

PART II:

FOOD AND FOODWAYS AS HERITAGE-  
MAKING: LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES  
AND TOURISM



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## REGIONAL FOOD AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

### Discourse on the Potential of Regional Food Campaigns

#### ABSTRACT

German consumers have great confidence in regional food, fostered by marketing campaigns and also by governments. The aim of this paper is to analyse governmental regional campaigns in order to show how the term ‘cultural heritage’ is used as part of embedded food systems and that it has the potential to create ethnic identities in heterogeneous societies.

#### INTRODUCTION

German consumers<sup>1</sup> have great confidence in regional food.<sup>2</sup> This food trend – as well as (inter-)national food strategies aimed at providing an improved and a more sustainable way of eating – has been promoted by regional marketing policies for more than two decades.<sup>3</sup> Regionality in food production also acts as a concept for

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1 Reference to this study: Silke Bartsch: Regional Food and Ethnic Identity: Discourse on the Potential of Regional Food Campaigns. In Anikó Băti and Patricia Lysaght (eds.): *Living Eating Habits, Revitalized Foodways and the Concepts of Tradition and Food Heritage*. Budapest: ELTE RCH Institute of Ethnology – Museum of Ethnography, 2025. pp. 163–176.

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2 VZBV (Verbraucherzentrale Bundesverband), 2022 ‘*Verbrauchererwartungen bei regionalen Lebensmitteln und Herkunftsangaben*’ (‘Consumer expectations for regional foods and indications of origin’). <[https://www.vzbv.de/sites/default/files/2022-03/22-03\\_02\\_Onlinebefragung\\_Regionale%20Lebensmittel.pdf](https://www.vzbv.de/sites/default/files/2022-03/22-03_02_Onlinebefragung_Regionale%20Lebensmittel.pdf)> accessed 15 June 2024; Moller, Björn – Voglhuber-Slavinsky, Ariane – Dönitz, Ewam and Aaron, Rosa: *50 trends influencing Europe’s food sector by 2035* (Karlsruhe: Institute for Systems and Innovation Research ISI, 2019).

3 Dorandt, Stephanie: *Analyse des Konsumenten- und Anbieterverhaltens am Beispiel von regionalen Lebensmitteln: Empirische Studie zur Förderung des Konsumenten-Anbieter-Dialogs* (‘Analysis of consumer and supplier behaviour using the example of regional foods: Empirical study to promote consumer-provider dialogue’) (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac, 2004).; Bartsch, Silke and Feigl, Eva: ‘Regional essen in Karlsruhe. Ein konstruiertes Fallbeispiel’ (‘Eating regionally in Karlsruhe. A constructed case study’), *Ernährung im Fokus* 17/5–6 (2017), 172–176.; BMEL (Bundesministerium

food security at a time of increasing international crises of various kinds and degrees of severity.

In Germany, there is a large number of regional campaigns being carried out by the ministries in the different federal states that also aim to encourage the purchase of regional food. 'Region', in this context, is not clearly defined and while the borders of the federal states are often not the same as the borders of the regions, nevertheless, these strategies (re-)create a feeling of ethnic group identity.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, the aim of this study is to analyse governmental regional campaigns having regard to the following research questions: (1) 'Is food to be understood as "cultural heritage" in terms of Di Giovine and Brulotte's definition?'<sup>5</sup> and (2) 'How is a common identity to be (re-)created with (increasingly) heterogeneous social structures?'

The paper is structured as follows. Initially, the terms and concepts used in the discussion are introduced. Then, the methodological approach, including the samples featured in the study, is described. The results and interpretation are structured according to the research questions in order to conclude by discussing the potential of the campaigns for the re-interpretation of regional identity for heterogeneous societies.

## REGIONAL FOOD

In Germany, regional food has been very popular for more than two decades, even more so than organic food, although there is no definition of 'regional food' to be found in the country's consumer law.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the expectations that people, especially household consumers, have about regional food are interesting. These

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für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft), *Gutes Essen für Deutschland. Ernährungsstrategie der Bundesregierung* ('Good food for Germany. Food strategy of the Federal Government') (Berlin: BMEL, 2024).

4 Di Giovine, Michael. A. and Brulotte, Ronda L.: 'Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage', in Brulotte, Ronda L. and Di Giovine, Michael A. eds.: *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 1–27.

5 Di Giovine and Brulotte: 'Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage', 1–27.

6 Dorandt, Stephanie: 'Shopping behaviour of private households towards regional food', in Butijn, C.A.A. – Groot-Marcus, J.P. – van der Linden, M. – Steenbekkers, L.P.A. and Terpstra, P.M.J. eds.: *Changes at the other end of the chain. Everyday consumption in a multidisciplinary perspective* (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2002), 327–338; BMEL 'Regionale Lebensmittel - transparent gekennzeichnet eine gute Wahl' ('Regional food - a good choice when labelled transparently'). <<https://www.bmel.de/DE/themen/ernaehrung/lebensmittel-kennzeichnung/freiwillige-angaben-und-label/kennzeichnung-regionale-lebensmittel.html>> accessed 28 August 2024; EU-Verordnung Nr. 1169/2011.

include ideas about the quality of the food – that it is fresher and healthier than food produced elsewhere or by other means – and that it involves providing support for local farm producers.<sup>7</sup> In general, regions are characterised by their inhabitants, who maintain close cultural, linguistic or economic ties to each other. Examples of such regions are: Rhine-Main area, Allgaeu, and the Black Forest.

## ALTERNATIVE FOOD SYSTEMS AND THE CONCEPT OF EMBEDDED ECONOMY

Since the Second World War, the ‘industrial food system’ has been increasingly based on the ‘green revolution’ and is part of the global market. This system optimises earnings and separates people from the origin of their food. This alienation has led to the devaluation of, and less trust in food, as well as to global health problems, especially with regard to overeating and malnutrition. This system is termed the ‘dis-embedded economy’, because cultural, social, regional, and ecological bonding and contexts are no longer connected and co-operating in the territories.<sup>8</sup> This led in the 1990s to the so-called Alternative Food Systems as counter models – one of the best known of these is ‘Slow Food’ founded in Italy in 1986. For the consumer, this movement, in stressing appreciation of ‘good food’ and trust in the quality of food as part of a ‘healthy’ diet, emphasised that the food in question was that produced via short value chains and local craftsmanship.<sup>9</sup>

‘Alternative Food System’ is a theoretical framework for scientific, practical and political purposes. It uses the ‘concept of embeddedness’,<sup>10</sup> since this ‘Alternative Food System’ is considered an ‘embedded economy’ if it relies on locally-operating agricultural producers and processing companies that are oriented towards cultural traditions and which operate according to ecological standards and recognise regional borders.<sup>11</sup>

7 Herfurth, Paul – Boduch, Andrina and Bartsch, Silke: ‘Regional ist besser? Komplexität der Ernährungssysteme und Grenzen der Komplexitätsreduktion’ (‘Regional is better? Complexity of food systems and the limits of complexity reduction’), *Haushalt in Bildung & Forschung* 2 (2024), 99–116.

8 Barlösius, Eva: *Soziologie des Essens* (‘Sociology of eating’) (Weinheim, Basel: Beltz Juventa, 2016, 3rd edn.), 303ff.

9 Barlösius: *Soziologie des Essens*, 306; Herfurth, Boduch and Bartsch, ‘Regional ist besser?’, 99–116.

10 Barlösius: *Soziologie des Essens*, 305; Polanyi, Karl: *The Great Transformation* (New York: Rinehart, 1944).

11 Barlösius: *Soziologie des Essens*, 306.

## CULTURAL HERITAGE

The term *heritage* was created in France and Britain in former times with the idea of paying more attention to the idea of culture and to alert people to beware of just material goods in looking to the future. It was thus not limited to food.<sup>12</sup> The focus, in the context of this contribution, however, is ‘the ways in which the cultivation, preparation, and consumption of food is used to create identity claims of “cultural heritage” on local, regional, national and international scales.’<sup>13</sup> It deals especially with ‘how food is used to mark insiders and outsiders’ and, ‘how traditions are “invented” for the economic and social revitalization of communities.’<sup>14</sup> In this way, the constructed discourse on *cultural heritage* is more interesting than the limited view just focusing on goods and practices in order to discuss ‘regional identity’ in heterogeneous societies. In the context of food and ethnic identity, the point of interest is, ‘how food, conceptualized as marker of heritage, creates and reinforces ethnic group identity in increasingly multicultural milieux.’<sup>15</sup> Therefore, the information texts of the regional campaigns discussed in this paper, are used ‘to see how food is used to represent and distinguish a particular outsider group or people, often through discourses of heritage and tradition.’<sup>16</sup>

## METHODS, SAMPLE OF REGIONAL CAMPAIGNS AND LIMITATION

With the use of systematic internet research and selective enquiries to the ministries of the various federal states, the question of which campaign(s) existed in which federal state, and which could be used for analysis in this study, was investigated.

In Germany there are 16 federal states in total. Nine of these have regional campaigns or strategies, while six are involved with regional labelling (Fig. 1.). Some of them, like Baden-Wuerttemberg (BW), North Rhine-Westphalia (NW) and Saxony (SN), have both. For the purposes of this study, the objectives, concepts, and food selection, and the campaigns or strategies of the above-mentioned nine federal states, were selected (Table 1.). The information on the opening homepage of each ministry was chosen for this purpose.

12 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction. Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 1.

13 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction. Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 2.

14 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction. Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 2.

15 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction. Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 3.

16 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction. Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 4.

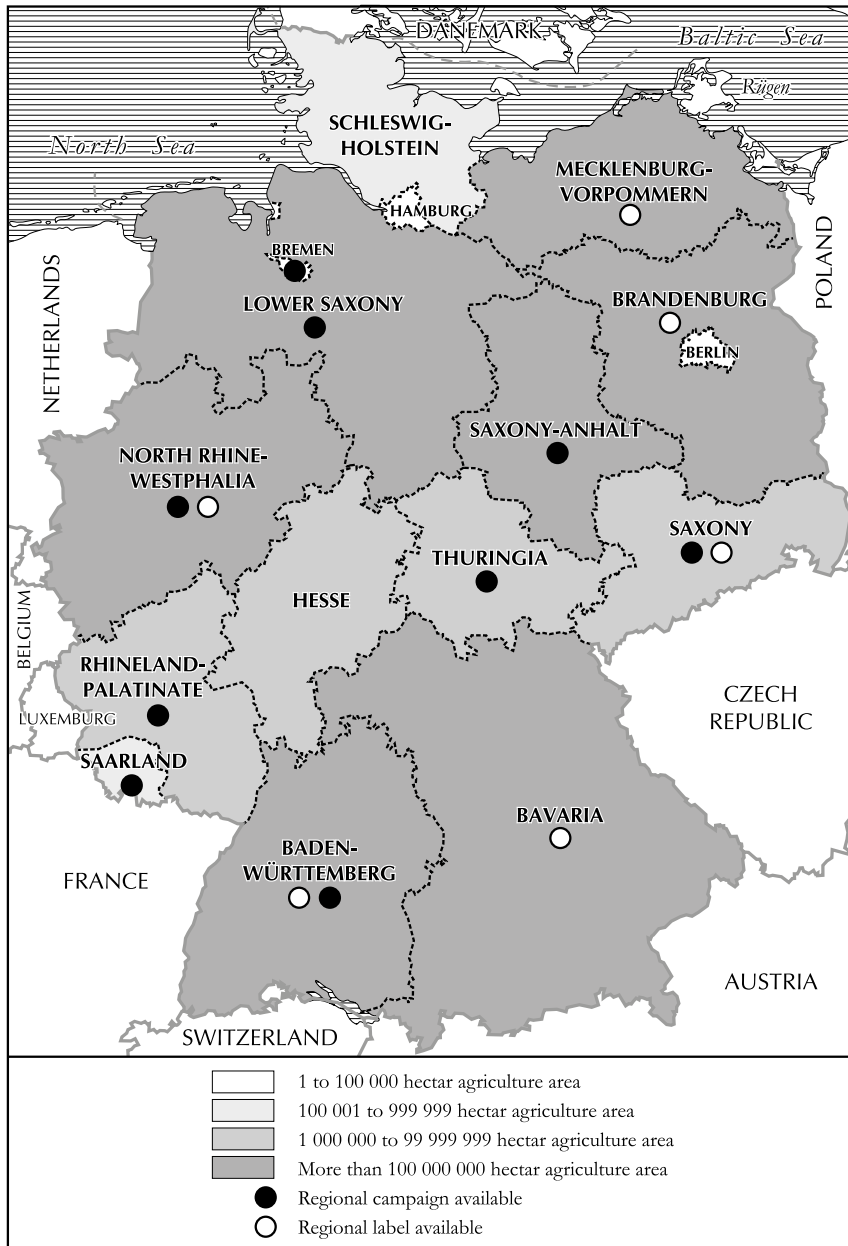


Fig. 1. Regional campaigns in the federal states (Germany)<sup>17</sup>. Map by Béla Nagy

17 Source of the size of the agriculture area: Statistisches Bundesamt. <<https://regionalatlas.statistikportal.de>> accessed 8 July 2024.

Federal State with Regional Campaigns	Abbrev.	Original Name or slogan of the regional campaigns in the Federal States of Germany <i>Translation by the author</i>
Baden-Württemberg <i>Baden-Wuerttemberg</i>	BW	<b>Regionalkampagne: 'Natürlich. VON DAHEIM'</b> <sup>18</sup> <i>Regional Campaign: 'Naturally. From Home'</i>
Bremen <i>Bremen</i>	HB	<b>Kampagne: 'Kauf da ein wo's herkommt'</b> <sup>19</sup> <i>Campaign: 'Buy there, where it comes from'</i>
Niedersachsen <i>Lower Saxony</i>	NI	<b>Regionalitätsstrategie für Lebensmittel aus Niedersachsen</b> <sup>20</sup> <i>Regional strategy for food from Lower Saxony</i>
Nordrhein-Westfalen [NRW] <i>North Rhine-Westphalia</i>	NW	<b>Kampagne: 'Total lokal – die 100% NRW-Ernährung'</b> <sup>21</sup> <i>Campaign: 'Totally local – the 100% NRW diet'</i> [North Rhine-Westphalia diet]
Rheinland-Pfalz <i>Rhineland-Palatinate</i>	RP	<b>Kampagne: 'Rheinland-Pfalz Gold'</b> <sup>22</sup> <i>Campaign: 'Golden Rhineland-Palatinate'</i>
Saarland <i>Saarland</i>	SL	<b>Genuss Region Saarland: 'Heimat auf dem Teller'</b> <sup>23</sup> <i>Eating pleasure in the region of Saarland: 'Home country of on the plate'</i>
Sachsen <i>Saxony</i>	SN	<b>Strategie: Regionale Wertschöpfung Freistaat Sachsen 2023</b> <sup>24</sup> <i>Strategy: Regional food value chain of the Free State of Saxony 2023</i>
Sachsen-Anhalt <i>Saxony-Anhalt</i> <sup>25</sup>	ST	<b>Beispiel: Regionalkiste Genussvielfalt Anhalt-Bitterfeld</b> <sup>26</sup> <i>Example: Regional box of Anhalt-Bitterfeld's variety of delights</i>
Thüringen <i>Thüringen</i>	TH	<b>'Meine Region – Regional kann mehr'</b> <sup>27</sup> <i>'My region – regional can do more'</i>

Table 1. Names or slogans of the regional campaigns (Germany)

18 <<https://vondaheim.de/,Lde/Startseite>> accessed 12 September 2024.

19 <<https://regional-leben.de/kauf-da-ein-wo-es-herkommt/>> accessed 12 September 2024.

20 <[https://www.ernaehrungsstrategie-niedersachsen.de/datenbank/51\\_Landesdialog\\_Regionalitaetsstrategie\\_fuer\\_Lebensmittel\\_aus\\_Niedersachsen](https://www.ernaehrungsstrategie-niedersachsen.de/datenbank/51_Landesdialog_Regionalitaetsstrategie_fuer_Lebensmittel_aus_Niedersachsen)> accessed 12 September 2024.

21 <<https://www.landservice.de/magazin/kampagne-total-lokal>> accessed 12 September 2024.

22 <<https://gold.rlp.de/kampagne>> accessed 12 September 2024.

23 <<https://www.urlaub.saarland/Reisethemen/Genussder-in-Erinnerung-bleibt>> accessed 12 September 2024.

24 <<https://publikationen.sachsen.de/bdb/artikel/41494/lesen>> accessed 12 September 2024.

25 This organisation differs from the others as it is organised on a decentralised basis.

26 <<https://amg.sachsen-anhalt.de/landwirtschaft/regionalisten-und-siegel/regionalisten/genussvielfalt-anhalt-bitterfeld>> accessed 12 September 2024.

27 <<https://regionalschmecken.de/>> accessed 12 September 2024.

The texts of the nine selected campaigns (Table 1.) on the ministries' homepages are analysed in terms of content.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, two independent research persons examined, among other things, the objectives of the campaigns and the benefits of, and the reasons for, the campaigns in question, as cited and emphasised in the homepages reviewed. The results were discussed by the author and the two student assistants, and finally evaluated by the author on this basis. The pictures on the homepages were not analysed because not all of them are authentic, e.g. the source was a commercial database of pictures. This explorative study describes the text on the starting/opening homepage of the chosen campaigns, without analysing all the materials, actions, and so on, of the whole campaigns in question. For the first research question raised, this exploration is sufficient to obtain initial results and to provide indications for further studies. For the second research question, online-materials of the campaign of Baden-Wuerttemberg (BW) were additionally analysed.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Regional campaigns as part of embedded economic systems

All the homepages of the nine federal states that were examined set out the aims of the campaigns – to promote the regional marketing of food in general. The texts of these homepages mention certain foods such as vegetables, meat or wine, or show examples of these in pictures, while some states actually name dishes – such as *Schwäbische Maultaschen*<sup>29</sup> – or share recipes. Apart from Rhineland-Palatinate (where wine is highlighted), no food is particularly emphasised, although the messages are very clear:

‘Wir wollen diese Entwicklung [zu mehr qualitativ hochwertigen regionalen Produkten], und damit den Trend hin zu regionalen Absatzmärkten, mit unserer Kampagne unterstützen.’<sup>30</sup>

28 Baur, Nina, and Jörg Blasius, eds., *Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung* ('Handbook of empirical social research methods') (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2022, 3rd ed.).

29 It is a kind of Swabian dumpling which is well-known in the region.

30 'We want to support this development [towards more high-quality regional products], and thus the trend towards regional sales markets, with our campaign'; translated by the author. <<https://vondaheim.de/Lde/Startseite/Kampagne>> accessed 25 August 2024.

‘Wer regional kauft, der hilft mit, unsere Heimat zu erhalten und unterstützt aktiv Landwirte aus der Region.’<sup>31</sup>

‘...sondern leisten auch einen wertvollen Beitrag für die regionale Wirtschaft und die Umwelt.’<sup>32</sup>

All the campaigns are marketing campaigns and embedded in (regional) economic systems.<sup>33</sup> A first screening of campaign names or slogans (Table 1.) indicated the kind of added-value that was used for marketing purposes: *natural* (BW), *country of home / homeland* (BW, SL), and the *concept of local* (HB, NI, NW, RP). This latter concept is linked to the idea that each campaign that is ‘local’ is, or can be, better than the others. For example, the Rhineland-Palatinate campaign states that the region of that federal state is ‘golden’, and the meaning of the slogan in Thüringen is: ‘My region can do better’ (cf. Table 1.).

### Regional campaigns and the concept of terroir

The campaigns focus on food production. Therefore, authenticity and foodstuff are associated with terrain – the place of production, cultivation and consumption.<sup>34</sup>

One of Di Giovine’s informants, quoted in his chapter in this volume, explains that while Italy faces real competition by China in replicating its leatherwear and other goods at lower costs, Italy’s alimentary products – wine, cheese, meats and vegetables – cannot be reproduced because they are cultivated in the unique terrain and climate that simply cannot simply be replicated elsewhere.<sup>35</sup>

The slogan ‘*Totally local – 100% NRW nutrition*’ is related to the identity concept via nutrition (‘You are, what you eat’ [Ludwig A. Feuerbach]<sup>36</sup>). This is similar to the

31 ‘Buying local supports the preservation of our home country/homeland and actively supports farmers in the region’; translated by the author. <<https://mlr.baden-wuerttemberg.de/de/unsere-themen/landwirtschaft/regionale-landwirtschaft/kampagne-natuerlich-von-daheim>> accessed 25 August 2024.

32 ‘...but also make a valuable contribution to the regional economy and the environment’; translated by the author. <<https://regionalschmecken.de>> accessed 25 August 2024.

33 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 2f.; Bendix, Regina F.: ‘Daily Bread, Global Distinction? The German Bakers’ Craft and Cultural Value-Enhancement Regimes’, in Brulotte, Ronda L. and Di Giovine, Michael A. eds.: *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural heritage* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 185–200.

34 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 7.

35 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 7.

36 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 5, references Donna Gabaccia: *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Foods and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), also in this context. The proverb is well-known in the German-speaking countries – and is double-bounded in the cultural and physical sense.

concept of home (BW ‘from home’; SL ‘country of home on the plate’). It refers to the dual nature of the human being.<sup>37</sup> This means that, on the one hand, food is a physiologically necessary component of the body, while, on the other hand, taste is a marker for insiders or outsiders in eating cultures.<sup>38</sup> Most of the campaigns share traditional recipes, or promotions for regional superfoods within the traditional cultures. Also, the essence of consumption is highlighted in many of the campaigns – for example: ‘Im Saarland genießt man, wie es sich für ein Fleckchen Erde im Herzen Europas gehört.’<sup>39</sup> The unique (regional) taste and pleasure of eating (‘Genuss’) is linked to regional craftsmanship, quality, and trust. It is in this way that territorialisation and localisation, as part of an ‘Alternative Food System’, is to be achieved.

At first the campaigns look like a simple marketing strategy; and perhaps they are. Thus, these campaigns focus on the production of food in the areas of their federal states, which usually cover several regions. However, these regions are not necessarily only on the territory of one federal state – e.g. Allgaeu belongs to the federal states of Baden-Wuerttemberg and Bavaria. Regions like Allgaeu or the Black Forest usually have their own cultural identities. Thus, the term ‘regional food’ seems unsuitable for regional marketing purposes at first glance because the borders of the regions are not identical with the borders of the federal states. However, the concept of ‘Alternative Food Systems’ can dissolve the contradiction between regional borders and federal borders. ‘Territorialisation’ and ‘localisation’ are the main processes in the re-integration of the agri-business into social and cultural structures, with the goal to be ‘embedded’. ‘Localisation’ has no direct area reference – unlike ‘territorialisation.’<sup>40</sup>

To summarise, all the campaigns in the federal states are dealing with elements of an ‘Alternative Food System’ reflecting (1) a natural or ecological and traditional way of food production; (2) high quality of, and trust in, regional food, and (3) ethnic food markers in the ‘taste of home.’

37 Barlösius: *Soziologie des Essens*, 37ff.; Plessner, Helmuth, *Conditio Humana* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1983) (Gesammelte Schriften, Bd. VIII).

38 Di Giovine and Brulotte: ‘Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage’, 5.

39 ‘In the region of Saarland one can enjoy food as befits the heart of Europe’, translated by the author.

40 Barlösius: *Soziologie des Essens*, 306f.

## Re-creating common ethnic identity in regional food marketing

The widespread regional campaigns use more or less (German) terms such as 'Heimat' ['country of home' / 'homeland'] to address markers of heritage, thus creating and re-enforcing ethnic group identity.<sup>41</sup> The BW campaign, for example, is suitable for in-depth analysis, since it explicitly states that this is the case: 'Regional Campaign: "Naturally. From Home."' Thus, the regional campaign should make this clear and tangible – 'behind every food is a family, every product has its own story.'<sup>42</sup> In doing so, some of the campaigns rely on storytelling about the diversity of the regions – including their land, food, producers, and people, in order to (re)create a sense of home – possibly for migrants as well.

Taking the BW campaign as an example: there are 58 videos<sup>43</sup> about production companies (often manufactories) – for foodstuffs, such as bread and bakery products, eggs, vegetables, meat and sausages, milk and dairy products – with stories about the production of food over generations in the land of Baden-Wuerttemberg. The farmers and producers are depicted as being persons who ensure food security through their work and their craftsmanship. The focus is on the people as entrepreneurs or as the heads of food co-operatives who explain their relationship to the traditional production of their products, the integration into the nature of the region, the social benefits for the employees, and the high quality of the products (especially in terms of nature, freshness and health) for the consumers. The videos show that, and also depict how tradition is a guiding principle in the production of food, especially in manufactories. Thus, the manufactories preserve intangible cultural heritage for the use of the people living the region.

The campaigns show how a common identity can be (re-)created with the people in the regions. The stories in the videos are told from the perspective of the heads of the food-production enterprises and food co-operatives in the state of BW. However, the stories told by the storytellers include all of the others involved in food production

41 Di Giovine and Brulotte: 'Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage'.

42 Translated by the author ('Die Regionalkampagne soll deutlich und erlebbar machen – hinter jedem Lebensmittel steckt eine Familie, jedes Produkt hat seine Geschichte'). <<https://mlr.baden-wuerttemberg.de/de/unsere-themen/landwirtschaft/regionale-landwirtschaft/kampagne-natuerlich-von-daheim>> accessed 9 September 2024.

43 'Wir machen das' ('We do that'). <[https://vondaheim.de/Lde/Startseite/Wir+machen+das\\_](https://vondaheim.de/Lde/Startseite/Wir+machen+das_)>, and <<https://vondaheim.de/Lde/Startseite/Kampagne/Wir+versorgen+unser+Land>> accessed 8 August 2024.

in the region: the employees as well as the consumers and citizens. For example, the head of the dairy in the video say:<sup>44</sup>

Wir sind eine Aktiengesellschaft und gehören aber einer breiten Trägerschaft aus der Region dazu gehören also eben unseren Landwirten, unseren Mitarbeitern, Bürgern, [...], Kommunen und Verbänden, alle tragen quasi diese Existenz der Molkerei hier mit.<sup>45</sup>

But in each video, there is only one entrepreneur – whose family has lived in the BW region for generations – who tells his or her story. Other perspectives – such as those of consumers or employees or citizens – are much more heterogeneous, but they are not the storytellers in the videos. This means that groups such as immigrants do not have the possibility to tell their stories – to show what regional food means to them. On the other hand, the concept of the regional campaigns – to get the stories of the people and families – offers more opportunities for the involvement of such groups in the regions and also the possibility for showing the diversity of regions today. Nevertheless, each video does refer to the social impact of the campaigns on everybody in the villages and regions. On the individual level, consumers taste the region ('unique taste').<sup>46</sup> At least, the videos promote the traditional quality (taste, health, naturalness) of the region and the way in which rural tradition can have a sustainable future. In summary, the analysis has shown that food is used as heritage in the sense of Di Giovine and Brulotte.<sup>47</sup> Rural regions use their potential to preserve intangible cultural heritage and to offer 'edible identities' for all the people in the region.<sup>48</sup>

44 Dorfkäserei Geifertshofen, Bühlerzell. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xqdf6FTlug>> (Minute 1:14-bis 1:30) accessed 8 August 2024.

45 Dorfkäserei Geifertshofen, Bühlerzell, 2024. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xqdf6FTlug&list=PLCC4IbDiXOzRDaGSKfmcYIHPtR0mtDw&index=3>> (Minute 1:08) accessed 8 August 2024. 'We are a public limited company, but we are owned by a broad range of people from the region, including our farmers, our employees, citizens, [...], local authorities and associations, all of whom contribute to the dairy's existence here, so to speak.' (Translated by the author).

46 Dorfkäserei Geifertshofen, Bühlerzell, (Minute 1:08), accessed 8 August 2024.

47 Di Giovine and Brulotte: 'Introduction. Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage', 21.

48 Di Giovine and Brulotte: 'Introduction. Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage', 21; Höflechner, Thomas and Meyer, Jonas: 'Nachhaltigkeit und Regionen – Die Renaissance ländlicher Räume?' ('Sustainability and regions – The renaissance of rural areas?'), in Friedrich Zimmermann, ed., *Nachhaltigkeit wofür? Von Chancen und Herausforderungen für eine nachhaltige Zukunft* ('What is sustainability for? Opportunities and challenges for a sustainable future') (Berlin: Springer, 2016), 147–171.

## CONCLUSION

The marketing campaigns examined in this study deal with elements of tradition, sustainability, and trust in regional foodstuffs, as well as with a healthy diet. Finally, the results of the campaigns are all examples which can be attributed to the 'Alternative Food Systems' and are part of an embedded economy. As such, they are relevant to the question of what possibilities of identification they open up in societies with heterogeneous social structures. These campaigns show how a common identity can be (re-)created with the people in the regions. In the case of the BW campaign, it is the story told from the perspective of the heads of the enterprises and co-operatives in the land. Although, the stories include nearly all the people in the region such as employees and consumers, only the heads of the companies are storytellers. Therefore, the adoption of the campaign concept would offer more opportunities for the showing of the diversity of people and thus, also, the diversity of regional food identities. These results will inspire nutritional and consumer education to engage in a deeper form of dialogue about the concepts of 'regional' and 'seasonal' and to be part of a new culinary order.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Barlösius: *Soziologie des Essens*, 312.

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