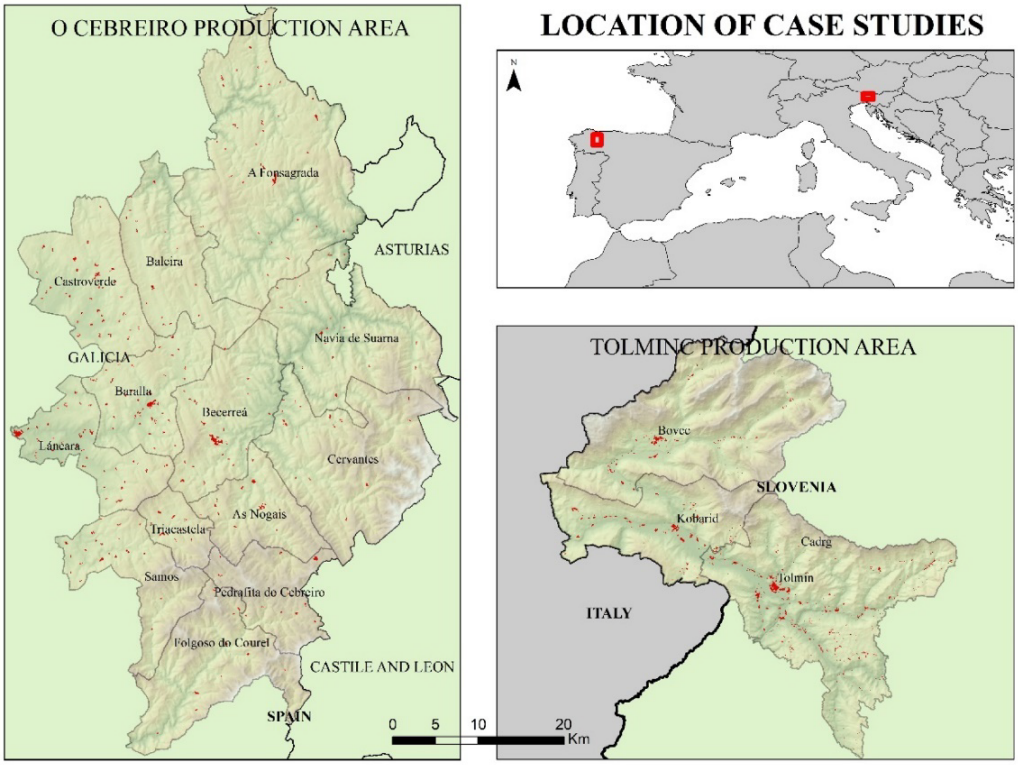

Fig. 1. Case-study areas.

and 11 in Cebreiro. Some informants were accessed via so-called *gatekeepers* (Valentine, 2005), while the remaining participants were contacted directly. In accordance with the regulations of the public funder of this research, and with the procedures established by the ethics commission of the university to which the researchers are affiliated, the anonymity of the participants is guaranteed. Therefore, in what follows, we employ pseudonyms when attributing statements to our interviewees.

Interviews were conducted in adherence with Valentine's (2005) guidelines and included a prepared interview schedule. First, general topics were raised — e.g., description of the area, characteristics of the product —, followed by more specific themes related to the aims of this study — e.g., perceptions about the impact and consequences of the GI, its governance and management. The last themes raised in the interviews were once again more general — e.g., opinions about the future of cheese production and of the GI. A number of *forbidden* words were pre-established, in line with Cameron's (2016) conventions, in order to avoid anticipating concepts and so as to acknowledge the spontaneous significance given to them by interviewees. For the purpose of this article, these words were: 'small/tiny', 'tourism', 'tradition/heritage' and 'nature'. If the words did not emerge naturally in the course of the interview, they were specifically introduced before concluding the conversation.

The data collected were coded inductively, applying both 'emic' and 'etic' codes (Crang, 2005), where the former refer to concepts and ideas expressed by the informants themselves, while the latter are assigned by the researchers. The information was then clustered following a relational approach, with the aim of highlighting the relations and interactions between the codes (Glückler and Panitz, 2021). This analysis of connections helped to identify central elements in each of our case studies (Glückler and Panitz, 2021) and to assess the relevance of both the GI and the actors involved. Based on this method, we opt to structure our results for each case study as follows: (i) opinions concerning the establishment of the GI; (ii) the perceived role of the companies thus engaged; (iii) perceptions regarding GI management and governance; and (iv) the alleged impact of the GI within the region.

4. Results

4.1. Tolminc

Production in the Tolmin area consists of two interlinked farming systems: on the one hand, many farms produce and deliver milk to the cooperative-owned Planika Dairy, the main actor producing certified-GI Tolminc cheese; on the other, many of the same farmers also produce their own cheese following traditional methods during the summer months in their *planinas* (Alpine pastures with small huts where they keep and milk their cattle), but this cheese does not carry the GI label. Fig. 1 shows the linkages between the region's various actors according to the clustering of participants in the interviews conducted herein.

- *Establishment of the GI*

The Planika Dairy Cooperative is widely seen as playing a leading role in the regulation of the Tolminc GI. Allegedly, during the 1990 s, they entered into a commercial battle with a company from another Slovenian region which sought to appropriate the geographical name; however, in 2002, Planika registered *Tolminc* as a collective trademark, an achievement that is perceived as something of a success by the informants. In parallel, the cooperative entered into collaboration with the Tolminc Cheese Society — made up of local agencies, public institutions and some farmers — to pilot a project that could lead to the creation of a GI. The aim of these stakeholders was to promote the product, and so improve their profits, and to prevent 'people abroad from producing it'

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(Jan). The outcome of these manoeuvres resulted in two Tolmincs: Planika's own trademark cheese and a GI cheese. The interviewees explain that, basically, the trademark cheese is produced from pasteurised milk, while the GI cheese can only be commercialised as such if produced from raw or thermalised milk and, importantly, from milk from the designated region and from cows fed fodder also from the designated region (see Fig. 2). Raw milk was included in the product specification in order that the *planinas* might be incorporated in the GI.

- *Companies Engaged in the GI*

Planika is the main producer of certified Tolminc cheese, selling it throughout Slovenia, commercialising both the GI and the trademark, allegedly without any great price differential. Planika's interviewees indicate that the GI contributes to the company's reputation as a quality food producer and it is widely considered as the firm that has benefited most from the GI.

The informants share a largely positive perception of Planika's role in the area. They explain how it has encouraged small family farms of the Tolmin area — many of them providing only part-time employment — to stay in business, as the cooperative guarantees them a good price for their milk. The company also provides farmers with technical support and transport facilities to collect milk even in the most remote villages. Informants from the Planika Dairy Cooperative describe how the company has also helped maintain activity in the traditional Alpine pastures, since the cooperative is happy to allow some of its suppliers to opt out of their agreement during the summer months to go and work on the *planinas*.

However, some of the interviewees see Planika as 'monopolising' cheese production in the area. For example, Danijela considers that the company leaves few opportunities for small farms to start making cheese; indeed, other than the Planika Dairy Cooperative, only one other maker of Tolminc Cheese GI is mentioned. Vincent, moreover, warns of the risks of depending on just one company if the suppliers want to be sure of earning a fair price for their milk. It is also felt that Planika takes advantage of the *planinas* tradition in the marketing of their production, in the sense that they are capitalising on the region's heritage. By way of example, they cite the museum run by the cooperative explaining the cheese making process.

- *GI Management and Governance*

The general lack of engagement with the GI is seen by some as a 'sad story' or a 'disaster'. Peter, a rural development professional, analyses the situation as follows:

> Every cheese-maker in the region needs to get involved. Now I can't promote Tolminc cheese because there is just one [producer] [sic] in the certification scheme. One out of ten. It cannot work like that. Because all the marketing can't rely on one person. That's one of the problems if they don't all join in the certification scheme […]. Because it's origin protected, if you're not part of the certification, you can't produce Tolminc. Now we have locked ourselves out. (Peter)

Various informants believe the situation has come about because local farmers — including the *planinas* — see no advantage in forming part of the GI, as they maintain the same level of sales, at roughly the same price, as they can demand outside the scheme. Indeed, many producers stress that they sell most of their cheese locally, to the local population and tourists and report that, given that these customers are familiar with the product, certification seems unnecessary. Thus, many farmers prefer to remain on the sidelines. In a particular village in the valley, three family farms used to form part of the scheme under a common commercial brand, but they opted to leave seeing no advantage from taking part. Instead, the GI is perceived by these informants as a 'cost' and a 'complication': extra work 'for nothing'. Moreover, GI inspections are frowned upon, as if the inspectors were 'suspicious' about the authenticity of their cheesemaking methods.

Various farmers who used to form part of the GI scheme complained, moreover, that its regulations tended to be too strict — for instance, establishing a given weight for the cheese when they preferred working with smaller units. In this case, the scheme is perceived as a failure in the sense that is has not been able to accommodate these farmers' needs when they formed part of the certification. However, the possibility of modifying and adapting GI specifications to their requests was not mentioned.[6] The following statement from a disengaged farmer is revealing in this respect:

> I think that the biggest problem with Tolminc cheese is it must weigh 4 kg and must be two months old […] but if you make it smaller, 3.5 kg, then that's not Tolminc because it is not 'the right size'. I don't know who wrote these specifications […], some guys from down in the valley […], clever guys. (Andrej)

There is no reported regulatory body or structure for the management of the GI, where such amendments to GI specifications would typically be negotiated. The Tolminc Cheese Society, which represented stakeholders' interests when the application for a GI was being made, is no longer operative. Control of the GI is in the hands of its registered companies, while it is audited by an outside private firm. The absence of any GI governing structure is also reported to affect the organisation of promotional campaigns. The interviewees expressed their regret about this situation but identified different underlying causes. Some producers, for example, complained about the lack of government support to promote Tolminc cheese, whereas the rural development officers stressed it was up to the farmers to organise joint promotional activities.

- *Impact in the Region*

Jan believes that, while most farmers have not joined the GI scheme, EU recognition has benefitted the reputation of the product and indirectly contributed to increasing the price paid for the cheese both inside and outside the GI. The certification label is also used in campaigns promoting tourism in the Tolmin area. However, the main tourist asset in the region remains the *planinas* — the mountain farms. Several informants reported that tourists come to hike and see the cows grazing in these high pastures. The tourist activity has positive connotations for most of the interviewees, representing an important channel of sales for the cheese — that is, sold directly in the *planinas* — and as a window to promote the product abroad. According to Jan, a rural development professional:

> It is very interesting for tourists to see this old tradition for making cheese in the mountains, so this is a very positive influence on tourism and also tourists come to try and buy these cheeses. (Jan)

Furthermore, the use of these pastures, as described by the producers, is an optimal way to make use of all available land, leaving the meadows further down the mountain slopes for producing winter hay. Some interviewees, both farmers and rural development officers, expressed a certain environmental awareness as regards farming in these areas, assuming that herding helps to maintain the landscape open and to preserve the pastures and its plethora of flora. Additionally, since cheese-making on the *planinas* is seen as a long tradition, farmers continue the activity there as part of their cultural heritage and identity. However, all these positive connotations have no reported relation with the GI. Paradoxically, although the GI is justified by the existence of the *planinas*, the latter cannot call their cheese Tolminc because they do not hold the GI.

[6] It is worth noting that Article 53 of EU Regulation 1151/2012 guarantees the possibility of amending GI specifications when requested to do so by a 'group having a legitimate interest'.

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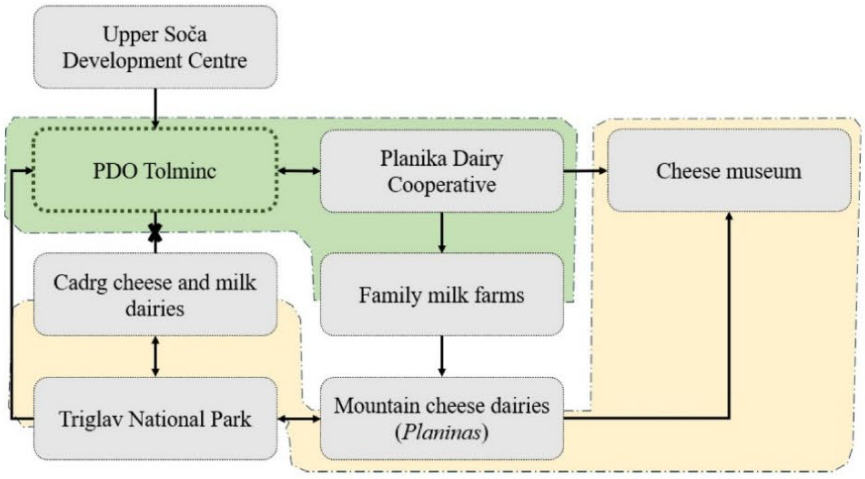

Fig. 2. Scheme identifying the key actors and their relationships in the production of cheese in the Tolmin case study area.

4.2. Cebreiro

In Cebreiro, two active dairies produce cheese under the GI label of the same name as their main activity — although a further two are also registered as producers. There are also, several small dairies in the region producing a similar fresh cheese without certification, usually as a complement to beef cattle farming. Fig. 3 shows the linkages between the region's various actors according to the clustering of interviewees.

4.3. Establishment of the GI

The people of Cebreiro recall the region's cheese as being a traditional homemade food, primarily for self-consumption, produced in very small quantities from their own surplus cow's milk. Indeed, in the 1980s the cheese was on the verge of disappearing. At the end of that decade, a private family enterprise — the Castelo dairy — initiated the transformation of this traditional production into a professional activity, salvaging the region's cheese-making. Pepe and Xoán report that Castelo were obliged to pasteurise the milk in order to comply with the prevailing health and safety regulations concerning commercialisation. This meant having to re-invent production methods in order to obtain a cheese of similar characteristics to those of the traditional raw-milk product. Shortly afterwards, Castelo and another dairy, Xan Busto, with the support of public rural development institutions, began to compile and document the history of the cheese, and applied for its recognition as a GI.

According to the interviewees, the GI has been vital for the survival of this cheese. On receiving GI recognition, the production of Cebreiro won support from the Galician Government as well as from a former association of Galician GIs, which provided help with marketing campaigns and access to exhibitions. Institutional support is reported to be pivotal in promoting the cheese outside its traditional production area and for reaching markets where it was previously unknown. Today the product is found throughout Galicia, and even in the main Spanish cities. Several of the interviewees spoke of the market 'advantage' that the GI represents for producers.

> A public government cannot promote a private enterprise — for example, in a trade fair in Germany — but a GI, yes, a GI can. (Helena)

- *Companies Engaged in the GI*

Of the producers that applied for the GI, only Castelo (with just two employees plus family members) has maintained its production over the intervening years. According to our interviewees, Xan Busto withdrew due to the logistical difficulties (i.e. mountainous location) they faced to stay in business and because the owner found employment elsewhere. The number of producers in the GI has varied in this time between one and five, typically family firms with very few employees, if any.

The interviewees define production as very small, 'minuscule' —

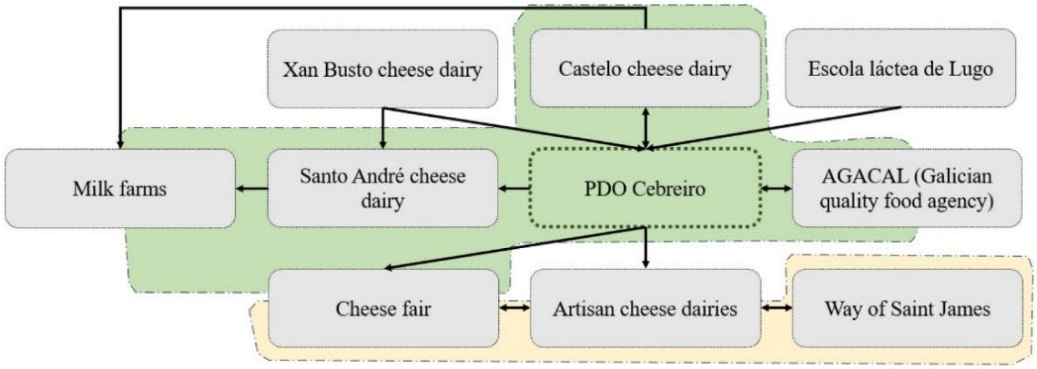

Fig. 3. Scheme identifying the key actors and their relationships in the production of cheese in the Cebreiro case study area. Green area corresponds to production conducted under the GI; the yellow represents the tourism sector.

'ridiculous' even — in comparison with other cheese productions — both in terms of the number of producers involved and of actual production volumes. In fact, none of the milk farms supplying milk to the GI depends solely on cheese-making to keep their business afloat. The informants identify the region's depopulation and the mountain's logistical difficulties faced as being the main obstacles to production and the opening of new dairies.

To address this situation, in the early 2000s, the GI producers agreed to amend the specification by expanding the area of production from the original mountain region into the lowlands where dairy farming was stronger, in an effort at guaranteeing milk supply. This geographical expansion also allowed these lowlands farms to start producing Cebreiro cheese. However, only one producer decided to do so, on the advice of a rural development agent. This farmer eventually abandoned its dairy farming activity to focus on the establishment of the Santo André cheese dairy. In this regard, one respondent, Pedro, sees the GI as an opportunity to access an exclusive market, with very few producers, where it is easier to start making cheese than in a regular, more crowded market. Indeed, the producers consider Cebreiro a niche market and describe how, in recent years, the product has undergone a remarkable expansion in the Spanish gourmet market and has even made a leap into the export market, where the matured Cebreiro cheese can command quite a high price. Given this growth, a GI producer laments:

> It is a pity that there are clients who want cheese and cannot have it just because there is no one to produce it. (Pedro)

Likewise, several informants related to the GI pointed out, with regret, that a market is there for more producers to engage in the activity and satisfy consumer demand. But, at the same time, since it is a quality, niche market product, they also want to remain relatively small.

- *GI Management and Governance*

It emerged during the interviews that the two active GI dairies were seen as complementary: Castelo focused more on producing fresh Cebreiro and Santo André on its mature counterpart. The two firms do not consider themselves as being in competition with each other, their good relations being reflected in their agreement to charge the same price for their product. The interviewees concurred in considering the scarce number of producers of the GI a positive factor as it facilitates collaboration and ensures adequate levels of revenue. However, some referred to an earlier episode in which another GI dairy, now closed down, had tried to 'take away' customers by waging a price war.

The small scale is viewed by the GI regulatory board as non-problematic for decision-making. Nonetheless, the producers believe that, by being small, they have less power to lobby the public institutions to secure the necessary resources for advertising and promoting their cheese, for fighting against unfair competition, etc. The scale of the Cebreiro GI also raises concerns about the future viability of the regulatory board to manage itself:

> Maybe, because it's small it's not worth it. This is a sentence you hear time and again […]. [Some politicians] even told me that, if it were up to them, they wouldn't give money from the Galician Government, and that the producers don't need to have [a person] employed here […]. They say: 'What are you doing with just two producers?' They only see problems, never think the opposite: you're small, we're going to support you and help wherever necessary so you get ahead […]. Because they're small, and because of the sacrifice they're making, value them. Value them because the big ones don't need anything anymore. (Marisa)

Some interviewees referred to a new legislative bill under discussion in Galicia that would bring the small-scale GI regulatory boards under the auspices of the already existing Galician Agency for Food Quality (better known by its Galician acronym, AGACAL), an institution set up by the Galician Government. This potential centralisation of functions, which might well spell the end of the Cebreiro regulatory board, worries producers, who believe that the effective management of the GI depends on the direct participation of the producers themselves, that is, on people from the area who live there and know the product.

Finally, Cebreiro producers complain about a lack of support from certain local municipal governments. For example, it was reported that the municipal council of Pedrafita do Cebreiro — which is widely perceived to be the heartland of the cheese — does not like the fact that the Santo André dairy is allowed to commercialise Cebreiro, because it is located in an area that it does not consider as being the 'real birthplace' of the cheese. Thus, this producer is sometimes presented as a 'intruder'. However, there are no such confrontations between the GI-Cebreiro producers themselves. Indeed, the interviewees reported the help given by the Xan Busto dairy (located in the perceived heartland) to the newcomer, Santo André, in setting up its cheese-making production.

- *Impact in the Region*

According to the interviewees, the GI, together with the religious/tourist route of *Camiño de Santiago*, has contributed to create an image or brand for the region. Some respondents mentioned, by way of example, the Cebreiro cheese fair, celebrated each April, and which has gained in importance over the years. The links established between the cheese and the town of Cebreiro have also favoured the emergence of new homemade cheese productions aside from that of the GI itself. These producers began producing cheese (under artisan license) as a complement to their primary activity of beef cattle farming activity and recognise that their cheese-making came about thanks to the GI:

> [Obtaining the GI] was very good for the area because it helped to put it on the map, and although we don't use the GI, people buy the cheese all the same because of the name of Cebreiro. Of course, they make an association. It was a way to make the area and the cheese of the area better known. (Mercedes)

However, some of the stakeholders within the GI scheme complain that these new producers exploit the label to sell their cheese — at similar prices — but without having to meet the costs of certification. They consider that these non-GI dairies engage in unfair competition, because they produce larger quantities than they are entitled to, legally. These cheesemakers however claim that as they employ more artisanal methods they cannot be considered as being in direct competition with the GI scheme. Indeed, they voluntarily use cultures other than those ruled mandatory for certification and, thus, make no effort to comply with regulated methods of production. Nonetheless, the homemade-cheese producers report further motivations to avoid joining the GI: more specifically, they have no plans to expand their activity and to become professional dairies with an industrial license; nor do they intend paying certification costs. These homemade producers, disengaged from the GI, are located in the main along the pilgrim route of the *Camiño de Santiago* and sell their cheese locally to the pilgrims/tourists.

According to various interviewees, the lack of incentives for professionalisation constitutes a missed opportunity to have more people in the area living directly from cheese production, and thus to expand the GI. In fact, only one artisan cheesemaker has professionalised their business, while another has joined the GI scheme but their production remains testimonial. As for the milk farmers that supply milk to the GI, although they receive higher prices from the cheese-makers, allegedly the volume of production dedicated to this destination does not provide the revenue they need to stay in business.

5. Small-Scale GIs: Rural development instruments or marketing tools for the Few?

This paper has undertaken an analysis of two small-scale GIs — that is, which comprise a very limited number of producers — within the broader theoretical context of the extant literature. In so doing, the aim

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has been to determine whether GIs can be considered as instruments for rural development in their respective regions or whether they are in fact a spatial monopoly in the hands of one or more producers. The results that emerge highlight the contrasting situations in which the two GIs find themselves. In the first place, the case studies reveal the different motivations underpinning the establishment of the two GIs. On the one hand, Cebreiro started as an initiative to salvage traditional cheese production in the area and, as such, the GI was seen as a differentiation strategy for the valorisation of a local product — as recognised also by Tregear et al. (2007), Mancini (2013) and Vergamini et al. (2019). In short, Cebreiro provides an example of a GI that seeks to promote local development (Ray, 2000; Belletti and Marescotti, 2011). On the other hand, the Tolminc GI emerged from the struggle between two companies that sought ownership of the product place name. As such, the GI, in common with the first GI designations (Teil, 2017; Meloni and Swinnen, 2018), was established as a means of avoiding usurpation and of protecting and securing income for the Planika Dairy.

In the two case studies reported, the performance of the respective GI schemes is viewed differently: protectionist in the case of Tolminc, and developmentalist in the case of Cebreiro. Regulating the Tolminc allowed Planika to reap the benefits of a cheese that was already well-known in Slovenia — what Tregear et al. (2016) classify as an 'established, mature system'; Cebreiro, in contrast, has achieved recognition beyond its local area thanks to the promotion made possible by the GI — what Tregear et al. (2016) classify as a 'nascent, developing system'. The latter category is especially critical of small-scale productions with little marketing potential, doomed to failure if ineffectively promoted (Tregear et al., 2016).

In line with Benkahla et al. (2005) and Mancini (2013), who claim that the main benefit to be gained from exploiting a GI is in driving sales from local to extra-local markets, we have reported evidence that both the Tolminc and Cebreiro GIs have been effectively exploited by the producers using them to commercialise their product outside the local area, where most of their sales are indeed concentrated. This finding suggests that the endogenous development thesis of GI schemes (Woods, 2010; Belletti and Marescotti, 2011) does not entirely hold on its own. Although they may be locally driven, GIs are also dependent on external factors (including, that is, being recognised in non-local markets) if they seek to be truly effective (Lamarque and Lambin, 2015; Quiñones-Ruiz et al., 2020).

In short, both GIs evidence a clear market orientation in their construction. Beyond their apparent economic effects, the Tolminc and Cebreiro schemes seem to indicate that GIs — even when small in scale — are a useful instrument for the branding of their regions (cf. Forney and Häberli, 2016; McMorran et al., 2015). For example, the institutionalisation of the link with the Cebreiro region has served to boost the local cheese fair, while the Tolminc GI has been exploited in promoting the region's tourism. Moreover, in the case of Cebreiro, the reputation of the GI-certified product has allowed artisan dairies disengaged from the scheme to command similar prices for their product to those charged by the GI dairies. Our findings here are in line with claims made by Clark and Martínez (2016) to the effect that the added-value of certified products — in this instance fair-trade and other private certifications — can spill-over onto non-certified producers located in the same region. Our study takes this argument further by demonstrating its validity for GI labels too.

Beyond their strictly economic dimension, the two GI schemes studied here do not, according to our results, appear to have any other significant impacts in their respective regions. The Cebreiro GI is not associated with the generation of any substantial positive cultural or environmental externalities. However, in the Tolmin area, it might be argued that the traditional cheese producers contribute to preserving the mountain landscape and to boosting the region's tourism — an effect that has been described by Pachoud et al. (2020), McMorran et al. (2015) and others. It might well be that the preservation of these Slovenian pastures is attributable to the fact that the GI remunerates the milk producers that supply the Planika Dairy. Yet, our study fails to identify a causal relationship here and, indeed, other factors, including direct payments from the EU to keep the pasture productive (Bertoni et al., 2020), could also be influential. Thus, the multifunctionality of GIs has not been demonstrated in our research, in contrast with Sylvander et al. (2011) and Belletti and Marescotti's (2011, 2015) inferences in this regard.

Interestingly, many scholars put rural development on an equal footing with economic development when assessing the impact of GI schemes, taking into consideration the effects both on the local economy of specific GIs (e.g., De Roest and Menghi, 2000; Bowen, 2011) and on a range of aspects looked at from the wider perspective of value-added (Cei et al., 2021; Crescenzi et al., 2022). If we assume this equivalence of concepts, then we can infer that the two GIs studied here have contributed to rural development. However, if rural development is considered in relation to what are deemed to be the three fundamental pillars of sustainability (Blewitt, 2008; Potter et al., 2008), our research shows that the contribution of GIs to social and environmental gains is debatable. Indeed, the European Commission (2021) has already acknowledged that the environmental dimension of GIs cannot be taken for granted, and for this reason it is seeking to incorporate specific environmental requirements within its GI policy as part of its wider Green Deal framework (European Commission, 2020).

Ultimately, however, it is the economic dimension that is determinative as to whether a GI scheme can be exclusionary for actors inside a designated area or not. In the cases of both Cebreiro and Tolminc, homemade/traditional producers operating outside the scheme show little interest in forming part of the respective GIs because they are able to sell their cheese locally for a similar price and are loath to meet the costs for obtaining GI certification. This tendency towards voluntary exclusion is consistent with descriptions in Pachoud et al. (2019), among others, who highlight the additional burden of having to invest to meet GI requisites, and with Belletti et al. (2015), who stress the importance of perceived profitability when producers are deciding whether or not to engage in a GI scheme. Consequently, our case studies point to what might be considered a loophole as far as small-scale GIs operate: the scant number of producers involved in them is attributable, somewhat ironically, to the fact that the cheese-makers that operate outside them, but which are located in the same region, benefit from the GI designation without actually forming part of it; thus, they have few incentives for joining the scheme. Closing this loophole represents a fairly major challenge for the sustainability of these small-scale GIs.

In the case of Tolminc, however, we have detected other motives as to why some producers have not joined the GI scheme. The Planika Dairy Cooperative is the dominant player in the cheese-production sector in the Tolmin area, controlling the supply chain and promoting their product throughout Slovenia. For this reason, the region's other producers feel powerless to compete against this hegemony. Both Tregear et al. (2016) and De Rosa et al. (2017) warn of the capacity of big companies to seize GIs. Their warnings acquire even greater relevance when a single enterprise concentrates practically all the power and benefits of the GI; the case of Planika, whose position of advantage rings of spatial monopoly (Goodman, 2004). Yet, be that as it may, Planika's engagement with the GI can also be considered a successful application of this instrument: first, because GI protection impedes unfair competition that may have displaced Planika production in favour of that of dairies from outside the area, and, second, because by insisting that supplies of milk and fodder be local, they guarantee the continuity of the region's farming.

The differences between the two case studies confirm that monopolistic/non-monopolistic assessments of these GIs ultimately depend on their governance (Sonnino, 2007; Tregear et al., 2007). In line with the governance models proposed by Sylvander et al. (2004), Cebreiro roughly represents a case of sectoral governance, focused on cheese-makers, yet lacking strong ties with local institutions, milk farmers and other activities in the area; conversely, Tolminc exemplifies

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a case of corporate governance, with much decision-making power vested in the manager/director of the Planika cooperative.

In the Slovenian case, the absence of any GI management structure or body has meant that the GI fails to accommodate the needs of many of the region's producers, who, as a result, opt not to engage. In this regard, DuPuis and Goodman (2005) and Belletti and Marescotti (2011), among others, highlight the importance of the adequate representativeness of stakeholders' interests in ensuring an equitable distribution of the benefits of a GI. In the Spanish case, in contrast, the requirement to appoint a GI management body — as in France (Marie-Vivien, 2010) — is a guarantee of the GI's legitimacy (Sylvander et al., 2011; Marie-Vivien et al., 2019).

Our study also highlights how, although based on a common EU framework, substantial differences exist between GIs from one member state to another in this respect. While such a disparity of models has been identified in earlier comparative studies of GIs (e.g., Fernández-Zarza et al., 2019; Penker et al., 2022), the absence of research focusing on GIs operating without producer organisations is surprising, given the relevance conceded to governance structures of this kind in the success or failure of GIs (Barjolle et al., 2017; Quiñones-Ruiz et al., 2017).

Finally, one aspect that clearly emerges from the case studies reported here, and one that is reflected in ongoing debates at the EU level (European Commission, 2021), is whether the scale of these GIs justifies their existence in terms of receiving support from public institutions. The scant number of producers in Cebreiro impacts the scheme's capacity to organise promotional campaigns and other activities. Moreover, its management structure is not, by itself, viable and requires external support, which is in contradiction with current legislative trends aimed at making them self-sustainable (Marie-Vivien, 2010). The situation is somewhat paradoxical, given that the rationale on which these instruments is based, ultimately, depends on the ability of their governance structures to be effective (Quiñones-Ruiz et al., 2016; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020). The Slovenian case illustrates that, in the absence of these governance structures, the GI operates almost exclusively as a marketing brand, which benefits a particular enterprise, but does not foster collective action and social innovation as Sanz and Macías (2005) and Quiñones-Ruiz et al. (2020) stress.

6. Conclusions and policy recommendations

Despite a very limited number of producers, we have shown that even the smallest GIs can have a significant impact on rural areas. Small-scale GIs effectively confer a market advantage on their registered producers, providing them with an opportunity to maintain their agricultural production, while at the same time keeping their productions localised. Moreover, our study highlights how such GIs contribute to the branding of regions. In short, small-scale GIs should not be dismissed because of their size. Indeed, their contribution to rural development might even match that of their larger counterparts, especially in those areas that lag behind, as is the case of many of Europe's mountain regions. We have demonstrated that size does not foreshadow the governance dynamics of a GI nor the impact it might have on the region in which it is embedded.

Here, however, we have found evidence that the existence of these small-scale GIs is sometimes questioned precisely because of their limited size. The debate seems to hinge on the political considerations in play. If one of the justifications for the creation of a GI is to promote rural development, then they should be clearly supported even when only a few producers are involved in the scheme. The primary problem can be identified as the fact that the management bodies of small-scale GIs, such as Cebreiro, may not, by themselves, be economically sustainable as required by prevailing legislation in Spain and France. It is our contention, however, that they should be supported as long as there are professional producers capable of maintaining a localised agricultural production. In this case, they could be supported either by the public institutions or by their entering into coalitions with larger GIs.

Finally, this study is not without its limitations. In terms of methodology, we have opted to identify small-scale GIs in terms of the number of producers engaged in them. This has proved useful when exploring matters related to GI governance, inclusiveness and some of a GI's wider effects on a region. However, further research could usefully focus on the alleged effects of cheese GIs on milk farmers in particular, as well as on the role played by cooperatives/associations in redistributing the benefits generated by GIs.

To balance the discussion as to whether GIs can act as spatial monopolies or not, we would also need to consider their respective production volumes and revenues. Clearly, it is not the same to have two small cheese-dairies working in an area with little entrepreneurship than one big enterprise dominating the market and benefiting from the GI. In this sense, a complementary quantitative analysis of production volumes could be useful in assessing the scale of production that would make a GI worthwhile for a small producer and in determining the desirability of supporting small GIs as part of a rural development strategy. The study we report here presents some evidence to confirm the latter, but more research is clearly needed.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Rubén Boga: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – original draft. **Valerià Paül:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Supervision.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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4.1.3. Fronteiras

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Quality food productions beyond borders: examining cross-border geographical indications

Rubén Boga [a], Valerià Paül [a] and Juan-M. Trillo-Santamaría [a]

ABSTRACT

European Union (EU) policies embrace a wide range of mechanisms to promote the territorial harmonisation and integration of the EU regions. This paper seeks to connect two of these policies that have not previously been subject to joint examination: on the one hand, EU agricultural and rural development policies promoting geographical indications for food and, on the other, cross-border cooperation projects and structures developed as part of the Interreg programme. Although the first cross-border geographical indication (CBGI) for food was designated back in 2012, little research has been carried out to assess the performance of CBGIs. This paper aims to bridge this research gap by conducting two case studies in areas where CBGIs have emerged: namely, Istria (Slovenia/Croatia) and the Eastern Pyrenees (France/Spain). The study, based on the intensive interviewing of stakeholders directly involved in their management and governance, shows that cross-border cooperation in these two areas remains exiguous and limited for a series of reasons, including the absence of any actual structures of cooperation and a pervasive 'territorial trap' mentality. The paper concludes that future policies need to ensure adequate conditions for facilitating the fully integrated management of CBGIs.

KEYWORDS

Regional development; transboundary; multilevel governance; gastronationalism; terroir; local; territorial trap

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D23; F15; F52; K11; Q13

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1. INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of the European Community – today the European Union (EU) – many policies have sought to promote the territorial integration of the EU regions. Among the most significant of these policies, we find, on the one hand, those aimed at the development of cross-border cooperation (CBC) projects and structures as part of a broader territorial cooperation goal (better known as Interreg). On the other hand, we find those that seek a general reorientation of rural development away from productivism towards other goals. The implementation of policies aimed at enhancing local/regional food productions through geographical indications (GIs)[1] stands out in this regard.

These two policies both seek the reduction in disparities in the levels of economic and social development of the European regions. However, there is no obvious link between them (Plaza,

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2022). Indeed, scholars have tended to examine them separately: CBC usually through border studies, and GIs mainly through food studies. Yet, the emergence of the first cross-border GIs (CBGIs) for foods – from 2012 onwards (see Table 1) – presents an interesting opportunity to consider them together.

To date, only a few studies have noted the existence – or the possibility of developing – CBGIs (Narayana, 2021; Plaza, 2022; Rangnekar & Kumar, 2010; Tisné, 2022). Yet, those that have done so fail to examine them empirically. It is our contention that research focused on CBGIs is of specific interest on the following grounds: first, the management of CBGIs is worth exploring, since they challenge the original GI framework as conceived through the lens of the nation-state (Barham, 2003; Meloni & Swinnen, 2018); and, second, the outcomes of CBGIs could shed considerable light on the political promotion of CBC as governance institutions aimed at diluting disparities between nation-states. Thus, the present study seeks (i) to determine whether the creation of CBGIs has favoured real, engaged collaboration between neighbouring stakeholders or whether these instruments exist solely on paper; and (ii) to explain the reasons why CBGIs have evolved in the way they have.

Table 1. List of the non-spirit CBGIs in the EU (and the world), the GIs analysed in this paper are highlighted in bold type.

Country	Food class	Denomination	GI Type	Year	Denomination in this paper
Lithuania and Poland	Honey	Seinų / Lazdijų krašto medus / Miód z Sejneńszczyzny/Łoździejszczyzny	PDO	2012	–
Croatia and Slovenia	Cured ham	Istarski pršut / Istrski pršut	PDO	2015	–
Spain and France	**Fresh beef**	**Ternera de los Pirineos Catalanes / Vedella dels Pirineus Catalans / Vedell des Pyrénées Catalanes**	**PGI**	**2016**	**Vedella**
Spain and France	**Fresh beef**	**Rosée des Pyrénées Catalanes**	**PGI**	**2016**	**Rosée**
Belgium and the Netherlands	Wine	Maasvallei Limburg	PDO	2017	–
Croatia and Slovenia	**Olive Oil**	**Istra**	**PDO**	**2019**	**Istra**
Croatia and Slovenia	Fresh beef	Meso istarskog goveda – boškarina / Meso istrskega goveda – boškarina	PDO	2022	–
Ireland and United Kingdom*	Fresh beef	Irish grass-fed beef	PGI	2023	-
Belgium and the Netherlands	Cake	Limburgse vlaai	PGI	2024	-
Croatia and Slovenia	Honey	Istarski med / Istrski med	PDO	2024	-
Croatia and Slovenia	Cheese	Istarski ovčji sir / Istrski ovčji sir	PDO	-	-

Source: eAmbrosia (2024).

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Drawing from both food and border studies, we adopt a relational (Glückler & Panitz, 2021; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2018) and constructivist (Kolossov & Scott, 2013; Sonnino, 2007) approach to study the management and the outcomes of CBGIs. In particular, this paper reports evidence from two case studies:

- the first, in the Istrian peninsula, where the CBGI Istra,[2] for Istrian olive oil, is shared between Slovenia and Croatia; and
- the second, in the Eastern Pyrenees, where the CBGI Vedella (see Note 2), for beef, and the CBGI Rosée (see Note 2), for suckling veal, are shared between France and Spain.

In the following section, the literature on CBC is reviewed so as to build a framework for the study reported herein. Some insights on GIs are then explained, followed by a diachronic analysis of CBGIs in the EU. The methodology employed is outlined and the results obtained are presented and discussed in light of the theoretical framework developed. The conclusions identify ways in which future policy actions in this domain might be improved, stressing the insights gained from applying border studies to the analysis of GIs.

2. CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION IN BORDER STUDIES

Border studies encompass diverse, multidisciplinary research perspectives (Laine, 2016; Scott, 2020; Wilson & Donnan, 2012) that are constantly providing new insights into the multiple meanings of borders and boundaries. Following the so-called 'constructivist turn' (Kolossov & Scott, 2013), borders came to be conceptualised as dynamic phenomena shaped by social practices, which embrace both their material and intangible dimensions (Konrad, 2021; Paasi, 2021). Territorial borders, in particular, are pivotal to our understanding of the b/ordering practices associated with specific bounded areas, which produce and reproduce differences between places and societies in space (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). In this sense, nation-states have the power to allow/restrict the mobility of people, money or products within their sovereign territories (Paasi et al., 2022; Scott, 2020).

In this line, one of the main research fields developed in the last three decades concerns the study of European territorial and CBC policies and practices (see, for example, Durà et al., 2018; Kaucic & Sohn, 2022; Medeiros, 2015), as performed by different territorial actors operating at different levels (Plangger, 2019). In this time, CBC has come to be defined as a 'process, which arises from the willingness to jointly address problems shared by communities and local authorities on different sides of a national border, to overcome their "peripheral" positioning within the government and governance systems to which they belong' (ISIG, 2017, p. 11). To address the problems derived from belonging to different politico-administrative systems, the EU has promoted CBC through its Interreg programme, with Euroregions and similar structures playing a crucial role (Decoville & Durand, 2021; Opioła & Böhm, 2022).

Hence, identifying and evaluating obstacles and proposing integrated solutions for territorial integration in border areas has become one of the main goals of CBC (De Sousa, 2013; Hataley & Leuprecht, 2018; Medeiros et al., 2022). Indeed, since 2015, the EU Commission has promoted various studies, as part of its Cross-Border Review project, in an effort to provide an inventory of the, primarily, legal and administrative border obstacles in Europe (Colomb, 2018; Klatt & Herrmann, 2011; Medeiros, 2015).

Consequently, studies of European CBC have tended to focus on the management and governance of projects and common structures, ranging from general regional planning to sectorial tourism development (Makkonen & Williams, 2016). Moreover, three specific factors have emerged from this burgeoning literature – see, for example, Trillo-Santamaría and Paül (2016), Colomb (2018), Stoffelen et al. (2017), Castanho et al. (2018) and Villanueva et al. (2022) – that arguably play a critical role in efforts to attain an effective degree of CBC:

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- trust – the willingness to collaborate and a commitment to maintaining stable communication over time;
- shared visions – establishing agreements as regards common objectives and strategies; and
- shared institutions – creating joint management structures to simplify collaboration.

The first of these factors – the will to collaborate – can be driven by various forces ranging from economic motivations (Castanho et al., 2018; De Sousa, 2013) to political, historical and cultural ties (De Sousa, 2013; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2018) operating at a variety of levels. For example, access to EU funds via Interreg has been widely reported to be an important incentive for CBC (Colomb, 2018; Perkmann, 2003), albeit insufficient to sustain cooperation over time (Blasco et al., 2014; Klatt & Herrmann, 2011). At the same time, Blasco et al. (2014) and Stoffelen et al. (2017) report that many cross-border agreements are driven by personal informal relations forged between key stakeholders. Such relations are deemed crucial for generating trust and, moreover, appear more likely to endure over time (Medeiros et al., 2024).

The second factor – sharing a common vision – is essential for developing joint planning, including territorial marketing strategies. Stakeholders have first to agree which common natural/cultural assets they wish to mobilise to promote a joint image of their territory (Paasi, 2009; Prokkola et al., 2015). In our case, for example, this means exploiting regional foods as spatial markers to advertise the cross-border area abroad (Paasi, 2009; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2018). However, the literature on cross-border tourism also reflects the frequent scepticism of stakeholders in the sector when it comes to presenting a common image (Ilbery & Saxena, 2011; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2018). Indeed, Ioannides et al. (2006) and Kozak and Buhalis (2019) conclude that if private sector stakeholders offer overly similar, or undifferentiated, products, competition will tend to prevail. CBC, it has been shown, does not always lead to win-win situations in which all stakeholders benefit. And, this being the case, actors may not always share the same territorial strategies (Sohn, 2014).

The third factor – creating shared institutions – is especially challenging. Although it is generally assumed that a common management structure is essential to achieve a high degree of cross-border governance (Liberato et al., 2018; Villanueva et al., 2022), Perkmann (2007) and Vila et al. (2020) show that the establishment of such a structure does not guarantee, *per se*, real cooperation between stakeholders. Moreover, Ilbery and Saxena (2011) and Stoffelen et al. (2017) reveal the obvious power imbalances within these CBC institutions. Typically, only public bodies tend to cooperate, while private actors opt to remain on the sidelines (Ioannides et al., 2006; Perkmann, 2007). This corroborates reports that most cross-border projects are top-down initiatives, with local political elites managing European programmes (Shepherd & Ioannides, 2020; Trillo-Santamaría, 2014).

Finally, in addition to those three factors, Böhm (2023) has identified five roles or functions that CBC can fulfil in fostering shared territorial projects. In short, CBC can serve as: (1) a form of multi-level governance; (2) a regional development tool; (3) a form of paradiplomacy; (4) a tool for post-conflict reconciliation; and (5) a Europe-building instrument.

3. BOUNDING GIS

Meloni and Swinnen (2018), among others, highlight that GI schemes were first conceived by state bodies to protect domestic producers against fraud, but also to boost trade. Indeed, even today, GIs find strong political support from the EU, where they are believed to be a tool for increasing Member State competitivity in export markets (Huysmans, 2022). However, other reasons forwarded to explain their emergence include the pressure exerted by producers lobbying for protection (Biénabe & Marie-Vivien, 2017; Meloni & Swinnen, 2018), State interests in retaining control over their resources against third-party appropriation (Marie-Vivien &

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Biénabe, 2017; Rangnekar, 2011) and the symbolic value of certain GI products that form part of national identity (Gangjee, 2017; Huysmans, 2022).

Regarding the latter, De Soucey (2010) developed the concept of 'gastronationalism' to explain how certain foods can come to be representative of a certain national distinctiveness and affiliation. This clarifies why States feel motivated to intervene in the market to protect these foods. For example, champagne stands as a French 'national champion' (Gangjee, 2017), while Peruvian cuisine is a resource that serves to enhance the country's reputation as well as being a project of national unity (Matta, 2016). Such interpretations have become widespread with increasing globalisation, and elements of national cultures are today often commodified (Bowen & Gaytán, 2012).

'Gastronationalism' also serves to explain the international conflicts that break out over the protection of certain GIs, which are often mediated by nationalist intentions (Monterescu, 2017; Tisné, 2022). For instance, according to Monterescu (2017), Hungary seeks to appropriate Tokaj wine heritage, although the historical area for this product also includes part of Slovakia. Likewise, Peru objects to Chile using the Pisco name as the product is a symbol of their national pride (Hamrick et al., 2022; Tisné, 2022). A similar conflict exists between India and Pakistan over the protection of Basmati rice, with each country fearing the other is intent on appropriating the food's heritage. (Rangnekar & Kumar, 2010)

However, such a perspective needs to be refined, since most GIs are tied to local scales, that is, to more specific regions/places, such as the *pays* in France (Bérard & Marchenay, 2007; Delfosse, 2012), rather than to the national or international scale. Underpinning these more specific GIs lies the notion of *terroir* and the assumption that the reputation of a given product is tied to the specific conditions of its geographical origin (Barham, 2003; Fonte, 2008).

However, various scholars report that the need to draw boundaries to delimit GI production areas is typically complex and controversial. Theoretically, GIs grant protection to the traditional area in which a product forged its reputation (Barham, 2003). Yet, delimitation raises the question of determining just who is entitled to benefit from the recognition and who is to be excluded (May, 2017; Réviron & Chappuis, 2011). Indeed, a plethora of cases illustrate the conflicts that have derived from the exclusion/inclusion of producers in GI areas. In this sense, Grasseni (2011) describes the clashes concerning the rights to market Bitto cheese GI between traditional mountain producers and the more-industrialised farmers from the lowlands. In the case of Mexican Tequila, Bowen and Zapata (2009) report the marginalisation of traditional producers. This occurred when the GI area was extended beyond its traditional producing region, the Amatitán-Tequila valley, thus favouring larger companies capable of producing higher quantities at lower prices.

Underpinning these disputes lie economic arguments about competition and falling prices if GI areas are too broad, and the creation of monopoly rents if, in contrast, GI areas are too small (Goodman, 2004; May, 2017). Indeed, tying GIs to small scales is open to accusations of 'defensive localism', a strategy employed by farmers to secure their rents (DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; Winter, 2003). In contrast, allowing GIs to extend over wider areas may seek to exploit production growth strategies (Alonso & Parga, 2018; Boga et al., 2023).

However, the social construction of GIs does not only involve producers. Frequently, GI delimitations coincide with existing political-administrative boundaries (Hinrichs, 2003). Feta cheese and Grappa GIs, tailored to the boundaries of the Greek and Italian nation-states, respectively, are especially revealing in this sense (De Soucey, 2010; Moschini et al., 2008). In other instances, politicians might seek to extend the area associated with a product of particular reputation so as to promote tourism (Brunori & Rossi, 2007; Sonnino, 2007). The question that arises, therefore, is whether a GI's product-space link lies in the productive conditions, as assumed by the *terroir* concept, or simply in the region *per se*, as a socio-political construct, in which the food is located (Vandecandelaere et al., 2020).

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4. THE EMERGENCE OF CROSS-BORDER GIS IN THE EU

Irish whiskey can be considered the first cross-border GI. In 1980, the Irish Parliament passed the Irish Whiskey Act, allowing the spirit to be distilled and matured in Northern Ireland as well as in the Republic of Ireland where whiskey was already registered as a GI. Notably, this seminal CBGI was taken solely by the Republic of Ireland at a time when no supranational legal framework was yet in place to promote this decision. Irish whiskey was later registered at the European level in 1989 through EEC Regulation 1576/89 for spirit drinks, with Irish Cream also being designated as a CBGI. After this early precedent, the following CBGIs have been registered within the EU framework:

- foods under Regulation 510/2006 – the first legal document considering 'cross-border' GIs within its provisions (Article 5(1));
- spirit drinks under Annex III of Regulation 110/2008; and
- wines under Regulation 1308/2013.

The second of these regulations, 110/2008, provided a list of nine new CBGIs for spirits: six for gins, and one each for Ouzo, Pálinka and Kornbrand, respectively. This regulation, in fact, unified products that had previously been registered by different Member States, constituting 'homonymous' GIs. For instance, the anisette liqueur Ouzo had been registered under this name both by Greece, in 1976, and by Cyprus, in 2001. Meanwhile, food and wine CBGIs did not emerge for several years after the introduction of their respective regulations. Table 1 shows all the cross-border food and wine GIs designated (green) or under consideration (red).

However, despite these regulations, no legal provision specified a definition of CBGIs.[3] Indeed, Regulation 510/2006 merely states:

> In the case of a name designating a trans-border geographical area or a traditional name connected to a trans-border geographical area, several groups may lodge a joint application in accordance with the detailed rules referred to in Article 16(d).

A review of the codes of practice of the registered CBGIs (available from the EU eAmbrosia database) shows that these are subject to different control bodies in each of the countries involved, in the same way as a regular GI might be within its respective nation-state. Moreover, these CBGIs are not obliged to advertise their cross-border status in their labelling and, in the case of some gins, they are even allowed to include supplementary references to just one country of origin – for instance, the GI Genever can be labelled as 'Belgian' or 'Dutch'. Usually, CBGIs hold the same code of practice within the two titular countries. However, one exception to this is Pálinka – a fruit brandy registered by Hungary and Austria, which can be made from various fruits in Hungary, but only from apricots in Austria.

In short, there were no clear requirements regarding the implementation of CBGIs in the EU until the recent approval of Regulation 2024/1143, which merges the previously separate regulations governing wines, spirits and foods into a single document. This new norm makes it obligatory for each GI to appoint a single formal producer group for its management, an obligation that applies also to CBGIs.

5. METHODS

We opted to focus this study on non-spirit CBGIs for two reasons. First, unlike most spirit GIs, which cover entire countries, non-spirit GIs tend to be more geographically bounded,[4] making it

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easier to identify and access producers and other actors within them. Secondly, non-spirit GIs keep better records in relation to their application process in the EU eAmbrosia database. The decision to analyse various case studies was driven by the desire to obtain a broad spectrum of data regarding the potential situations presented by the CBGIs. Yet, the selection of the three final cases, shown in Table 1, was primarily motivated by accessibility of funding for fieldwork in Istria and the Pyrenees regions.

Once the cases were selected, we conducted a total of 21 semi-structured interviews: 11 related to the Istra GI and 10 to the Pyrenees GIs – all following the same schedule. The interviews focused primarily on producers (14) – some of them presidents of the institutions entitled to manage the GIs (three) – but also processors, technicians and researchers were included. We decided to make use of this qualitative technique in order to understand the opinions and attitudes of these actors towards the CBGIs (Dunn, 2016; Valentine, 1997). The advantage of interviews is that they are sensitive to the people's own experiences of the processes that operate in specific social contexts (Valentine, 1997). As such, we were able to gain insights into how these actors experience the CBGIs from the perspective of their daily lives. We were also able to discover the meanings they attach to them, and the degree of willingness they showed to collaborate or otherwise with actors on the other side of the border, etc.

An interview guideline was developed in adherence with the conventions making up Dunn's funnel structure: thus, interviewees were initially asked to provide general descriptions of the study areas and their links to GI productions before moving to more specific issues concerning the transboundary nature of the GIs. We also adopted the 'forbidden words' methodology (Cameron, 2016), whereby terms such as the specific names of the collaborating countries and explicit references to the cross-border nature of the GIs were, in the first instance, avoided by the interviewers, to see if they might emerge spontaneously and, when they did, to determine the specific meanings conferred on them (Cameron, 2016).

All the interviews were pseudonymised in accordance with the ethics commission of the university to which the researchers belong. Hence, in what follows we use pseudonyms to refer to the actors. It should perhaps be mentioned, as a possible limitation, that some of the interviews were conducted in English, which is the not the native language of either the researchers or the interviewees. The other interviews were conducted in Catalan, French, Spanish and/or Italian.

The information gathered was subsequently triangulated with email questionnaires applied to actors unavailable for interview – including the regional agriculture authorities on the Croatian side of Istria and officials engaged by food processing companies – and with textual analysis (Roche, 2016). The texts analysed included legal documents in eAmbrosia and on INAO webpages: i.e., codes of practice, opposition procedures, etc, as well as brochures, press articles, webpages and museum information panels. These diverse information sources were useful to complete and contrast the details obtained from the interviews.

The data obtained were coded and clustered in an inductive fashion. We first grouped the main themes and topics to emerge directly from the raw data using descriptive codes. We then added more precise analytical codes to explore in greater depth the issues presented. These codes were subsequently clustered on the basis of the relations manifest between actors, institutions, material elements and discourses (Glückler & Panitz, 2021), in order to explore the governance dynamics and the perceived outcomes of the analysed CBGIs.

6. RESULTS

6.1. Pyrenees

This case study incorporates two CBGIs – the Vedella and the Rosée CBGIs – corresponding to exactly the same geographical area (Figure 1). The two are designated for beef products, the only

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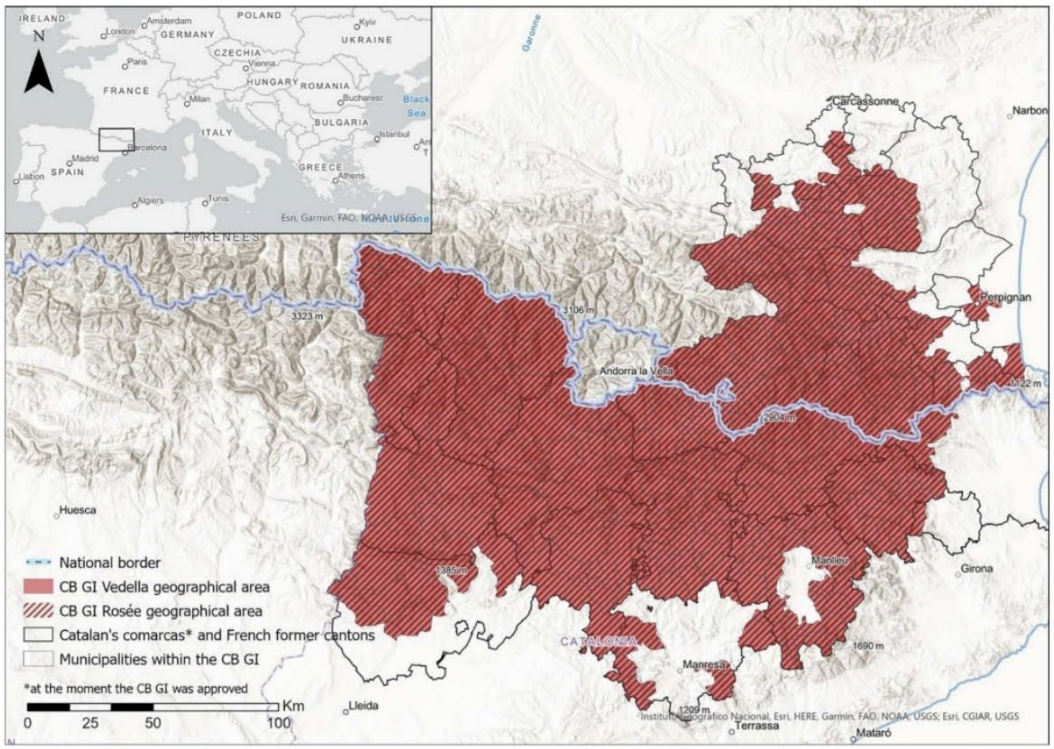

Figure 1. Location of the Pyrenees case study and the geographical area of the CBGIs Vedella and Rosée.
Source: The authors.

difference being that 'Rosée' is the label attached to suckling veal under the age of 6 months, while 'Vedella' is attached to beef from animals over the age of 6 months already fed on hay.

6.1.1 Establishment of the Vedella and Rosée CBGIs

The Pyrenees was home to a promiscuous livestock farming system until the 1980s, when farmers began to specialise in cattle meat. In 1994 the Catalan devolved government – within Spain – registered a Catalan-wide GI 'Vedella dels Pirineus Catalans'. However, when this GI was submitted for approval at the EU-level, the French state opposed its registration. The main grounds for French opposition lay in the fact that the toponym 'Pyrenees' was also French, so Catalonia could not register it on its own. To break the impasse, some of the Catalan interviewees recall that they immediately considered the possibility of creating a CBGI which would include the French producers from the *Département des Pyrénées-Orientales*,[5] since they too were part of the Pyrenees mountains. According to the Catalan producers, a CBGI would also give them the potential to access a wider market.

> In Catalonia there was no way of making this GI any bigger despite our best efforts … Moreover, in France they knew very well how to commercialise their meat. They were obtaining higher prices for it … And so we begin to think: they might teach us how to commercialise our meat, mightn't they? And at that point you think: ok! (Núria)

Once it was agreed to create a CBGI, a large set of Spanish and French institutional actors was mobilised to negotiate its code of practice. The main challenge lay in the fact that the French

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farmers were used to produce suckling veal – the Rosée – which is slaughtered at 5–6 months, whereas Catalan producers slaughtered their animals at 12 months. The decision was therefore taken to register two different CBGIs approved by the EU for these products, but occupying exactly the same geographical area. Moreover, their respective codes of practice have almost identical rules of production, with the obvious exceptions of the age of the beast at slaughter and the nature of their feed.

The interviewees did not mention any controversies of note between the producers in either country and reported that the negotiations between farmers had been fluid and straightforward. The main obstacle, according to the Catalan stakeholders, was that French bureaucracy delayed their efforts to obtain the CBGIs. Indeed, the French state opened up various rounds of 'national opposition procedures' – compelled in the INAO databases – to amend the codes of practice, which generated considerable fatigue among the stakeholders.

6.1.2 CBGI management and production system

Despite the creation of twin CBGIs occupying the same trans-boundary area, the interviewees claim that they operate independently in each country (see Figure 2): 'Everyone one goes their own way' was an oft-repeated phrase throughout the interviews. After the two CBGIs had been officially registered, the stakeholders claimed not to sit down again in any formal settings with producers from the other side of the border. Indeed, producers in each country have created their own legal institution to manage the two CBGIs, but, once again, quite separately: the Catalan producers are represented by the regulatory board of 'Vedella dels Pirineus Catalans', while French farmers are members of the association 'Rosée et Vedell des Pyrénées Catalanes'.

> We each decided to have our own regulatory board, the Catalan – or Spanish – and the French […]. We established the same rules, but everyone goes their own way. Now the name [of the CBGI] is cool, but there is no relation at all. They have their history, and we have ours. (Lluís)

According to the interviewees, this path has been taken because the Catalan farmers *only* produce Vedella, while the French *only* produce the younger Rosée – that is, the age of the veal is the critical difference between productions on each side of the border. As such, their respective producers have different concerns. Thus, on the Catalan side, farmers focus their efforts on the production of Vedella GI. They are few in number and, in general, tend not to cooperate. Moreover,

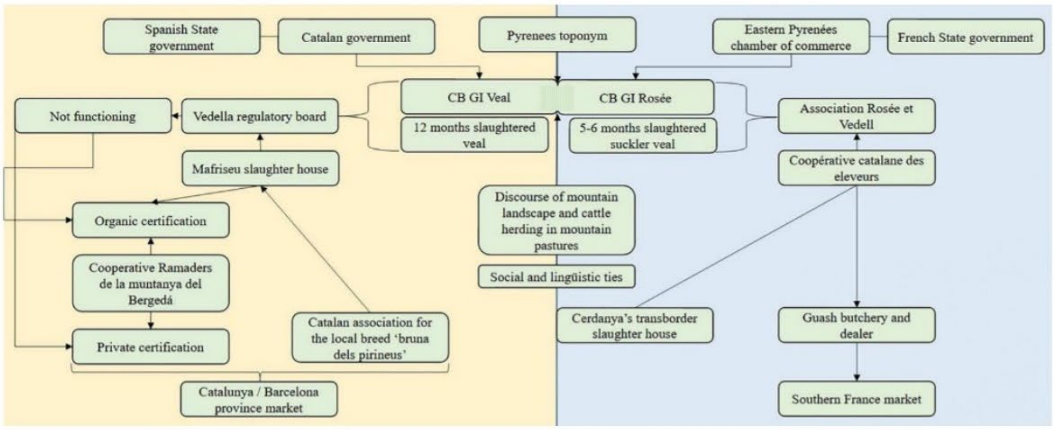

Figure 2. Network of codes reflecting key relations between actors in the Pyrenees case study. Yellow background refers to the Catalan area, blue to the French.
Source: The authors.

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most of their time is taken up struggling with other Catalan organic-beef-producers competing in the same quality niche market in Catalonia. In contrast, the French producers are all organised into a large cooperative, which includes farmers from all the *Département des Pyrénées-Orientales*, and sell Rosée throughout France. As they sell in different markets, the producers stressed that they do not compete with each other.

6.1.3 Perceptions of the CBGIs

It is assumed that the CBGIs encompass a largely uniform geographical area, not only because of the biophysical traits of the Pyrenées mountains, but also because of their cultural and historical ties, the common Catalan heritage that transcends the international boundary. However, the interviewees constantly spoke of 'their' local area or region and referred to 'the other side' in terms of nation-state boundaries. In the course of the interviews it became clear that the cross-border nature of the GIs was entirely anecdotal for the producers. In most cases this specific characteristic did not even emerge from the informants' responses.

When asked about the potential performance of the CBGIs – given that they do not as yet function as a cross-border structure – the interviewees mentioned the possibility the GI afforded them of producing and selling in the neighbouring country. Yet, at the same time, they enumerated a set of differences in their respective production methods, markets and institutional organisations (Figure 2) that distanced them from any potential convergence. Further negative connotations were recorded in Catalonia, where stakeholders saw themselves at a comparative disadvantage in terms of production costs, organisation and institutional support. The French, on the other hand, did not perceive any problems and tended to speak in terms of the similar production and market conditions of the (Southern) Catalans and French (or Northern Catalans, as many of the interviewees referred to them).

> On the south Catalan side, I see the same [situation]. It cannot be different, even if a border divides us … I think a farmer from Catalonia and a farmer from [the department of] Pyrénées-Orientales face the same problems, and deal with the same customers demanding the same quality products. (Antoine)

6.2. Istria

The Istria case study (Figure 3) refers specifically to a CBGI for olive oil named 'Istra'. However, in the Slovenian national territory of Istria, lies another bounded GI – also for olive oil – which coexists alongside this cross-border designation.

6.2.1 Establishment of the Istra CBGI

Before the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, the Istrian peninsula witnessed growing interest among both the local population and politicians for the cultivation of olive trees. Although this culture is assumed traditional, at that time it was marginal because of several heavy frosts that decimated the olive groves. Given the growing interest in olive trees and oil, an olive oil producers association named DOSI (Drustvo Oljkarjev Slovenske Istre) was constituted in 1992 in the few coastal municipalities of the so-called Slovenian Istria. Following Slovenia's accession to the EU in 2004, this association applied for a GI for the extra virgin olive oil produced in this small Slovenian coastal area, achieving recognition in 2007 as 'Slovenian-Istria'. In 2013 – the same year Croatia joined the EU – a cluster of olive oil producers from the southern Istrian locality of Vodnjan also applied for a GI for the Croatian Istria. The name they proposed for this GI was simply 'Istra'. However, this was to awaken opposition from the Slovenian government and those producers that had already registered the Slovenian-Istria GI. As one Slovenian interviewee involved in this process explained:

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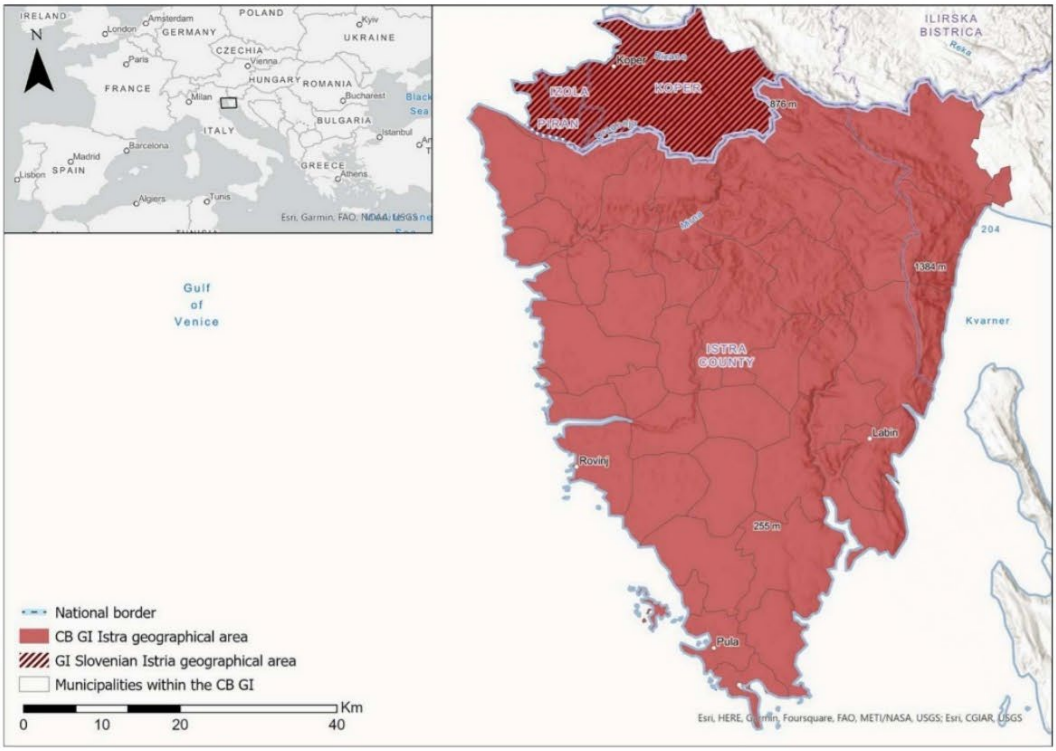

Figure 3. Location of the Istria case study and the geographical area of the CBGI Istra and the GI Slovenian Istria.
Source: The authors.

> Croatia couldn't take the name Istria because the Slovenian area also forms the Istrian peninsula. (Miro)

According to the interviewees, the decision to create a CBGI was, fundamentally, political. Some of them sustain that the idea originated from the EU, which 'liked to hear about some story of union'. Others believe the resolution came from a joint agreement between the Croatian and Slovenian national governments, seeking to keep good relations. At this point, it should be noted that this question was negotiated in parallel with another CBGI – the Istarski prsut (see Table 1) – involving the same two interested parties. Whatever the case, the founders of the Slovenian DOSI association – albeit not the association itself – entered into negotiations with the Croatian olive oil cluster and, between the two, they drafted a common code of practice for a new Istrian-wide olive oil GI, which was eventually approved in 2019 under the name of 'Istra'. Yet, the previous 'GI Slovenian-Istria' was maintained as a distinct and independent GI.

6.2.2 CBGI management and production system

To date, Slovenian producers remain firmly integrated within the DOSI association, which is responsible for the management of the GI 'Slovenian-Istria'. Although they have the possibility to use the CB Istra GI, without exception they continue to use their bounded GI 'Slovenian-Istria', on the grounds that, as they sell most of their oil on the Slovenian market, they would prefer to maintain this distinction for their Slovenian customers.

> We are here, we pick the olives here and we produce the oil, bottle it … everything happens here, so that's our protection and we were the first ones to put [a GI] in this area […]. The quality is maybe the same, we

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> are trying to do our best on both sides, but maybe it is better this way: not to put everything in the same box. (Mateja)

Thus, today, only the Croatians use the CBGI Istra – mainly as a marketing tool for their export market. However, this CBGI has no reported management body, as the Croatian cluster of olive growers that initially applied for it is no longer active. The producers in both countries share no common institution, nor do they engage in any common projects – apart, that is, from the joint organisation of a modest annual olive oil competition.

Most of the Slovenian stakeholders interviewed define their activity as a part-time family business and highlight the difficulties – hilly terrain, small plots – for producing oil in their area. In contrast, they report that their Croatian counterparts run larger, more professional olive oil companies and receive considerable institutional support from the Croatian Istria Regional government. Nevertheless, Croatian and Slovenian producers share many similarities (Figure 4). Their activity exploits a quality strategy, based on their participation in international oil competitions – often being the winners – and on their engagement with quality labels including GI and organic certifications. They also enjoy close synergies with the region's tourism sector: organising tastings and visits to their olive orchards, selling directly and/or to local restaurants. These activities also result in significant volumes of their production being exported to the tourists' countries of origin, most notably Germany.

6.2.3 Perceptions of the CBGI

Istria is generally perceived to be a unique geographical region – given it forms a separate peninsula – that transcends the nation-state borders that cross the region. The interviewees also assume that the olive oil produced throughout the peninsula is of the same high quality. Indeed, they make frequent reference to the fact that Istria has been awarded the title of the 'the best olive

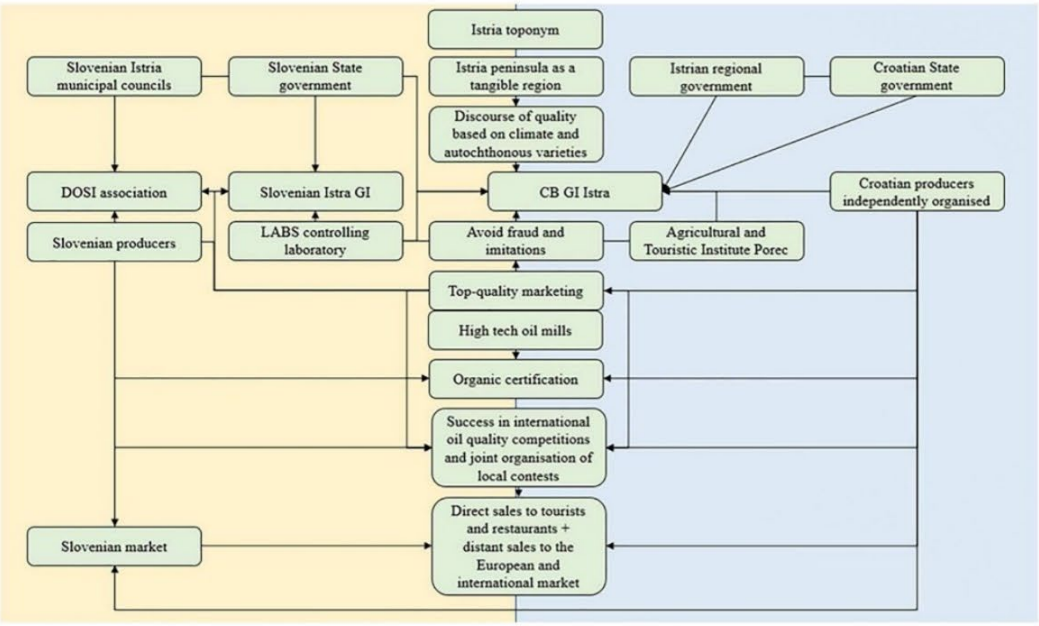

Figure 4. Network of codes reflecting key relations between actors in the Istria case study. Yellow background refers to the Slovenian area, blue to the Croatian.
Source: The authors.

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oil producing region in the world' by a prestigious oil guide several years running. Thus, on both sides of the border stakeholders stress the quality of their oil, as a product of this high latitude for olive trees and their autochthonous varieties. Nonetheless, informants differ as to their perceptions of the CBGI.

The Croatians have no problem sharing the CBGI with Slovenia. In this sense, one interviewee argued that 'it makes sense' to have a common CBGI because of the homogeneity of the Istria region. Yet, various Slovenians claimed it would be preferable to have only their GI 'Slovenian-Istria' for their territory, and expressed no desire to be bound together with their Croatian counterparts within the same CBGI. One interviewee noted that, although the product is of the same quality, they are 'still two countries' and that 'it is better to work separately and keep distance in business'. Behind these respective positions lie perceptions of economic imbalance. Hence, while Croatian producers do not see any threat from the Slovenians, the latter fear the competitive advantages enjoyed by the Croatians and prefer to maintain the differentiation provided by their bounded GI.

However, various interviewees on both sides also expressed positive opinions of the economic potential of the CBGI. Indeed, they believe the designation represents an opportunity to gain greater international projection through joint collaborations in advertising campaigns that exploit their common reputation. Beyond these marketing opportunities, the CBGI is also believed to provide producers with access to the latest high-tech oil mills, irrespective of which side of the border they are on, and for the owners of these mills to benefit from economies of scale.

> If there is cooperation, if there is joint promotion, you can do a lot of activities together that need financial support. (Maria)

7. DISCUSSION. WHY THE LACK OF COOPERATION IN THE CBGIS?

An initial discourse emanating from the CBGIs analysed here assumes the quality of the foods produced in their respective cross-border areas is the same despite the national boundary. Moreover, this discourse also seems to stress shared environmental conditions and human know-hows that would justify these transboundary regions as original and specific units. This discourse, therefore, appears to be consistent with the GI framework in which the link between food and place of origin is firmly based on the notion of *terroir* (Barham, 2003; Delfosse, 2012; Fonte, 2008). According to the literature on GIs, this convergence around the central idea of *terroir* is a critical step before reaching an agreement on a common quality definition and code of practice (Bowen & Zapata, 2009; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020) and, hence, the birth of a CBGI.

However, a rigorous analysis of the data shows the three CBGIs studied here have not emerged from the cordial agreements struck between border-neighbour farmers who believe they produce the same product. Rather, they emerged from the manoeuvres of two nation-states, i.e., France and Slovenia, to thwart the attempts of their respective neighbours, Spain and Croatia, to register cross-border toponyms as unique GIs for their own benefit. Ultimately, it has been the cross-border nature of the two toponyms – 'Pyrenees' and 'Istria' – that has acted as the spur to the creation of these CBGIs.

The decision to establish CBGIs is nonetheless surprising, given that for the analogous situation of Tokaj wine, the parties agreed to employ two 'homonymous' and exclusive GIs for Hungarian and Slovakian wines (Monterescu, 2017). This might reflect the fact that neither CBGI Istra nor CBGIs Rosée/Vedell can be considered symbols of nation-states (Gangjee, 2017), as is the case of Tokaj (Monterescu, 2017). Indeed, a nation-state may have a greater interest in retaining exclusivity over certain products through GIs when these products have strong associations with that nations' identity and pride (De Soucey, 2010), rather than merely as a means of

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retaining control over its resources (Marie-Vivien & Biénabe, 2017; Rangnekar, 2011). However, what also emerged here in the interview data collected from Slovenia–Croatia is that the CBGI Istra was very much the outcome of political mediation between the two countries. Indeed, the EU's interest in promoting CBGIs – more than a decade after the Tokaj case – as 'European building experiments' (Böhm, 2023) could have some relevance in their creation.

Somewhat tellingly, once created, these CBGIs have been managed separately as if they were nationally-bounded – and therefore conventional – GIs. We found no evidence of common management structures promoting cooperation or of the holding of periodic formal meetings, in any of the cases studied. In these CBGIs, the actors operate in parallel, but independently of each other, in a similar way to the actors in a cross-border tourism destination described by Stoffelen et al. (2017). Thus, the cross-border character of the CBGIs analysed exists solely on paper. This apparent absence of CBC can be related to the lack of any common management structures, a feature that has previously been highlighted in the border studies literature (Castanho et al., 2018; Trillo-Santamaría & Paül, 2016). Nevertheless, in order to account for the failure of these CBGIs, we need to converge the respective lines of thinking from the border and food studies. This is what we do in the rest of this discussion section.

First, beyond the lack of formal structures for cooperation, the distinct bureaucratic systems, norms and institutional actors operating in the respective nation-states seem to constitute an additional obstacle for the shared management of CBGIs (Figure 4). This obstacle has been extensively discussed in relation to other instances of CBC (Colomb, 2018; Klatt & Herrmann, 2011; Medeiros, 2015). Nevertheless, the obstacles derived from distinct bureaucracies are also in keeping with existing theory on GI management. For instance, Cerdan et al. (2011) and Pachoud et al. (2019) describe the problems that exist between different Brazilian Federal States to coordinate shared GIs, attributable to a lack of coherence between their respective governments. Such circumstances might also explain why the designated areas of GIs often adjust to pre-existing political boundaries, an attempt at maintaining a comprehensive framework that limits the multiplicity of public actors in their governance (Hinrichs, 2003).

Furthermore, in the interviews conducted here, we have not detected any relation between CBGIs and Interreg, the Euroregions, or any other more evident CBC policies. The apparent absence of EU CBC programmes/structures in the management of the GIs is particularly surprising in the case of the Pyrenees, given that Oliveras (2013) has noted that the Pyrenees-Cerdanya European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) had expressed a manifest will to enhance and support the production of quality beef. Moreover, our finding contradicts the reports of Perkmann (2007) and Decoville and Durand (2021), amongst others, who defend the capacity of Euroregions as enhancers of CBC at multiple levels. More specifically it would seem to demonstrate a failure to link different European policies – here, GIs and CBC – in an instance in which they could be mutually supportive of each other. In contrast, the association made by some interviewees between the cross-border nature of these CBGIs and what they referred to as 'big politics', and not with everyday practices, aligns with Trillo-Santamaría's (2014) findings for the Galicia-Norte de Portugal Euroregion – and with Paasi's (2009, p. 130) description of Euroregions as 'bureaucratic constructs' separated 'from the daily lives of citizens'.

Second, the lack of CBC in the case studies reported here might be linked to the different objectives and strategies of the actors on either side of the border. In this regard, the structural factors identified, including the productive structure of farms, the internal organisation of producers and differences in public support, can result in significant economic advantages/disadvantages that condition their respective marketing strategies. Thus, for the side endowed with fewer resources, competing within the same CBGI is seen as an obstacle to the attainment of shared visions and agreements, as noted in relation to other cross-border tourism initiatives (Ilbery & Saxena, 2011; Sohn, 2014). This would explain why the Slovenian oil producers prefer to

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continue using their bounded Slovenian-Istria GI as a differentiation strategy to secure a niche market (Goodman, 2004; Vergamini et al., 2019). In this sense, their ideas concerning the utility of a GI to protect their local livelihoods also resonate with the 'defensive localism' strategies widely detected in other food (re)localisation experiences (DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; Winter, 2003). In fact, the identification of problems arising from spatial economic imbalances between producers within the same GI are frequent in the literature (e.g., Grasseni, 2011).

The lack of common objectives of these CBGIs can be further linked to distinct target markets, as noted in both case studies. Indeed, the interviewees highlighted the existence of different markets in each nation-state, which, as such, find themselves being 'b/ordered' (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). We could rapidly conclude, in this sense, that the marketing of those GIs is conditioned by 'gastronationalism' (De Soucey, 2010), with, for instance, Slovenian consumer preferences for Slovenian products as opposed to Croatian goods being an apparent exercise in national pride and affiliation. Yet, this preference of Slovenians for the Slovenian Istria GI might also reflect the belief, commonly found in food studies, that 'local is better' (Born & Purcell, 2006; Hughes, 2010). The phenomenon in the case of the Pyrenees can also be explained by the apparent home-bias for products which are more appreciated in one national culture – the case of Rosée in France – and less so among their Spanish neighbours (Sorgho & Larue, 2014).

Third, the failure of the CBGIs can also be tied to the general unwillingness to instigate any collaborative or even communicative efforts (Colomb, 2018; Villanueva et al., 2022). Returning to the argument concerning the pragmatic creation of these CBGIs (i.e., the disputes between neighbouring nation-states over a shared toponym), it might be the case that once the CBGI has been created, the actors see little point in maintaining relations despite any alleged historical ties and the good rapport generated during the application phase. Here, another of the roles of CBC evinced by Böhm (2023) might well apply: namely, the role of CBGIs as utilitarian instruments to eradicate any debate concerning the right to use these toponyms, without giving any further consideration to their potential as cross-border regional development tools (also in Böhm, 2023).

Finally, the vision of CBGIs as CBC tools for regional development is not entirely absent from the discourse of our interviewees. Some producers recognised the opportunity afforded by the CBGI Istra to boost place-based competitiveness in international markets through the potential collaboration between Croatia and Slovenia. They even considered the CBGI as being beneficial for economic growth. This discourse is indeed consistent with the competitiveness effects associated with CBC in the marketing of tourism (Kozak & Buhalis, 2019; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2018), and with the performance of certain GIs in enhancing exports (Agostino & Trivieri, 2014; Duvaleix et al., 2021). However, even these potential market advantages have done little for boosting cooperation. Underlying this lack of interest in, or commitment to, collaboration, there would appear to lie a 'territorial trap' (Agnew, 1994; Paasi et al., 2022). Hence, stakeholders are taking the borders for granted, resulting in mental barriers that hinder collaboration even when market-driven advantages are made apparent to them.

Given the various reasons advanced in the preceding discussion, the difficulties encountered in attaining the shared management and governance of these CBGIs is more than apparent. They fail to work as real CBC projects because the three factors underpinning effective CBC as signalled in the literature – that is, trust, shared visions and shared institutions (Trillo-Santamaría & Paül, 2016; Villanueva et al., 2022) – are not fully satisfied. Additionally, we report an underlying mentality or 'territorial trap' and elements of gastronationalism as further hindrances to cooperation. Yet, ultimately, as we have sought to stress, many of the problems that these CBGIs have to face, including, defensive localism strategies and the lack of management structures, are also frequent in regular, non cross-border GIs.

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8. CONCLUSIONS

In keeping with principles of EU territorial integration – which encompass both the enhancement of quality food productions for rural development and CBC for the integration of borderlands – granting CBGIs to foods appears highly pertinent. However, the CBGIs analysed here do little to boost cross-border cooperation and so fail to act as elements of cohesion in the borderlands in which they are embedded. This serves to reinforce the belief that the proliferation of CBC projects within the EU does not necessarily promote greater, more durable CBC (Shepherd & Ioannides, 2020).

The borders examined here continue to have an impact on the management and governance of these (re)localised food productions, confirming the deep-rooted applicability of the b/ordering concept (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). In this regard, the approach adopted in this study, in which we combine insights from food studies as applied to GIs with those related to CBC as developed in border studies, has proved to be a consistent strategy for assessing the performance of these CB food GIs.

Future research in food studies could usefully exploit the borders and b/ordering literatures to address the controversial debate concerning the limits of (re)localised foods – that is, the spatial delimitations that divide 'us' from 'others'. In the case of GIs, this cross-disciplinary approach should provide relevant insights into discussions as to whether GIs are exclusionary, monopolistic instruments or not – in line with the arguments first developed by Monterescu (2017) in his explorations of the links between *terroir* and territoriality. Arguably, further CBC research that opts to focus its attention on specific economic sectors could equally be enriched by incorporating insights from other disciplines, as has been done here with the GI literature.

Based on the findings reported here, it seems apparent that common management bodies are a necessary platform from which to build cooperation. Interestingly, the recent EU Regulation 2024/1143 concurs with this consideration, requiring the creation of a joint producer-led body for the common management of CBGIs. In light of this development, we suggest that the following definition of CBGIs usefully highlights the main features of what a cross-border GI might be:

> A geographical indication whose production area encompasses two or more adjacent countries, where the same code of practice applies, and which operates a single joint producer-led structure entitled for its collective management and governance.

In addition to meeting these formal requirements, training sessions and/or briefings highlighting their potential competitiveness would be convenient for enhancing cooperation in existing CBGIs. Moreover, in Europe, current CBGIs might usefully become more integrated into the broader Interreg CBC policies, through the Euroregions or, at least, by using Interreg funding to facilitate their marketing and advertising campaigns. If the EU aims at territorial integration, it should commence by integrating its own policies, especially in such obvious cases as CBGIs.

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HIGHLANDS.3 project, which aims at researching sustainable development initiatives in mountain areas across the world, particularly in the European Union. The English proof-reading of the paper was carried out thanks to the TRANSINTER-A project on cross-border cooperation within Spain national borders.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Data is available on request due to privacy/ethical restrictions.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

ETHICS

Participants in the research have been adequately informed about the aims of the investigation and their rights. The ethical procedures detailed in the methods section have been authorised by the 'Comité de Bioética da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela', with approval number USC-50/2021.

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NOTES

1. Regulation EC 2081/92 was the first regulation to harmonise the previously *sui generis* GI schemes of different Member States into a common EU scheme. It defines two categories of GIs: Protected Designations of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indications (PGI). The difference between them is that PDOs require all steps in the food production process to be undertaken within a specific geographical area, while PGIs require only one key production step to be undertaken within a specific geographical area.
2. See Table 1 for a list of official designations of these CBGIs.
3. At the global level, the Geneva Act of the WIPO's Lisbon Agreement (2015, p. 8) also considers CBGIs, but again by making a vague mention of 'trans-border geographical areas' as 'geographical areas situated in, or covering, adjacent contracting parties'. Outside of Europe, no CBGIs have been registered to date.
4. This conclusion was arrived at from our own review of each CBGI's code of practice, in which the geographical scope of each product is defined.
5. This *département* is also known as 'French Catalonia' or 'Catalonia North', since until the mid-seventeenth century – when it passed to the French state under the Treaty of the Pyrenees – it formed part of Catalonia.

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4.2. ARTIGOS EN PROCESO DE REVISIÓN POR PARES

4.2.1. Latam

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A (EUROPEAN) RECIPE FOR LATIN AMERICA? AGRI-FOOD GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATIONS INTO DEBATE THROUGH FIVE CASE STUDIES FROM PERU AND ECUADOR

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Abstract

Geographical Indications (GI) for agri-food products, as first developed in Europe, are gaining momentum globally, based on their assumed potential as rural development tools. However, to date, academic research has paid limited attention to their ability to meet the actual objectives of the stakeholders using them in other contexts, such as Latin America. To this end, the present paper analyses five case studies of GI designations, three in Peru and two in Ecuador. A qualitative method centred on the gathering of semi-structured interview data from different actors involved in the development and management of these GIs has been adopted. The analysis of these cases shows that these designations are valued, primarily, as tools for accessing international markets. Yet, the results also point to other objectives, most notably the contribution they can make to product differentiation and the empowerment of producers along the food chain. However, this article identifies a series of obstacles that hinder the meeting of these expectations, including a lack of alignment with the supply chain and market demands, and the multiple scales at which a GI has to be governed. Moreover, it is evident that the GIs are often granted without any consideration of the objectives and expectations of local actors. This appears to explain why, in some of the cases analysed, the GIs continue to exist solely on paper.

Keywords: Local Food Systems; relocalisation; product qualification; marketing; food supply chain, intellectual property

1. Introduction

Geographical indications (GIs), which serve to link the geographical origin of foods to the specific qualities of their area of production, are gaining momentum worldwide as the number of both these figures, and the trade agreements containing them, multiply. Against this backdrop, the way in which GIs are understood and regulated has become the subject of lively debate. Thus, while some countries, including the USA and Argentina, see them simply as a type of intellectual property, the European Union (EU), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and other institutions and NGOs, defend them as a tool for rural development, with particular application in the Global South (Barham, 2003; Josling, 2006; Hughes, 2010; Yeung and Kerr, 2011; Coombe et al., 2015; Marie-Vivien and Biénabe, 2017; Neilson et al., 2018; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020; Hamrick et al., 2022; IP-Key, 2024).

Bramley (2011) and Coombe et al. (2015), among others, have claimed that much of the institutional sponsorship describing the utility of GIs in the Global South tends to present a series of potential benefits derived from their application, including their ability to generate higher rents for small producers, protect traditional knowledge and know-how, and even preserve the (agro)biodiversity of small farming communities (e.g. Giovannucci et al., 2009; Dutfield, 2017, Van de Kop et al., 2020). However, most of these theoretical assumptions about GIs are based on the European experience, where such effects have apparently been achieved. As a result, it is believed that by applying the same model these same outcomes can be transferred to the Global South (Coombe et al., 2015).

The scant empirical research conducted to date beyond the confines of the European context has focused on case studies conducted in Latin America. These studies portray a complicated landscape in which the ability of GIs to extend profits for small producers and to protect their resources is called into question. Based on a review of this literature, Medeiros and Passador (2021) and Cardoso et al. (2022) identify the main problems affecting the performance of GIs in Latin America (albeit these are not exclusive to this region) as: a) the high costs of certification; b) the general lack of resources to set up effective control bodies and carry out promotional activities; and c) the low organisational capacity of producers for instigating collective action. Additionally, some of these practical studies have also resulted in the identification of a series of conditions that might help ensure GI success, characterised primarily by the presence of a strong legislative/institutional framework and an adequate governance that ensures the efficient management and equitable distribution of profits within GIs (Marette, 2009; Quiñones et al., 2016; Barjolle et al., 2017; Belletti et al., 2017; Biénabe and Marie-Vivien, 2017; Fernández et al., 2019; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020).

Yet, the extant literature has merely scratched at the surface of the debate concerning the applicability of GIs in Latin America, in particular, and in the Global South, in general (Yeung and Kerr, 2011; Marescotti and Belletti, 2016; Barjolle et al., 2017; Cardoso et al., 2022). Some GI initiatives can represent top-down processes, but in so doing they raise questions as to whether these instruments provide participatory rights for the communities involved (Coombe et al., 2015). Conversely, some GI initiatives may act as relocalisation strategies

(Lamine et al., 2019), enabling producers to gain control over production and commercialisation, while participating in globalisation (Bowen and Gaytán, 2012). However, the specific strategies that producers can adopt to leverage GIs for empowerment within the food chain have yet to be clearly defined. Building upon these considerations, this study aims to explore whether Latin American GIs can serve to empower producers within the food chain or whether they are simply institutional recipes for development with little or no resonance on the ground. More specifically, the study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- What are the implications of the role and scale of action taken by stakeholders for the governance of GIs?
- To what extent do GIs provide the means for local producers to reconfigure their relations with the food chain and target markets (that is, to gain control of production and reduce their dependency on intermediaries)?

In seeking to answer these questions, the present study addresses the meanings and perspectives that actors in these contexts attribute to GIs by reporting evidence from five case studies of GIs granted to food products in Latin America: three in Perú – Café de Villa Rica, Pisco and Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco – and two in Ecuador – Cacao Arriba and Pitahaya de Palora, the selection of which is justified in the methods section below. The rest of this article is organised as follows. Following on from this introduction, a state of the art of the development of GIs with a particular concern for their supposed benefits is reported. The materials and working methods are outlined and the results of each of the case studies are briefly described drawing on the perspectives afforded by the actors interviewed. These results are then discussed together with the challenges of operationalising GIs in the Global South.

2. GIs on the stage: main potential economic benefits

In their strict legal sense, GIs can be considered a form of intellectual property that protects certain products associated with a specific geographical origin (Barham, 2003; Sylvander et al., 2011). They first emerged between the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe, tasked with protecting the production of prized wines from imitations, adulterations and frauds of provenance (Brunori and Rossi, 2007; Meloni and Swinnen, 2018). However, it is the French who are generally assumed to have systematically introduced a series of regulations requiring demonstrating the link between a product and its geographical area (Barham, 2003; Delfosse, 2012). The origins of such regulations can be traced to the notion of *terroir*, a term rich in cultural connotations that arguably captures a unique combination of geographical factors – ranging from soil and climate to the producers' know-how – and which endows a product with its differential organoleptic qualities (INRA-INAO-UNESCO, 2005; Moustier and Consales, 2007). In practice, these regulations legitimised those producers who, by means of their traditional techniques, had built up a reputation for a given product over a given geographical area (Barham, 2003). Thus, they were allowing these producers to benefit from state support and to capitalise on the latter for trade purposes (Meloni and Swinnen, 2018).

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From an economic perspective, various theories might be invoked to indicate how GIs can generate added value. First, basing their arguments on Akerlof's (1970) theory of information asymmetry between producers and consumers, a number of authors argue that GIs help reduce consumer uncertainty about the qualities of a product. By acting as a guarantee of both the origin and of the methods of production, GIs generate consumer trust, increasing their willingness to pay more for a product's differential characteristics (Fonte, 2017; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020). This explains how GIs are able to protect reputable products against imitation and fraud. Particularly, in distant markets where assuring the qualities associated with the particular origin of a product would otherwise be challenging (Renting et al., 2003; Sylvander et al., 2011; Marie-Vivien and Biénabe, 2017).

A second set of theories typically invoked identify GIs as constituting a differentiation strategy. Insofar as they provide information about a product's precise origins, GIs emphasise the endogenous resources on which that product is based. Thus, by offering the market inimitable products, they are able to distinguish these productions from their more conventional counterparts (Tregear et al., 2007; Giovannucci et al., 2009; Bramley, 2011; Belletti et al., 2017). In so doing, GIs allow the creation of niche market phenomena where, in conditions of seemingly lower competition, producers can command higher prices for their product (Kizos and Vakoufaris, 2011; Vergamini et al., 2019). This capacity for differentiation is considered particularly beneficial for small, remote, and/or less profitable agricultural productions unable to compete with large-scale productions that benefit from more sizable investments and economies of scale (Barham, 2003; Bowen, 2011; Crescenzi et al., 2024). Interestingly, Parrott et al. (2002) and Kizos and Vakoufaris (2009) report that most of the GIs approved in Europe are to be found in these economically 'lagging' regions.

This differentiation strategy based on endogenous resources also underpins the local agri-food systems, created in the 1990s by the French institution, CIRAD[1], under the name of *Systèmes Agroalimentaires Localisés* (SYAL). This framework has become very popular in explaining the spatial 'anchoring' of food production as a result of a particular combination of the physical environment, culture, and people, hence re-elaborating the aforementioned notion of *terroir* (Requier, 2010; Boga et al., 2022). Under the SYAL framework, GIs have frequently been proposed as cornerstones of a development model based on the valorisation of local resources as a source of added value (Bowen and Mutersbaugh, 2014; Belletti et al., 2015; Sanz and Muchnik, 2015; Belletti et al., 2017), frequently sponsored by means of multiple cooperation projects in contexts of the Global South among which Latin America stands out (see, for example, Reyes and Boucher, 2015).

Drawing on both the principle of information asymmetry and the market differentiation thesis, GIs have also been framed within the paradigm of the relocalisation of food. Building on this, GIs allow producers to escape the productivist paradigm of the dominant agri-food systems by reasserting economic and cultural control in food production-consumption relations (Barham, 2003; Bowen, 2011; Rangnekar, 2011; Boga et al., 2022). Thanks to their capacity for differentiation, GIs help producers to avoid the commodity trap, where reliance on intermediaries and competition with similar goods push prices down (Giovannucci et al., 2009). Accordingly, they reduce dependence on intermediaries by fostering more direct

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links between producers and consumers, giving producers greater control over production and sales (Renting et al., 2003; Paül and Haslam McKenzie, 2013).

Building also on this perspective, GIs may serve as tools to counter the homogenising and de-territorialising tendencies of global agri-food systems (Barham, 2003; Rangnekar, 2011). By emphasising a food's origins, GIs can 're-link' or 're-embed' products within the social, cultural and environmental attributes of specific places (Sonnino, 2007; Bowen, 2011). In this sense, they are considered to contribute to the safeguarding of a community's cultural values, such as knowledge and traditions, which reinforce local identity (Kizos and Vakoufaris, 2011; Coombe et al., 2015; Dutfield, 2017; Fonte, 2017). Yet, while GIs provide opportunities to relocalise cultural and economic control, there is the danger that they might reduce local cultural values to mere commercial resources, exploited to compete in globalised markets (Bowen and Gaytán, 2012). In other words, thy threaten to commodify traditions to satisfy external consumer demands for exotic, premium products (Guthman, 2007). As such, GIs paradoxically remain tied to the same global market forces they seek to resist, transforming local heritages into sources of economic profitability (Rangnekar, 2011).

Another way in which GIs can benefit local communities is by promoting collective action. Precisely because they are tied to particular places and not to particular people, GIs have to be collectively managed (Rangnekar, 2011; Sylvander et al., 2011). This applies to the drawing up of shared rules and norms for the comprehensive protection of a product, as well as to the self-organisation of producers in their efforts to implement joint quality control and marketing activities (Sanz and Macías, 2005; Fournier and Muchnik, 2012). In so doing, GIs are able to strengthen shared meanings, foster social cohesion and stimulate producers' capacity for joint action. In turn, this might promote local governance so that community norms evolve into institutions of collective action, thereby reconfiguring power relations in the food chain (Coombe et al., 2015; Giacomini and Mancini, 2015). Consistent with this reasoning, small geographical scales – given their limited scope – are considered particularly effective in facilitating the social organisation of actors (Marescotti and Belletti, 2016; Sanz and García, 2020).

Finally, GIs have also been framed within the paradigm of rural multifunctionality. Here, it is argued that GIs, because of their ability to establish specific production methods and sustain agricultural activities in rural areas, are useful for conserving natural resources, including native genetic species (Belletti et al., 2015, 2017; Dutfield, 2017) and traditional agricultural landscapes of high environmental value (Sanz and Macías, 2005; Lamarque and Lambin, 2015; Silva et al., 2023). In turn, the preservation of landscapes and the gastronomic heritage by means of GIs is also seen as a way to bolster tourism and promote a region (Giovannucci et al., 2009; Bessière, 2013; Rodil and Paül, 2013).

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3. Selection of case studies and methods

Peru and Ecuador have been selected as the countries in which to carry out this study for three main reasons: first, at a practical level, their selection reflects the availability of funding to conduct fieldwork in these Latin American countries (see Acknowledgements at the end of this article); second, they are both members of the Andean Community (CAN) and, as such, are subject to common regulations governing industrial property and GIs (Decision Nº. 486, CAN); and, third, the two countries have implemented regulations recognising the figure of *Consejo Regulador* (CR, literally 'Regulatory Council'), that is, a formal institution made up of the producers registered in a given GI that is responsible for its administration and control (Act 28-331 in Peru; Agreement 2020-077 in Ecuador). Likewise, both countries have also created public institutions – the *Instituto Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual* (INDECOPI, 'National Institute for the Defence of Competition and Protection of Intellectual Property') in Peru and the *Servicio Nacional de Derechos Intelectuales* (SENADI, 'National Service of Intellectual Rights') in Ecuador, responsible, among other functions, for approving the designation of the GI, assisting producers and supervising licensing.

The subsequent selection of GIs in these countries as specific case studies is motivated by the aim of covering a wide range of product reputation, spatial coverages and producer organisations. Ultimately, local collaborators, acting as gatekeepers (Valentine, 2005), played a pivotal role in identifying the five cases – which are listed in Table 1, their location being shown in the map in Figure 1. All five correspond to a *Denominación de Origen* ('Designation of Origin'), in accordance with Chapter I, Title XII of Decision Nº. 486 of the CAN, which stipulates that a product designated as such must be produced entirely within the designated geographical area to acquire its unique and/or essential characteristics.

Table 2. Selected case studies.

GI name	Country	Year of designation	Spatial dimension (km^2)	Number of registered companies[2]	Number of interviews[3]	Sources
Cacao Arriba	Ecuador	2009	165,400	16	14	Internal document facilitated by SENADI
Café de Villa Rica	Peru	2010	820	5	11	Internal doc. facilitated by the *CR del Café de Villa Rica*
Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco	Peru	2005	1,790	No authorisation for use	9	INDECOPI
Pisco	Peru	1990	64,670	525	11	Directorio de Productores de Pisco (produce.gob.pe)
Pitahaya de Palora	Ecuador	2018	1,420	No authorisation for use	4	SENADI

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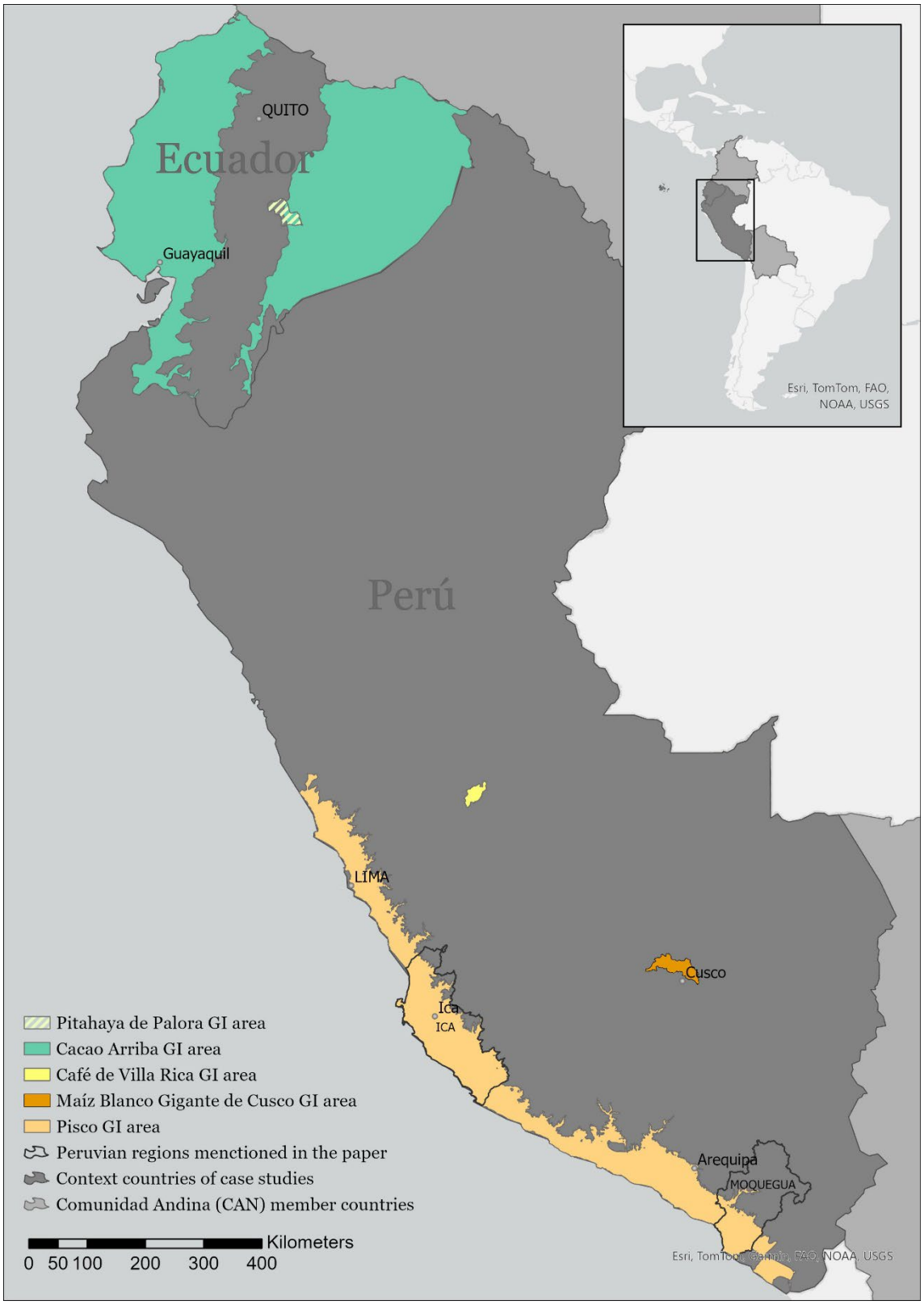

Figure 1. Map of the designated production areas of the five GIs.

Given that the present study seeks specifically to shed light on the declared purposes and personal experiences of the key stakeholders involved in establishing and managing the GIs, a qualitative approach was adopted. Accordingly, the empirical study is based on semi-structured interviews conducted with stakeholders that enjoy direct links with the selected GIs. The use of this research technique is particularly effective at capturing an individual's position or role within a specific social context (Valentine, 1997). Thus enabling to gather multiple perceptions, attitudes and subjective ideas about different aspects of the five GIs analysed (Longhurst, 2010; Winchester and Rofe, 2016).

The selection of stakeholders was based on their links with the GIs analysed here. Producers, as key actors with the capacity to exploit a GI, were the principal targets; however, other categories of informant were also sought to obtain a greater diversity of perspectives centred on the same GI. Most of the informants were contacted directly following a media and internet search, although in the Villa Rica and Pisco case studies identification of stakeholders was also facilitated by gatekeepers (as defined by Valentine, 1997: 115-116). A total of 44 interviewees were recruited (26 in Peru and 17 in Ecuador), distributed into the following categories:

- producers, ranging from big industries to small family farms, including also cooperative leaders (n=19);
- members of the CR for the management of GIs, including various chairs (n=10);
- professional staff from other stages in the supply chain, encompassing wholesalers, secondary cooperatives, exporters, processors of food, etc. (n=8);
- public servants, authorities and politicians, both at the local and national levels (n=10); and
- external advisors and technicians (n=6).

The interviews were conducted following a funnel structure (Dunn, 2016); thus, they began by requesting a brief personal introduction and established the individual's relation with the production. This was followed by questions about the product itself and its links with the geographical area. The interview concluded with more specific inquiries about the GI, its role in the production and commercialisation of the product and about its governance and management. Open-ended questions such as 'tell me about' were used to introduce these main topics (Valentine, 1997) and to allow interviewees to talk about an issue in their own words; however, more specific questions were also employed when seeking to focus on topics that individual interviewees had a better understanding of (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Additionally, during the interviews, the 'forbidden words' technique (Cameron, 2016) was adhered. Thus, concepts such as 'heritage', 'rural development' and 'sustainability' were deliberately avoided in all questions posed to avoid biasing responses. This technique also sought to see whether these terms arose spontaneously in the course of an interview so that the specific meanings conferred on them might be determined.

The interviews were later transcribed with the assistance of Buzz transcription software and the transcriptions coded into *etic* – key terms used by the interviewees – and *emic* categories – inductively established by the researcher (Crang, 2013; Cope and Hay, 2021). The results are presented based on the semiotic clustering of these codes for each specific case study (Crang, 2005). Pertinent ethical procedures, approved by the bioethics

committee of the university to which the author is attached, were followed throughout the study. These procedures included informing participants of their right of not having to respond to certain questions if perceived as inadequate and obtaining their consent for recording sessions (Longhurst, 2010; Cameron, 2016). Anonymity of all participants was also ensured, by using pseudonyms when directly quoting in the results. Nevertheless, an individual interviewee's position or role is recorded here when presenting the results in order to better understand his or her particular perspective and to shed light on any controversies or disputes between the parties involved.

4. Results

4.1. Café de Villa Rica (Peru)

GI application: motivations and expectations

The interviewees with links to the Café de Villa Rica GI – green coffee beans of the *Coffee arabica* species – describe Villa Rica as a municipal area with a long tradition for growing coffee, based on its perfect environmental conditions (with altitudes ranging between 1000 and 2000 metres above sea level and a semi-jungle character) and on the exploitation of local technologies and know-how. Most of the informants highlight the fact that this tradition has endowed Villa Rica with a high reputation for its coffee quality. However, this renown has led to fraudulent practices, with coffee from other areas being exported under the name of Villa Rica. To combat this, the local government applied for a *Denominación de Origen* (DO) to protect the name of the municipality. This was eventually passed in 2009 and applies basically to the municipal area of Villa Rica.

The coffee producers interviewed – including leaders of cooperatives, family farm owners and milling company managers – quickly became interested in the designation, sharing the vision of the local government of the need to protect the name of Villa Rica against misuse and to safeguard its reputation. However, they also perceived it as a mechanism that could help them gain control over the coffee value chain. For many the DO serves as a guarantee of traceability and quality, and as such provides 'credibility' for their coffee in European and North American markets, where most of their sales concentrate. They argue that the DO endows them with greater bargaining power in the food chain, specifically as regards the conditions under which their coffee is exported.

In this sense, these coffee producers of Villa Rica largely conceive the DO as a self-certification scheme that allows them to control, at the local scale, the traceability of their coffee beans. They see the DO regulations as an umbrella under which they can integrate the quality requirements of the other certifications to which they typically adhere. In this way, they seek to bypass the external audits required for such certifications as the *Rainforest Alliance* and *USDA Organic*, which are perceived as mechanisms that imply an external dependency to sell their product. As such, the DO is seen to provide them with an opportunity to negotiate directly with their customers in the Global North. Thereby, avoiding intermediaries and the costs associated with these other certifications, which, they claim, do little to boost their rents. They believe that the DO also affords them an opportunity to shorten the value chain and so to make greater profits from their product.

> We want to strength our DO as a certification entity [...]. I no longer need an [external] certifying entity here because, with the DO, I have a direct connection to guarantee the buyer. I can cut out many *coyotes*, many money leeches. (Edison, GI producer and manager of a cooperative)

Moreover, several of the more highly educated interviewees (including producers, local entrepreneurs and technicians) believe that under the DO they are better able to communicate the local environmental values of their coffee production. Including, for example, shade-grown cultivation techniques aimed at promoting both forest and birdlife conservation. They specifically target the Global North specialty coffee markets, confident that such information about their product origin will be especially valued.

In seeking to maximise product traceability, producers from various family firms and cooperatives attach considerable importance to the role played by the CR in monitoring product control and verification tasks. However, they claim that the formation of the CR was delayed for several years precisely because the applicant of the DO was the local government. As one producer involved from the outset notes:

> 'Several governments though came and went without giving the DO its proper importance' (Rosa, producer and technician involved in the application for the GI).

For this reason, some of the producers interviewed believe the DO should be managed by the producers themselves.

GI results: current status and level of use

The definitive push to enforce the GI was orchestrated in 2019 when a group of young producers took charge of the CR. Today – as various informants remarked – Villa Rica is seen as a benchmark for other GIs in Latin America as to how producers should organise themselves to make the device operational:

> In Villa Rica we are leading the way – we've even overtaken Pisco – since we're the only ones with a fully functioning Regulatory Council with the power to grant licenses. INDECOPI has already granted us the authority and full autonomy to issue authorisations and, right now, we're ready to finalise the first five dossiers and to begin exporting Villa Rica coffee as a DO. (Teófilo, GI producer and member of the CR).

However, the members of the CR for the Café de Villa Rica report that this institution, although constituted as a formal entity, has insufficient means to operate effectively, despite their having invested much time and effort in it. They note the deficient financial resources to employ a manager who might assume some of their tasks and run laboratory analytical services. Indeed, some participants assume an external certification company will have to be hired to do this job. For the time being, they prefer to start working with just five producers. Those who, in their own words, produce the best quality coffee, to facilitate control tasks. Some of these producers directly involved in the CR acknowledge that most coffee farmers in the region are still unfamiliar with the GI. However, they trust that the success of these five initial producers will demonstrate to the others that obtaining the GI designation is both feasible and profitable. This, in turn, should encourage more producers to participate, thereby ensuring the financial self-sustainability of the GI.

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The stakeholders sitting on the CR are developing – with the collaboration of Swiss cooperation – an advanced traceability system whereby the designated farms are georeferenced and detailed descriptions of their cultivation methods are recorded via an app which consumers can then consult using a QR code. However, doubts are openly expressed as to whether this advanced system is primarily a requirement of the European (Swiss) market to ensure quality control at destination, and the extent to which it will eventually be adopted by coffee growers. Finally, although the DO currently applies solely to green coffee beans, the coffee producers interviewed mentioned that they have begun to take steps to extend this protection regime to roasted coffee. This goal is consistent with their primary idea of controlling all stages of production at the local level so as to reduce the persisting dependence on intermediaries and to strengthen guarantees of traceability for their product.

4.2. Pisco (Peru)

GI application: motivations and expectations

Pisco is a colourless grape brandy widely heralded by the interviewees as 'Peru's flagship product' insofar as it is considered representative of Peruvian culture. This strong sense of national identification with the product needs to be understood within the context of a longstanding dispute with Chile over its true origin, since the Chilean state was the first to register Pisco as a DO[4]. According to several interviewees, the process for obtaining a DO for Peruvian Pisco was initiated by the Peruvian government (eventually granted in 1990) in an effort to 'defend' and assert its intellectual property rights over the brandy. As such, many interviewees consider the DO to be primarily a legal instrument used symbolically by the Peruvian state to ratify Pisco's Peruvian origin on a global scale. Accordingly, our informants frequently emphasised the role of the state as the ultimate legal holder of the DO.

In justifying the product's links with the area of production, the interviewees largely agreed in identifying the region of Ica as its rightful place of origin (Figure 1). As evidence, they spoke of the historical use of the toponym 'Pisco' to refer to the brandy and, above all, of the traditional methods of production – distillation techniques, recipe, etc. – that give the product its unique organoleptic qualities, arguably distinct from those of the distillate being produced in Chile. As a result, the interviewees acknowledge that these traditional methods that served to justify the specific qualities of the brandy became mandatory through the DO for all producers wishing to commercialise their distillate as Pisco. Indeed, the self-described 'traditional producers' of Ica understand the DO very much in this regulatory sense, considering it a necessary 'norm' or 'source of control' for preserving the *typicity* of Pisco.

> Being a *Denominación de Origen* means giving a product a protective shield. In the case of Pisco, for example, it is the recipe that they try to protect here [...]. So I find it useful, let's say, for preserving the distillation method. That is, establishing regulations to maintain it and so that it's not distorted. (Juan, producer from Ica involved in the application for the DO)

However, these Ica producers report that the Peruvian state took the decision to extend the DO to a further five administrative regions of the country, including territories that had little to no tradition of Pisco production (Figure 1). In so doing, they claim that, in some of these

other regions, the producers employ production methods that differ from those typical of Ica and which serve to underpin the DO. Here, the region of Moquegua is provided as a case in point, given that water is often added to the distillate to lower its alcohol content, as is also done in Chile.

GI results: current status and level of use

According to the more experienced producers of the brandy, the approval of the DO served to boost the production of Pisco. The traditional *cellars* became more professional and were able to expand their business and, from 2005, national consumption grew significantly. Indeed, both the producers and public authorities interviewed here highlight that Pisco, unlike many other Latin America DOs, is sold primarily in the domestic market. Given the business opportunities afforded by the GI, a number of outside external investors bought up the wineries and started producing Pisco. At the same time, the Peruvian government, operating through an R&D institution, facilitated the production of Pisco by small vineyard owners. As a result, the overall number of Pisco producers has increased significantly. The latest official figures speak of more than 500 producers with a license to commercialise Pisco, almost half of which are in the Ica region (Figure 1).

However, the vast majority of interviewees complained that adulteration, above all the use of non-typical grapes aimed at lowering prices, is the main problem faced by the Pisco DO and one that is damaging its collective reputation. The traditional Ica producers fear that these fraudulent practices could compromise the 'essence' of the product, jeopardizing their targeted growth in international gourmet markets.

To prevent adulterations, many stakeholders believe it necessary to entrust the CR – already established, but inactive – with the task of implementing appropriate inspections and sanctions. However, effective implementation is generally perceived as challenging due to the general lack of organisation and consensus between producers. Interviewees holding positions on public bodies link the failure of the CR to the conflicting interests of producers, who tend to prioritise their own business agendas over the common goals of the DO. Many stakeholders indeed refer to the friction between the so-called 'traditional' Ica producers, who hold that only they use the recipe that gives the spirit its unique character, and the other producers of Pisco who call for greater flexibility so as to facilitate higher and cheaper production. The former are most critical of the prevailing situation, and feel that the 'new', 'industrial' producers 'don't care if the CR doesn't work'. They even claim the industrial producers are happy to produce their Pisco without oversight, suggesting that fraudulent practices are rife among big industrial producers.

The interviewees explain that, in the face of the producers' failure to organise themselves, the Peruvian state has assumed a leading role in the management of the DO. Thus, it has taken over the supervisory functions of the CR through the government agency INDECOPI – albeit that its capacity to ensure compliance with Pisco production methods is limited. Furthermore, the Peruvian state is also reported to help producers export their brandy, thanks to the work of the national Export and Tourism Promotion Commission (PROMPERU), with the implementation, for example, of the international marketing campaign "Pisco, Spirit of Peru".

4.3. Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco (Perú)

GI application: motivations and expectations

In the various municipal areas of the so-called Valle Sagrado de los Incas, near the city of Cusco, a variety of corn stands out for its giant or '*gigantes*' grains. Various local informants explain that it was this specific characteristic that spurred exports of this corn to Spain, France, and the USA as a fried snack. Rising demand led to its cultivation in other parts of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, and to its being sold as 'giant' corn, mixed on occasions with the original grains for bulk export. Despite these circumstances, most interviewees – both producer leaders and individuals linked to the agencies involved – agree that the initiative to obtain a DO for this production came about thanks to funding made available by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, as well as from a specific development program organised by the Regional Government of Cusco. These two institutions set up numerous meetings with producers and, with the funds assigned, hired a technical service to create the DO, in what the former participants describe as something more akin to a 'development project'.

> It's a DO, let's say... that's been somewhat forced. The project was undertaken because there was funding available from the Swiss cooperation, and a team to draw up the technical dossier was hired. (María, civil servant)

The professional technicians involved in the process report that an exhaustive dossier was drawn up for the DO, which was to win official approval in 2005. The application primarily emphasised the corn's 'giant' size, as well as its physical and sensory features, traits that satisfied market demands. Indeed, as one local cooperative manager believes, the DO could serve a useful bureaucratic function in expediting exports, insofar as it would assure importers that the cereal being purchased was the 'authentic' giant white corn – with authenticity being correlated essentially with the giant grains and not so much with their specific origin. Moreover, rather than adopting the toponym of Valle Sagrado as an indication of the product's specific origin, the DO finally won approval under the name 'Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco' for marketing reasons.

GI results: current status and level of use

> Once the DO is approved, producers tend to disperse. When resources are provided, producers come together, the dossier is approved, and a celebratory photo is taken for the newspapers [...]. [However], after the declaration, the moment to make the DO effective with a *Consejo Regulador* never comes about (Renato, public authority).

As this quote suggests, public authorities and professional staff alike stress that, since its approval, the DO has remained inoperative and that no organisational structures have been put in place to bring the producers together again, as was achieved when processing the application. Thus, no benefits are currently being derived from the DO.

Several stakeholders (public servants and technicians) point to the small size of the producers, their general lack of organisation and the poor communication systems of the rural areas as the main challenges hindering the operational capacities of the DO. For example, the manager of the sole cooperative lying within the Valle Sagrado recognises that their capacity to export is limited by the difficulties in harvesting sufficient grains to make

exports profitable. At the same time, the interviews conducted among producers and local government staff from the Valle Sagrado reveal a lack of basic understanding of the DO's potential functions and how it might be enforced. Indeed, some of these local interviewees are even unaware that the DO is already in force.

And yet there would appear to be no pressing need among the principal stakeholders to enforce the DO. Both producers and local government staff from the Valle Sagrado show more interest in increasing agricultural yields than in commercial matters. They are apparently content with the current situation whereby corn is marketed in an undifferentiated fashion to domestic stockpilers and wholesalers. Thus, the DO presents itself as a top-down project that, despite its best 'development' intentions, has failed to align with the needs of local producers and real market demands to be considered effective.

4.4. Pitahaya de Palora (Ecuador)

GI application: motivations and expectations

The municipal area of Palora was established after the colonisation of Amazon rainforest lands in the 1960s, linked to the frontier expansion of livestock ranching and the cultivation of various agricultural commodities. Since the 2000s, this area has specialised in the cultivation and export of a variety of yellow pitahaya or dragon fruit endemic to the area, which the interviewees are unanimous in identifying as the 'livelihood' of the local economy. The farmers explain that, initially, they could command a good price for their fruit, but their rents dwindled as the international market became flooded with pitahaya of the 'Palora' variety from other regions of the world. In response, the president of one of the export producer associations applied for a DO, 'partly thinking to protect this genetic material, native to this region' (José, producer and member of the CR).

The producers interviewed admit that an economic motivation underpins their claims to the genetic origin of the plant. They explain that, with the DO, they will be able to control exports. To this end, they plan to establish a traceability system, based on the labelling of each pitahaya fruit produced in Palora by means of a sticker containing a batch number. In this way, they seek to differentiate their pitahaya on the market and ensure exporters cannot mix it with fruit from other areas, and so they hope to maintain a higher price for their product. Indeed, it is evident that some producers are uncertain as to whether end consumers, in fact, value Palora as a specific origin, and are more concerned with exploiting the DO to secure monopolistic control over export prices.

> I'm especially interested in the DO, because in this way, as an association, we will be able to regulate the market. We could tell exporters that anyone wishing to export pitahaya with the DO must adhere to these conditions [...]. For instance: the price of the fruit will be regulated by our board. (Wilson, farmer, exporter and leader of the association that applied for the DO)

GI results: current status and level of use

The DO is approved since 2017 but, to date, the actors express that DO has yet to afford them any economic benefits. Palora remains without a *Consejo Regulador* that might effectively set up the desired traceability system to differentiate their product. Meanwhile, the area's producers continue to operate without any license of use. In general, the sector

is seen to be divided, with the conflicting interests of producers and retailers hindering the drawing up of any agreements that might enforce the DO. Several producers express the belief that local retailers are not interested in the DO, preferring to negotiate for low prices. Only the association that presented the application for the DO shows any real interest, but not all the producers that are members of it are aware of the full scope of its powers or its legal limitations.

Meanwhile, the SENADI officers speak about the need to 'socialize' and educate producers about the attributes and drawbacks of the DO. Yet, one member of this institution also expresses an awareness of the fact that frequent changes in the leadership of the association complicate progress and concludes that sustained efforts over time – as opposed to isolated actions – are needed to make the DO effective. This is the only way to ensure that it does not remain 'simply a matter of getting the DO recognised and then leaving it to gather dust in a drawer' (Daniela, public servant).

4.5. Cacao Arriba (Ecuador)

GI application: motivations and expectations

Cocoa has historically been one of the main agri-food productions in Ecuador and remains so today because of its economic significance for the many small producers in the western part of the country. In general, the interviewees concur in their claims that Ecuador enjoys international recognition for producing cocoa of high organoleptic quality. Two names stand out in this regard: Arriba and Nacional. Although often used interchangeably, some of the interviewees that have investigated the genealogy of this fame point out that 'Nacional' refers to the endemic variety of fine aromatic cocoa that was predominant in Ecuador in the early 20th century, when the country first earned its reputation – albeit that its fortunes have since experienced a dramatic downturn in favour of a more productive hybrid variety, the CCN51. Meanwhile, 'Arriba' is a geographical denomination first used by the merchants in this same period, initially to designate a relatively precise production area and later to refer to all high-quality cocoa from the country.

According to various producers and technicians involved in applying for the DO 'Cacao Arriba', the Ecuadorian government initiated its creation in the years between 2005 and 2009, in an attempt to 'revalue' the 'Nacional' variety following its notorious decline. Indeed, the interviewees stressed that this genetic condition was established as the main requirement for obtaining the DO label.

Yet, many stakeholders assume that the DO was primarily conceived as a state-led marketing strategy with the broader objective of leveraging the reputation of Ecuador's cocoa production in international markets. In this sense, the choice of the name 'Arriba' was far from trivial, given the recognition it enjoyed in Global North markets that demand high-quality Ecuadorian cocoa. Accordingly, some interviewees believe that the DO was established to cover all cultivable areas of Ecuador with the aim to serve as a national brand, acting as an umbrella for the nationwide quality control of cocoa. However, other actors, also involved in applying for the DO, believe its broad delimitation to have been 'poorly conceived' and that it should apply only to specific regions with certain unique homogeneous organoleptic profiles.

GI results: current status and level of use

The interviewees highlight the very limited use made of this designation. In fact, the DO Cacao Arriba has issued only some 16 licenses across the entire Ecuadorian cocoa sector, despite covering a large part of the country's territory. Moreover, no regulatory body has been set up to oversee its use or prevent the indiscriminate use of the name 'Arriba'. Many interviewees regret that, since its approval in 2009, the Ecuadorian government does not seem to have devoted sufficient resources to publicising the DO among producers or to mounting international marketing campaigns. Some interviewees attribute this to the shifting priorities of the different political parties that have been in power over this period. Meanwhile, ANECACAO (the National Association of Cocoa Exporters), dominated by large exporters, only shows an interest in promoting the use of the CCN51 variety so as to increase production and export volumes. In so doing, it has tended to block the DO from enjoying greater support and resources.

In Ecuador, there is a somewhat limited high-quality cocoa sector – including producers of Nacional cocoa and a burgeoning chocolate industry that processes it – that adheres to the 'bean to bar' and 'specialty cocoa' market models, where the origin of the cocoa is of central importance. However, the interviewees working in this sector claim that possessing the DO does not provide any added value. Some producers attribute the limited use of the Cacao Arriba DO to the fact that it refers solely to raw cocoa beans. In this sense, they recognise that the DO can only serve as a guarantee for intermediaries, ensuring they are purchasing authentic Nacional cocoa for high-quality chocolate production. However, the producers in this sector with a capacity to export assert that the added value they obtain for their raw product is attributable not to the DO, but rather to internal guarantees of quality and traceability defined in their companies and the relationships of trust established directly with their customers:

> We practically do all the work ourselves. We're the ones responsible for traceability, for all controls... We can say to our customers: 'Look, I can sell you a container of this Manabí cocoa. Here you are'. OK. So, what do we need this [the GI] for? (Luis, manager of a second-level cooperative that exports Nacional cocoa).

Moreover, more than one interviewee working in the quality cocoa sector and with expertise in GI schemes argue that in Ecuador, the DO's potential added-value is also hindered by the absence of a strong national chocolate industry and the distance to most end consumers, primarily located in the Global North. They contrast this situation with that of GIs in Europe, where most farmers are also food processors and their consumers are geographically much closer, which makes it easier to convey a DO's values of origin and authenticity. As such, they recognise the challenge of operationalising a DO that does not extend to the end of the food value-chain. Thereby making it much harder to communicate the values and guarantee of origin and authenticity to the end consumer. As one interviewee noted:

> Why is the DO scheme so strong in Europe? Because what is sold is the ready-to-consume product. Cheese or wine, for example. The whole process occurs in the same region, Here, no; here we produce the raw cocoa and then send it to a [chocolate] factory in the North [...]. If the end customer doesn't see the DO, it's not very useful. (Lea, artisan chocolatier).

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5. Discussion

The case studies reported here have been undertaken to shed light on the perceptions and motivations of the stakeholders of five GIs in Peru and Ecuador, so as to further the debate on the applicability of such schemes in Latin America. In all five cases, the first result to emerge is that the stakeholders – that is, producers and administrators alike – recognise the importance that the GI has in facilitating access to international markets. At a first glance, this motivation seems consistent with the arguments reported by Yeung and Kerr (2011), among others, highlighting the significance of GIs for Global South countries as instruments that can enhance competitiveness and drive exports. However, beyond this primary reason for engaging with a GI, significant differences emerge depending on the position held by the stakeholders.

Thus, while producers generally referred to economic motivations, other informants placed greater emphasis on political matters. For example, in the case of Pisco, the GI was mobilised largely by the Peruvian state in an attempt at bolstering this product as a symbol of national identity (see also Hamrick et al., 2022 in this respect). Similar top-down approaches can be observed globally, with many states and cooperation institutions viewing GIs as tools to protect intellectual property, traditional knowledge and biodiversity (Dagne, 2015; Biénabe and Marie-Vivien, 2017; Dutfield, 2017; Van de Kop et al., 2020). However, these top-down approaches often overlook the needs and aspirations of local producers (Coombe et al., 2015), and consequently fail in their aims. A good example of this is the Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco. Promoted as a development cooperation initiative, the DO was granted without the producers perceiving its practical utility and, hence, it has remained unused. In a similar vein, the Cacao Arriba DO has failed to meet the Ecuadorian state's objective of recovering the cultivation of the Nacional variety in the face of the ubiquitous CCN51 hybrid.

These distinct rationales show that GIs can embody diverse strategies and hold different meanings that unfold across various levels, reflecting politics of scale (Brenner, 2001; Goodman et al., 2012). This is best exemplified by the case of Pisco. At the locality of Ica, many producers value the GI as a tool for preserving traditional recipes and production methods. At the state level, however, the GI is framed as a symbol of national pride, largely in opposition to Chilean claims over the product. Thus, a single GI can simultaneously adopt multiple scalar configurations, resembling the nested structures described by Neil Smith (2002).

Considering GIs at multiple scales is also useful for understanding how they can contribute to reconfigure food chains to benefit producers. Returning to the general ambition to expand overseas and to grow economically, key differences emerge among the five GIs regarding how they seek to enhance the marketability of their products. For the stakeholders associated with Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco and Cacao Arriba, the GI is seen as a suitable strategy for 'revalorising' the traditional plant varieties of giant corn from Cusco and cocoa from Ecuador, respectively. Likewise, for the Villa Rica coffee farmers, the GI is seen as a useful element for upholding their differentiation strategy, since it helps them convey their values as regards production in the specialty coffee market, dominated as it is by a plethora of private certifications, focused above all on sustainability (Avelino et al., 2006; Belletti et al., 2017; Neilson, 2018; Grabs, 2021). In short, the findings recorded from these case studies point to differentiation strategies in which the GIs are perceived as a

means to highlight the uniqueness of each product and, thus, to command higher prices in the market based on their differential characteristics (Belletti et al., 2017; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020).

However, looking beyond this basic intention of adding value through differentiation, other objectives emerge related to goals of reasserting the economic and socio-cultural stewardship of these productions at the producer level (Barham, 2003; Rangnekar, 2011). For instance, the Villa Rica coffee farmers have come to rely on their GI as a negotiation tool, one that enables them to cut out intermediaries and to define their own values and production standards *vis-à-vis* private certifications. Meanwhile, the Palora producers depend on the GI to distinguish their pitahaya in intermediate markets and to gain control over its trade. With regard to cultural aspects, the case of Pisco stands out, with the GI being considered by the Ica producers as fundamental for protecting the heritage value of the traditional methods and technologies used in the production of the distillate. These examples show that GIs are also being considered as relocalisation strategies, with producers deliberately seeking to emphasise the local conditions under which their agri-food products are produced (Boga et al., 2022). By so doing, they produce local scale by means of the GI to reorganise and govern the food production-consumption systems according to their needs (Bowen, 2011).

However, relocalisation strategies based on GIs in the Latin American countries analysed here face significant challenges. For example, the Villa Rica producers recognise that they continue to depend on European and North American importers and roasters to convey their place-specific values within the saturated specialty coffee market, as has been noted in previous studies (Galtier et al., 2013; Marescotti and Belletti, 2016; Belletti et al., 2017; Barjolle et al., 2017; Grabs, 2021). In Palora meanwhile, pitahaya producers are largely unable to regulate and control sales prices through the GI due to a basic misalignment with exporters (Giovannucci et al., 2009; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020). Both cases suggest that for GIs to reshape their dependence on intermediaries, it is crucial that greater consideration be given to the target market and the operational dynamics along the value chain. Given the export-oriented focus of these GIs, the geographical distance between the places of production and consumption makes it especially difficult to convey values of origin to the final consumers (Marescotti and Belletti, 2016). This situation contrasts with that of most GIs in Europe, where producers face fewer challenges since they are geared towards serving geographically closer consumers (Yeung and Kerr, 2011; Boga et al., 2022). Yet, at the same time, it should be borne in mind that neither the coffee nor the cocoa GIs analysed here are end-consumer products. This means they serve solely for merchants and specialised markets, while the traceability and the typical guarantees associated with a GI remain firmly in the hands of these intermediaries. Conversely, the 'Nacional' cocoa niche sector illustrates an alternative approach to that of exploiting the GI. Here, "bean to bar" strategies, where shortening supply chains is also a concern, seem sufficient to communicate the characteristics of the product in this small, highly limited quality market segment by relying on direct relationships mediated by producer-customer trust – such as those described by Higgins et al. (2008).

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We therefore observe a paradox when considering GIs within the broader framework of relocalisation strategies: by conveying information about the origin and quality of a product, they contribute to its decommoditisation and the shortening of its value chain (Renting et al., 2003; Higgins et al., 2008); however, in terms of global supply chains, GIs still prove unable to free themselves from dependence on intermediaries in their efforts to reach consumers and redistribute profits among producers (Daviron and Ponte, 2005; Barjolle et al., 2017; Neilson et al., 2018). These findings also serve, therefore, as a refinement of Renting et al's (2003) assertion that GIs are a way to transmit information from producers to consumers in long-distance trade.

Although the five case studies have not specifically addressed the consumer side of the debate, they provide certain indications as to consumer demand. For instance, the stakeholders in the Café de Villa Rica DO acknowledge that the traceability and environmental guarantees provided by the GI were a key value in enabling them to enter the specialty coffee niche markets of the Global North. Indeed, similar conclusions can be found in Avelino et al. (2006) and Neilson et al. (2018) for other coffee GIs. However, it is less certain that a GI-based traceability system would be as significant for such products as the Pitahaya de Palora or Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco, given that these agri-food products present no obvious differentiating characteristics that set them aside in the market. Thus, this study suggests – contrary to Barjolle and Sylvander (2002) – that a GI's capacity to drive exports may be greater for those products for which a market already exists and in which consumers are willing to pay a premium for unique attributes. This would be the case, for example, of products such as coffee and wine (Belletti et al., 2017; Rodrigues et al., 2024), but not necessarily of others such as corn and pitahaya. This insight constitutes a valuable addition to the extant literature on the topic, given that the GIs analysed here appear to have been founded on the expectations of the producers – as well as on those of governmental and development cooperation actors institutionalised abroad – rather than on the real demands of end-consumers about the origins of the agri-food products.

It is evident that Hughes' insightful statement (2010: 51) that a GI's commercial success "depends largely on consumer interest in developed economies" seems especially applicable to the cases analysed here. However, this reliance challenges the ability of producers to assert cultural control over the commercialisation of their products by means of a GI. For instance, the GI for Maíz Blanco Gigante opts to accentuate Cusco as a well-known tourist destination at the expense of the Valle Sagrado de los Incas, the true origin of the product. In so doing, reduces the cultural value of the corn to a mere marketable image, echoing the common problematic association between GIs and tourism reported by Rodil and Paül (2013). Similarly, the Café de Villa Rica DO, which seeks to highlight the forest and birdlife conservation actions in the jungle where the coffee is produced, also acts to reshape these values to match more closely with the environmental certification codes typical of consumers in the Global North. Thus, although GIs are promoted as cultural assets, they paradoxically commodify tradition to appeal to external consumers seeking exotic, highly differentiated products (Guthman, 2007; Rangnekar, 2011; Bowen and Gaytán, 2012) – quite often disregarding local values (Milano and Cazella, 2021).

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This contradiction underscores how original values are inadvertently reshaped to align with those of globalisation, threatening to undermine the vision of local communities (Coombe et al. 2015; Milano and Cazella, 2021). Anders and Caswell (2009: 87) are particularly eloquent in this respect, noting that "given the high priority consumers in Western economies place on food standards, it is unlikely that retailers in Europe or North America will waive existing requirements above and beyond regulatory requirements in favour of GIs".

However important the food chain and markets might be, a GI has to pay particular attention to its marketing if it hopes to achieve its results. Most of the GIs studied here were granted with the intention of building their reputation and boosting demand in global markets, in keeping, that is, with the 'activation' model defended by proponents of SYAL. As the interviews reveal, these GI initiatives require that significant efforts be made in terms of quality control and promotional activity (Bramley, 2011; Yeung and Kerr, 2011; Neilson et al., 2018), which can come to represent sizable sunk costs (Marette, 2009; Rangnekar, 2011; Coombe et al., 2015). However, the interviews reveal a general lack of resources and support, which hinders the GIs in their efforts to meet these objectives, and which jeopardises the benefits that small producers can derive from them (Bowen and Zapata, 2009; Yeung and Kerr, 2011; Mancini, 2013). For Café de Villa Rica, some of these problems are offset by the resources made available by international cooperation institutions, but this raises the question as to just how far this situation can be sustained by external support (Daviron and Ponte, 2005; Hughes, 2010). Ironically, this paper evinces that it seems more challenging to apply the SYAL activation model, as proposed, among others, by Fournier and Muchnik (2012) and Belletti et al. (2017), in the Global South, for which it was designed, than in Europe.

Nevertheless, products of repute can also fail to meet these marketing goals. Pisco, for example, is a 'mature' production (Tregear et al., 2016) that enjoys a certain degree of international fame and recognition (Hamrick et al., 2022), as well as support from the Peruvian state through its agency PROMPERU. Despite this, major issues of adulteration undermine the international reputation of the distillate, largely due to a high degree of disorganisation and the lack of agreement among producers. Results confirm the importance of well-functioning producer organisations for the effective implementation of GIs and their ability to deliver distributive benefits, as has been emphasised in much of the literature (Bowen and Zapata, 2009; Quiñones et al., 2016; Barjolle et al., 2017; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020; Milano and Cazzella, 2021). Significantly, many interviewees with expertise in working with GIs recognise the pivotal importance of having a *Consejo Regulador*, analogous to those operating in France (Marie-Vivien, 2010) and Spain (Boga and Paül, 2023), to meet these needs.

Our analysis shows that, in the case of the GIs studied here, their corresponding CRs either have not yet been established or, with some caveats, do not function properly. The reasons given for this are consistent with those found in the literature and include disagreements among the stakeholders and a general lack of understanding as to how these entities should operate (Giovannucci et al., 2009; Yeung and Kerr, 2011; Mancini, 2013; Barjolle et al., 2017; Fernández et al., 2019). In the case of Pisco, this lack of consensus can be attributed to the

massive size of the GI – in terms of both the number of producers and the vastness of its geographical area – which results in a high degree of heterogeneity among stakeholders with conflicting interests (Dentoni et al., 2012). Similarly, it can be inferred that geographical proximity may have favoured the organisational process in the case of Café de Villa Rica, in line with the arguments forwarded by SYAL proponents (Sanz and Muchnik, 2016; Boucher and Reyes, 2016; Sanz and García, 2020). However, this is not always apparent. The case of Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco – in which no organisational structures of any kind have been able to unite the efforts of its producers, despite the attempts of the state and NGOs – contradicts the premise favouring small geographical areas. Meanwhile, some interviewees also concede that large GIs such as those of Pisco and Cacao Arriba may benefit from economies of scale when distributing the costs of promotion and quality control activities, as in the well-known case of the Café de Colombia GI (Marescotti and Belletti, 2016; Grabs, 2021).

There is one last dichotomy regarding the knowledge and technical expertise necessary to enforce a GI that needs mentioning. A number of technical stakeholders and civil servants interviewed here recognise the importance of benchmarking to showcase to producers how a GI might work. In Peru, Villa Rica can be held up as a successful case in this regard, with producers being firm in their commitment to implementing the GI. Yet, the qualitative analysis conducted underscores that this GI is being led by a small number of producers with considerable expertise in using these instruments; however, the fact that they are so few is a challenge to their ability to establish their own quality-control laboratories. Paradoxically, any thoughts of using the GI as a demonstrative example for other producers places the initial investment risk very much on the shoulders of the pioneers. This partly explains the small numbers that become involved in GIs and stresses the need for a better understanding of how GIs work, as has been emphasised elsewhere (Cardoso et al., 2022).

6. Conclusions

> *All too often with the projects carried out under the GIs, it seems as if they're telling you: 'Here, take this recipe!'. And once you been given the 'right' recipe, they leave, never to return. It's as if they can impose their formulas about what is good, about what should be done, without having to take into consideration local circumstances. (María, external advisor)*

The study conducted here provides evidence of the fact that the five GIs analysed in Peru and Ecuador are valued primarily for their potential to furnish access to international markets, followed by their ability to generate stable rents for small farmers and to provide the means for producers to acquire greater bargaining power along the food supply chain. However, by exploring their strategic use through a scalar analysis, the case studies serve to expand on the many reasons why GIs can fail to deliver on these expected benefits.

The first issue to emerge is that GIs are often designated without attempting to align their goals with the objectives and expectations of local stakeholders operating within their respective areas. As is evident from some of the case studies reported here, this is an especially pertinent factor and one that largely accounts for their poor acceptance and limited use in relation to the agri-food products analysed. It also explains why many of them have remained largely unexploited since their approval. As has been emphasised for GIs in

other contexts, they may well be unable to generate higher rents and empower small producers if they are simply implemented by government and cooperation agencies in a top-down process (Conneely and Mahon, 2015; Milano and Cazella, 2021).

This study has identified, therefore, the importance that GI initiatives be led by local producers and, once operational, that they maintain a strong internal organisation. However, GIs also need to be considered in the context of the multi-layered nature of food chains. Here, it is evident that the ability of producers to reach agreements across different levels of the supply chain is fundamental. Furthermore, the very size of the producers involved in a GI can be a compelling factor for determining just how much recognition and market power they might enjoy. Yet, at the same time, this is arguably a particularly challenging matter as it depends on external factors such as the on-going organisation of the supply chain, the type of markets targeted and the availability of external resources for marketing. Given this unavoidable dependence, it can be hazardous to consider GIs as tools that automatically pivot genuine relocalisation strategies. All these factors, therefore, are critical in determining whether the creation of a new DO is a worthwhile option.

Therefore, instead of simply calling for greater state support to ensure their correct – and costly – implementation (Giovannucci et al., 2009; Bowen, 2010; Belletti et al., 2017), it might first be worth asking whether a GI is the most suitable strategy for rural areas in the countries of Latin America and the rest of the Global South (Josling, 2006; Yeung and Kerr, 2011). Likewise, rather than concentrating efforts to meet the technical specifications of a GI application, it might be better to conduct prior field research to assess the local producers' organisational capacity and to commission an exhaustive market study that takes into consideration both intermediaries and target markets when assessing the potential marketing advantages of a GI. It might well be that they are simply not the best tool to meet the needs of the stakeholders who are expected to put them to use. Thus, while countries such as Peru and Ecuador boast countless *terroir* products, with the potential to become new GIs, it does not seem advisable to designate them solely to reward their apparent differential quality and/or to demonstrate a political commitment to rural areas. Ultimately, it has to be about providing a tool that can effectively address the needs and interests of the people living in these areas.

Final notes

[1] CIRAD, the acronym for the *Centre de Coopération Internationale en Recherche Agronomique pour le Développement*, is a French institution that implements development cooperation missions in the Global South, especially in Africa and Latin America.

[2] This includes producing companies, retailers and other individuals and legal entities holding an authorisation of use for the corresponding GI. Note that although the figures are drawn from official records, they may not correspond to the real number of active producers using the GI at the time of writing this article.

[3] The sum of interviews conducted for each case study does not correspond to the total number of interviews, as several interviewees can be considered stakeholders in more than one GI. This is particularly the case of some institutional representatives.

[4] The first regulation in this regard was Executive Order No. 182 of 1931, which reserved the right for a specific region in northern Chile to use the name 'Pisco'. Subsequently, Law No. 18455 of 1985 elevated Chilean Pisco to the status of a DO and established specific production regulations.

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5. DISCUSIÓN

Esta investigación xira, como amosan os artigos que a compoñen, ao redor dos procesos de construción e de xestión de varias IX do mundo. En todos eles adoptouse unha metodoloxía cualitativa centrada nos actores que constrúen e interveñen nestes procesos. Os resultados obtidos en cada caso de estudo permitiron analizar, baixo un enfoque territorial, unha gran diversidade de situacións que se deron en torno a estas producións amparadas por IX. Así pois, nesta sección cómpre poñer en común todos estes casos para ofrecer unha lectura conxunta coa que satisfacer os obxectivos marcados para esta investigación. Deste xeito, os resultados propios contrástanse coas investigacións previamente realizadas na materia, revisadas nomeadamente no subapartado 1.2. Isto evidencia de que maneira as pescudas realizadas permiten ir alén do estado da cuestión actual en materia de IX.

5.1. Motivos e funcionalidades detrás dunha Indicación Xeográfica

En primeiro lugar, cómpre pór de manifesto as causas que motivan os actores a impulsaren e implicárense nun esquema de IX. Como se evidencia nos resultados compilados mediante artigos, as razóns esgrimidas polas persoas entrevistadas foron moi variadas. Entre os motivos identificados inclúense: a vontade de recuperar o control das producións para os produtores, a relevancia concedida aos valores culturais e naturais dos territorios nos que se producen os alimentos, o desexo de darlle pulo a producións en risco de desaparición... ou, simplemente, a procura de distinción nos mercados como unha certificación de calidade. En función dos tipos de actores entrevistados, tamén se identificaron diferenzas notables. Así, mentres que os produtores aludían case sempre a algunha razón económica, outros entrevistados puñan unha maior énfase en cuestións políticas. Aquí atopamos, por exemplo, o caso do Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco, promovido como unha acción de cooperación para o desenvolvemento, ou o do Pisco, no que a IX se mobilizou desde o poder político, en gran medida, co fin simbólico de reforzar a identidade nacional do Perú.

En calquera caso, a maioría das motivacións identificadas posuían un enfoque claramente económico. Moitas veces, tratábase de facilitar o acceso a mercados internacionais e facer medrar as producións, mentres que nalgunhas ocasións tamén se amosaban ideas relacionadas coa defensa dos dereitos sobre o uso e a propiedade do produto. Así, a partir dos casos estudados, identifícanse dúas motivacións principais que impulsan os procesos de creación destas figuras, a saber:

- aquelas centradas na protección do nome dun produto —xeralmente un topónimo— e
- aquelas que procuran xerar dinámicas de desenvolvemento endóxeno a partir de produtos singulares e únicos.

Podemos situar varios casos de estudo nos que a motivación principal tras as súas IX se corresponden co primeiro conxunto. Padrón, Tolmin, Pisco... todos eles son topónimos ao redor dos cales se deron diversos conflitos sobre o seu uso comercial fraudulento e/ou foron obxecto de usurpación e pugnas entre diferentes partes interesadas. Así, as respectivas IX emerxeron como unha fórmula coa que determinados actores trataron de

defender os dereitos de propiedade sobre os devanditos nomes. Trátanse, polo tanto, de casos equiparables a aqueles do século XIX coma o Champagne que impulsaron os primeiros sistemas legais na materia (Meloni e Swinnen, 2018). Deste xeito, a finalidade detectada por Barham (2003) ou Sylvander et al. (2011), en tanto que ferramentas legais que confiren dereitos de propiedade intelectual para controlar, restrinxir e sancionar o uso dos nomes dos territorios aos que fan referencia, atópase tamén reflectida nestes casos.

En cambio, noutros casos, podemos observar un tipo diferente de motivación principal. Ao redor do Queixo do Cebreiro, o Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco ou o Cacao Arriba non había ningunha disputa en torno á propiedade destes produtos nin do seu nome. Porén, os actores que lideraron os procesos cara á obtención das súas IX consideraron empregalas como unha estratexia destinada a valorizar e impulsar economicamente estas producións. Estes casos, polo tanto, poden corresponderse coa tese da «activación» defendida desde o enfoque SYAL, pola que as IX se propoñen como un mecanismo eficaz para mobilizar recursos de carácter endóxeno co obxectivo de criar dinámicas de innovación (Zambrano, 2010; Fournier e Muchnik, 2012; Belletti et al., 2017a). Esta interpretación tamén se aliña coas teorías mais xerais do desenvolvemento local/endóxeno, pola que as IX, a partir dos elementos territoriais únicos e inimitables nos que se basean, son percibidas como ferramentas capaces de impulsaren o desenvolvemento das rexións nas que se atopan (Ray, 1998, 2000; Pacciani et al., 2001; Tregear et al., 2007; Belletti e Marescotti, 2011; Paül, 2013; Vergamini et al., 2017).

En xeral, independentemente da razón principal que impulsase cada unha das IX analizadas, constatouse a asunción de que este dispositivo, ao salientar a orixinalidade e a exclusividade dos produtos que certifica, ofrece unha vantaxe competitiva no mercado. Por exemplo, os produtores do Pemento de Herbón loitaron pola súa IX coa esperanza de poder distinguir os «auténticos» pementos de Padrón respecto dos producidos en calquera outro lugar. Dun xeito semellante, os caficultores de Café de Villa Rica interesáronse na IX como un xeito de sobresaíren en relación con outras certificacións de sustentabilidade de dominan o mercado dos cafés de calidade. Isto reafirma as perspectivas que sitúan as IX como ferramentas que os agricultores empregan para diferenciar os seus produtos no mercado e obter así un valor engadido en forma de prezos máis elevados por eles (Barham, 2003; Goodman, 2004; Tregear et al., 2007; Giovannucci et al., 2009; Dagne, 2010; Belletti e Marescotti, 2011; Kizos e Vakoufaris, 2011).

No entanto, cómpre deterse a analizar as maneiras nas que se concibe que as IX posúen a capacidade de diferenciaren as producións no mercado e se pode obter valor engadido a partir delas (figura 14). Non é o mesmo procurar reter o valor engadido dun produto xa reputado que tratar de xerar ese valor engadido a partir dun produto en gran medida descoñecido. Neste senso, aos efectos da presente discusión de resultados, resulta moi útil a distinción establecida por Tregear et al. (2016) entre producións «establecidas/maduras» e «nacentes». Dentro das primeiras daríanse encadrado aquelas coma o Pemento de Herbón ou o Queixo de Tolmin, as cales, gozando xa dun sobreprezo nos seus mercados, procuran a IX como unha fonte de protección fronte a imitacións e mesmo fraudes co obxectivo de manteren ese plus económico (Barham, 2003). Na bibliografía xerada sobre a materia podemos atopar outros casos comparables tales como as orixes das IX Champagne (Teil, 2017) e Chianti (Brunori e Rossi, 2007), o Queixo Comté (Torre, 2006; Bowen, 2011) ou o Basmati (Biénabe e Marie-Vivien, 2017). Dentro das producións categorizadas como «nacentes», pola contra, ficarían casos coma o do Queixo do Cebreiro ou a Vitela do Pireneo, cuxa notoriedade é máis limitada. Nestoutros, a IX percíbese como unha ferramenta para acceder ao mercado e promover o desenvolvemento económico da produción, do mesmo xeito que aconteceu nos casos da

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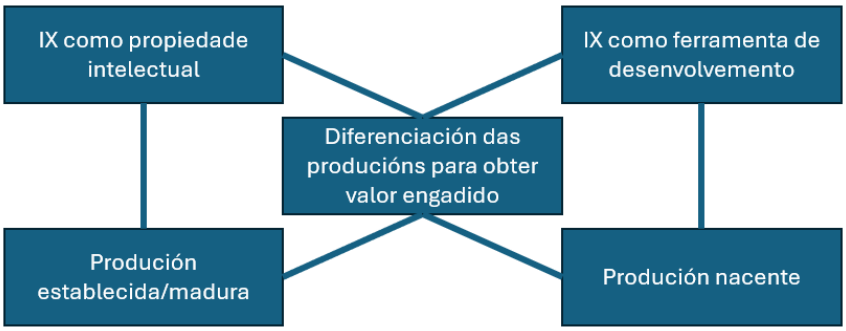
Cebola de Makò (Tregear et al., 2016), a Faba de Sorana (Belletti et al., 2017a) ou da Cereixa de Lari (Tregear et al., 2007), entre outros exemplos.

Figura 14. Relación entre formas de concibir as IX e o tipo de produción sobre o que se despregan. Fonte: Elaboración propia.



Estas diferenzas entre tipos de producións e intencións de uso das IX suscitan un interesante debate sobre a maneira de concibir o seu comportamento económico. En casos como o Pisco, no que os peruanos procuran defender os seus dereitos sobre o afamado destilado, a IX pode interpretarse como un mecanismo proteccionista, capaz de impor barreiras de entrada a competidores externos —por exemplo, para impedir que os produtores chilenos poidan comercializar os seus augardentes como Pisco—. Neste senso, a IX actuaría coma un dereito de exclusividade que lle outorga aos produtores circunscritos nela unhas rendas monopolísticas sobre produtos altamente demandados no mercado, tal e como se recoñece amplamente por parte da bibliografía sobre a materia (Moran, 1993; Perrier e Sylvander, 2000; Goodman, 2004; Goodman et al., 2012; May, 2017; Unwin, 2022).

Mentres, casos coma o do Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco, no que se trataba de salientar os evocadores valores culturais do Valle Sagrado de los Incas, ou no do Café de Villa Rica, onde se procuraban comunicar as peculiares características ambientais da selva onde producen o seu café, a IX pode concibirse doutro xeito. Nestes casos, actuaría como unha estratexia de individualización —é dicir, de xeración da diferenza— que permite aos produtores resistiren fronte á competencia de producións convencionais (Barham, 2003) mediante a súa inserción en nichos de mercado específicos (Ilbery e Kneafsey, 1999; Kizos e Vakoufaris, 2011; Vergamini et al., 2019). Con todo, este proceso tamén é criticable na medida en que reduce os valores culturais locais a meros recursos comerciais, de xeito que exacerba a tradición e os atributos territoriais asociados co único obxectivo de poder mercantilizalos e tentar obter rendas a partir deles (Appadurai, 1996; Guthman, 2007; Bowen e Gaytán, 2012). Deste xeito, a IX reflicte outra faceta das dinámicas neoliberais asociadas á globalización, que intensifican a competencia entre territorios e pretenden converter as identidades locais en fontes de rendibilidade económica (Amin e Thrift, 1994; Guthman, 2007; Scott, 2017; Gusman, 2021).

Neste contexto cumpriría preguntarse entón, por exemplo, en que aspectos podería sobresaír o café producido en Villa Rica respecto doutras producións cafeteiras con IX. Esta pregunta retórica salienta unha das facetas máis problemática das estratexia de individualización das producións agroalimentarias baixo as IX. En efecto, as devanditas estratexias someten as producións agrarias diferenciadas a unha dinámica competitiva entre si. Mentres cada unha procura destacar pola singularidade dos seus recursos territoriais, sumadas poden acaban por saturar o mercado de producións «diferenciadas». Esta saturación conduce potencialmente á banalización da distinción outorgada polas IX, o que socava as posibilidades para xerar valor engadido a partir delas (Pacciani et al.,

2001; DuPuis e Goodman, 2005; De Rosa et al., 2017). Tal perspectiva constitúe unha crítica directa a unha das bases argumentais do enfoque SYAL, entendido como modelo de desenvolvemento endóxeno proposto como tal en Boucher (2010) ou Fournier e Muchnik (2012). En concreto, a súa premisa da activación dos recursos territoriais peca de excesivamente reducionista ao focalizarse de forma exclusiva en territorios específicos. Deste xeito, o SYAL revélase incapaz de considerar as dinámicas globais, que poden diluír a diferenciación e reducir os beneficios para os produtores locais.

En definitiva, as motivacións que levan os actores implicados a perseguiren unha IX conducen a un debate paradoxal sobre a funcionalidade que se agarda delas. Deste xeito, algunhas poden semellar proteccionistas e, de feito, ser criticadas por anti-liberais, isto é, como monopolios que restrinxen a competición e van contra o libre mercado (Josling, 2006; Hughes, 2006; Osgood e Feng, 2018). Outras, en cambio, poden ser consideradas estratexias de márketing territorial, ou xeomárqueting, que procuran producir bens de consumo diferenciados para un mercado globalizado altamente competitivo (Pacciani et al., 2001; Goodman, 2004; Scott, 2017; Gusman, 2021). Para fuxir deste paradoxo é preciso incluír no debate a outra cara da moeda: os consumidores[34].

Tipicamente, a resposta á consideración das IX como monopolios consiste en afirmar que estas pertencen aos territorios nos que se orixinan os produtos e onde acadaron a súa reputación (Barham, 2003; Torre, 2006; Sylvander et al., 2011). Precisamente esa última palabra, *reputación*, apunta aos consumidores, xa que son eles quen outorgan prestixio a un determinado produto. Neste senso, resultan moi diferentes casos como o Pisco ou o Pemento de Herbón, onde se alega un mercado que demanda autenticidade e calidade, que noutros como o da Pitahaya de Palora, para a que non se reportou ningunha demanda especifica pola froita cultivada nesta localidade amazónica. En efecto, é moi distinto considerar as IX como unha certificación que garante aos consumidores a autenticidade e a calidade dun produto reputado (Tregear, 1998; Fonte, 2008) que como a plasmación dos propósitos dalgúns produtores por erguer barreiras competitivas.

En canto á súa consideración como ferramentas de márketing territorial ou bens de consumo diferenciados, cómpre destacar que existen diferenzas fundamentais segundo o tipo de mercado ao que as IX van dirixidas. No caso de producións como os queixos Tolminc e Cebreiro, o Pemento de Herbón ou a Vitela do Pireneo, o seu consumo vai ligado a unha idea de calidade baseada nunha proximidade xeográfica e cultural. É dicir, trátanse de IX amplamente recoñecidas nunha cultura cuxo consumo responde, polo menos en parte, ao desexo de reafirmar a súa identidade fronte a producións estandarizadas (Delfosse e Bernard, 2007; Kizos e Vakoufaris, 2011; Bessière, 2011, 2013). Pola contra, no caso do Café de Villa Rica ou do Cacao Arriba, as IX fican orientadas a nichos de mercado do Norte Global onde, máis que importar a orixe dos produtos, interesa a accesibilidade a eles como símbolo de *status*. É neste segundo suposto que as IX se poden interpretar como selos exclusivos e luxosos destinados a un consumo elitista (Winter, 2003; Goodman, 2004; Guthman, 2007). A chave para debater a natureza funcional das IX radica, polo tanto, na capacidade destes instrumentos para satisfacer as demandas dos consumidores á información sobre a orixe dos alimentos (Tregear et al., 2007; Giovannucci et al., 2009; Fonte, 2017).

[34] Malia que as pesquisas desta tese se centraron meirandemente nos produtores e noutros actores máis vinculados ás propias producións agroalimentarias, puidéronse recoller algúns indicios sobre o rol dos consumidores na estruturación das iniciativas analizadas. De aí que, no contexto da presente discusión, se activen unha serie de argumentos nesta dirección.

5.2. A CONSTRUCIÓN DA DIMENSIÓN TERRITORIAL DAS IX

Unhas das preguntas transversais a todas entrevistas conducidas nesta investigación consistiu en pedirlle ás persoas informantes que describisen se, na súa opinión, existían vencellos entre as producións analizadas e os seus territorios asociados. A partir das súas respostas —así como das xustificacións identificadas nos pregos de condicións de cada IX— pódense inferir até tres tipos de vínculos territoriais percibidos:

- Aqueles baseados no medio natural das áreas produtoras, como poden ser a área produtora de Herbón-Padrón entre as beiras do Ulla e do Sar, o Valle Sagrado de los Incas, as ladeiras dos Alpes Xulianos de Tolmin, o Pireneo ou a península de Istria. Neste discurso, menciónanse diversas condicións ambientais tales como os climas locais —singularizados por vales, altitudes e/ou latitudes—, os solos e as augas, todos eles xulgados factores determinantes da calidade organoléptica dos alimentos. No caso dos produtos de orixe animal —coma o Queixo de Tolmin ou a Vitela do Pireneo—, inclúese ademais a biodiversidade dos pastos de montaña como factor que inflúe na calidade dos alimentos.
- Outros vencellos fundaméntanse nos saberes-faceres dos produtores. É o caso das tecnoloxías e a receita de elaboración do Pisco, a longa tradición caficultora de Villa Rica, a aparencia en forma de sombreiro e a textura do queixo do Cebreiro ou a habilidade para «escoller» e distinguir os pementos de Herbón que pican dos que non.
- Por último, un terceiro grupo de vínculos consiste nas variedades xenéticas autóctonas dos alimentos. Nos casos do Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco, a Pitahaya de Palora, o Cacao Arriba e o Pemento de Herbón, ademais, detectouse que cada IX se identificaba cunha única variedade xenética autóctona.

En primeiro lugar, é salientable a prominencia outorgada aos recursos xenéticos como un feito espacial que vincula algunhas das IX estudadas a determinados territorios. En efecto, os entrevistados relacionan as variedades autóctonas de plantas coma o cacao «Nacional», a pitahaya amarela endémica de «Palora» ou o millo «Blanco Gigante» a ambientes específicos onde, entenden, estas acadan a súa máxima potencia en termos de calidade. En consecuencia, resulta moi pertinente incluír as variedades de plantas e de animais, xenericamente adaptadas a unha contorna específica, dentro do concepto de *terroir*, en liña cos razoamentos de autores tales como Unwin (1991, 2022), Bowen e Zapata (2009), Bérard e Marchenay (2016) ou Garçom (2019), entre outros.

O peso outorgado a cada un dos elementos sinalados é variable en cada caso de estudo mais, en conxunto, estas interpretacións sitúanos como probas tanxibles que demostran o vínculo produto-territorio (Barham, 2003; Pouzenc et al., 2007; Delfosse, 2012). Entre os informantes enténdese que a interacción destes factores é o que leva os produtos a adquiriren a súa calidade e reputación —en liña cos argumentos de Avelino et al. (2006) ou Sylvander et al. (2011)—. Tenden así a definir áreas relativamente homoxéneas nas que o vínculo territorial semella coherente e substancial (Bowen e Zapata, 2009; Biénabe e Marie-Vivien, 2017). Desta conxunción de elementos infírese unha idea de *terroir* que se fai eco das coordenadas corográficas vidalianas (ex. Dion, 1952), nas que este semella existir *per se*, de maneira externa á interpretación humana e que se pode concretar nunha delimitación territorial determinada de forma supostamente obxectiva (Delfosse, 1997, 2012; Courtot, 2007; Unwin, 2022). Polo tanto, nunha primeira instancia, as IX analizadas semellan producións naturalmente dadas.

Con todo, unha lectura máis detallada das xustificacións esgrimidas polos informantes permítenos detectar que os vencellos territoriais sinalados en cada un dos casos se tratan

en realidade de probas seleccionadas en base a motivos variados. Os labregos de Herbón esgrimen o seu saber-facer á hora de escolleren os pementos porque é unha habilidade enxebre que os produtores doutras zonas non posúen; os peruanos enumeran distintos textos históricos para reivindicaren que a orixe do Pisco se sitúa no seu territorio nacional; os produtores de Tolmin explican que os prados das súas montañas posúen unha combinación única de especies herbáceas que dan ao seu queixo un sabor especial; etc. Isto sitúase en consonancia con autores como Sonnino (2007), Demossier (2011), Grasseni (2016) ou Garçom (2019), entre outros, que amosan que os actores implicados nun proceso de aplicación de IX adoitan facer uso de «probas» —como medicións agronómicos ou documentos históricos— para reforzaren determinadas interpretacións do vencello entre produto e territorio en detrimento doutras. Tamén, en consonancia con Ray (1998), obsérvase que os actores destacan de maneira intencional xusto aqueles factores territoriais que contan cun maior potencial de diferenciación, permitíndolles xustificar así a orixinalidade das súas producións.

Estas evidencias sitúanse en liña coas consideracións do *terroir* como unha construción social, amplamente recoñecidas desde as Ciencias Sociais como cuestión chave nos seus procesos de individualización (Hinnewinkel, 2005; Moustier e Consales, 2007; Castelló, 2021; Unwin, 2022). Asemade, referendan un número considerable de autores que demostraron como as probas territoriais se seleccionan unhas sobre outras en función dos intereses e estratexias dos actores implicados (Sonnino, 2007; Grasseni, 2016; Singer, 2018; Garçom, 2019), de xeito que distan de responder a unha asociación produto-territorio neutra e allea aos seus intereses. Desta forma, queda desmontada a idea de que as IX se axustan a uns ámbitos territoriais naturalmente determinados.

Do mesmo xeito, en función das estratexias dos actores, a delimitación espacial das IX pode remitir a escalas de detalle ou máis amplas. Por exemplo, a decisión dos produtores de aceite de oliva eslovenos de mantérense na moi restrinxida IX Istria Eslovena, no canto de empregar a IX transfronteiriza Istra, pode identificarse como un caso de localismo defensivo para limitar a competencia (DuPuis e Goodman, 2005; May, 2017). Pola súa banda, a IX Cacao Arriba, promovida para revalorizar o cacao ecuatoriano de calidade, desprégase sobre unha escala nacional na que algúns entrevistados admiten —en consonancia con Hughes (2010) e Marescotti e Belletti (2016)— as arelas por xeraren economías de escala e acadaren maiores cotas de notoriedade internacional. Isto mesmo tamén foi identificado noutras IX españolas por Moragues e Sonnino (2012) e Alonso e Parga (2018).

Estes casos amosan que a escala das IX fica suxeita a diversas configuracións segundo os obxectivos dos actores involucrados nos seus procesos de construción. En efecto, non pode tomarse por dada de antemán. Ao igual que a propia construción do vínculo produto-territorio, trátase dunha realidade producida socialmente. Os achados evidenciados a este respecto fican en consonancia coa investigación previa en Xeografía política e social sobre a noción de *escala* (Marston, 2000; Brenner, 2001; Smith, 2002) e tamén con algunhas investigacións propias da tradición dos *Food Studies* en AFN (Du Puis e Goodman, 2005; Born e Purcell, 2006; Kneafsey, 2010; Tregear, 2011; Forney e Häberli, 2016). No entanto, esta constatación cuestiona un dos postulados básicos do enfoque SYAL: aínda recoñecendo a natureza socialmente construída dos vínculos produto-territorio, o modelo SYAL tende a considerar acriticamente a escala local coma unha entidade preconfigurada sobre a que desenvolver de xeito preferente este tipo de procesos (Marescotti e Belletti, 2016; Sanz e García, 2020).

Como construción social, a escala das IX moitas veces resulta un campo de disputa. En efecto, ao longo desta investigación téñense observado varios casos nos que diversas escalas se confrontaban ao redor dunha mesma IX. O Pemento de Herbón, novamente,

representa un exemplo paradigmático no que a escala local defendida polos produtores de Herbón se reivindicou fronte as intencións da Xunta de Galicia por estender a IX ao ámbito galego. Os pisqueiros da área de Ica, asemade, defendían os métodos tradicionais da súa contorna fronte a escala nacional á que se aprobou a IX. Como ben explica Brenner (2001), ao respecto da produción social da escala, a concreción dun ámbito escalar preferente leva a fortalecer a certos actores ás expensas de outros.

No caso de Herbón, a escala da IX que finalmente se aprobou —algo máis ampla alén do ámbito estrito de Herbón e contorna inmediata que, no entanto, non chegou á vontade inicial xunteira de incluír grande parte de Galicia— empoderou os produtores da aldea homónima. En cambio, na IX Pisco, o establecemento da IX a escala nacional produciu o efecto contrario. Así, as evidencias recollidas nesta tese permiten expandir a bibliografía xerada sobre IX, que, cun enfoque territorial, tamén prestaron atención ás dinámicas de poder e as disputas ás disputas producidas ao redor da construción de escala das IX a partir doutros estudos de caso (Brunori e Rossi, 2007; Bowen e Zapata, 2009; Grasseni, 2011; Belletti e Marescotti, 2017a; Meloni e Swinnen, 2018). En efecto, propomos denominar a produción de escala nas IX como un proceso de *rescaling* —ou reescalamento— *à la* Brenner (2001), para significar os procesos de organización, reconfiguración e redefinición do ámbito espacial das IX segundo as intencións e as pugnas dos actores involucrados nelas.

Asemade, alén dos conflitos e das dinámicas de poder en torno á produción de escala, a presente tese achega indicios de que unha mesma IX pode construírse en diversas configuracións escalares á vez. Un caso que evidencia esta situación é o Pisco. A nivel local, a IX concíbese como unha ferramenta valiosa para preservar a receita e os métodos de produción tradicionais. Namentres, á escala do Estado peruano, a IX preténdese como un símbolo que celebra o orgullo nacional peruano; en gran medida, ademais, en oposición a Chile. Polo tanto, a mesma IX Pisco posúe distintas estratexias e significados que se despregan, a modo de *matrioska*, a través de diversas escalas, tal e como advertira Smith (2002) na súa exposición teórica sobre o concepto. Aínda así, moi poucos estudos fan patente esta realidade pluriescalar sobre o mesmo produto. Un caso ilustrativo é Sonnino (2007), quen, para o caso do azafrán de Campagnatico, observaba que a escala local defendida polos actores ben podía tratarse do ámbito municipal no que se iniciou a produción, ou ben podía entenderse coma toda a rexión italiana de Maremma. Curiosamente, como xa detectara Tregear (2011), tanto Sonnino (2007) como outros estudos similares en producións agrarias relocalizadas (Tregear et al., 2007; Forney e Häberli, 2016) céntranse sempre na construción de escalas «locais». Porén, observamos que no caso das IX, non todas as escalas que se producen se poden ler, ou son expresamente concibidas, como «locais», posto que para moitas das producións analizadas mesmo emerxe unha categoría espacial como «nacional» asociada a elas.

Cómpre cuestionarse, polo tanto, se debemos nomear os procesos de construción territorial baixo a noción de «(re)localización». Considerado baixo o marco das AFN por autores como Ilbery e Kneafsey (2000) ou Tregear (2011), este concepto evoca un tipo de reescalamento identificado cunha escala local construída en oposición á globalización, que connota ideas de proximidade espacial e de aserción do control das producións nos propios produtores. Máis que de *(re)localización*, entón, cumpriría definir os procesos de construción das IX como unha forma de *reescalamento* territorial, que pode producirse a través de diversas escalas nas que os ámbitos e as xerarquías territoriais son mutables. En definitiva, para linguas románicas como a galega —nas que o concepto de *territorio* ten

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moitas connotacións alén da estritamente xeopolítica que o monopoliza en inglés—,[35] podería resultar preferible empregar o termo *(re)territorialización* —como fan Martínez et al. (2022) ou Houdart et al. (2023)— para designar os procesos nos que unha produción alimentaria se vincula a diversos elementos e valores vencellados ao territorio, a través de múltiples escalas.

5.3. Factores que afectan a construción e xestión das IX

Os procesos de construción e xestión territorial das IX non acontecen de maneira illada nun espazo euclidiano neutro, senón que fican inseridos en determinados marcos culturais, económicos e políticos que os afectan diferentes escalas (Barham, 2003; Sonnino, 2007; Trubek, 2008; Bowen, 2011; Unwin, 2022). En efecto, nos artigos que compoñen esta tese evidenciouse a influencia dos mercados, das políticas e dos regulamentos, así como das propias realidades socio-políticas dos contextos nos que se insiren as IX. A súa relevancia é tal que, independentemente das intencións dos actores involucrados, son quen de condicionaren as súas estratexias e de estruturaren as relacións de poder que se producen no seu seo.

Un primeiro punto que manifesta a importancia deste tipo de cuestións son os límites político-administrativos. En Palora e Villa Rica, obsérvase que as IX se axustan a cadanseus concellos. Dun xeito similar, as IX Queixo do Cebreiro e Pemento de Herbón defínense a partir da agregación de concellos, polo que os seus límites exactos coinciden con esta división administrativa do territorio galego. Estes casos confirman a tendencia —multitude de veces comprobada— das IX a reproduciren limites político-administrativos preexistentes (Ricard, 1999; Hinrichs, 2003; Moschini et al., 2008; De Soucey, 2010; Forney e Häberli, 2016). Para dar cunha posible explicación a este fenómeno resultan acaídas as teses da *territorial trap* de Agnew (1994) ou do fetichismo socioespacial de Paasi (2021), ao indicaren a persistencia dos límites política e socialmente xa establecidos na mentalidade das persoas á hora de definiren as súas prácticas cotiás ou, neste caso, definiren novas delimitacións territoriais relativas a ámbitos de produción agroalimentaria. Nas IX Pisco e Cacao Arriba, que fican delimitadas en función dos países nos que se insiren, podemos engadir outra explicación. Nestes casos, a titularidade legal das IX nos propios estados-nación lévaos, no exercicio dos seus dereitos de exclusividade sobre elas (Moschini et al., 2008; Marie-Vivien e Biénabe, 2017), a limitaren a súa extensión aos confíns da súa soberanía territorial.

Porén, nesta tese investigáronse tres IX singulares ao respecto dos limites político-administrativos. En efecto, as IX transfronteirizas para a vitela do Pireneo e a do aceite de oliva Istra constitúen uns casos moi interesantes por, precisamente, racharen cos límites dos estados-nación que tanto condicionan a construción territorial das IX. Porén, na investigación específica dedicada a eles, no artigo «Fronteiras», constatouse que as fronteiras dos correspondentes estados-nación manteñen un peso crucial. Nomeadamente, á hora de explicaren a falla de coordinación dunhas IX que, na práctica e malia o seu carácter transfronteirizo, funcionan como entidades separadas a un lado e outro das

[35] Esta cuestión resulta ben complexa. López-Sandoval et al. (2017) indicaron claramente que en español de Latinoamérica a noción de *territorio* vai moi alén da bibliografía predominante en Xeografía de expresión inglesa. *Territorio* en linguas románicas pode ser comprendido de forma moi ampla, en termos non só de apropiación (xeopolítica) do espazo, senón no sentido de que como este se moldea, explota e planifica polas persoas, tal e como apuntan Daveau (1998) en portugués, Bertrand (2000) en francés ou Paül (2024) en catalán. No entanto, non se pode perder de vista que se está a producir nas últimas décadas no contexto específico da Unión Europea unha ampliación do significado orixinal de *territory* para acubillar sobre todo a tradición francesa do *aménagement du territoire* no deseño das políticas comunitarias, en parte como mecanismo para superar un uso de *space* considerado moi circunscrito ás competencias estato-nacionais (*spatial planning*), tal e como sinalan Vila-Lage et al. (2025).

fronteiras estato-nacionais que as cruzan. Entre as cuestións que explicaban a ausencia real de cooperación transfronteiriza nelas figuraban a falta de coordinación entre as entidades administrativas encargadas da súa supervisión institucional. Isto xa foi constatado por Cerdan et al. (2011) e Pachoud et al. (2019) respecto ás diferenzas administrativos entre os estados federais brasileiros para coordinaren IX compartidas, o que permite igualar os obstáculos fronteirizos establecidos entre fronteiras externas, as agardables, e fronteiras internas, tal e como xa expuxeron Vila-Lage et al. (2020) en relación cos espazos naturais protexidos ou Trillo-Santamaría (2022) en termos xerais no caso español. Con todo, tamén se atopaban, de novo, o fetichismo socioespacial afectando as dinámicas cotiás dos produtores, así como a existencia de distintos mercados nacionais consolidados aos que se orientaban estes produtos (Van Houtum e Van Naerssen, 2001; De Soucey, 2010; Sorgho and Larue, 2014). As IX transfronteirizas, pois, evidencian máis ca ningún outro caso a relevancia dos límites político-administrativos xa non só na construción, senón tamén na posterior xestión das IX.

Outro punto crucial a ter en conta nos procesos de construción e xestión das IX son os factores políticos e institucionais característicos de cada contexto no que estas se insiren. Dada a súa natureza legal, estas figuras dependen —máis que ningún outro tipo proceso de (re)territorialización— dunha serie de marcos regulatorios que, por exemplo, esixen determinadas condicións coas que demostraren o vínculo territorial da produción para permitiren a súa protección legal (Sylvander e Barham, 2011; Bérard e Marchenay, 2016). Na ausencia dunha lexislación que recoñecese a posibilidade de rexistrar as hortalizas como IX, o topónimo de «Padrón» resultou apropiado e capitalizado por unha empresa particular como unha variedade de pemento coa que lucrarse. Pola contra, foi baixo uns regulamentos europeos que requirían demostrar un vínculo territorial consistente que os mesmos produtores da área de Herbón-Padrón puideron rexistrar a IX co topónimo Herbón. Isto corrobora o que, precisamente, moitos estudos anteriores xa sinalaran: a necesidade de contar cun marco lexislativo favorable como garante da protección e do éxito dunha IX (Mancini, 2012; Barjolle et al., 2017; Belletti et al., 2017b; Biénabe e Marie-Vivien, 2017; Fernández et al., 2019; Vandecandelaere, 2020).

Unha cuestión chave neste sentido son os Consellos Reguladores —ou entidades equiparables—, pola súa utilidade para controlaren a calidade das producións, realizaren tarefas de promoción e garantiren unha gobernanza democrática entre os produtores (Quiñones et al., 2016; 2017; Biénabe e Marie-Vivien, 2017; Marie-Vivien et al., 2019; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020; Penker et al., 2022). Porén, a súa existencia e funcións non sempre fican reguladas. Así, mentres en países como España, Francia, Perú e Ecuador estas entidades son recoñecidas e mesmo obrigatorias en cadansúas lexislacións, a falla duns regulamentos específicos na materia en Eslovenia e Croacia semella dificultar a súa constitución, como se evidenciou nos casos do Queixo Tolminc e Istra. Resulta curioso observar aquí que, máis que unha disparidade entre os casos europeos e latinoamericanos analizados, como constatara por exemplo Fernández et al. (2019) entre os contextos institucionais de España e México, existan diferenzas substanciais entre os propios países europeos malia baseárense en teoría nun marco regulatorio común a nivel da UE. Apenas Penker et al. (2022) dan fe así dunha situación en Europa que se trata de subsanar na última normativa comunitaria na materia, o Regulamento UE 2024/1143, onde finalmente se recoñece a figura dos Consellos Reguladores e organizacións equivalentes como entidades encargadas da xestión das IX.

Porén, contar cun regulamento axeitado non resulta suficiente para garantir a funcionalidade dunha IX. A mostraxe de varios casos de estudo de distintos países de Europa e de Latinoamérica, que contan cuns marcos normativos en gran medida semellantes, permitiunos observar que, alén da lexislación, existen importantes diferenzas

institucionais-económicas que condicionan a construción e o desempeño das IX. En Galicia reportouse un elevado grao de apoio por parte das institucións públicas, sobre todo a través da axencia AGACAL, que favoreceu promocionar e dar visibilidade ás IX do Queixo do Cebreiro e do Pemento de Herbón. En cambio, nos casos eslovenos e croata, este apoio e acompañamento institucional foi referido como moito máis escaso. En Perú, o apoio público tamén foi reportado como forte a través da axencia PROMPERÚ para a promoción internacional das súas IX, aínda que as tarefas de supervisión das producións en mans da axencia INDECOPI revelaron certas dificultades económicas. En cambio, en Ecuador, os propios actores institucionais entrevistados sinalaron un apoio escaso mesmo para realizar tarefas básicas de acompañamento aos produtores. Por tanto, resulta necesario matizar os autores que poñen o foco no deseño das regulacións en si mesmas (Mancini, 2012; Biénabe e Marie-Vivien, 2017; Fernández et al., 2019), e non tanto na organización institucional e nas capacidades políticas das entidades públicas que existen en cada contexto no que se desenvolven as IX, tal e como exploraron por exemplo, Barjolle et al. (2017). Seguramente poida afirmarse que a lexislación, a normativa e os regulamentos son unha condición necesaria, mais non suficiente, para a operación das IX.

Por outra banda, o contexto legal e político tamén resulta fundamental para comprender que fose posible a emerxencia das IX transfronteirizas no seo da UE. En efecto, como recoñeceron algúns dos entrevistados no artigo «Fronteiras», esta estrutura supranacional comportou a existencia dun marco legal e político favorable no que España e Francia, por un lado, e Eslovenia e Croacia, por outro, puideron mediar e decidiren establecer unhas IX superadoras dos límites estato-nacionais. En cambio, a emerxencia dunha IX transfronteiriza para o caso do Pisco —tal e como propuxo Tisné (2022)— semella moi pouco factible, ao tratarse dun contexto político-institucional máis adverso, marcado en gran medida por cuestións nacionalistas (Hamrick et al., 2022).

Por último, un terceiro punto é o rol que desempeñan os mercados aos que se destinan as producións amparadas con IX, o cal se revela como un factor chave para a súa lexitimación. Identificamos, así, que outra parte fundamental que explica a cristalización da IX Pemento de Herbón —practicamente na escala defendida polos produtores da zona— foi a sona da que gozaban os pementos producidos nesa área entre os consumidores galegos, que os recoñecían e demandaban como un produto xenuíno. Pola contra, o escaso éxito comercial —polo menos até o de agora— de IX como a Pitahaya de Palora ou o Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco semella deberse á ausencia de demanda, xa que non se evidenciou ningún mercado que demande atributos de calidade especiais para este tipo de produtos. Tal e como subliñou Moran (1993), as IX poden resultar importantes para os consumidores cando se trata de produtos reputados, coma algúns viños franceses, pero é moito menos claro que aconteza o mesmo para artigos pouco coñecidos.

A cultura tamén resulta moi relevante na lexitimación, éxito comercial e rango de alcance das IX (Unwin, 1991, 2022; Barham, 2003; Trubek, 2008; Lois et al., 2012; Lois e Piñeira, 2014; Bernard e Marchenay, 2016). Como se evidenciou, a IX Rosée responde ás demandas dun mercado francés interesado na vitela de leite, mentres que a IX Vedella satisfai un mercado catalán que prefire unhas vitelas máis maduras. A cultura —en chave nacional— tamén se revela como un factor fundamental para entender o caso do Pisco que, a diferenza de moitas outras IX en territorio latinoamericano, resulta amplamente consumida no mercado doméstico como un xeito, segundo os entrevistados, de reafirmar a súa identidade/identificación nacional a través dun produto emblemático para eles.

Por último, para acabar de dilucidar como afectan os mercados á construción e xestión das IX, cómpre diferencialos en función da súa distancia xeográfica e cultural ás propias producións agroalimentarias. Nos artigos que se comercializan a moita distancia, coma o

Café de Villa Rica ou o Cacao Arriba, as IX deben axustarse ás demandas dun Norte Global preocupado sobre todo por cuestións de trazabilidade e de conservación ambiental (Hughes, 2010; Neilson et al., 2018). Nestes casos, as IX actuaban apenas como unha certificación de calidade máis, que concorría con outros selos, e coa que resultaba difícil comunicar os valores propios e específicos propios destas producións ao igual que acontece, por exemplo, para o Café de Costa Rica con IX (Grabs, 2021). Mesmo para o caso do Cacao Arriba evidenciáronse outras fórmulas —como *bean to bar*— coas que os produtores trataban de chegar aos nichos de mercado norteamericanos e europeos á marxe da propia IX. Namentres, para aqueles produtores que vendían o seu produto de forma directa, a IX resultáballes innecesaria. Estes achados serven para matizar Renting et al. (2003) na súa caracterización das IX como unha rede agroalimentaria estendida que funciona, sobre todo, para o comercio de longa distancia e reiteran a pertinencia das conclusións de Agostino e Trivieri (2014), Duvaleix et al. (2021) e De Filippis et al. (2022) neste senso.

Así as cousas, as IX non semellan unha fórmula conveniente para os produtores que venden os seus artigos de maneira directa, mais tampouco parece un instrumento ideal en todos os casos[36] nos que o comercio se realiza a longa distancia. Resultou, en cambio, eficaz para comercializar o Pemento de Herbón, o Queixo do Cebreiro ou o Queixo Tolminc, casos nos que as transaccións comerciais non son directas, mais onde o consumidor está familiarizado co produto e recoñece a súa calidade. Polo tanto, as IX revélanse como unha fórmula óptima para distancias medias, onde existe unha proximidade xeográfica, que tamén é cultural, cara ao produto (Tregear et al., 1998; Ilbery e Kneafsey, 2000; Bérard e Marchenay, 2007; 2016; Unwin, 2022). En definitiva, estes factores culturais e institucionais afectan aos procesos de construción e xestión das IX e, polo tanto, son coherentes dentro da perspectiva construtivista que ofrecen tanto os enfoques anglófonos como os francófonos (Muchnik e Torres, 2008; Bowen, 2011; Bowen e Mutersbaugh, 2014; Castelló, 2021).

5.4. Impactos percibidos no territorio

Analizar os impactos das IX no territorio, nomeadamente se nos referimos aos seus efectos económicos, resulta bastante problemático nunha investigación cualitativa. Desde logo, o traballo levado a cabo non permite avaliar de maneira directa os efectos de valor engadido ou de *premium* económico dos produtos con IX sobre artigos similares convencionais, como se referencia amplamente na bibliografía (Menapace et al., 2009; Balogh et al., 2016; Irek, 2024). Aínda menos, os resultados desta tese non permiten cuantificar o desenvolvemento económico das rexións nas que se insiren as IX nin avaliar a diversificación da estrutura produtiva rexional (Cei et al., 2018; Crescenzi et al., 2022; Stranieri et al., 2023). No entanto, as vivencias comunicadas polos labregos e outros actores próximos ás producións analizadas permiten comprobar a capacidade das IX para manteren certas producións arraigadas no territorio. As entrevistas relativas ao Pemento de Herbón e ao Queixo do Cebreiro revelan de xeito unánime a relevancia que tivo a consecución das súas IX para a contrarrestar o declive destas producións, sustentalas no territorio, e xerar novas oportunidades económicas a partir delas. En efecto, estes casos representan excelentes exemplos que se poden sumar ás evidencias de Roest e Menghi (2000) e de Bowen (2011) respecto á xustificación que presenta as IX como unha ferramenta útil para producións agrarias pequenas, remotas ou menos competitivas (Bessière, 1998; Barham, 2003; Kizos e Vakoufaris 2009). Malia todo, resulta difícil

[36] Sobre todo, naqueles nos que non existe unha notoriedade ou reputación internacional clara como son os casos estudados. Para produtos globais coma o Champagne (Hughes, 2006; Rokka, 2017), ou para aqueles nos que se fai un márketing intenso como Rías Baixas (Alonso e Parga, 2018), as IX si semellan unha opción axeitada.

determinar o grao de importancia atribuíble ás propias IX fronte ao rol exercido polas empresas ou organizacións de produtores involucradas no impulso destas producións, tal e como se discutirá no último apartado desta sección.

Un resultado económico que se puido demostrar de maneira novidosa nesta investigación foi o efecto de *spillover* —ou de extensión dos beneficios— que unha IX pode xerar cara a produtos similares non certificados a partir da súa asociación, tal e como teorizaran Giovannucci et al. (2009), entre outros. Tentativas anteriores como Neilson et al. (2018) foran incapaces de confirmar esta hipótese, ante a dificultade de distinguir os beneficios xerados pola propia IX da reputación previa dos artigos estudados. Porén, —e contravindo a Hughes (2010) cando afirmaba que non se pode medir o efecto directo dunha IX na construción da reputación dun produto particular—, este efecto si puido comprobarse no caso do Queixo do Cebreiro. Isto foi posíbel grazas ás declaracións das queixeiras artesanais non certificadas, que recoñeceron iniciar a súa actividade a partir da asociación entre o seu territorio e a produción dun queixo de calidade, establecida tras a obtención da IX. Este achado sitúase en consonancia cos resultados de Clark e Martínez (2016), que demostran que a reputación xerada por certificacións de calidade, como o selo *Fair Trade*, tamén beneficia aos produtores da zona que permanecen á marxe desta certificación. Así, as asociacións entre territorios e producións de calidade xeradas polas certificacións agroalimentarias non semella limitarse ás IX.

Dun xeito similar, a partir da obtención da IX para o Pemento de Herbón, desenvolvéronse numerosos produtos derivados como marmelada de pemento, pementa vermella e verde, bombóns, xeados, cervexas, etc. grazas á asociación destes produtos derivados co propio pemento e a súa IX. Isto corrobora a afirmación de Giovannucci et al. (2009) de que as IX poden beneficiar a produtividade dunha rexión a través do márketing que se xera ao redor delas unha vez que están creadas. Tamén confirma a Sanz e Macías (2005) respecto a que as IX poden estimular a innovación nas producións agrarias en forma de novos produtos derivados.

Outro aspecto moi concreto no que as IX afectan positivamente os territorios nos que se sitúan é na súa promoción. En primeiro lugar, a aprobación das IX Pemento de Herbón, Queixo do Cebreiro, Istria Eslovena e Café de Villa Rica permitiu os pequenos agricultores que participan nelas accederen a feiras e exposicións agroalimentarias de carácter nacional e internacional, o que comportou promocionar o topónimo destes lugares ou rexións canda o dos seus produtos. Neste senso, compróbase que a valorización dunha determinada produción a través dunha IX contribúe á promoción territorial da súa rexión (Sylvander e Barham, 2011; Forney e Häberli, 2016). Con todo, ás veces son as propias IX as que se intentan empregar a modo de marcas territoriais (Van Assche et al., 2016) e mesmo hai casos nos que se pode producir que o turismo estea detrás da conformación da propia IX, cunha indistinción manifesta entre marca turística e marca agroalimentaria, como no caso galego acontece coas DOP Rías Baixas e Ribeira Sacra (Lois et al., 2012). Así sucede no caso do Queixo Tolminc, onde a IX se explota como un recurso para o márketing turístico da rexión (figura 15). Nesta tese comprobamos que o que xa acontecía neste sentido para casos de IX moi notorias como o viño do Porto ou o de Chianti (Brunori e Rossi, 2007; Gusman, 2021; Pinto et al., 2024), tamén resulta aplicable en IX modestas como a propia IX Queixo do Cebreiro.

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Figura 15. Representación artística en formato de mapa que representa a área de produción do queixo Tolminc. Esta representación distribúese con fins turísticos entre as persoas que visitan a área. Fonte: Pososki Razvojni Center.

As sinerxías entre IX e turismo fican patentes en moitos dos casos estudados. Nas dúas IX de aceite de oliva da península de Istria, os produtores organizaban visitas ás súas oliveiras e catas nas súas almazaras. Do mesmo xeito, declaraban que unha parte importante das súas vendas se correspondía cos restaurantes da zona en tempada alta e na exportación aos países do norte de Europa de onde eran orixinarios moitos dos turistas. Do mesmo xeito, indicaban que moitos turistas acudían á localidade de Tolmin para facer sendeirismo entre os pasteiros de montaña, así como para visitar as *planinas* e o museo da cooperativa Mlekarna Planika, degustando neses lugares o queixo da zona. Ademais dos exemplos citados, tamén nos reportaron que existe unha importante actividade turística no caso do Pisco ou do Café de Villa Rica, desenvolvida en forma de rutas, aínda que estas dinámicas non foron reflectidas no artigo no que se traballaron estes casos por motivos de concisión e de extensión. Con todo, nesta investigación non se puido determinar ningunha relación directa entre a certificación como IX e a actividade turística. É posible que todos estes turistas realizasen as súas visitas a estas explotacións agrogandeiras grazas á promoción e visibilidade gañada coas IX, tal e como argumentan Bessière (1998, 2013) ou Giovannucci et al. (2009), ou que simplemente acudisen para gozar da paisaxe e degustar os produtos que se supoñen típicos e tradicionais de alí (Pachoud et al., 2020). No entanto, Rodil e Paül (2013) advirten da relación problemática entre agroturismo e IX, co cal non se poden tomar as interrelacións por seguras nin evidentes.

Alén de consideracións exclusivamente económicas, nesta investigación tamén se evidenciou que as IX se relacionan coa conformación dun sentido de identidade ou de pertenza ao territorio. En moitos dos casos investigados, como Herbón ou Villa Rica, sería aventurado afirmar que a IX xerase este sentimento en torno ás súas respectivas producións, pois pensamos que existían con anterioridade. De feito, na investigación de Villa Rica manifestouse que o goberno municipal solicitou a IX, en parte, como consecuencia da forte identidade que existía na localidade en relación coa produción de café. Asemade, tanto Villa Rica como Herbón contan con festas que celebran as súas producións e cuxa orixe se sitúa moitos anos antes da consecución de cadansúas IX. Sexa

como for, no caso do Pemento de Herbón manifestouse que, no longo proceso cara á consecución da IX, a reivindicación da orixinalidade da súa produción acabou por reforzar —entre algúns produtores— un sentimento de identidade cargado de profundas connotacións patrimoniais. Polo tanto, máis que axudar a xeralo de cero, as evidencias escolmadas permiten concordar con Bessière (2011) cando sostén que as IX reforzan o sentimento de identidade das producións agrarias que recoñecen, contribuíndo neste proceso á súa patrimonialización. No entanto, as identidades asociadas ás IX non se limitan exclusivamente aos territorios nos que se insiren. Nos casos do Pisco e do Cacao Arriba, as IX presentáronse en numerosas ocasións como unha fonte de orgullo nacional que reforza, polo tanto, un sentimento de identidade e de filiación co estado-nación, tal e como argumentaran De Soucey (2010), Gangjee (2017) ou Dutton (2019).

Xa por último, cómpre discutir o grao no que as IX son quen de contribuír á protección e/ou conservación de recursos presentes no territorio segundo se xustifica na bibliografía revisada. En primeiro lugar, o caso do Pemento de Herbón demostra que nin tan sequera o punto máis básico dunha IX, a protección dun nome reputado, se pode dar por sentado —contravindo a maior parte da bibliografía científica producida sobre a materia (caso de: Barham, 2003; Giovannucci et al., 2009; Sylvander et al., 2011; Gangjee, 2015)—. Neste senso, a IX finalmente tivo que aprobarse baixo o nome de Herbón —e non Padrón— ante a incapacidade de reverter a apropiación e transfiguración deste último topónimo nun termo xenérico. O do pemento non resulta un caso único, xa que Edam Holland e Gouda Holland representan outros exemplos nos que o nome do lugar de orixe destes queixos non se puido protexer como IX ante as alegacións de que se tornaran xenéricos (Geuze, 2017; Mantrov, 2017).

Máis claro aínda resulta que as IX non dean protexido as variedades xenéticas autóctonas que tantas veces resultan chave na construción da singularidade dunha IX. Estes instrumentos legais non teñen a capacidade para previr que variedades autóctonas como o pemento «variedade Padrón» que se cultiva en Herbón, o millo xigante do Valle Sagrado de los Incas, a pitahaya amarela nativa de Palora ou o cacao Nacional ecuatoriano, se cultiven noutros territorios. Polo tanto, as IX non poden previr que terceiros fagan uso destas variedades, en contra de como se presenta moitas veces na bibliografía (Vandecandelaere et al., 2009; Sanz e Muchnik, 2016; Belletti et al., 2017b). Asemade, a investigación realizada permite apuntar que tampouco constitúen ferramentas útiles para combater, por exemplo, a biopiratería, como acriticamente argumentan Dutfield (2017) ou Van de Kop et al. (2020).

En cambio, o que si se infire que poden facer, de acordo cos testemuños analizados, é contribuíren a conservar certos elementos do territorio considerados como bens. Por exemplo, a IX Pisco, ao pautar uns métodos de produción estritos, é considerada polos informantes como unha fórmula relativamente efectiva para preservar a receita e a esencia organoléptica deste augardente como un ben patrimonial, o que resulta coherente con Vandecandelaere et al. (2009) e Bessière (2013). Do mesmo xeito, a IX Café de Villa Rica percíbese como un instrumento co que ordenar uns manexos agrarios respectuosos coa selva. No entanto, como xa afirmaran Hughes (2010) e Bramley (2011), cómpre subliñar que estas situacións só se producen cando os elementos territoriais resultan fundamentais na construción da reputación ou da individualidade da produción. En efecto, a receita do Pisco constitúe o factor esencial que diferencia este produto do destilado chileno, mentres que a conservación da selva é unha das cuestións básicas que defenden os caficultores para conceder valor ao Café de Villa Rica. Pola contra, a IX Cacao Arriba non foi capaz de recuperar o cultivo da variedade Nacional debido á súa escasa valorización e insuficiente rendibilidade económica. Polo tanto, a preservación ou perda destes elementos territoriais mantense, en última instancia, dentro dunhas lóxicas económicas.

Só se conservan aqueles que son rendibles e, por iso, resulta lóxico que se sigan percibindo máis como «recursos» ca como bens patrimoniais ou culturais.

En definitiva, discutidos todos estes puntos, pódese poñer en cuestión a xustificación global, tantas veces defendida (Barham e Sylvander, 2011; Van Caenegem e Cleary, 2017; Vandecandelaere et al., 2018), de que as IX contribúen ao desenvolvemento rural dos territorios nos que se insiren. Se tomamos un a un todos os impactos alegados neste subapartado 5.4, pódese afirmar que existen vínculos evidentes entre as IX estudadas e a extensión de beneficios para os territorios abranguidos nelas. Malia todo, resulta tremendamente difícil determinar as relacións de causa-efecto entre ambos os dous elementos. Máis aventurado resulta aínda afirmar que as IX poden desencadear un círculo virtuoso multifuncional, capaz de promover un desenvolvemento rural integral (Belletti et al., 2002). Esta investigación non evidenciou en ningún momento as conexións suficientes para apoiar este suposto. En efecto, tan só se puido comprobar a capacidade declarada das IX para melloraren a posición dos propios produtores e elevaren a notoriedade exterior das rexións produtoras. Quedan lonxe, polo tanto, de erixirse nas indefectibles pedras angulares que o modelo SYAL propón para pivotar as estratexias de desenvolvemento daqueles espazos rurais que as posuíren. Se, en cambio, tomamos a tese do espectro da multifuncionalidade de Wilson (2009) —o cal viría a situarse entre o paradigma agroindustrial e o non-produtivismo—, si se pode afirmar que as IX estudadas presentan distintos graos de multifuncionalidade. Isto é válido, polo menos, no que respecta aos valores non-produtivos, como a identidade e o patrimonios referidos con anterioridade.

Outro debate subxacente na consideración das IX como instrumentos de desenvolvemento rural emerxe cando nos cuestionamos o significado deste concepto mesmo, o cal resulta habitual na bibliografía de referencia (Paül, 2013). Se valoramos o desenvolvemento rural nun sentido estritamente económico, entón se cadra resulte certeiro soster que as IX sexan un factor de competitividade que permite, a través da súa capacidade de diferenciación, manter a actividade económica en contextos *a priori* desfavorables. No entanto, se entendemos o desenvolvemento rural desde os prismas da multifuncionalidade e da sustentabilidade, e/ou cun sentido social e cultural que mesmo evita a dimensión económica, entón a capacidade das IX para contribuíren directamente a este modelo de desenvolvemento resulta menos evidente.

A escasa ambición da última normativa europea na materia, o Regulamento UE 2024/1143, da boa fe disto, ao relegar á opcionalidade a inclusión dunhas prácticas sustentables máis ambiciosas que as existentes para o sector agrario convencional. Esta norma, en efecto, deixa nas mans das agrupacións de produtores a decisión de incluíren, ou non, uns estándares de sustentabilidade adicionais[37] nas normativas das súas IX. O regulamento comunitario, polo tanto, pon de manifesto a dificultade de combinar un modelo de desenvolvemento rural multifuncional e sustentable, coas múltiples estratexias individuais das empresas adheridas, as cales se revelan como o factor máis crucial para valorarmos a sustentabilidade e multifuncionalidade das producións con IX.

[37] O enfoque de opcionalidade promovido pola UE tamén é criticable en canto a que favorece a sinalización daquelas IX que inclúen pautas de sustentabilidade nas súas normativas. Relegan así estas prácticas a unha mera certificación adicional cuxa efectividade recae, unha vez máis, no dispostos que se amosen os consumidores a pagaren máis por un produto sinalado como sustentable sobre outro que non aparece como tal.

5.5. IMPLICACIÓN DOS PRODUTORES E GOBERNANZA DAS IX

Como xa se sinalou con anterioridade, esta investigación puxo unha énfase especial na análise dos testemuños dos produtores, ao tratarse do grupo de actores que, en última instancia, fan uso directo das IX. Dito noutras palabras: sen a implicación dos produtores dentro do esquema, as IX non teñen sentido. Do mesmo xeito, para valorar de maneira completa se as IX actúan como monopolios territoriais, resulta preciso comprender como son xestionadas entre os actores que fan uso delas. Os últimos parágrafos da discusión centraranse nestes aspectos.

Comezando pola implicación dos actores, as observacións baseadas en técnicas cualitativas descubriron que, nalgunhas ocasións, as IX non se axustan en ningún caso ás expectativas dos produtores. Isto condúceas a unha pobre aceptación entre eles. A razón esgrimida para esta falla de acomodo é que, ás veces, as IX non derivan das necesidades dos propios agricultores, senón que son promovidas por outros actores alleos aos seus intereses, tales como as institucións públicas e as axencias de cooperación ao desenvolvemento. Por exemplo, a IX Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco estableceuse no territorio de maneira *top-down*, como un proxecto político sen que os produtores da rexión chegasen a percibirlle utilidade algunha. Noutros casos, a falla de uso das IX débese a que os produtores agardan delas unhas prerrogativas que en verdade non posúen, como, por exemplo, impoñeren restricións a todo o comercio da pitahaya producida en Palora —segundo pretendían algúns dos entrevistados—. Exemplos similares de arelas insatisfeitas dos produtores tamén son reportadas por Giovannucci et al. (2009) e Yeung e Kerr (2011).

Como xa quedou patente nesta investigación, o sentido fundamental conferido ás IX é económico. Así, resulta obvio que un dos principais motivos que leva os actores a participaren —ou non—, dentro dunha IX relaciónase coa apreciación de rendibilidade que teñan da mesma. Polo xeral, cando se avalía a conveniencia destas figuras, adoita preponderar un enfoque econométrico-cuantitativo centrado en determinar o limiar de produción a partir do cal estas resultan rendibles para as empresas produtoras (Moschini et al., 2008; Bouamra et al., 2010; Agostino e Trivieri, 2014). Porén, e tamén en termos económicos, a decisión de inscribirse nunha IX tamén posúe un carácter cualitativo mediado polas percepcións de rendibilidade (Belletti et al., 2015). Así, estas figuras gozan dunha grande aceptación entre moitos dos produtores do Pemento de Herbón ou do Café de Villa Rica porque se perciben como estratexias de diferenciación efectivas. No entanto, acontece o contrario cos produtores do Cacao Arriba, ou da Vitela dos Pireneo no lado (sur)catalán, onde a maioría alegan que as IX non lles depara ningún beneficio económico aparente. Isto explica, en gran medida, a falta de éxito[38] en canto a produtores inscritos destas últimas. De primeiras, queda desmontada unha das argumentacións centrais que presentan as IX como fórmulas de diferenciación sempre atractivas para os produtores (presente, por exemplo, en Giovannucci et al., 2009), sen matizar as moitas causas que poden levar á súa ineficacia —como as xa discutidas da falla de recoñecemento nos mercados, ou o tipo de cadea alimentaria na que se envolven as produción—.

[38] Discutir o grao de éxito económico dunha IX en canto ao número de produtores inscritos nela requiriría dunha investigación cuantitativa *ad hoc*. No noso artigo «Queixos» ensaiamos unha abordaxe cualitativa, mais desde logo que os resultados dunha avaliación económica cuantitativa pode non ser coincidente. Achamos que toda exploración cuantitativa debese basearse de entrada na ponderación do número de produtores reais respecto do número de produtores que se agardaría que se situasen dentro da IX, a partir do territorio recoñecido nela e do número total de explotacións agrarias que se dedican a esa actividade produtiva dentro del. Con todo, o traballo de campo levado a cabo en cada contexto leva o autor a inferir neste senso que na IX Pemento de Herbón, situada nunha pequena localidade onde quedan moi poucos profesionais agrarios, ten unha porcentaxe de produtores inscritos moito máis elevada que a IX Cacao Arriba, que abrangue a práctica totalidade de Ecuador e onde, cunha procura simple, se pode comprobar que existen milleiros de produtores de cacao que se poderían inscribir nela.

Con todo, un dos problemas máis recorrentes sinalado nas entrevistas foi o dos altos custes derivados das normas e estándares de produción impostos polas propias certificacións. Esta cuestión é destacada con frecuencia na bibliografía como un motivo significativo que explica a falta de participación nalgunhas IX (Barjolle et al., 2017; Neilson et al., 2018; Pachoud et al., 2019; Cardoso et al., 2022). Atopamos aquí que a dimensión dunha empresa resulta fundamental á hora de valorar se unha IX resulta rendible ou non. Neste sentido, os grandes produtores de Pisco ou do aceite Istra indican non teren problemas para pagaren as taxas de certificación nin realizaren grandes investimentos para adaptaren as súas instalacións aos requirimentos das IX. Do mesmo xeito, a SAT A Pementeira, ao ser capaz de xuntar suficientes volumes para comercializar o seu produto nos supermercados, é quen de explotar de maneira vantaxosa a IX Pemento de Herbón. Namentres, estes custes derivados das IX resultan moito maiores, en termos relativos, para as explotacións con menores volumes de produción ou menos capitalizadas.

En efecto, a cuestión que se vén de indicar fai que as IX semellen escasamente atractivas; por exemplo, para as explotacións familiares de Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco ou do Cacao Arriba, xa que terían que axustarse a unhas prácticas das que apenas obterían beneficios nas súas rendas. Este tipo de situacións observáronse sobre todo en Latinoamérica, onde os pequenos produtores adoitaban ficar en situacións financeiras máis desfavorables que os seus homólogos europeos (Yeung e Kerr, 2011). Nestes casos resulta máis doado que unha IX acabe por marxinar os pequenos que non posúen a capacidade para implicarse dentro dela, tal e como xa sinalaron Bowen e Zapata (2009), Mancini (2012) ou Pachoud et al. (2019), entre outros. Isto é así a menos que estes se dean organizado de maneira cooperativa para partillaren os custes de promoción e de controis de calidade asociados, tal e como se fai, por exemplo, para o Café de Colombia (Grabs, 2021).

Moitos dos problemas sinalados até o de agora, polo tanto, relaciónanse coa capacidade das IX para satisfaceren as necesidades económicas dos produtores sen supoñeren grandes limitacións/trabas á súa actividade. Neste senso, obsérvase que as IX máis efectivas, en termos de beneficios reportados polos produtores, son aquelas que contan con Consellos Reguladores —ou algún tipo de organización semellante— encargados de tarefas chave como o control de calidade e a promoción comercial das producións (Sanz e Macías, 2005; Raimondi et al., 2024). En efecto, a dimensión colectiva destas organizacións permite partillar algúns dos custos asociados ás IX a través de economías de escala e da difusión de innovacións, de xeito que se reduce así o risco dos investimentos que, doutra forma, terían que afrontar os produtores de maneira individual (Sanz e Macías, 2005; Belletti e Marescotti, 2011; Raimondi et al., 2024). Esta investigación alíñase así coa maioría de estudos que sosteñen que os Consellos Reguladores nas IX resultan fundamentais para o éxito das IX (Barjolle et al., 2017; Quiñones et al., 2017; Vandecandelaere et al., 2020).

Con todo, o éxito destas estruturas depende en gran medida do número de produtores implicados. Así, IX cun número reducido de produtores inscritos, como a do Queixo do Cebreiro, teñen dificultades para executaren, por exemplo, campañas de márketing colectivas debido á súa escala económica reducida, algo que xa fora indicado por Marescotti e Belletti (2016). Por tanto, a súa viabilidade económica pode verse comprometida debido ao seu pequeno tamaño. Amais, nesta tese, evidenciouse que os Consellos Reguladores destas IX de pequeno tamaño chegan a ser cuestionados mesmo desde as administracións públicas precisamente por este motivo.

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Este cuestionamento, que xira en torno á lexitimidade de apoiar as IX máis pequenas mediante recursos públicos, está a acadar moita forza nas orientacións políticas actuais en materia de IX a escala europea. En efecto, o asunto das IX de pequeno tamaño vénse diagnosticando nalgún dos últimos documentos de traballo da Comisión Europea (2021) na materia, onde se recoñece que até o 48% do número total de IX na UE se corresponden con ese tamaño. No fondo, o debate en torno ás IX pequenas evidencia unha tensión contraditoria entre as tendencias lexislativas que, motivadas polas normas do libre mercado, procuran a autosustentabilidade das IX (Marie-Vivien, 2010), *vis-à-vis* as argumentacións que sitúan as mesmas IX como ferramentas ao servizo do desenvolvemento para as áreas máis remotas e despoboadas (Barham, 2003; Kizos e Vakoufaris, 2009; Bowen, 2011; Crescenzi et al., 2024). Paradoxalmente, é xusto nestas rexións onde a falla de capital humano e a baixa densidade de empresas produtoras dificultan que as IX poidan autosustentarse sen un apoio institucional.

En relación co escaso número de produtores que se atopan dentro dalgunhas IX, tamén se observa que moitos daqueles que poderían integrarse nelas optan por permaneceren á marxe, á agarda de que outros as adopten primeiro e as posicionen no mercado. Esta dinámica observouse en casos como Pemento de Herbón ou Café de Villa Rica, onde determinados produtores esperan a que os pioneiros asuman os riscos iniciais de promoción para, máis tarde, aproveitarse da reputación acadada sen participar directamente no sistema nin adherirse ás súas normas. Isto confirma o xa teorizado neste mesmo senso por Yeung e Kerr (2011). Ademais, este fenómeno expón unha lagoa legal nas IX a pequena escala, xa que os produtores externos á certificación, situados na mesma rexión, adoitan beneficiarse indirectamente da designación sen asumiren os custos nin os compromisos asociados. Este comportamento detectado, aínda que comprensible, compromete a sustentabilidade mesma das IX e apunta á necesidade de mecanismos que incentiven a participación e eviten situacións de inxustiza competitiva.

O debate sobre a lexitimidade do apoio público ás IX tamén encontra ecos nas IX latinoamericanas estudadas. No caso do Café de Villa Rica, o sistema de trazabilidade deseñado desde o seu Consello Regulador financiábase en gran medida a través dos recursos dispostos pola axencia de cooperación ao desenvolvemento suíza. Pola súa banda, os controis de calidade, en ausencia do Consello Regulador do Pisco, eran asumidos pola axencia gobernamental peruana INDECOPI. Nestes casos, tamén xorden dúbidas sobre até que punto o financiamento externo deste tipo de actividades se pode soster no tempo sen xerar dependencias (Daviron e Ponte, 2005; Hughes, 2010; Pokorny et al., 2012).

Neste punto da discusión sobre a conveniencia de apoiar as IX, resulta evidente que a análise das súas dinámicas de gobernanza devén un asunto crucial para valorarmos estes instrumentos, quer como un ben común que mereza apoio institucional, quer relegalos a unha ferramenta monopolística que tan só dea beneficiado uns poucos produtores. Son moitos os autores que, neste sentido, recoñecen a importancia dos os Consellos Reguladores e entidades semellantes para unha gobernanza axeitada das IX. En efecto, adoita sinalarse a súa importancia para que os actores poidan negociar e resolver os seus conflitos de maneira democrática (Sanz e Macías, 2005; Belletti e Marescotti, 2011; Quiñones et al., 2016, 2017; Barjolle et al., 2017; Penker et al., 2022). Deste xeito, as IX só semellan darse lexitimado como verdadeiros bens colectivos para as rexións nas que se insiren se media esta gobernanza institucionalizada (Sonnino, 2007; Tregear et al., 2007; Belletti e Marescotti, 2011; Sylvander et al., 2011; Quiñones et al., 2016, 2017; Barjolle et al., 2017; Penker et al., 2022).

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En efecto, a ausencia dunha estrutura de gobernanza pode dar lugar a situacións como a reportada na IX Queixo Tolminc. Nela, algúns produtores remataron por saírse ante a imposibilidade de poderen renegociar certos requirimentos como, por exemplo, o tamaño dos queixos. Neste sentido, a falla dun Consello Regulador no que se debatan e xestionen este tipo de asuntos fai que a IX semelle máis ben unha mera marca ou logo inmóbil, o que fica moi lonxe das plataformas xeradoras de dinámicas de acción colectiva e de innovación que observan Sanz e Macías (2005) ou Quiñones et al. (2020) noutras situacións.

Porén, cómpre deterse tamén a analizar o funcionamento da gobernanza institucionalizada das IX, pois os Consellos Reguladores dependen dunha boa coordinación entre os actores para negociaren entre eles, resolveren conflitos de intereses e difundiren coñecementos e prácticas innovadoras (Sanz e Macías, 2005; Quiñones et al., 2016). Así, atopamos casos coma o Café de Villa Rica no que os caficultores confesan ficar cohesionados, cuns obxectivos comúns. Pola contra, hai outras realidades como a transmitida en relación co Pisco, no que o Consello Regulador leva moitos anos sen funcionar ante os continuos desacordos e conflitos entre os produtores.

Pódese argumentar, en liña co enfoque SYAL (por exemplo, Filippi e Torre, 2003; Sanz e García, 2020), que un factor chave polo que os produtores de Café de Villa Rica fican ben organizados, mentres que os do Pisco loitan entre si, é a diferenza na proximidade espacial entre os produtores nun e noutro caso. Neste senso, a proximidade espacial dos produtores radicados en Villa Rica —circunscritos só a este concello— favorecería as interaccións entre eles, ao igual que Quiñones et al. (2016) constataron no caso da Faba de Sorana. Porén, outros casos como o do Maíz Blanco Gigante de Cusco desmonta a predilección do enfoque SYAL polas IX de reducida dimensión territorial como escala preferente para favoreceren a interacción social (Filippi e Torre, 2003; Boucher e Reyes, 2016; Sanz e García, 2020). En efecto, nesta IX peruana, malia a súa reducida dimensión territorial, sinalouse repetidamente a patente descoordinación entre os actores presentes no Valle Sagrado de los Incas. Do mesmo xeito, o principal conflito expresado ao redor do Pisco tiña que ver coas diferenzas entre os grandes e os pequenos produtores, máis que na ampla dimensión territorial desta IX.

Unha boa maneira de entender as dinámicas de negociación e de choque na gobernanza das IX é a teoría das convencións de Boltanski e Thévenot (1991), tal e como aplicaron Coq et al. (2017) para analizaren os conflitos entre produtores ecolóxicos e convencionais na produción olivareira da Sierra de Segura. Tomando o exemplo do Pisco estudado nesta tese, esta teoría explica o choque entre dous tipos de produtores. Por unha banda, os pequenos e artesanais seguen convencións «domésticas» e «cívicas», tal e como demostra a invocación constante á noción de patrimonio como un valor central xerado ao redor da súa produción. Pola outra, os produtores máis grandes e capitalizados réxense, sobre todo, polas lóxicas das convencións «industriais» e «mercantís» cuxas máximas son a eficiencia e a rendibilidade no negocio, sen semellarlles importar cuestións como o patrimonio e, polo tanto, dando unha menor importancia ao control efectuado polo Consello Regulador da IX.

Alén das convencións que rexen os distintos modelos de produción, outro factor que pode complicar a gobernanza das IX é a súa propia estrutura produtiva. Cómpre, sen dúbida, tela en conta á hora de considerar o seu funcionamento. Así, o gran volume de produción da cooperativa Mlekarna Planika, que sitúa esta empresa láctea nunha posición hexemónica para favorecerse da IX Queixo Tolminc, pode verse tamén como un motivo que leva a que as pequenas queixerías artesanais que existen na mesma área se sintan relegadas e opten por non participaren na súa gobernanza. Dun xeito parecido, a SAT A Pementeira ten moita máis presenza na IX Pemento de Herbón que as demais empresas

familiares integradas dentro da certificación. Mentres tanto, IX como Café de Villa Rica fican dominadas polos acopiadores de café, o que relega os labregos que os serven a un plano secundario. Estas situacións reflicten dous dos modelos de gobernanza de IX descritos por Sylvander et al. (2004). Así, Café de Villa Rica ilustra un caso de gobernanza sectorial, centrada nos acopiadores, con menores vínculos cos labregos e outras actividades produtivas da localidade. Pola súa banda, Queixo Tolminc representa un modelo de gobernanza corporativa, onde a maior parte do poder de decisión recae no director da cooperativa Mlekarna Planika. A identificación e caracterización deste tipo de situacións resulta revelador para comprendermos a distribución de poder dentro de cada IX e avaliarmos en consecuencia o seu funcionamento.

Unha última cuestión relevante que cómpre sinalar na gobernanza das IX, e que fica moi pouco sinalada na bibliografía, é o seguinte: moitas veces, a decisión de inscribirse nunha IX e implicarse na súa gobernanza non resulta só dunha visión económica, de estratexias de produción ou de distribución de poder, senón dos valores e as estratexias que cada persoa posúa deica miras futuras. Dentro das apreciacións cualitativas desta tese observouse que, tanto para o caso do Queixo Tolminc como para o do Queixo do Cebreiro, moitos produtores artesáns operan fóra destas IX, simplemente, porque non senten necesidade de investiren en adaptar a súa produción aos requisitos esixidos para formar parte dela. No caso do Pemento de Herbón, dunha maneira similar, atopamos que algúns produtores decidiron non integrarse na IX cando esta se aprobou, en parte, porque xa se atopaban próximos á xubilación.

Este é un achado moi relevante desta investigación, pois demostra que os produtores só invisten o seu diñeiro e esforzos nunha IX cando posúen ou agardan acadar certo grao de desenvolvemento empresarial, de maneira que consideren que incorrer nela lles pague a pena. Isto permítenos enunciar, polo tanto, que os produtores integraranse nunha IX sempre que posúan ou aspiren a acadar certo grao de profesionalización da súa actividade.

De feito, ao longo das moitas conversas sostidas nesta investigación, detectouse que os produtores máis comprometidos coas IX eran aqueles que confesaban ver nesta figura unha baza indispensable para desenvolveren e consolidaren a súa actividade de maneira profesional; en última instancia, para aseguraren o futuro da súa produción cunha boa calidade de vida. Alén de valoracións puramente económicas, era o valor identitario proxectado sobre estas produción o aliciente fundamental que levaba a moitos dos labregos a loitaren pola IX coa esperanza de proxectar un bo futuro sobre o seu medio de vida.

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6. CONCLUSIÓNS

O propósito da presente tese non foi outro que o de avanzar na comprensión das IX para fomentalas de aquí en adiante. Partíase da hipótese subxacente de que, a pesar do exemplo de éxito vivido nas carnes do autor, non todas elas acababan de representar as ferramentas de desenvolvemento rural que se presupoñía desde a academia e desde o discurso político hexemónico. A investigación ocupouse así dunha ampla diversidade de procesos de construción e xestión de IX arredor de varios contextos do mundo, tratando de dar coas chaves que explicasen a súa capacidade para deparar beneficios —económicos, sociais, culturais, etc.— aos produtores e aos territorios nos que se situaban.

6.1 CONCLUSIÓNS TEÓRICAS EN RELACIÓN COAS HIPÓTESES PRIMEIRA E SEGUNDA

No plano máis netamente teórico, esta tese tratou de resituar a reflexión en torno ás IX dentro da disciplina da Xeografía, baixo un enfoque crítico que dese conta de todos os elementos e procesos que interactúan sobre elas, tal e como se propuxo na hipótese 1. Porén, antes de confirmar a pertinencia de aplicar a análise xeográfica aos procesos de construción e de xestión das IX, achamos oportuno dar conta da hipótese 2. Estas formulaba que é posible combinar de maneira efectiva as perspectivas territoriais anglófonas (AFN/*embeddedness*) e as francófonas (SYAL/*terroir*) nos estudos de caso particulares.

As análises efectuadas na presente investigación demostraron que ambos os dous enfoques podían converxer para ofrecer unha análise máis integral deste tipo de procesos. De feito, moitas das cuestións analizadas, como a «(re)territorialización» —preferible, como se propuxo no apartado de discusión, ao de «(re)localización», cando menos nas linguas romances— da produción na IX Pemento de Herbón, só poden explicarse a través da interrelación e do diálogo de ambos conxuntos teóricos. Malia que as súas persistentes diferenzas na concepción do espazo poidan semellar irreconciliables, a súa xustaposición resulta indispensable para comprendermos as IX en toda a súa complexidade, tal e como desenvolvemos en particular no artigo «Pementos». Ambos os dous enfoques resultan, polo tanto, coherentes na súa concepción das IX baixo unha noción procesual e tamén coinciden en entenderen o vínculo territorial establecido nas IX como unha construción social suxeita aos intereses das persoas que interveñen nelas. De maneira sistemática, estes enfoques teóricos converxen nas seguintes cuestións chave:

- Primeiramente, ambos os dous baséanse nunha noción procesual, de xeito que centran a súa atención nos procesos/dinámicas de construción de calidade e diferenciación das producións agrarias. Deste xeito, destacan a axencia dos actores que os dirixen, especialmente na atribución de características territoriais ás producións. Podemos entender entón que tanto as teorías anglófonas como as francófonas ofrecen unha perspectiva construtivista útil para analizarmos a asignación de significados a conceptos centrais nas IX, como a calidade e a escala.

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- En segundo lugar, se ben as cuestións de índole cultural e institucional inicialmente ficaban máis presentes na literatura francófona, un número cada vez maior de autores anglófonos incorpóraas para a análise de producións agrarias como as IX (Sonnino e Marsden, 2006; Bowen, 2011). Deste xeito, recoñecen, por exemplo, que as IX sempre fican afectadas polo seu recoñecemento nuns mercados condicionados culturalmente (Trubek, 2008; Unwin, 2022). Polo tanto, os dous enfoques asumen a influencia dos factores culturais e institucionais sobre os procesos anteriores.
- Por último, tanto as perspectivas de AFN coma de SYAL son relacionais. O primeiro éo, sobre todo, a través do concepto de *vertical embeddedness* avanzado por Sonnino e Marsden (2006). Pola súa banda, o segundo, malia limitar o alcance da análise de relacións a contextos reducidos, tamén ofrece unha mirada neste senso. O enfoque relacional resulta así fundamental para comprendermos a complexidade dos procesos de construción e xestión das IX, pois permite analizar como unha multitude de factores, a diferentes escalas, conflúen e se interrelacionan sobre un contexto territorial dado (Bowen, 2011; Demossier, 2011; Sonnino, 2013; Mckiterick, 2016). Desta maneira, facilita a avaliación do alcance e beneficios potenciais dunha IX, así como o estudo das dinámicas de gobernanza multiescalar no seu seo (Sonnino e Marsden, 2006; Frayssignes, 2007; Sylvander e Barham, 2011).

Neste punto, resulta pertinente argumentar globalmente a favor da relevancia da reflexión xeográfica na análise das IX proposta na hipótese 1. Esta tese demostrou a pertinencia de aplicar conceptos e ideas habituais nas reflexións da disciplina xeográfica, como os de construción de escala ou de rexión, que ficaban pouco atendidos dentro dos estudos en IX. Sobre a escala, realizáronse achegas específicas no subapartado 5.2, que non resulta preciso reiterar aquí.

Así pois, cómpre entender as IX baixo diferentes arestas. Por unha banda, estas son espazos fixos —ao igual que se entenden as rexións na xeografía rexional tradicional (García-Álvarez, 2006) —, porque para poder ser individualizadas e controladas, precisan definirse e delimitarse espacialmente con precisión, con límites considerados adecuados e dificilmente inamovibles. Mais, por outra banda, as IX son tamén unhas xeografías mutables e difusas, porque a súa valorización e os seus efectos suceden sobre un espazo relacional —tal e como defende a *New Regional Geography*, e xa non digamos a *New New Regional Geography*— que é coproducido a múltiples escalas (Paül et al., 2021). Algunhas destas escalas, como os contextos regulatorios que permiten a propia existencia das IX, son máis estables, mentres que outras como os mercados, desde os máis locais até os máis internacionais, resultan máis fluídas.

En suma, nos diversos artigos que compoñen esta tese, evidenciouse a profunda aplicabilidade da Xeografía para:

- avaliar de maneira critica os procesos de construción da escala ou do *terroir* nas IX;
- pescudar os vínculos entre a delimitación espacial das IX coas realidades políticas e administrativas que as afectan;
- analizar o alcance das IX alén das propias producións agrarias, tendo en conta as súas externalidades socioeconómicas, culturais e medioambientais dentro dos territorios nos que se integran; e
- profundar nas dinámicas de gobernanza entre os actores que as suxeitan.

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En definitiva, as ferramentas teóricas mobilizadas nesta tese permitiron unha abordaxe crítica aos procesos que dirixen as IX. Esta liña de traballo pode ter continuidade en futuras liñas de investigación relacionadas co obxecto de estudo aquí tratado e outros equiparables. Por exemplo, poderíanse empregar para a análise crítica doutras producións agrarias que conten con algún tipo de certificación de calidade que se vincule ao seu medio xeográfico —como os selos *Fair Trade* (comercio xusto) e as certificacións ecolóxicas—, así como nas avaliacións de sustentabilidade de determinados sistemas agroalimentarios (re)territorializados.

6.2 Conclusións Prácticas en relación coas hipóteses terceira a quinta

A través da análise de até 12 IX diferentes, púidose demostrar a capacidade destas figuras para depararen beneficios de diversa índole que se poden relacionar co concepto de desenvolvemento rural, tal e como se presupuxera na hipótese 3. Con todo, tal e como se discutiu de forma extensa no subapartado 5.4, estes beneficios danse acadado en maior ou menor medida en función de toda unha serie de circunstancias (tales como factores ambientais, económicos e culturais, mercados, regulamentos, etc.) específicas dos territorios sobre os que se dispoñen. Asemade, grazas ás técnicas cualitativas desenvolvidas, recoñeceuse a importancia fundamental da percepción dos actores á hora de dirimir o éxito ou fracaso das IX. En efecto, as utilidades que os actores lles atribúen representa unha cuestión fundamental que explica a súa decisión de integrarse, ou non, nestes esquemas. Do mesmo xeito, estas técnicas permitiron observar como a organización dos actores, das súas interaccións entre eles e co territorio, permiten estender ou concentrar os beneficios potenciais destas figuras. En fin, esta tese demostra que as IX non se trata dunha fórmula universalmente válida para promover o desenvolvemento rural.

Malia diversidade atopada entre os casos de estudo analizados, da lectura conxunta de todos eles tamén se puideron extraer unha serie de conclusións xerais e prácticas coas que pechar esta investigación. O principal achado que cómpre subliñar é que a aprobación dunha IX non garante nunca, por si soa, beneficios significativos para os territorios nos que son concedidas. A súa efectividade non depende unicamente das calidades intrínsecas dos produtos que se certifican nin do seu recoñecemento institucional a través dun selo que protexe a súa orixe, senón que fica supeditada a factores como o sistema regulamentario e as institucións que as habilitan, a súa inserción nas cadeas de valor ou o seu recoñecemento nuns mercados marcados cultural e políticamente. Ademais, e sobre todo, o sustento no tempo das IX depende da vontade e do compromiso dos actores que se poidan implicar e facer uso delas. Así, aínda que moitas veces teñamos ante nós algún dos moitísimos produtos que posúen unhas calidades vinculadas a territorios específicos, con potencial para converterse en IX, non parece recomendable aprobar unicamente unha IX dada como un recoñecemento oficial da súa calidade diferencial. Polo contrario, a institución desta figura debe basearse sempre en satisfacer as necesidades reais e os intereses daqueles actores que potencialmente poden facer uso delas, de xeito que se dean ofrecido solucións efectivas aos desafíos específicos que enfrontan nos seus territorios.

En relación coa hipótese 4, e malia que os efectos no territorio de cada IX son altamente variables, a investigación confirma que estas figuras poden ser útiles para pequenas producións. Isto é debido a que poden proporcionar beneficios en termos de valorización patrimonial, promoción e/ou oportunidades económicas como a súa inserción en novos mercados. Porén, nas rexións menos favorecidas economicamente, onde se concentran moitas destas pequenas IX, poden existir importantes dificultades para xerar efectos positivos debido á súa reducida escala económica e/ou ás condicións estruturais das rexións onde se aplican. Por exemplo, aínda que no caso do Queixo do

Cebreiro a IX xere efectos positivos, a súa viabilidade vese comprometida polo escaso capital humano da rexión. Esta situación dificulta xerar economías de escala para partillar os custes de actividades tan importantes como, por exemplo, a publicidade da IX. Así, a análise dos casos de estudo seleccionados amosa que as IX funcionan mellor en territorios non periféricos, áreas con producións medianamente consolidadas e coa presenza de capital humano e social suficiente. En cambio, naquelas rexións nas que as condicións non son as máis favorables acontece a situación inversa.

Nestes últimos casos, pois, atopamos unha aparente contradición entre, por unha banda, a necesidade dun soporte político e económico para manter estas figuras nos contextos menos desenvolvidas —ironicamente, adoitan poñerse como fito do desenvolvemento rural—, e, pola outra, as lóxicas neoliberais que desbotan a posibilidade de apoialas e que amais as someten a unha lóxica de competición entre territorios. En efecto, a estratexia de desenvolvemento baseada na diferenciación territorial das producións tamén evidencia certas limitacións. En efecto, ao someter as producións agroalimentarias a unha competición na que se exalta a singularidade e os atributos diferenciais de cada unha delas, existe o risco de saturar os mercados con produtos diferenciados, banalizando así o valor distintivo que outorga unha IX.

Todo se reduce, á fin e ao cabo, a unha decisión política: se queremos que as IX dependan exclusivamente da súa capacidade para autosustentárense no mercado, ou se estamos dispostos a apoiar economicamente estas producións, mediante subvencións para os controis dos Consellos Reguladores e para a promoción. En todo caso, esta decisión debese abordarse avaliando caso por caso. Segundo a experiencia acumulada, non consideramos recomendable apoiar un gran número de producións residuais que non teñen posibilidades reais de desenvolvemento como un fin en si mesmo ou, simplemente, como unha mera operación propagandística para que determinadas administracións ou axencias de desenvolvemento demostren o seu compromiso cos espazos rurais. Máis ben, debería priorizarse o apoio a aquelas producións agroalimentarias que conten con produtores motivados e capaces. Aquelas que, en consecuencia, poidan ter un longo percorrido, de xeito que sexan efectivamente sustentables a longo prazo. Só aquí serán quen de contribuír de maneira efectiva ao desenvolvemento territorial.

Antes de pechar esta serie de conclusións finais, queda por dar resposta á hipóteses 5 presentada ao inicio desta tese. Esta baséase na necesidade suposta de contar con agrupacións de produtores para unha xestión xusta e efectiva das IX. A hipótese atopa múltiples argumentacións que a apoian en todos os artigos que compoñen a presente investigación así coma no apartado 5.5 que tampouco cómpre volver a repetir. Só compre engadir que as agrupación de produtores constitúen, amais, a base que leximita ás IX como algo máis ca uns bens reservados a unhas poucas empresas (Sylvander et al., 2011).

Por todas as cuestións expostas neste traballo, cómpre sinalar que o marco europeo en IX, replicado a escala mundial en países como Perú e Ecuador, en si mesmo, resulta técnicamente aplicable a estoutros contextos. Por unha banda, desenvolve normativamente a noción de orixe, concepto que, lonxe de reducirse aos países mediterráneos (Parrott et al., 2002; Fonte, 2008), fica presente en contextos relativamente afastados no eido cultural como os países andinos. Por outra banda, regula as agrupacións de produtores como elementos chave sobre os que soster e xestionar as IX. Polo tanto, máis que do marco regulatorio *per se*, a aplicabilidade do sistema de IX depende doutra serie de cuestións máis relacionadas coa localización das producións amparadas e o seu acceso aos mercados e a recursos diversos. Unhas cuestións que, como discutimos, poden afectar de maneira semellante a algunhas IX europeas con poucos produres e/ou situadas en rexións illadas.

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Finalmente, activando todas as aprendizaxes adquiridas ao longo desta investigación, cabe apuntar, de maneira moi breve, unha serie de recomendacións ou boas prácticas que ben poderían terse en conta para unha mellor implantación, creación e xestión das IX desde a esfera política. A proposta achégase deseguido:

1. As IX deben partir sempre das necesidades dos produtores identificados como destinatarios potenciais destas figuras. Se estas non se axustan ás motivacións e estratexias dos operadores destinados a empregalas, dificilmente serán aceptadas como ferramentas útiles.
2. Cando se valora a conveniencia de desenvolver unha IX, débese contar con produtores motivados, receptivos e dispostos a enfocar a súa actividade en torno a ela. É dicir, resulta conveniente avaliar se os potenciais beneficiarios destas figuras teñen un proxecto de desenvolvemento profesional, así como certo volume de produción, que faga que certificar a súa produción baixo a IX lles pague a pena.
3. Cómpre realizar actividades e sesións formativas nas que ensine aos produtores sobre as capacidades reais e as utilidades potenciais que poden agardar das IX. Dun xeito similar, nestas sesións cómpre salientar os beneficios potenciais derivados da colaboración entre os produtores para melloraren a competitividade, a innovación e a capacidade de márketing das IX.
4. As agrupacións formais de produtores como os Consellos Reguladores, son —tal e como vén de recoñecer o Regulamento UE 2024/1143— entidades fundamentais para facilitaren a organización interna dos produtores e a realización de tarefas de control e márketing das IX, ao mesmo tempo que permiten unha gobernanza acaída delas.
5. Dentro do marco da UE, as IX poderían beneficiarse dunha maior integración coas diferentes políticas de cohesión que existen dentro do marco comunitario, como, por exemplo, do programa Interreg no caso das IX transfronteirizas, ou dos distintos fondos dispoñibles para as transformacións produtivas propostas no Pacto Verde Europeo, sen que sexa precisa a intermediación de estruturas tipo os Grupos de Acción Local/Grupos de Desenvolvemento Rural vencellados a LEADER.
6. A delimitación territorial dunha IX debe basearse en primeiro termo no territorio onde emana a reputación percibida do produto. Neste senso, cómpre subliñar que non abonda con xustificala en base a unhas medicións máis ou menos precisas dun *terroir* procurado como tanxible, senón que tamén hai que integrar de forma activa a percepción que os consumidores teñan dos vínculos territoriais do produto dado.
7. Á hora de decidir a extensión territorial dunha IX, é fundamental ter en conta asemade o criterio dos produtores que forman parte desa área onde se percibe que o produto acada un elevado grao de singularidade. Neste punto, cómpre procurar un equilibrio entre a preservación da súa idiosincrasia e a ampliación das súas posibilidades económicas. Nalgúns casos, pode ser preferible unha extensión pequena para que os produtores tradicionais non vexan comprometida a súa viabilidade ante produción máis rendibles situadas fóra da área orixinaria do produto. Noutros casos, en cambio, tamén pode resultar lexítimo establecer unha IX territorialmente máis abranguinte para chegar a un maior número de produtores, aumentar o volume de produción certificada e/ou facilitar o seu márketing a través de economías de escala. No caso de houber conflitos, cómpre sinalar que os alicerces das IX como dereitos de propiedade territorial debesen prevalecer antes que como vectores de desenvolvemento rural.

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8. O valor das IX non debería de estimarse unicamente en base ao número de produtores que acubillan, pois hai territorios nos que é difícil acadar un limiar amplo de produtores debido ás súas condicións estruturais (situación periférica, baixa demografía, etc.). Á marxe dese número, o valor das IX debería considerarse en base ao seu volume de produción e á súa capacidade para deparar beneficios de diversa índole nos territorios nos que se insiren.
9. É importante ter en conta o tipo e a distancia do mercado ao que se destina unha produción para valorar se paga a pena certificala como IX ou non. Polo xeral, para as producións que se venden soamente na esfera local ou de maneira directa, non adoitan resultar necesarias. Namentres, no caso dalgunhas producións que se comercializan en nichos de mercado globais (e sobre todo daquelas propias do Sur Global como o café ou o cacao, nas que existen multitude de intermediarios), as IX tampouco teñen por que representar a estratexia de comercialización máis efectiva en todos os casos.
10. As IX, pola súa sensibilidade e adaptabilidade aos contextos específicos de cada territorio, así como pola súa capacidade para xeraren dinámicas de innovación, debesen situarse á vangarda das transicións cara a sistemas agroalimentarios máis sustentables e xustos. Esa dirección non debese constituír unha mera opcionalidade.

6.3 Limitacións e posibles liñas de investigación futuras

Como peche desta tese, non podo deixar de sinalar unha serie de cuestións acerca das súas propias limitacións e das portas que permite abrir cara ao futuro. En primeiro lugar, cómpre recoñecer que unha das limitacións a nivel metodolóxico máis obvias é o feito de que algunhas das entrevistas conducidas non se levaron a cabo na lingua materna das persoas entrevistadas —nin de quen as entrevistaba—. Isto reduciu a riqueza coa que poder expresaren, e expresarmos, as ideas nas linguas propias. Nomeadamente, estas situacións producíronse nos casos de Tolminc e Istra, nas que moitas das conversas tiveron lugar en inglés.

No entanto, cómpre sinalar como principal limitación desta investigación a inconsistencia no emprego de fontes de información alternativas ás entrevistas semi-estruturadas. Polo xeral, o método central desta tese de doutoramento procurouse complementar con análise textual de fontes escritas, tal e como se destaca no apartado 3. No entanto, non sempre foi posible recoller o mesmo volume de información textual en todos os casos debido á falla de documentación mesma ou á dificultade para acceder a expedientes internos e outros textos producidos durante o proceso de aplicación destas IX en países tales como Eslovenia ou Ecuador.

Unha problemática parella deuse no caso de información de tipo cuantitativo. No proxecto inicial desta tese de doutoramento, enviado no seu día para a obtención do contrato FPU, contemplábase o uso de datos estatísticos sobre volumes de produción e facturación das empresas implicadas en cada IX. Porén, esta idea foi desbotada a medida que fomos avanzando no proceso investigador debido a que as fontes de información precisas para desenvolver esta tarefa raramente eran accesibles. Nos casos galegos, os datos económicos das IX aparecen recompilados pola AGACAL, mais este tipo de bases de datos non son comúns e non existían equivalentes para casos como o do queixo Tolminc esloveno ou o do Café de Villa Rica peruano.

De empregárense, as fontes cuantitativas darían achegado datos moi distintos para obter un retrato máis polo miúdo do funcionamento das IX estudadas. Por exemplo, nos casos de Tolminc ou do Cebreiro, os datos sobre a evolución das cantidades producidas, dos ingresos xerados e/ou da opinión mediante enquisas *ad hoc* dos actores implicados

nas distintas fases da cadea, poderían talvez mesmo entrar en contradición cos achados cualitativos traballados nesta investigación. Este é o caso do Pemento de Herbón, o cal, se atendemos aos datos económicos, nos últimos anos experimentou certo estancamento nestes aspectos, tal e como si que achegamos no traballo fin de mestrado (Boga, 2020), mais non no contexto desta tese nin do artigo «Pementos», nela incluído.

Por outra banda, un interrogante chave que considero que non se deu respondido con esta investigación é que acontecería se unha IX dada non se chegase a aprobar. De entrada, trátase dun escenario imposible nesta tese, porque a propia pescuda se baseou en estudar IX vixentes. Moitas das persoas entrevistadas non dubidaron en afirmar que «sería moito peor». Neste senso, cómpre sinalar a posibilidade de desenvolver unha liña de traballo futura na que se recolla, mediante a integración de técnicas cualitativas e cuantitativas, a evolución de todas as IX galegas para determinarmos o impacto destes selos sobre as producións que certifican. Isto sería posible grazas á abondosa información económica recollida pola AGACAL, como xa se indicou, así como pola proximidade do autor coas IX do territorio galego para desenvolver as técnicas cualitativas e cuantitativas nelas. Asemade, a amplitude de fontes económicas sobre outros produtos equiparables, mais sen IX, permitiría comparar as traxectorias dunha produción «con» e outra «sen» IX para determinar o impacto real deste tipo de instrumentos.

Outra limitación, con respecto ao plan inicial da tese presentado no seu día, foi non estudar máis casos galegos. Neste sentido, a oportunidade de investigar un grande abano de experiencias internacionais levou a que os casos galegos se reducisen ao Pemento de Herbón e ao Queixo do Cebreiro. Isto imposibilitou, polo tanto, tirar conclusións para o conxunto de Galicia tal e como arelaba de partida. De levarse a cabo, a análise pormenorizada das IX galegas resultaría de grande relevancia para investigar como se comportan este tipo de figuras como política unitaria á escala dunha rexión política dada. A investigación futura podería incluír o deseño de cuestionarios, uns para os produtores e outro para os consumidores, para contrapor os seus resultados cos derivados das entrevistas e, deste xeito, poder abranguer unha mostraxe maior e acadar unha información máis ampla e plural.

Como direccións futuras, contémplase asemade a difusión dos resultados recollidos nesta tese, xunto con máis casos do mundo investigados por outras persoas, nun libro (nun formato similar, por exemplo, ao producido por Vandecandelaere et al. 2018). Outra posibilidade sería a de crear un atlas web que poña á disposición do gran público unha lectura das IX que contemple todos os recursos, persoas e territorios que fican detrás delas. Esta proposta, asemade, axudaría a demostrar a capacidade da Xeografía para analizar as IX. Por último, tal e como xa se indicou ao final do anterior subapartado 6.1, a sistematización de conceptos xeográficos practicada nesta tese para a análise de IX permite estender un novo ollar crítico a outras producións agrarias «(re)territorializadas», alén daquelas que levan a Xeografía no seu nome.

Só o futuro dirá se estas liñas prospectivas de investigación que propoño poderán desenvolverse no sucesivo. Polo de agora, o camiño iniciado hai un lustro péchase neste preciso intre. Con estas páxinas, agardo que dese contribuído modestamente ao progreso das abordaxes *xeográficas* críticas acerca das Indicacións *Xeográficas* de produtos agroalimentarios, nesta reiteración de adxectivos que se arrastrou ao longo de toda a tese de doutoramento. Como creo que evidenciei, duplicar *xeográficas* non é para nada intranscendente: epistemoloxicamente, o coñecemento das figuras obxecto de estudo gaña de forma significativa cunha perspectiva *xeográfica* profunda, plena e deliberada; ontoloxicamente, coido que dei amosado que a identidade *xeográfica* das indicacións *xeográficas* non resulta tan evidente como pode semellar.

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6. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to advance the understanding of GIs in order to promote them. The study departed from the hypothesis that, despite the author's own experience of success, not all GIs fully represented the ideal tools for rural development that seem to be assumed by academic discourse and hegemonic political narratives. The research thus focused on a wide variety of construction and management processes of GIs across different global contexts. In so doing, I was seeking to identify the key factors explaining their capacity to generate economic, social, cultural, and other benefits for producers and the territories in which they are located.

6.1 THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS IN RELATION TO HYPOTHESES ONE AND TWO

On a strict theoretical level, this thesis aimed to resituate GIs within the discipline of Geography, adopting a critical approach able to account for all the elements and processes interacting with them, as proposed in the first hypothesis. However, before confirming the relevance of applying geographical analysis to the construction and management processes of GIs, it was deemed necessary to address the second hypothesis. This hypothesis suggested that it is possible to effectively combine the Anglophone territorial perspectives (AFN/embeddedness) and the Francophone approaches (SYAL/terroir) in specific case studies.

The analyses conducted in this research demonstrated that both approaches combined could offer a more comprehensive analysis of these processes. Indeed, many of the issues analysed, such as the "(re)territorialisation" of production — preferred, as proposed in the discussion section, over "(re)localisation" in Romance languages — in the GI Pemento de Herbón, can only be explained through the interrelation and dialogue of both theoretical frameworks. Although their persistent differences in the conception of space may seem irreconcilable, their juxtaposition is essential to fully understand GIs in their multifaceted complexity, as elaborated particularly in the article "Pementos". Both approaches are, therefore, consistent in their processual understanding of GIs; equally, they coincide to interpret the territorial link established in GIs as a social construction shaped by the interests of the actors involved. Systematically, these theoretical perspectives converge on the following key issues:

- Firstly, both are processual approaches, focusing on the dynamics of quality construction and differentiation in agricultural productions. In this sense, they emphasize the agency of the actors leading these processes, particularly in attributing geographical characteristics to the products. Thus, both Anglophone and Francophone theories offer a constructivist perspective useful for analyzing the assignment of meanings to core GI concepts such as quality and scale.

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- Secondly, while cultural and institutional issues were initially more prominent in Francophone literature, an increasing number of Anglophone authors have incorporated them into the analysis of agricultural productions like GIs (Sonnino and Marsden, 2006; Bowen, 2011). For instance, they recognize that GIs are always influenced by their recognition within culturally conditioned markets (Trubek, 2008; Unwin, 2022). Therefore, both approaches acknowledge the influence of cultural and institutional factors on these processes.
- Finally, both the AFN and SYAL perspectives are relational. The former is so through the concept of vertical embeddedness advanced by Sonnino and Marsden (2006). The latter, although limiting the scope of relational analysis to more place-specific contexts, also offers a relational approach to uncover the interaction of factors within them. This relational perspective is thus crucial for understanding the complexity of GI construction and management processes, as it allows for the analysis of how multiple factors, at different scales, converge and interact within a given territorial context (Bowen, 2011; Demossier, 2011; Sonnino, 2013; Mckiterick, 2016). In this way, it facilitates asessing the scope and the potential benefits of a given GI, as well as the study of multiscalar governance dynamics within it (Sonnino and Marsden, 2006; Frayssignes, 2007; Sylvander and Barham, 2011).

At this juncture, it is pertinent to highlight the relevance of the geographical though for the analysis of GIs, as proposed in the first hypothesis. This thesis has demonstrated the importance of applying concepts and ideas, commonly used in the field of Geography, such as "scale" and "region", but loosely explored in GI studies, to gain a deeper comprehension of these productions. Specific contributions on scale were made in subsection 5.2, thus they do not need to be reiterated here.

Under these lenses, GIs can be interpreted from different angles. On the one hand, they represent fixed spaces, similar to how regions are understood in traditional regional geography (García-Álvarez, 2006); this is so because, to be individualized and controlled, they need to be precisely defined and spatially delimited with appropriate and relatively stable boundaries. On the other hand, GIs are also mutable and diffuse geographies, because their valorization and effects occur in a relational space — as advocated by the New Regional Geography, and even more so by the New New Regional Geography — thus being co-produced at multiple scales (Paül et al., 2021). Some of these scales, such as the regulatory contexts enabling the very existence of GIs, are more stable, while others, like the markets — ranging from local to international — are more fluid.

In summary, the various articles comprising this thesis have demonstrated the profound applicability of Geography for:

- critically evaluating the processes of scale and/or *terroir* construction in GIs;
- investigating the connections between the spatial delimitation of GIs and the political and administrative realities affecting them;
- analysing the scope of the effects of GIs beyond agricultural productions: considering their socioeconomic, cultural, and environmental externalities within the territories they integrate; and deepening the understanding of the governance dynamics within GIs.

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Ultimately, the various theoretical tools mobilized in this thesis enabled to develop a critical approach to the processes governing GIs. This line of work is suitable to be extended in future research beyond GIs themselves to comparable cases. For instance, these tools could be applied to the critical analysis of other agricultural productions with some form of geographically linked quality certification — such as Fair Trade labels and organic certifications — as well as to the sustainability assessments of certain (re)territorialised agri-food systems.

6.2 Practical conclusions in relation to hyphoteses three to five

Through the analysis of up to 12 different GIs, this research has demonstrated the capacity of these figures to convey various benefits that can be associated with the concept of rural development, as proposed in hypothesis 3. However, as extensively discussed in subsection 5.4, the extent to which these benefits are achieved depends on a series of circumstances (such as environmental, economic, and cultural factors, markets, regulations, etc.) specific to the areas where they are implemented. Moreover, thanks to the qualitative techniques deployed, the importance of actors' perceptions in determining the success or failure of GIs was recognised. Indeed, the perceived usefulness attributed by stakeholders is a key factor explaining their decision to participate or not in these schemes. Similarly, these techniques allowed us to observe how the organization of stakeholders and their interactions with each other and with the space can either extend or concentrate the potential benefits of these figures. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that GIs are not a universal formula for promoting rural development.

Despite the diversity observed among the analysed case studies, a series of general and practical conclusions can be drawn from their collective assessment. The principal finding to highlight is that the approval of a given GI may never, by itself, guarantee significant benefits for the specific area in which it is established. Its effectiveness does not solely depend on the intrinsic qualities of the certified product, nor on their institutional recognition through an origin-protection label. Rather, its effectiveness is contingent on factors such as the institutional system that regulates these figures, its integration into value chains, and their recognition in culturally and politically conditioned markets. Above all, the long-term sustainability of GIs depends on the willingness and commitment of the actors that may be involved making use of these schemes. Thus, while many agrifood products, having qualities tied to specific places, hold the potential to become GIs, it is not advisable to grant GIs for them solely as an official recognition of their differential quality. Quite the opposite, the establishment of GIs should always be based on the actual needs and interests of the actors who would potentially use them, while addressing solutions to the specific challenges they may face.

Regarding hypothesis 4 — and acknowledging the benefits that particular GIs can attain are highly variable — this research confirms that these figures can be particularly useful for small-scale productions. This is so because they can provide benefits in terms of heritage valorisation, promotion, and/or economic opportunities, such as accessing new markets. However, in economically lagging regions, where many of these small GIs are concentrated, there can be significant difficulties in generating positive effects due to their limited economic scale and/or the structural conditions of the regions where they are applied. For example, while the Queixo do Cebreiro GI generates positive effects, its viability is compromised by the region's limited human capital. This situation hinders the generation of economies of scale, for instance, to share the costs of crucial activities such as advertising campaigns. Thus, the analysis of the selected case studies shows that GIs may function better in non-peripheral areas, in spaces with consolidated productions, and

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where there is sufficient human and social capital. In regions with less favorable conditions, in contrast, the opposite scenario may occur.

In these latter cases, we find thus an apparent paradox. On the one hand, political and economic support is needed to maintain these figures in less developed contexts — ironically, in those where GIs are often presented as a benchmark for rural development. On the other hand, the neoliberal logic that rejects the provision of such support condemn these "rural development" initiatives to compete between them. Indeed, the development model based on the geographical-origin differentiation of foods reveals certain limitations. By subjecting agri-food products to a market strategy that emphasizes their uniqueness and distinctive attributes, there is a risk of oversaturating markets with geographically differentiated products, thus trivializing the distinctive value that a GI is meant to confer.

Ultimately, this paradox backs to a political decision: do we want GIs to rely exclusively on their ability to sustain themselves in the market or are we willing to provide economic support to maintain these productions? We consider this decision should be approached on a case-by-case basis to judge in which cases subsidies are needed for the control activities of Regulatory Councils and/or promotional efforts. Be that as it may, based on the accumulated experience, it is not advisable to support a large number of marginal productions with no real development prospects as an end in itself; nor merely as a propaganda operation for certain administrations or development agencies to showcase their commitment to rural areas. Rather, those to be prioritised should be the agri-food productions with motivated and capable producers; those that have the potential for long-term sustainability and can genuinely contribute to rural development.

Before closing this series of final conclusions, it remains to address the hypothesis 5, consisting on the presumed need for producer organizations to ensure the fair and effective management of GIs. This hypothesis finds extensive support in the various articles that comprise this research, as well as in Section 5.5, which need not be reiterated here. It is only necessary to add that producer organizations also serve to legitimize GIs as more than goods reserved for a few companies (Sylvander et al., 2011).

For all the issues having discussed, it is important to note that the European GI framework — replicated in countries such as Peru and Ecuador — is technically applicable to other global contexts. On the one hand, this framework normatively develops the notion of origin, a concept present not only in Mediterranean countries (Parrott et al., 2002; Fonte, 2008) but also present in culturally distant contexts such as the Andean countries. On the other hand, it regulates producer organizations as key elements for sustaining and managing GIs. Therefore, the applicability of the GI system depends less on the regulatory framework itself, and more on a series of issues related to the location of protected productions and their access to markets and diverse resources. These issues, as discussed, can similarly affect some European GIs with few producers and/or located in isolated regions.

Finally, drawing on all the lessons learned throughout this research, it is worth briefly suggesting a series of recommendations that could be considered for the correct implementation, creation, and management of GIs from a policy perspective:

1. GIs should always depart from the needs of the producers identified as potential beneficiaries. If they do not align with the motivations and strategies of the operators intended to use them, they are unlikely to be accepted as useful tools.

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2. When evaluating the possibility of establishing a new GI, it is crucial to engage motivated producers willing to focus their activity on this figure. It is important in this sense to assess whether the potential beneficiaries may have a professional development project and a sufficient production volume to make certifying their production under the GI worthwhile.
3. Training sessions and briefings should be conducted to educate producers on the real capabilities and potential benefits they can expect from GIs. Similarly, the potential benefits of producer collaboration in improving competitiveness, innovation, and marketing capacity should be emphasized in these sessions.
4. Formal producer organizations, such as Regulatory Councils are — as recently recognized by EU Regulation 2024/1143 — essential entities for facilitating producers' internal organization and favouring control and marketing tasks, while also enabling appropriate governance.
5. Within the EU framework, GIs could benefit from greater integration with the various cohesion policies of the communitary club. This may be the case of different funds available for the proposed productive transformations in the European Green Deal — bypassing the need for intermediary structures such as Local Action Groups/Rural Development Groups linked to LEADER — or of the Interreg program for cross-border GIs specifically.
6. The spatial delimitation of a GI should primarily be based on the area from which the product's perceived reputation originates. In this sense, the definition of a GI area should not not only include measurements of an allegedly neutral *terroir*, but also the consumers' perceptions of the product's spatial links.
7. Also, when defining the territorial scope of a GI, it is essential to consider the perceptions of the producers from the area where the product is considered to be distinctive. Thus, it is necessary to seek a balance between preserving the idiosyncrasy of the food production and expanding its economic possibilities. In some cases, a small extension may be preferable so that the activity of traditional producers' farms is not compromised by more profitable productions located outside the original area. In other cases, however, it may also be legitimate to establish a more geographically extensive GI to reach a greater number of producers, increase the volume of certified production, and/or facilitate marketing through economies of scale. In the case of conflicts, it should be noted that the foundations of GIs as territorial property rights should prevail over their role as vectors of rural development.
8. The value of GIs should not be estimated solely based on the number of producers they encompass, as there are regions where reaching a broad threshold of producers is difficult (mainly due to structural conditions such as their peripheral location, low demographics, etc.). In addition to that number, the value of a given GI should be considered based on its production volumes and its ability to attain diverse benefits in the areas where it is located.
9. It is important to consider the type and distance of the market to which a product is destined in order to assess whether it is worth certifying it as a GI or not. In general, for products sold locally or directly, GIs may not be necessary. In turn, for products marketed in global niche markets (and especially those from the Global South, such as coffee or cocoa, where there are numerous intermediaries), GIs may neither represent the most effective marketing strategy.
10. Due to their sensitivity and adaptability to specific contexts, as well as considering their capacity to favour innovation, GIs should be at the forefront — not as a mere option — of the transitions towards more sustainable and fairer agri-food systems.

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6.3 Limitations and future research directions

To conclude this dissertation, I must highlight a series of considerations regarding the limitations faces, as well as acknowledging the potential avenues it opens for future research. First and foremost, it is necessary to recognise, as one of the most evident methodological limitations, the fact that some of the interviews were not conducted in the native language of either the interviewees or the interviewer. This circumstance might have reduced the richness with which ideas could have been expressed in their original languages. Specifically, such situations arose in the cases of Tolminc and Istra, where many conversations took place in English.

Nevertheless, the main limitation of this research lies in the inconsistency in the use of alternative sources of information beyond the semi-structured interviews. Generally, the central methodological approach of this doctoral dissertation was supplemented with textual analysis of written sources, as highlighted in section 3. However, it was not always possible to gather the same volume of textual information across all cases due to the lack of available documentation and/or the difficulties in accessing internal records and other texts produced during the implementation of these GIs in countries such as Slovenia and Ecuador.

A similar issue arose with quantitative data. In the initial research project submitted for the FPU contract application, the use of statistical data on production volumes and revenues of the companies involved in each GI was considered. However, as the research progressed, this idea was abandoned because the necessary data sources were rarely accessible. In the Galician cases, economic data on GIs are compiled by AGACAL, but such databases are uncommon, and there were no equivalents for cases such as Slovenian Tolminc cheese or Peruvian Villa Rica coffee.

Had quantitative sources been employed, they would have provided distinct insights for a more detailed portrait of the functioning of the studied GIs. For instance, in the cases of Tolminc or Cebreiro, data on the evolution of production volumes, revenue generated, and/or stakeholder opinions gathered through *ad hoc* surveys at different stages of the supply chain could potentially have contradicted the qualitative findings of this research. This was the case with Herbón peppers, which, according to economic data, have experienced certain stagnation in recent years — as addressed in the master's thesis of the author (Boga, 2020) — but not within the scope of this dissertation or in the article "Pementos" included herein.

Por outra banda, un interrogante chave que considero que non se deu respondido con esta investigación é que acontecería se unha IX dada non se chegase a aprobar. De entrada, trátase dun escenario imposible nesta tese, porque a propia pescuda se baseou en estudar IX vixentes. Moitas das persoas entrevistadas non dubidaron en afirmar que «sería moito peor». Neste senso, cómpre sinalar a posibilidade de desenvolver unha liña de traballo futura na que se recolla, mediante a integración de técnicas cualitativas e cuantitativas, a evolución de todas as IX galegas para determinarmos o impacto destes selos sobre as producións que certifican. Isto sería posible grazas á abondosa información económica recollida pola AGACAL, como xa se indicou, así como pola proximidade do autor coas IX do territorio galego para desenvolver as técnicas cualitativas e cuantitativas nelas. Asemade, a amplitude de fontes económicas sobre outros produtos equiparables, mais sen IX, permitiría comparar as traxectorias dunha produción «con» e outra «sen» IX para determinar o impacto real deste tipo de instrumentos.

Another key question that remains unanswered in this research is what would happen if a given GI had not been approved. This scenario was excluded from the study since the research focused exclusively on existing GIs. Yet, many interviewees did not hesitate to affirm that "it would be much worse" in relation to this scenario. In this regard, a potential

future research direction could consider integrating qualitative and quantitative techniques to analyse the evolution of all Galician GIs. In so doing, it would be able to determine the impact of these designations on the productions being recognised. This study would be feasible due to the extensive economic data collected by AGACAL — as mentioned earlier — as well as thanks to the author's proximity to Galician GIs, which would facilitate the deployment of qualitative and quantitative methods. Furthermore, the availability of economic data on equivalent products without GIs would allow for a comparative analysis between productions "with" and "without" GI certification to assess the real impact of such instruments.

Another limitation related to the initial research plan was the decision not to include more Galician cases. The opportunity to investigate a wide range of international experiences led to a reduction in the number of Galician cases studied, being these limited to the Herbón peppers and Cebreiro cheese analysis. Consequently, it was not possible to draw general conclusions for Galicia, as initially intended. Nevertheless, conducting a comprehensive analysis of Galician GIs would be highly relevant to understanding how such designations function as a unified policy at the scale of a given political region. Future research could incorporate the design of questionnaires — one for producers and another for consumers — to contrast their results with those derived from the interviews, thereby expanding the scope of the analysis and achieving more extensive and plural insights.

Regarding future directions, this dissertation also envisions the dissemination of its findings, alongside additional cases investigated by other scholars, in a book (in a format similar to that produced by Vandecandelaere et al., 2018). Another possibility would include the creation of a web atlas making information on GIs broadly accessible and, by so doing, acknowledging the various resources, people, places and geographies that lie behind these designations. Such a proposal would also contribute to demonstrating the potential of Geography as a discipline for analyzing GIs. Finally, as mentioned at the end of sub-section 6.1, the systematic application of the geographical concepts mobilised in this dissertation for GI analysis enables for the extension of a critical perspective to other "(re)territorialized" agricultural productions beyond those that explicitly reference Geography in their name.

Only time will determine whether the prospective research directions outlined here will materialise in the future. For now, the journey that began five years ago comes to an end right here. With these pages, I hope to have made a modest contribution to advancing in the critical *geographical* approaches to the study of *Geographical* Indications for agri-food products. As I believe to have demonstrated, the duplication of "*geographical*" is by no means trivial: epistemologically, the knowledge on GIs is significantly enriched through a deep, comprehensive, and deliberate *geographical* perspective; ontologically, I believe I have showed that the *geographical* identity of *Geographical* Indications is not as self-evident as it might initially seem.

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As Indicacións Xeográ icas (IX) multiplicáronse nos últimos anos en todo o mundo como ferramentas capaces de contribuír ao desenvolvemento rural. No entanto, a maior parte das investigacións en Ciencias Sociais e Humanas que analizan os xeitos nos que unha IX poden resultar bene iciosas non soen reparar no feito xeográ ico deste tipo de instrumentos. A presente tese resitúa as IX dentro do marco analítico-teórico da Xeografía mediante a lectura cualitativa de doce iguras deste tipo arredor do mundo. Deste xeito, ofrece unha mirada crítica e sistemática aos procesos de construción e de xestión que determinan a capacidade destes instrumentos para satisfacer as necesidades pretendidas co seu establecemento.