Artisans of Authenticity: The Emergence and Growth of Markets for Artisan Cheese and Wine in Quebec

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ABSTRACT

The process of new market emergence is a cultural phenomenon embedded in the market's social environment. However, despite widespread recognition of the importance of this embeddedness, notions of place and community remain at the periphery of most studies. Interesting phenomena come into view when we focus specifically on the links between markets and the communities in which they develop. Surprisingly, even emergent markets, despite their novelty, may come to assume an air of antiquity and authenticity, as communities appropriate them as expressions of their collective identities and artifacts of local history. This thesis, which is based on three papers, extends current understanding of the process by which new markets are constructed and perceptions of authenticity are created, in particular the influence of regional identity therein. The first essay is based on a qualitative, comparative study of the artisanal cheese markets of Quebec and Ontario, and is based on 47 interviews conducted with actors across the industry. The primary findings of this study are the elaboration of the personal and regional forms of authenticity, with the former particularly meaningful to producers and the latter a source of support to producers from other market constituents. The second essay focuses on the Quebec context and is based on a qualitative study of archival materials. Whereas institutionalists have focused on the coercive and legitimizing roles of the state, I show that the state may also imbue markets with values and beliefs in pursuit of its own goals and interests, and thereby contribute to the construction of 'patriotic markets'. The third study is a statistical analysis of media accounts and organizational foundings in the emergent market for artisanal wines produced in Quebec. The primary finding is that regional identity affects audience attention, enabling the development of local markets despite the availability of higher quality alternatives.

RÉSUMÉ

Alors même les recherches sur la construction sociale de nouveaux marchés s'accumulent, la littérature prend rarement en compte les communautés et les territoires où s'enracinent ces marchés. Cependant, des phénomènes intéressants apparaissent lorsqu'on resserre l'analyse sur l'encastrement des marchés dans des communautés spécifiques. Notamment, certains marchés, bien que très récents, finissent par s'inscrire dans l'histoire locale, et apparaissent comme authentiques et traditionnels. Cette thèse par article contribue à avancer nos connaissances en matière de construction de nouveaux marchés en mettant l'emphase sur la création de l' « authenticité » et sur l'influence des identités régionales. Un premier article propose une analyse comparative des marchés du fromage artisanal au Québec et en Ontario. Il s'agit d'une étude qualitative sur la base de 47 entrevues. Sa principale contribution est d'identifier les formes « personnelle » et « régionale » d'authenticité. La première est particulièrement importante aux yeux des producteurs. La seconde permet, en conjonction avec une forte identité régionale, aux producteurs de bénéficier d'un soutien régional. Le deuxième article se concentre sur le contexte québécois. Il s'agit d'une étude qualitative de données d'archive autour de la construction d'un « marché patriotique ». Alors que la théorie institutionnaliste s'est essentiellement intéressée au rôle de l'État en termes de coercition et de légitimation, nous montrons ici que l'État peut également insuffler des valeurs et des croyances dans un marché afin de servir ses objectifs et ses intérêts. Le troisième manuscrit présente une analyse statistique de l'activité médiatique et des créations d'entreprises en lien avec le marché émergent du vin artisanal produit au Québec. Sa principale contribution est de révéler l'incidence de l'identité régionale sur les médias, avec comme conséquence de rendre possible le développement de marchés locaux malgré l'existence d'alternative de plus grande qualité.

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INTRODUCTION

Product markets are arenas where buyers and sellers meet to negotiate prices and quantities for substitutable goods or services. They are social spheres where consumers evaluate largely similar products whose features often differ in relatively minor and anticipated ways (Rao, 1994), and where sellers look to their competitors to determine the prices they charge, quantities they produce and features they introduce (Leifer & White, 2004). But underlying the normalcy of such transactions is a complex web of shared understandings that must be reached for orderly markets to emerge. These understandings relate to who one's direct competitors actually are (Porac, Thomas, Wilson, Paton, & Kanfer, 1995), the modes of production that are to be employed (Beckert, 2009), the features – both organizational and product-related – that must be included and those that can vary (Glynn, 2008a), the measures that are to determine quality (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003) and how products or services are to benefit, and be used and valued by consumers (Grodal, Gotsopoulos, & Suarez, 2014).

Perhaps more fundamental, is the basic understanding that such arenas even exist and warrant the negotiation of these complex issues. Firms offering novel products or based on novel business models are constantly appearing and disappearing, and relatively few will coalesce to form new markets. Highly novel and distinct organizations require of their managers considerable time and energy to explain their organizations' idiosyncrasies, and likewise from potential investors, partners and clients to understand and evaluate them (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994). In contrast, the co-classification of the same firms under an emergent market category can lead audiences to regard the same idiosyncrasies not as aberrations, but as elements of a developing sector of the economy with the promise of growth and opportunity (Kennedy, 2008; Navis & Glynn, 2010;

Pontikes, 2012). Consequently, institutional scholars have become increasingly interested in how market categories – the labels used to apprehend spheres of economic activity – are first created.

The institutionalist approach has generally centered on the role of entrepreneurs in the process. Institutionalists tend to presume that entrepreneurs play the primary role in shaping the meanings that their nascent market categories are to carry, while their audiences somewhat passively interpret the stories entrepreneurs tell (Glynn & Navis, 2010; Navis & Glynn, 2010). According to this perspective, the onus lies on entrepreneurs in nascent markets to collectively project the semblance of order to and encourage the participation of investors and consumers in what may be as yet inchoate and amorphous environments (Kennedy, 2008; Wry, Lounsbury, & Glynn, 2011).

Yet, this approach entirely contradicts other streams of research that presume audiences play the primary role. For example, ecologists argue audiences imbue categories with meaning by extending the categorization schemes they already use, and, accordingly, bracketing and selecting the firms that meet their expectations (Pólos, Hannan, & Carroll, 2002). There are, as yet, few qualitative studies that have investigated the co-construction of market categories that recognize the influence of both the entrepreneurs and all the other actors involved in the process. Consequently, in setting out to conduct the research for this dissertation, I was guided by one basic, overarching question: how do new market categories emerge? The contexts for my research were the emergent markets for artisanal cheese in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, and artisanal wine in Quebec.

During the course of my research, additional issues came to light and new questions emerged. One issue that emerged was the notion of authenticity. Even in emergent technological

sectors, where one would assume that decisions are made and technologies selected based on present-day efficiency and effectiveness criteria, markets actually take shape as participants envision the future based on what they know of the past (Hargadon & Douglas, 2001; Grodal et al., 2014; Grodal, 2015). I found that the challenges to market construction are even more complex in sectors that rely on history and tradition to legitimate their very existence. Cheese and wine, like all foods, are often 'cultural' (Montanari, 2006), in the sense that they are often associated with peoples, places and histories, and their consumption may be valued and protected as local traditions (Barham, 2003; Montanari, 2006; Trubek, 2008; DeSoucey, 2010; Paxson, 2010). Consequently, a paradox emerged, how do new market categories, relying on the semblance of history and tradition, actually develop?

A second issue that emerged, as a consequence of the first, was the role of regional identity. Given the ostensible link between foods and the 'peoples' who produce and consume them, the collective identities attached to people and place emerged as central to the market construction process I studied. Here, I distinguish between identities and the political jurisdictions to which these identities may or may not correspond, because identities may vary in strength from one jurisdiction to the next, transcend jurisdictional boundaries, or co-exist with other identities within the same jurisdiction (Brubaker, 2004). I both studied the influence and usage of 'regional identity' on market construction and made use of overlapping identities in my research design.

In the papers that follow, I study different aspects of market construction. The papers are ordered in the manner in which I proceeded in my investigation. Paper one is based on a comparative, qualitative study of interviews conducted with artisanal cheese producers and intermediaries in Quebec and Ontario. These two contexts are interesting because despite very

similar histories of cheese production, in 2013 there were only 11 artisanal cheese producers in Ontario and 80 in Quebec, and I was interested to understand why the dramatic difference existed. The concept of authenticity figures prominently in interviews with cheese producers, who discuss their modes of production, and with intermediaries, who distribute and sell the producers' cheeses. However, I find that authenticity is discussed differently in the two provinces. Despite using the same modes of production, Quebec cheeses were attached to a significantly more complex discourse of authenticity than were Ontario cheeses. Consequently, in paper one, I discuss the meanings that underlie the concept of authenticity and how perceptions of authenticity are created. I label the two types of authenticity I uncover personal authenticity and regional authenticity, the former being present in both contexts but the latter appearing only in Quebec. I also discuss how these two concepts have been generally confounded in the literature.

Paper two is based on a qualitative study of archival materials and is on the topic of patriotic markets. I focus on the Quebec context and widen my study to consider the entire constellation of actors who contributed to the emergence of the Quebec artisanal cheese market category. Having identified a discourse of authenticity unique to Quebec in paper one, in paper two I investigate how that discourse emerged and evolved. I find that the construction of the category occurred through a process of convergence of diverse actors, previously uninvolved with the cheese market, but who recognized in artisanal cheeses an opportunity to advance their particular interests. Notable among them was the Quebec provincial government. While the state's coercive or legitimating functions have been emphasized in institutional scholarship, I show that the state can also become involved in conferring meaning to and actively constructing nascent markets, particularly by imbuing them with patriotic connotations, to satisfy its own interests.

Paper three is based on a statistical analysis of the emergence of the Quebec artisanal wine field. Here, I quantitatively investigate my findings that emerged in paper two. The association of artisanal cheese with Québécois identity quickly spilled over to other sectors, and became generalized to all small-scale, 'local' agricultural products. In the third paper, I investigate how regional identity impacts the attention devoted to 'local' products and how their association with regional identity contributes to organizational foundings. Montreal is made up of Anglophone and Francophone populations and therefore represents a uniquely suited context to study the influence of regional identity. Anglophones are more likely to assume the Canadian identity, which suggests all of Canada as the 'local', whereas Francophones are more likely to assume the Québécois identity, which suggests the province of Quebec as the 'local'. Consequently, I posit that the English-language media are more likely than the French-language media to devote their attention to the longer-standing and nearby Ontario wine market, where the quality of wines is generally superior to that of Quebec-made wines. My findings support my hypotheses and contribute to the literature by revealing how regional identity contributes to the construction of new 'local' markets, and helps overcome the lack of competitiveness 'local' producers may initially experience with respect to imported products of higher quality.

Paper 1. Personal and Regional Authenticity in the construction of a Market for Artisan Cheese

ABSTRACT

There is rising interest in the topic of authenticity among organizational scholars, but much of this research concerns how organizations conform to existing conventions on authentic productions, not on how new markets for authentic goods emerge. Moreover, multiple, conflicting, definitions and conceptualizations of authenticity are often provided. Using semiotic analysis and an inductive, comparative, qualitative methodology, I study the emergence of the Quebec artisan cheese market category, comparing it with the artisan cheese market in the neighboring province of Ontario. I identify two distinct discourses of authenticity: personal authenticity and regional authenticity. Doing so, I disambiguate prevailing conceptualizations of authenticity, which often conflate a creator's drive for self-expression and concerns for convention. Moreover, I reveal how historicity and tradition are imbibed into new market categories. I show that while actors do tell stories that purport antiquity for what in reality may be novel products, much of the process is reliant on evoking and channeling present-day sentiments of belonging to community and rootedness to place.

INTRODUCTION

Authenticity is one of the most important cultural codes of modernity (Weber, Heinze, & DeSoucey, 2008). It has been studied in markets and organizational fields ranging from food (Beverland, 2005; Weber et al., 2008) and restaurants (Kovács, Carroll, & Lehman, 2014), to music (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005), film (Jones, Anand, & Alvarez, 2005; Svejenova, 2005) and architecture (Wilson, 1997). Authenticity encourages consumption patterns whereby individuals affirm their personal values by appropriating the authenticity of the products they consume (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010). However, the extant literature has largely focused on strategies organizations use to demonstrate their authenticity in established market categories (e.g. Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000; Beverland, 2005; Kovács et al., 2014), where there are well-defined codes and prototypes audiences can use to evaluate organizations. There is comparatively little attention devoted to the construction of authenticity in new market categories, which are nonetheless always emerging.

Moreover, despite the great deal of research that has been conducted on the topic, the concept of authenticity remains ill-defined. Scholars often associate a broad range of meanings to authenticity: Weber, Heinze and DeSoucey (2008) associate authenticity to the individual as an expression of personal identity and self-realization; DeSoucey (2010) associates it to the nation-state, as an expression of national soil, heritage and culture; and Kovács et al. (2014) does both, by defining authenticity as "the honest or the real" and by coding for terms such as *expert, skillful*, *traditional* and *historical*. These definitions appear to conflate the authenticity of individuals and that of regional communities and their traditions. Greater recognition of the multiple meanings of authenticity is required.

In this paper, I extend research on authenticity beyond issues of organizational conformity in established market categories. Nascent market categories may be co-constructed by the very actors to which the categories are to apply (Kennedy, 2008), in conjunction with intermediaries who engage in making sense of and evaluating entrepreneurs' claims (Navis & Glynn, 2010). Those claims may evoke larger cultural and institutional categories that resonate with audiences and encourage the entries of other entrepreneurs (Weber et al., 2008; David, Sine, & Haveman, 2013; Glynn & Navis, 2013). However, in the context of markets for authentic products, new market categories represent a paradox: authenticity suggests the existence of long-standing traditions, but new market categories lack tradition, so it must be invented (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

This study was guided by the overarching question: how are perceptions of authenticity created in new market categories? To answer this question, I conduct a qualitative comparative study of the artisan cheese markets in the neighboring Canadian provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Artisan cheese producers have proliferated in the province of Quebec in recent years, increasing from three in 1980 to 80 in 2011. Notably, Quebec artisan cheese is broadly framed as an authentic expression of the Quebec identity and has garnered considerable media attention in the province. Meanwhile, Ontario cheese producers remain few in number, comprising only 11 firms in 2011. Furthermore, as interviews revealed, Ontario producers do not benefit from similar perceptions of authenticity to place. In fact, even retailers in Ontario described Quebec cheeses as more authentic than Ontario cheeses. These two markets have developed in otherwise similar contexts: both provinces have similar amounts of milk production and equally developed infrastructures for cheese production, operate under the same federal regulatory regime that largely defines the cost

of milk, and even have similar histories of commercial cheese production. Both provinces were large cheddar producers, and up until recently, despite Quebec's French heritage, a market for Quebec artisan cheese had never developed (Lambert, 2006).

This research contributes to the literature on authenticity and the emergence of new market categories. First, this paper extends research on authenticity beyond organizational efforts to conform to the expectations prevailing in established market categories, to the very construction of new authentic market categories. Second, it reveals the existence and interplay of multiple forms of authenticity: personal and regional authenticity. I show that cheese producers deployed personal authenticity to describe why they entered the artisan cheese market and how they organized their activities. Meanwhile, market intermediaries and other participants – retailers, the media, regulators, etc. – reinterpreted Quebec producers' claims according to regional authenticity for Quebec cheeses.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Authenticity is a highly resonant cultural value in Western societies. The value of authenticity emerged with the industrial revolution and the ensuing breakdown of traditional ways of life (Taylor, 1991; Uzelac, 2010). Individuals, newly 'freed' from the confines of communal or religious life, were expected to lead lives that better reflected their true inner natures (Taylor, 1991). Encouraged to define their distinctive selves, individuals embarked on projects to define and affirm their self-values (Erickson, 1995). The importance of authenticity continued to rise with the increasing homogenization and standardization resulting from mass-production, as well as the proliferation of interests and tastes that accompanied post-modernity (Lindholm, 2008; Beverland & Farrelly, 2010). The consumption of authentic products has become one means of expressing

one's authenticity (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010).

To date, much of the organizational research on authenticity has focused on how firms convey authenticity in established market categories, where audiences hold clearly defined expectations. For example Carroll and Swaminathan (2000) found that microbreweries that outsourced brewing experienced greater failure rates than firms that brewed their own beers, because the latter were regarded as more authentic or true to traditional methods. Similarly, Kovács et al. (2014) show that independent, family-owned, seemingly traditional restaurants appeared more authentic and received higher consumer ratings than other restaurants, even controlling for food quality. Beverland (2005) reveals the practices used by luxury wine producers to convey authenticity. He finds that producers often concealed their modern production technologies from visitors and instead placed antiquated and traditional equipment on display. Research also reveals the important role of gatekeepers in classifying organizations or producers as authentic in established categories (Peterson, 1997; Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005). However, while these studies reveal the strategies undertaken by firms to meet the clearly defined expectations in their categories, we know little about how perceptions of authenticity arise at the category level in the first place.

Moreover, the concept of authenticity itself remains ill-defined. Scholars often associate a broad range of meanings to authenticity: Weber, Heinze and DeSoucey (2008) associate to authenticity expressions of personal identity and self-realization, as well as expressions of heritage; DeSoucey (2010) associates to authenticity expressions of national soil, heritage and culture. Meanwhile, Beverland (2005), who acknowledges that authenticity is either never defined in many papers or is defined by analogy to a plethora of terms – such as purity, tradition, aura, harmony,

balance, delight, and connection to time and place – ultimately selects 'authenticity as tradition' as his analogy of choice.

Research by organizational ecologists appears even more problematic. Recent years have seen a rapid rise of research on authenticity among organizational ecologists. However, upon closer examination, their definitions of authenticity appear methodologically expedient because they focus almost entirely on objective product features. Much of this research rests on a series of conceptual papers written by Glen Carroll and colleagues starting in 2009 (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Carroll & O'Connor, 2012; Carroll, 2015), where they attempt to define authenticity. These definitions are now finding their ways into publications, and conference papers written by a new generation of doctoral students. The conceptual papers have inspired studies on the role of authenticity in resource partitioning (McKendrick & Hannan, 2013), boundary spanning (Bowers; Negro, Hannan, & Rao, 2011) and consumer value attributions (Kovács et al., 2014).

All three conceptual papers offer largely the same arguments and define two ideal types of authenticity. The first ideal-type they define is 'type authenticity,' which refers to the degree to which an object represents the idealized image of the category it purports to belong. While this definition appears so general that it may be conceivably applied to any market category, Carroll and Wheaton (2009) provide a little more guidance specifically in relation to producers of food. They argue that from type authenticity emerges the subcategory of 'craft authenticity'. Craft authenticity is said to relate to the degree to which a food producer appears to reflect the expectations of its category, based on the modes of production, or tools and workers employed.

Research on type-authenticity among organizational ecologists is embedded in their larger research program on market categories. The basic premise of the categories literature holds that

organizations that adhere to the expectations of their categories benefit from greater audience attention and resource availability (Zuckerman, 1999). In the field of wine, wines that adhere to clear audience expectations may command higher prices (Hsu & Podolny, 2005), and producers who switch categories may experience penalties because doing so increases the ambiguity of their organizational identities (Roberts, Simons, & Swaminathan, 2010). In this context, authenticity-related audience expectations impose upon organizations an additional, generally production-related, set of criteria to satisfy (Hsu, Hannan, & Koçak, 2009; Negro, Koçak, & Hsu, 2010). For example, in their classic paper on microbreweries, Carroll and Swaminathan (2000) argue that microbreweries were deemed authentic when production was done in-house, and show that microbreweries that contracted their production to other breweries experienced higher mortality rates. Similarly, in their study of Scottish whiskey distilleries, McKendrick and Hannan (2013) show that the density of independent whiskey distilleries began to rise when consumers began to evaluate the authenticity of whiskeys according to their localized production.

The second type of authenticity Carroll and Wheaton (2009) define is 'moral authenticity.' This type of authenticity is said to refer "first whether the individuals or collectives involved in the establishment and maintenance of the object have sincerely attempted to enact their true morals and second on whether the object actually embraces them" (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009, pp. 15-16). The distinction here is between whether the morals are sincerely expressed in the product or are evoked simply as part of a marketing ploy. Yet, the distinction between type authenticity and moral authenticity is somewhat blurred, because, as in the case of their study of microbreweries, Carroll and Swaminathan (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000) argue that audience judgements about the adherence by breweries to the ideals of the movement were made according to the breweries'

modes of production. Carroll and Wheaton (2009) again define a subcategory of this type of authenticity related specifically to food, and label it 'idiosyncratic authenticity.' This subcategory appears to apply to places, products or organizations that differentiate by purporting a history of challenging conventions or beginning new traditions. One of the examples they provide is Templeton Rye, who still produces a whiskey using its then illegal prohibition era recipes (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009).

Carroll & Wheaton's (2009) conceptualization of authenticity seems to have had great influence on recent ecological research on the topic. Together, the craft and idiosyncratic ideal-types provide a very large umbrella to conceptualize authenticity, an umbrella that includes both products that appear to respect traditions and those that break from them. Accordingly, Kovács et al. (2014) perform a content analysis of restaurant reviews to study restaurant quality ratings according to consumers' perceptions of authenticity. They measure perceptions of authenticity by coding for seemingly opposing terms such as 'original' and 'historical', and terms that reflect the importance of tradition and those that speak to the moral virtue of the producer (Kovács et al., 2014). The same data and methodology are later used by Goldberg, Hannan and Kovács (2016) to study consumers' consumption patterns. In their study of Italian Barolo wines, Negro et al. (2011) take this argument further by suggesting that the contradictions inherent in the concept of authenticity can be strategically mobilized by market actors to challenge established orders. They explain that the challenges posed to incumbent 'traditionalist' winemakers by an emergent camp of 'modernists' were articulated using competing definitions of authenticity, where the modernists' definition emphasized the centrality of creativity, while the traditionalists' definition emphasized conformity to convention (Negro et al., 2011).

Yet, three important lacunae exist in ecological approaches to authenticity. First, the markets ecologists study tend to already have apparently long histories and established traditions, where authenticity is already both highly meaningful to and valued by audiences. In such stable contexts, ecologists study consumers' quality judgments according to organizational conformity to the precepts of authenticity in their respective markets (e.g. Kovács et al., 2014). An important reason authenticity is said to be valued so highly in such contexts is said to be a desire for status among consumers, who endeavor to construct distinctive identities based on their knowledge and consumption of foods with 'typicality' (Goldberg et al., 2016). Such studies say little about how new, seemingly historical and traditional, market categories may develop. Said another way, they say little about how new traditions are invented.

Second, these approaches do not take the larger environment into consideration. If ecologists do have a theory of market emergence, it is based on resource partitioning theory, which holds that small-scale, specialist, producers appear in response to increasing concentration among generalists (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000). Consequently, the emergence of new categories is regarded as entirely endogenous to the markets in question and the larger environment is ignored. For example, even McKendrick and Hannan (2013), who, despite recognizing that the rise in demand of specialist whiskeys was influenced by conceptions of Scottish nationhood, argue that this process was initiated endogenously due to rising market concentration and foreign ownership in the whiskey market. However, institutional scholars argue that consumers' increasing interest in authenticity is a manifestation of larger identity politics occurring at the regional, national or international scales (DeSoucey, 2010), which suggests that markets are shaped by forces exogenous to them.

Finally, ecological approaches focus almost exclusively on how producers project a veneer of authenticity, ignoring what producers actually perceive as authentic about their products. Carroll (2015) states that "authenticity is an attribution—nothing more, nothing less" (p. 3) and goes on to critique interpretive approaches for not offering causal theories. However, the causal theories ecologists develop relate more to the products' compliance to prevailing expectations rather than producers' experiences and perceptions of authenticity. If, as ecologists argue, producers' moral integrity and intentions are central to authenticity, then ecologists never actually study authenticity. This is of consequence not only to the theories that emerge, but also to our very understanding of authenticity. For example, while ecologists claim authenticity is an amalgam of both the traditional and the novel (Kovács et al., 2014), we never learn how these two modalities coexist.

I take the opposite approach to the study of authenticity in this paper. Whereas Carroll (2015) argues authenticity is purely an audience attribution, I study how it is experienced by and shapes the activities of the producers themselves. Moreover, I study the emergence of a new, seemingly, 'authentic' category. The category I study is not simply valued for the creativity or idiosyncrasies of its producers, but as a tradition dating hundreds of years, and is done so by consumers embroiled in a larger collective struggle for nationhood, not simply in a quest for status or distinctiveness.

METHODOLOGY

I use interview and archival data to study how market actors construct perceptions of authenticity for new market categories. Market actors explain the essential attributes of and assign value to their novel organizational forms, products and services, by telling stories readily meaningful to their audiences (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Zilber, 2006, 2011). As the stories

accumulate into market-level discourses, codified in laws and regulations, and embodied in patterns of action that constrain subsequent choices (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004). Discourses are defined as "structured collections of meaningful texts" (Phillips et al., 2004, p. 636), where texts "include spoken, written, performative, and spatial practices" (Zilber, 2011, p. 1540). Therefore, discourses are not words divorced from organizational practices, but are embodied in practices.

Empirical Context

This research is a comparative study of the artisan cheese markets in Quebec and Ontario. Until recently, Quebec and Ontario were very similar in terms of cheese production. First, the two provinces produce similar amounts of milk and have equally developed industrial cheese industries. Quebec produces 28.7 million hectoliters of milk, while Ontario produces 24.9 million hectoliters (Government of Canada, 2011), which would rank them 8th and 10th, respectively, in milk production, were they American states. Second, both provinces operate under the same regulatory regime. A federal regulatory agency administers a supply side quota system for cow milk for all Canadian provinces (Canadian Dairy Commission, 2010). The system largely defines the cost of cow milk and imposes similar constraints on milk producers in the two provinces. Third, Quebec and Ontario have the same cheese making traditions. Both provinces were historically large cheddar producers: each province was home to over 1,200 small-scale cheddar producers in the late nineteenth century, largely serving demand for cheddar in England. This demand collapsed mid-twentieth century because of rising international competition (Fournier, 1994; Chapman, 2012).

It is important to note that a market for cheeses based on recipes from France never

developed in Quebec. Despite a plausible assumption that Quebec must have French food traditions because it has French roots, Quebec's food traditions were highly affected by its natural environment and social ties with indigenous peoples. Quebec society traditionally never conceptualized itself as having a fine or distinctive cuisine (Bizier, 2012) and consumption of dairy was largely limited to milk and butter (Lambert, 2006; Desloges & De Courval, 2009). Settlers appropriated many food practices from indigenous tribes to survive the harsh winters (Desloges & De Courval, 2009). The earliest settlers did produce cheeses from their French heritage, but these were largely produced on the farm, for personal consumption, and were rarely available for sale (Fournier, 1994). Save for a few cheeses produced by monastic orders, the production of these cheeses disappeared with urbanization, and the only cheese market to develop was for cheddar (Fournier, 1994), which could endure the maritime crossing for export to Britain.

However, the back-to-the-land movement, which spurred the emergence of artisanal agriculture across North America (Paxson, 2012), has produced very different outcomes in the two provinces with respect to artisan cheese production. In 2012, there were 11 artisan cheese producers in Ontario, and 80 in Quebec. Figure 1-1 reveals the number of artisan cheese producers in Quebec between 1980 and 2012. The figure shows that at the start of the period there were virtually no artisan cheese producers. Growth in the number of cheese producers began in the early 1990s, and accelerated in the early 2000s.

Insert Figure 1-1 about here

Quebec history and identity

The French colony of New France was first settled in 1608 with the founding of Quebec City, which fell to the British in 1759 during the Seven Years' War. New France was incorporated into the British territories as Lower Canada, and eventually as the province of Quebec with the founding of Canada in 1867. The British severed links between Lower Canada and France and over time the descendants of New France came to identify themselves as French Canadian.

However, French and English Canadian societies evolved along different trajectories. After the British (allied with indigenous tribes and French Canadian militia) successfully defended Canadian territories from American attacks, British loyalists poured into areas of Quebec that had largely been French speaking. Protestant and urbanizing, the loyalists became increasingly secular and industrial. Meanwhile, French Canadians, Catholic and under the strict authority of the church, remained rural (Bruner, 2002). English Canadians came to dominate economic and political life in Quebec and the inequalities became salient with urbanization, spurring the rise of a nationalist movement in the 1950s (Bruner, 2002; Gundlach & Neville, 2012)

The movement produced a change of identity from French Canadian to Quebecer (Québécois). Intellectuals and activists promoted the new Quebec identity to widen the perceived gulf between French and English Canadians. Their discourse emphasized Quebec's pre-conquest past in New France and, by extension, Quebec's historical links to France (Maclure, 2003; Oakes & Warren, 2007). Intellectuals celebrated the authenticity of the early life of French settlers, claiming that any traditions appearing after the 1759 defeat were of foreign origin and suspect

(Maclure, 2003). The new identity was anchored to the provincial territory[1]. While French Canadians living inside Quebec now identify themselves as Quebecers, French Canadians outside the province continue to identify themselves as Canadians (Oakes & Warren, 2007).

Data Collection

The study is based on a comparative, qualitative, inductive design of the markets for artisan cheese in Quebec and Ontario. The primary source of data was semi-structured interviews because I was interested in how market actors conveyed authenticity. The process began by gathering the names of all producers in both provinces. For the names of Quebec cheese producers, I obtained the government issued list of milk-processing permit holders for the year 2011. The document indicated the type of activities and approximate size of each firm, which enabled me to identify artisan cheese producers.

I recruited informants across a wide range of roles, such as producers, retailers and distributors, in the artisan cheese markets of both provinces. I sent requests for interviews by mail to all artisanal cheese producers. I also tracked the participation of producers in cheese festivals and in media mentions to ensure my sample included highly visible firms. I did so because I presumed these firms would have greater influence on the construction of meaning in their respective markets. I identified cheese retailers, distributors, regulators and consultants by referrals

[1] The social movement culminated in two referenda for the secession of Quebec, the first in 1980 and the second, which resulted in a secessionist defeat by only 0.6%, in 1995. Quebec's secession from Canada remains an ongoing debate in Quebec media and politics. In 2006, the Canadian parliament passed a motion recognizing the Québécois as a distinct nation within Canada.

from cheese producers. I also identified retailers using internet listings of cheese shops in Montreal and Toronto, the two largest cities in Quebec and Ontario, respectively.

A total of 47 interviews were conducted, 17 in Ontario and 30 in Quebec, with producers, retailers, distributors, an artisan cheese festival organizer, a regulator, food writers and consultants. Of the interviews, nine interviews were with producers in Ontario and 16 with producers in Quebec. Interviews generally lasted between 1 and 1.5 hours and were transcribed and manually coded using Atlas.ti 6.0. Table 1-1 summarizes informants by category.

Insert Table 1-1 about here

I supplemented interviews with secondary data on the artisan cheese market. I attended the Quebec Artisan Cheese Festival and the Quebec Fine Cheese Festival during 2012 and 2013 where I met multiple cheese producers. I also relied on newspaper archives to capture the point in time when Quebec artisan cheeses began to be widely discussed in Quebec and how their meaning changed over time. I read biographies about and books published by individuals who had a profound influence on gastronomy in Quebec, including food journalists and celebrity chefs. I read guidebooks about artisan cheese because these books narrate the historical evolution of the market, explain the key characteristics of artisan cheese and showcase individual producers. I also read reports written by producer associations, government agencies and a rural development organization that was prominent in defining artisanal agriculture in Quebec. A summary of the archival data is provided in Table 1-2.

Insert Table 1-2 about Here

Data Analysis

Data analysis proceeded in three stages. During the first stage, I applied open coding, paying particular attention to any references to place and community. I had not initially entered the field with the objective of studying two distinct forms of authenticity. During open coding, it became clear that different actors were deploying different conceptions of authenticity, because terms such as we, local, and community were used in multiple ways, referring alternatively to the firm, artisans, village, or entire province/nation. As a result, the themes of personal and regional authenticity emerged inductively and I refocused data collection accordingly.

During the second phase, I applied semiotic analysis (Manning, 1987; Feldman, 1995) for data analysis and presentation. A basic assumption of semiotics is that culture has an underlying structure and coheres at deeper levels of meaning (Barthes, 1967). Signs are signifier/signified pairs, where signifiers are artefacts, sounds, images or words, and signifieds are their meanings (Weber et al., 2008; Zilber, 2011). Structure emerges when signs become themselves vehicles for other signifieds. In other words, signifiers, which have explicit and literal (termed denotative) meanings, accrue secondary meanings that are increasingly implicit and metaphorical (termed connotative) and interconnected, thus producing a coherent overall structure of meaning (Barley, 1983; Feldman, 1995). Consistent accounts provided by multiple informants suggested broader agreement on the meanings of terms, indicating social construction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Specifically, I followed the methodology of semiotic clustering developed by Manning (1987) and elaborated by Feldman (1995). Semiotic clustering involves moving systematically from denotative, first-order meanings to increasingly connotative meanings by grouping first-order codes to form abstract categories and then again to form themes. In this way, semiotic clustering

resembles what is commonly referred to as the "Gioia method" (e.g. Gioia, Price, Hamilton, & Thomas, 2010) often used in organizational studies. However, the Gioia method, which is based on grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), is generally employed to code for action (hence the frequent use of gerunds) and is suited to research at the individual, group or organizational levels (Langley, 1999). In contrast, semiotic clustering implies coding for patterns of discourse to uncover deeper structures of meaning, and is particularly suited to research at the market or field levels (e.g. Weber et al., 2008).

In this research, the themes were identified using an iterative process between data and the extant literature on authenticity. The themes of personal and regional authenticity emerged from the data and were initially unexpected. I had originally entered the field expecting to find that Quebec cheese producers were the main proponents of the narrative associating Quebec artisan cheeses to the Quebec identity. However, I found that cheese producers and their urban counterparts described artisan cheese in different ways, although they all seemed to affirm the authenticity of the product. This was surprising because the extant literature on market construction presumes the stories told in nascent markets are highly coherent and consistent (Wry et al., 2011). I redirected my data collection to gain further insight into this disjuncture.

During the third phase, I engaged in a comparative analysis of the two cases. The use of comparative methodologies remains infrequent in organizational studies (Bechky & O'Mahony, 2015). In single-case research designs, analysts often select unusual or extreme cases that promise to prove revelatory for the purposes of theory building, and then proceed to develop a rich understanding of the context (Yin, 1984). However, in such a design, the challenge remains to distinguish between findings that are specific to the given case from those germane to other, similar

contexts. Consequently the use of multiple cases can provide increased analytical leverage (Yin, 1984).

Bechky and O'Mahony (2015) explain that there are three types of comparative case research designs: The first is the 'pooled' design, which is used to theorize general processes by showing commonalities across a seemingly heterogeneous sample; The second is the 'polar' design, which is used to explain strikingly divergent outcomes among an initially homogeneous sample. This is the method advanced by Eisenhardt and colleagues (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007), and employed in their research on firm strategy and performance. A challenge with this approach is that researchers often drop firms from their sample at intermediary levels of performance, which may nonetheless be the most representative of the population (Langley & Abdallah, 2011), with the risk of producing theories that are both functionalist and normative (Bechky & O'Mahony, 2015).

My methodology falls under the third type of comparative research design described by Bechky and O'Mahony (2015). The third type of comparative research they describe is the matched design, where cases are selected on the basis of their high levels of similarity to control for environmental or contextual variance. As they state, "the benefit of the matched commonality approach is that cases can be used to isolate select differences that help explain variation because alternative explanations shaped by macro differences in institutional environments can be largely controlled" (Bechky & O'Mahony, 2015, pp. 171-172). As I progressed in my research, I found striking similarities in the discourses evoked by producers about the authenticity of their products, but striking differences in the discourses evoked by urban intermediaries in each province. Specifically, both Quebec and Ontario intermediaries spoke of Quebec cheeses as traditional and

historical, but no one interviewed spoke of Ontario cheeses in the same manner. Having isolated these differences, I re-focused my attention on explaining the emergence of an urban cheese discourse distinct to Quebec, by collecting historical and interview data until saturation was reached (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Consequently, if my analysis in the following pages provides greater weight to the Quebec case, this is because the discourse about that province's cheeses was exceedingly more complex, and an outcome to processes that simply did not unfold in Ontario.

FINDINGS

Figure 1-2 illustrates the data structure, organized from specific, first-order categories to increasingly abstract themes. These findings helped develop the grounded theory model I present later in the discussion section. Informants did not express the same themes, which are summarized in Table 1-3. Extant research generally regards entrepreneurs as sensegivers and all other market participants as audiences and sensemakers (Navis & Glynn, 2010). However, this is not what I found. I found that entrepreneurs and urban intermediaries were all actively telling highly meaningful, but different, stories. Table 1-3 indicates that Quebec and Ontario cheese producers largely expressed personal authenticity, and urban intermediaries, comprising retailers, media, distributors, regulators and authors, expressed largely regional authenticity about Quebec cheeses. Conversely, Ontario intermediaries had relatively little to say about Ontario cheeses, as indicated by a single asterisk (*) in the personal authenticity column, and never suggested the regional authenticity of Ontario cheeses. Tables 1-4 and 1-5 provide exemplary quotations. All quotations from Quebec were translated from French to English by the author.

Insert Figure 1-2 about here

Insert Table 1-3 about here

Insert Table 1-4 about here

Insert Table 1-5 about here

Theme 1: Personal Authenticity

Personal authenticity was expressed by cheese makers in *both* Ontario and Quebec to describe how and why they engaged in cheese production. As shown in Figure 1-2, artisan cheese producers in both contexts told stories that evoked personal authenticity, which reflected three abstract categories: *integrity, emotion* and *actualization*. The three abstract categories were often expressed in contradistinction to industrial cheeses and cheese producers. Industrial cheese producers were described as lacking integrity and emotion and their practices as contradicting any notions of authenticity. Artisans argued that one never knew what they were buying with an industrial cheese because industrial cheeses were often made with unnatural ingredients sourced from around the world, and were produced anonymously.

In contrast, artisan cheeses were said to be produced by real people, who infused their products with personal values and emotions. The care artisans put into making their cheeses were described as differentiating factors between artisanal and industrial products. As one producer explained, "sometimes it's not a difference in the quality of the product, but a difference in the time that is invested in a single product. I find that is the beauty of the thing, because at times there are industrial products that are better than artisanal products." The time invested by artisans was related to their production processes, which were affected by beliefs about personal authenticity.

Below I discuss the categories associated with personal authenticity.

Integrity. The abstract category of integrity was composed of two first-order codes. The first of these was *dedication*. Artisans generally differentiated their products from industrial products by quality. However, they often asserted quality not by evoking any objective, measurable product characteristics or modes of production, but by referring to their personal dedication to quality. For example, one artisan explained that even though one could correct for poor quality milk during the production process, "you are no longer an artisan or farmstead producer when you don't care about the quality of the milk that goes into your product". Even when lacking certifications, such as organic certification, artisans declared the quality and healthfulness of their products by referring to their dedication to quality, as another producer explained:

> "I doubt an [employee at an industrial] cheese producer racks his brain or does everything from one end to the other. You are a number there. I am not saying that those people don't do their jobs conscientiously, but it's not the same. The people that work with me are not employees you replace from one day to the next. It's a different dynamic."

Although he stated that employees working at industrial plants could be conscientious, his insinuation remained that his workers cared more for their products.

The second first-order code for integrity was *transparency*. Artisans evoked transparency in two ways. First, artisans spoke about food traceability. Artisans who produced their milk spoke of how they fed and treated their animals, while those who purchased their milk described their close working relationships with their milk providers. Second, artisans described their accessibility and openness to the public. Artisans explained the importance of their "absolute transparency" to consumers, whether in responding to consumers' questions or by allowing consumers to visit their

farms to see first-hand how the cheeses were produced. Again, references to transparency connoted the lack of transparency of industrial cheese producers, whose cheeses were produced anonymously and factories were inaccessible to consumers.

Emotion. The second abstract category for personal authenticity was emotion, comprised of two first-order codes. The first first-order code was *passion* – or love – for cheese making and working with the animals. Producers' expressions of passion connoted the lack of passion among employees of industrial firms. For example, a Quebec producer explained that customers were attracted to and even aspired to consume the producer's passion: "I think [customers] come here often to understand why we do this. We love what we do and you can say that they eat a little bit of our passion, its special." Similarly, in a newspaper article (Boisvert, 2002), a Quebec cheese producer was described as having deep love for his products: "this [cheese] is for the undergrowth of early November, all the dead leaves on the ground, and the wild mushrooms. But it is primarily for love, he says, "all my cheeses are cheeses of love"".

The second first-order code for the category of emotion was *pride*. Pride was expressed for the skill and expertise required to produce fine cheeses, as well as the creativity needed to concoct new cheeses and flavors. For example, a Quebec producer spoke of herself and for all Quebec producers when she said "there is a pride to produce… fine products like cheese, wine, meats. There is pride in doing this. We see imports from Europe and know that we can do the same. We know that we're capable; there is a feeling of pride." She spoke of pride in her ability to produce cheeses on par with European cheeses. Similarly, an Ontario producer explained:

> "I like the alchemy of the transition of milk to something else; The idea that this liquid could be transformed into a different product that can seek immortality: cheese doesn't go bad, it just evolves, it just changes to something else… very selfishly, I stay small because – and this is where the ego comes

into play I suppose – I don't think anybody could make it as well as I do."

He evoked great pride for his unmatched skill as an alchemist.

Actualization. The third abstract category for the theme of personal authenticity was *actualization*. Whereas integrity and emotion referred to the personal qualities of the artisans, actualization referred to the constellation of organizational practices used to externalize their inner selves and create cheeses that were "extensions" of the artisans.

The first first-order code was *degree of automation*. Artisans frequently spoke of the importance of working "hands-on", by having direct contact with the ingredients and the cheeses. Their stories evoked images of the artisans as intimately linked to and even in communion with their cheeses, by immersing their hands into the milk and affectionately manipulating the cheeses. To maintain this hands-on contact, artisans used as little automation as possible. The lack of automation was in opposition to highly automated industrial methods.

The second first-order code for actualization was *personal involvement*. Whereas little automation referred to the "hands-on" nature of artisanal cheese production, personal involvement referred to the need for those hands to include the hands of the owners/artisans: for the cheeses to be authentic, they should have been touched by the artisans. Given the lack of automation, the need for personal involvement explained the small size of the firms. For example, in response to a question about growing his firm by hiring employees, a Quebec producer explained:

> "To grow [the firm] and then what? I would no longer have my hand on the product. I milk the cows… I am present at each stage. I am able to tell anyone that this morning I milked and everything went well, I fed the animals a certain hay, I bought the hay in June…. I know my milk will be like so and I will be able to process in such way."

The factor limiting the growth of his firm was his need for personal involvement.

The third first-order code for actualization was *vertical integration*. Although cheese producers regularly rejected the idea of growing their businesses, they did valorize backward integration into the production of their milk. Farmstead producers are the subset of artisanal producers who also raise cows, goats or sheep for milk. Approximately half of artisan cheese producers were farmstead producers. They described that this backward integration provided them with a greater sense of ownership over the product, because it made it more "hands-on" and allowed them to better "feel" the product. As an Ontario producer explained, buying milk connoted becoming a "cheese factory", evoking the opposition between artisan cheeses as extensions of the artisans and industrial cheeses as anonymous and inauthentic.

Theme 2: Regional Authenticity

Although personal authenticity was expressed by producers in both Ontario and Quebec, urban intermediaries preferred to speak about the cheeses in terms of regional authenticity. For example, one Quebec retailer explained "I often say that I perform the oldest job in the world. I do exactly what a carpet merchant or a merchant of spices once did, when they would leave for foreign lands to meet with producers and return with local cultures". He spoke of artisan cheeses not as authentic to specific individuals, but as authentic to regional cultures. However, intermediaries spoke only of Quebec cheeses as having regional authenticity, in a manner akin to European cheeses, which were also described as authentic to their respect cultures. In this section, I discuss how regional authenticity was expressed about Quebec cheeses.

The theme of regional authenticity is comprised of three abstract categories: *Connectedness to regional soil*, *pride for regional culture* and *expressions of regional history*. Intermediaries in Quebec told complex stories about artisan cheese, often linking it to the regional identity of

Quebec. As shown in Figure 1-2, the three abstract categories are encapsulated by the concept of a *Quebec Terroir*. The concept of terroir underpins the dominant food designation system in the European Union (Barham, 2003). Directly translated as 'soil', terroir evokes the belief that foods are imprinted with the taste of their place of production because they express unique qualities of the local environment, and are produced according to unique local agricultural traditions (Barham, 2003; Trubek, 2008; Paxson, 2012).

Connectedness to Regional Soil. The first abstract category for regional authenticity was *connectedness to regional soil*. Its two first-order codes were often expressed together, but are distinct. The first first-order code was *uniqueness of soil*. In its most basic meaning, terroir refers to the geological, environmental and climactic factors said to be characteristic of a region and that are claimed to impart unique and recognizable organoleptic properties to the foods produced there. Urban informants often suggested the existence of unique flavors in Quebec cheeses resulting from their place of production, while avoiding any specific descriptions of what those flavours were. Informants often linked the distinctiveness of the soil to the second first-order code *place of belonging*. For example, one Quebec retailer explained:

> "There is a pride to say it is where I belong, it is my place, in a sense, where I grew up, recognize myself. And the food we have in front of us is a reflection of us … the animals ate the herbs, produced the milk and today I have this cheese. It wasn't made 700 000km from here, it wasn't made by an industrial [cheese producer]. We, as humans like this recognition of who we are. There is something like a pride in the product and I think in Montreal... people have this bond to a Quebec Terroir."

She linked Quebec cheeses to Quebec's soil by describing the chain of production, which began with animals grazing on native herbs and on native soil. She then described the consumption of the resulting cheeses as expressions of the attachment Quebecers felt for their native land.

Pride for Regional Culture. The second abstract category was *pride for regional culture*. The first first-order code was *cultural distinctiveness and distinction*, which suggested the uniqueness of the Quebec people in North America, and Quebec cheeses as a symbol of that uniqueness. Quebec society had previously never regarded itself as having a terroir or a fine cuisine of any type (Bizier, 2012). The media educated the public on the meaning of terroir and did so by linking it to identity. For example, a French language newspaper article evoked distinctions between French and Anglo-Saxon societies prevailing in the Quebec identity discourse, to explain why Quebecers apparently had a special cultural understanding about fine foods:

> "There is no word in English to translate "terroir". They use "local food", but it is not the same. The Anglo-Saxons are interested in it largely from a perspective of health. That has nothing to do with the soil… terroir products have a soul and a cultural value. It is a very Latin concept" (Bérubé, 2009).

The article evoked the image of Quebec society as distinct from Canadian and American societies by virtue of its French roots to describe the concept of terroir. Relatedly, informants often explained that Quebec could become the supplier of fine cheeses to North America because it had a unique "cultural capacity" to produce fine cheeses.

The second first-order code was *people like "us"*. This code referred to the imagined bonds between the rural artisans and their urban consumers by virtue of a shared regional identity. Urban informants and the media used terms such as "our artisans" or "our cheese makers" to express pride for and sense of connectedness to the producers. A Quebec distributor explained:

> "With globalization, the consumer wants to come closer, we need to know the origin of the food, and I think this is important because it creates a sense, an impression, that you are participating in something… [consumers] say "I buy a local product", local in the sense that it comes from Quebec.."

A shared regional identity provided a sense of "knowing" the producer and participating in a

collective project with one's compatriots. The regional identity co-classified all Quebec made cheeses as 'local', despite the province's large size (Quebec is over two times the size of Texas).

Expression of Regional History. The third abstract category was *expression of regional history*. As an expression of regional history for Quebec cheese, two interrelated, though distinct accounts of Quebec history were provided. The first first-order code was the *Origin Myth* of Quebec. These stories emphasized Quebec's historical origins as a colony of France and suggested that artisan cheese production and consumption had been intrinsic to society before the fall of New France to the British. Informants attributed the "death" of an apparently vibrant cheese tradition to British and later Canadian oppression of Quebec culture, and evoked the prevailing sense of injustice for the lack of Quebec's autonomy on its own territory. They also described the present-day cheese industry as an industry in re-emergence, rather than something novel. For example, when I asked a tour organizer and food author about the creation of a new food tradition, he corrected me by saying that a tradition had once existed in New France.

This narrative tended to ignore that early colonists had appropriated many indigenous traditions to survive the harsh winters (Lambert, 2006). For example, a newspaper article about a restaurant made many allusions to early Quebec history.

> "[The restaurateur] revisits the cuisine of the [Quebec] terroir. Three quarters of the products served at his establishment are Québécois. A lot of game, "pure laine" cheeses, plants and flower buds grown in New France. [The restaurateur's] wager is to expose amateurs of good food to new products, new combinations, while remaining in the classic French tradition" (Léger, 2001).

The article emphasized the use of ingredients allegedly endemic to New France, including "pure laine" cheeses, all with a characteristically French cuisine. The term *pure laine* (translated as "pure wool") is a colloquial term historically used to denote ethnic French Canadians. The term conferred

artisan cheeses an appearance of history and suggested that they had been historically an integral part of the diet.

The second first-order code was the *revival myth* of Quebec. By revival myth, I refer to the emergence of the Québécois identity in the 1960s (previously the dominant identity had been French Canadian). According to the Québécois identity narrative, Quebec society threw off the yoke foreign (i.e. Canadian) oppression, and began a quest to find its 'true' identity, by shedding traditions that had been imposed on it by British and Canadian societies over the centuries (Maclure, 2003). Informants associated the recent rise of artisan cheese production to Quebec's newfound ability to assert its identity. One retailer explained "I think we agree that these products started to appear around 75-80, but largely in the 1990s. But I think the idea that was born in the 80s necessarily came from all that occurred before. In other words, the question of identity, the desire to do something different, to come closer to a European culture." She attributed the emergence of the Quebec cheese market to the Quebec identity building project and not to any food-related social movements.

In sum, producers and intermediaries spoke about Quebec artisan cheeses very differently. Producers in both provinces spoke primarily about being authentic to themselves. The cheeses they produced were made with integrity, were infused with their emotions and were described as expressions of the distinctiveness of the *artisan*. In contrast, intermediaries spoke about cheese using the language of terroir and as authentic to a region and people. Intermediaries described Quebec artisan cheeses as expressions of the distinctiveness of the *Quebec people*.

Application of Regional Authenticity to and by Quebec Artisan Cheese Producers

Having described the underlying structure of the two types of authenticity, in this section I

discuss specifically how regional authenticity was deployed. Quebec intermediaries used regional authenticity as a vehicle to reinterpret and depict the practices of Quebec artisan cheese makers and their products. However, Quebec intermediaries were not alone in their use of regional authenticity. Ontario intermediaries also spoke of the regional authenticity of Quebec cheeses, as did Quebec producers, who occasionally used the theme to emphasize the importance of their work. Yet, Quebec intermediaries, Quebec producers and Ontario intermediaries all deployed regional authenticity differently, as I discuss in the following paragraphs.

Quebec Intermediaries. Urban intermediaries in Quebec depicted Quebec cheese artisans and the emergence of the Quebec market using two discursive strategies based on the theme of regional authenticity. I label these strategies as *creating patriots* and *historicizing*. The strategy of *creating patriots* refers to how Quebec intermediaries aligned artisan cheese making with the intermediaries' own Quebec identity-evoking stories. When applying this strategy, informants stripped the practice of cheese making of its meaning as an expression of personal authenticity and attributed cheese makers intentions related to the abstract categories *connectedness to regional soil* and *pride for regional culture*. For example, one Quebec retailer explained:

> "All these people, when we speak of artisans, what they want to showcase is the specificity of their terroir. In other words, the region where they produce, and what they want to produce, in other words, the finished product, which is the cheese. If you look at the goat cheeses, they will have their own goats, they will create their own cheeses to capture an aspect of taste that represents the region."

This retailer reinterpreted the practice of raising animals, which artisans had spoken of as a source of personal authenticity, as a means of producing cheeses that were more connected to and expressive of Quebec's soil. Rather than recount to consumers the importance of personal authenticity to the artisans, intermediaries ascribed the artisans a deep concern for the preservation

and promotion of Quebec's soil and culture.

The second strategy was *historicizing,* which was used to describe the emergence of the Quebec artisan cheese market as inevitable and due to an innate love for cheese among Quebecers. In this strategy, informants reinterpreted the recent growth of the number of Quebec cheese makers according to the abstract category *expression of regional history*. They evoked Quebec identity to frame Quebec society as a single, collective actor, who, much like an individual, had innate preferences, one of which was artisan cheese. While using the historicizing strategy, informants rarely mentioned the artisans and instead restated the Quebec identity narrative as a narrative of cheese: the loss of sovereignty by New French society and its early customs after the British conquest, followed by the recovery of collective pride and identity in the 1960s (Maclure, 2003).

For example, a retailer who had attributed the disappearance of cheese making in Quebec centuries earlier to foreign domination, explained that the rise of modern-day artisan cheese making was due to a new-found ability of Quebec society to express its true identity. He said "here, we always had a desire to create, to make our own cheeses, and we came back to that… and why did it come back? It has partly to do with evolution, the emancipation from the Anglo-Saxon culture." He suggested it was due to the emancipation of Quebec society that it was able to express its true collective self. Environmental and food related social movements and the personal stories of artisan cheese producers figured little in such accounts. Rather, the emergence of the Quebec cheese market was explained as a re-emergence of an old tradition, largely determined by the creation/revival of a distinctive identity for Quebec society.

Quebec Producers. Quebec producers, for their part, willingly participated in the depiction of themselves as patriots concerned with the protection of Quebec identity. Whereas personal

authenticity was germane to the stories told by both Quebec and Ontario producers, Quebec producers also occasionally spoke of their cheeses as having regional authenticity, a theme entirely missing in interviews with Ontario cheese producers. However, relative to their stories of personal authenticity, Quebec producers' references to regional authenticity were somewhat haphazard. For example, Quebec cheese producers occasionally used the term terroir to describe the taste of their cheeses as connected to the soil. Yet when questioned about how specifically soil affected flavor, producers, on multiple occasions, changed their definition of terroir to the more tangible "terroir is buying local" and avoided answering the question. One cheese producer explained that she preferred not to use the term terroir because she found its meaning convoluted, but nevertheless the term appeared on her company's website. This suggests that Quebec cheese producers were aware of the resonance of regional authenticity for consumers and occasionally deployed it to enhance the appeal of their products, but it was not central to how they conceptualized their activities.

Similarly, some Quebec producers evoked Quebec history and heritage in the names of their cheeses, despite admitting that artisan cheese in Quebec was a relatively novel product. One company was named Nouvelle France (New France) and produced a cheese named 'Pure Laine', a colloquial term traditionally used to denote ethnic French Canadians. Another company was named after the founders' ancestors who had emigrated from France centuries earlier. Meanwhile, another producer named a cheese "1608", the year of the founding of Quebec City, the capital of New France. The cheese was made using milk from the same breed of cows imported from France by the city's founder. Yet virtually all producers described the market as novel and a "tradition for future generations". When asked about this apparent contradiction, a producer who evoked

tradition in the name of her cheeses simply replied "you have to know who you are, to know where you are going" but agreed that there had been no cheese tradition.

Ontario Intermediaries (About Quebec Cheeses). Interviews with Ontario retailers had largely focused on Ontario cheese producers, but also revealed a third set of depictions of Quebec cheese producers. Ontario retailers sold considerably more Quebec cheeses than Ontario cheeses. They preferred to speak about Quebec cheeses and often redirected questions about Ontario cheeses to Quebec cheeses. Similar to their Quebec counterparts, their stories expressed the regional authenticity of Quebec cheeses.

However, the stories told by retailers in Ontario differed to those told by Quebec retailers because the former were stripped of much of the nuance and richness present in the latter. Ontario retailers often evoked generalized, even trite, understandings of Quebec and Quebecers. They spoke about cheese production in Quebec as a tradition practiced since the founding of New France. For example, when describing the quality of Quebec cheeses, one producer explained "I look at the Quebec producers and I think it's in their blood or it's in their genes, or it's in their ancestry to make good quality cheese". He spoke of blood, genes and ancestry, all concepts referring to Quebec's French heritage.

The stories Ontario retailers told often centered on the names of the products and were contextualized with simplified historical or cultural facts about Quebec. For instance, a pair of retailers provided the same example of a story that resonated with their clients. They both spoke about the Quebec cheese described earlier named "1608", which used the milk from the breed of cows imported from France by the founder of Quebec City. One of the retailers explained

> "In Quebec, I am not 100% on how things evolved there, but in 1608 France brought a herd of cows

> over into Quebec and then from that ancestry of cows they still make a cheese now called 1608. But you can see obviously the traditions the French people brought into Quebec, so that style of cheese, which is copied from France, is made in Quebec now, so it's all about your ancestry."

Although he admitted not having a complete understanding of the evolution of the Quebec cheese market, he told a simplified narrative of Quebecers as descendants of the French and who continued to practice French traditions. He framed the cheese as part of long-standing Quebec tradition, providing the product the appearance of distinctiveness and quality. This simple narrative was easily understandable to consumers living outside Quebec, who were unfamiliar with the details of Quebec history and the novelty of Quebec artisan cheeses.

Cheese retailers told such regional authenticity stories strategically, knowing that the stories would interest their clients. The above retailer later explained why his story was so resonant:

> "Like the 1608, I will tell [customers] exactly the story that I told you, that, you know, they brought the cows over, the ancestry. It's all about the [customers] envisioning them and seeing these cows coming over on a boat, it's amazing how… it gives them that experience with the cheese."

He recognized that the story conjured powerful images and implied "ancestry". Despite the story, the reality was that the breed of cow in question had become virtually extinct and was reintroduced for the production of the "1608" cheese in 2007 (Laiterie Charlevoix, n.d.).

In turn, demand for Quebec cheeses outside Quebec was used to justify claims about Quebec cheeses as a source of distinctiveness and distinction within Quebec. Quebecers often referenced differences in cheese production patterns between Quebec and the rest of Canada as a source of distinctiveness and distinction for Quebec society. A cheese producer explained "it is pretty surprising, but the reality is that in Toronto, shopkeepers who sell Quebec cheeses, it's probably the only time they do this, place little fleur-de-lys [Quebec flags] to well identify that the

cheeses come from Quebec." The Quebec cheese producer evoked the long-standing antagonisms between English and French Canada by referring to the "only time" English Canadians celebrated something from Quebec. He also evoked pride for Quebec because Quebec artisans had developed a market that was the envy of their provincial rivals.

A Comparison of Quebec and Ontario Cheese Markets

Regional authenticity was never recognized for Ontario cheeses. Ontario retailers seldom evoked *connectedness to regional soil*, *pride for regional culture* or *expression of regional history* with respect to Ontario cheeses. An Ontario retailer, who had explained that he often told evocative stories of people, place and history to sell cheese, explained that Ontario cheeses were simply not conducive to telling such stories: "compared to the middle of the province meadow, it's not as thrilling." He described Ontario as a vast "meadow," which did not inspire him to tell grandiose stories as he did for imported cheeses – including Quebec cheeses – despite having previously explained that some Ontario cheeses were of world-class quality.

Ontario retailers, like their Quebec counterparts, also evoked collective identity to encourage sales, but in this case it was the Canadian identity. Many Ontario cheese retailers prominently displayed that they carried a wide selection of Canadian cheeses, because, as one stated "it's appealing to [consumers] from a nationalistic aspect." They often placed small Canadian or provincial flags on every Canadian cheese to show that they carried cheeses from across the country. However, this altered the meaning of 'local' and defined Quebec cheeses as local products in Ontario and equivalent to Ontario-made products. One Ontario retailer stated:

> "We carry 100 different types of cheese from around the world and local. In the past we used to be primarily import, so 60/40 import. But as times change, obviously businesses have to. People want to support local, so now its 60/40 local. When I say local, I mean primarily Quebec cheeses… but we do

> carry stuff [from coast to coast], we bring a lot of different stuff, we do carry some Ontario cheese."

This Ontario retailer, whose store was billed as specializing in Canadian cheeses, largely sold Quebec cheeses and only "some" Ontario cheeses. He explicitly described Quebec as 'local'.

Ontario retailers often classified Ontario cheeses according to a different set of criteria than those applied to Quebec and European cheeses. While Quebec and European cheeses were described according to their authenticity to place, people and history, Ontario cheeses were described as 'local' in a sustainability inspired sense, based on the proximity of the producer to the consumer, as in the 100-mile diet. For example, an Ontario retailer who had described his love of "heirloom cheeses" – cheeses he defined as having long histories and produced according to long-standing traditions – and who regularly offered a selection of such cheeses, never included Ontario cheeses in the selection. Rather, in a somewhat pejorative manner, he classified Ontario cheeses as 'local' products, suggesting that they did not have the historical gravitas of other more-storied products. Consequently, he sold only the Ontario cheeses produced nearby and added that they were requested by the small fraction of his clientele who preferred to consume 'locally'.

Consequently, two definitions of place emerged for Ontario cheeses, neither of which contributed to the development of an Ontario cheese category and perceptions of regional authenticity. One definition of place evoked Canadian identity to co-classify all cheeses produced in Canada, while the other definition evoked notions of sustainability to create a relative measure of localness, as in the 100-mile diet. An Ontario retailer who placed small Canadian flags on his cheeses to identify them as 'local' (Canadian) cheeses, also identified 'local' cheeses produced within a 100 mile radius of his store, but never indicated Ontario cheeses as a distinct category:

> "If you drill down on [Canadian cheeses], you can go into different areas, so for example, for those that are interested – in the demographic we appeal to – there are those that are interested in what we call the

100-mile diet, so we have creameries that meet that criteria within [the Canadian cheese category]."

He went on to explain that demand for 100-mile diet cheeses was very small. On the one hand, Ontario cheeses were classified as 'local' Canadian cheeses, which co-classified them with and had them competing directly against Quebec cheeses. On the other hand, they were classified as 'local' cheeses produced within 100-miles, which fractured the Ontario market and appealed only to a small segment of cheese consumers. Neither categorization scheme produced a market category proper to Ontario cheeses.

Ontario producers likewise made no pretense about the authenticity of their cheeses to Ontario's soil, culture or history. Ontario producers spoke about their dedication to quality and the importance of uniqueness of taste, but rejected the idea that the uniqueness was due to the place of production. An Ontario producer described the concept of terroir as "totally bullshit". Another Ontario producer, who cultivated a wide range of native plants to feed his animals, rejected framing his cheeses as an expression of the native soil, as done in Quebec: "I don't necessarily define it as regional; I just define it as more diverse. That is the holistic idea. Nature is about diversity." He emphasized the diversity of the forage, not its nativeness.

The patriotic, community-oriented language of regional authenticity also affected how intermediaries conceptualized and represented their activities. For example, when asked about his commitment to support local cheese producers, an Ontario distributor explained:

> "We are running a business and for us it's a business decision, and the way we are positioning ourselves is that anybody who wants to work with us, we will work with them. We will sell any cheese. If somebody wants a cheese, we will bring it in and sell it."

In contrast, a Quebec distributor explained:

> "It's a choice. In a business you always have to make choices… My mission is to distribute the best

> cheeses from Quebec. I could have said the best Canadian cheeses, I have nothing against [the rest of] Canada, I distribute to Canada… but I take the development of Quebec's regions to heart, I love Quebec's regions, it is heartfelt."

Both distributors explained that they were making simple business decisions; however, the business decision of the Ontario distributor was to distribute any cheese, while the same decision by the Quebec distributor was to distribute exclusively Quebec cheeses. Patriotic "love" permeated the latter response, while the former expressed no such attachments to people or place. Distributors were important to their respective markets because apart from facilitating distribution, they organized cheese festivals, helped with branding and some also purchased and aged their clients' cheeses, providing the artisans greater financial liquidity.

The differences in discourse between the two provinces were manifested with different patterns of exchange among the participants of each market. Quebec artisan cheese producers sold much of their production through urban retail cheese and fine food shops (Conseil des industriels laitiers du Québec, 2012) and to a broad range of Quebec cheese consumers. Quebec producers either dealt with cheese shops directly or relied on distributors specialized in Quebec artisan cheeses. Quebec artisan cheese producers did not need to participate in farmers' markets in urban centers. They could remain closer to home and attend farmers' markets nearer to their rural communities and rely on distributors and retailers to serve urban centers.

In contrast, Ontario producers sold relatively little through urban cheese shops. They assumed the burden of distribution and sale and sold much of their production at urban farmers' markets, largely to environmentally minded cheeses consumers. This required they be off the farm and away from cheese production and other farm-related activities one day a week to sell the week's production. According to one producer, the challenge of selling the cheese himself was

overwhelming and he could not imagine a long term future in the business. These differences in distribution channels were important because not only did Ontario producers suffer from a lower level of demand, but their lifestyle was made more demanding by the need to personally sell the near-entirety of their production.

DISCUSSION

This research identified two distinct forms of authenticity: the personal and the regional. Authenticity is often so broadly defined in the extant literature that individual skill and commitment to self-realization are conflated with regional traditions and conventions (e.g. Weber et al., 2008; Kovács et al., 2014). I found that personal authenticity was associated largely with producers, their personal values and the practices they used to actualize them. Artisans in both Quebec and Ontario entered and remained in their respective markets out of a commitment to personal authenticity. In addition, I found personal authenticity to be both cognitive and emotive. Personal values are often difficult to identify and individuals can rely on emotion as a guide to the 'true self' (Lindholm, 2008). In the case of cheese artisans, the artisans' feelings of passion and pride were important both to encourage their engagement with the market, and as cultural resources to explain the differences between artisanal and industrial cheeses.

Meanwhile, regional authenticity refers to an analogous set of beliefs applied to regional communities. Regional identities conceptualize regions as single, unified actors, allowing the transposition of notions of personal authenticity to the collective level (e.g. 'the will of the people'). This was seen in the case of Quebec cheeses where cheese production and consumption were represented as innate to Quebec society. Just as personal authenticity encourages individuals to be true to their values, regional authenticity encourages the expression and preservation of

values supposedly innate to the regional community. The analogous nature of personal and regional authenticity is suggested by Meyer and Jepperson (2000), who explain that "modern culture creates an agentic individual managing goals thought to reside in a personality or life course" in the same way it creates "a sovereign state managing goals of a national society" (p. p. 106). The capacity for agency, be it of the individual or the collective, is conceptualized as arising from within, from internal values and beliefs, independent of external influences.

The existence of both personal and regional authenticity is also consistent with the findings of Beverland and Farrelly (2010), who study consumers' identity related objectives for consuming authenticity. They find three identity-related objectives for consuming authenticity: feelings of personal control, expressions of personal values and feelings of community connectedness (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010). While the first two refer to the individual, the third refers to the community. Feelings of connectedness reflect "a strong preference for proximity to place, people, and culture because such activities represented a higher ideal – that of valuing fellowship within a community" (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010, p. 843). My findings suggest that the consumption of products perceived as having personal authenticity would be associated with greater feelings of personal control and expressions of personal values, while products perceived as having regional authenticity would be associated with greater feelings of connectedness.

Moreover, this research reveals how entirely new, authentic, market categories may emerge. Authenticity is an elusive phenomenon: as soon as one endeavors to achieve it, it is lost. Then how can a creator simultaneously endeavor to express her true self, while attempting to conform to strict conventions on authentic productions? This dilemma is magnified in the case of emergent categories, where, as per theory, we would expect producers to be more likely to project

homogeneity – and hence reduce their emphasis on individual creativity – than in established categories (Navis & Glynn, 2010; Wry et al., 2011). My findings reveal producers may, in certain circumstances, need not worry about this dilemma.

Two important findings emerge on this regard: a separation of tasks and an overlap of identities. First, there was a separation of tasks with regard to how Quebec cheeses were portrayed. Cheese producers, in both provinces, disavowed profit as a motive, as is often the case among creators, explaining that they required only enough money to ensure the survival of their businesses and achieve a basic standard of living. In its place, they avowed a deep commitment to personal authenticity, which included their creativity and the uniqueness of their creations. The difference in the success of the two cheese markets arose due to a constellation of intermediaries in Quebec who translated the producers' claims of personal authenticity to regional authenticity, for the benefit of the broader public, and opened new channels of distribution. In contrast, Ontario producers continued to engage only with audiences who understood and appreciated the Ontario producers' cheeses for precisely the same reasons set forth by the producers.

Second, while Quebec artisans sought to express their personal identities in their products, they also shared the Quebec identity and were not troubled by the translation work conducted by intermediaries. In the authenticity stories told by Quebec intermediaries, the protagonists were not necessarily the producers, but Quebec society itself: intermediaries claimed Quebec cheeses to be authentic to the Quebec people and represented the cheeses as collective achievements all Quebecers could take pride in. Intermediaries substituted the producers' identity for that of the Quebec people's. The latter was a highly resonant identity, shared by a much wider cross section of Quebec society and the product of a larger identity-building project associated with the logic of

the nation-state. In contrast, the narrower producer identity was embedded in the logic of the alternative agriculture movement and likely had fewer adherents.

However, the reinterpretation did not appear entirely fabricated to Quebec producers. Quebec producers consistently agreed that there had been no interest in or tradition of fine cheeses in Quebec only a couple decades earlier, but they did share the Quebec identity and express pride in contributing to a 'tradition in the making' that would benefit future generations of Quebecers. As a result, it would be wrong to suggest that Quebec cheeses were 'less authentic' because producers sought to deceive by creating an illusory sense of authenticity that appealed to the masses. Both sets of producers remained faithful to an idealized notion of emancipation, the only difference being that for Ontario producers it was the emancipation of the individual self and for Quebec producers the individual self was also nested in that of the collective.

These findings also raise concerns about recent approaches to the study of authenticity among organizational ecologists. Carroll and colleagues (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Carroll & O'Connor, 2012; Carroll, 2015) propose two types of authenticity related to food: craft and idiosyncratic. These attributions are said to arise from the products' conformity to expected methods of production, or from the uniqueness or quirky attributes of the organizations' founders, respectively (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Carroll & O'Connor, 2012; Carroll, 2015). This research challenges that view because I find that the products were not valued because of qualities innate to them, such as their ingredients and their methods of production, or even because they were unique. Instead, their value lay in a much more elusive sense of connectedness to their producers, where consumption represented an appropriation of the producers' lifestyles, idealized as free of the trappings of modern, industrial, consumerist society.

Moreover, the importance of that connection was multiplied in Quebec, where producers were elevated to the level of national symbols. Quebec and Ontario cheese producers were identical on all counts. The firms were similarly sized and owned, produced cheese using similar modes of production and espoused the same sets of values. For all intents and purposes, the two organizational populations were identical. The perceived connection to the producer took on greater symbolic value in Quebec, because it came to also signify a connection to the national body. Thus, the cheeses did not simply represent an instantiation of the individual self in a society bent on homogenizing and standardizing its members, but that of the collective self, within a greater political environment perceived as threatening the nation's very existence. Ecologists' disregard for the values and beliefs that underlie authenticity attributions lead them to ignore why authenticity attributions can become so impactful, or even emerge at all.

A case in point is McKendrick and Hannan's (2013) argument about the role authenticity in the rise of independent whiskey distilleries in Scotland. McKendrick and Hannan's (2013) study what they describe as an apparent conundrum: the lack of resource partitioning in the Scottish whiskey industry for many decades despite high levels of market concentration, which Carroll and Swaminathan (2000) had argued leads to resource partitioning. McKendrick and Hannan (2013) argue that the rise of independent, seemingly authentic, whiskey distilleries during the 1970s occurred only when market concentration was problematized, and that happened only with a rise of foreign ownership of whiskey producers. Yet, their argument about why foreign ownership was so important stays closely wedded to the product and industry in question: they argue that concerns arose that foreign firms lacked attention to the local production methods that originally contributed to the production of quality whiskies. My findings suggest an alternative explanation. Scotland,

similar to Quebec, has a strong regional identity. It is possible that foreign ownership emerged as a highly contentious issue during the 1970s not purely out of concerns for a possible drop in whisky quality, but because Scotland was also in the midst of a revival of its nationalist movement. That movement would lead to the first of three referenda on Scottish succession from Britain in 1979. Concerns over foreign ownership may have resonated with a rising discourse of independence. Thus, the rise of independent distilleries in Scotland may have occurred in a very similar fashion to the rise of artisan cheese producers in Quebec: out of a concern for regional authenticity and intertwined with a much larger societal/regional identity building project.

CONCLUSION

This paper makes three main contributions. First, it disentangles meanings of authenticity that are often conflated in the literature, such as the creators' drive for self-expression and the reproduction of culture and traditions. It identifies two distinct conceptualizations of authenticity: personal authenticity and regional authenticity. Second, it extends research on authenticity beyond concerns over how organizations conform to established conventions of authentic production, to the emergence of entirely new authentic market categories. It reveals that the existence of personal authenticity represents a necessary, though perhaps insufficient condition for a nascent market category to be regarded as more than an imitation or reproduction of a long-lost practice, and benefit from a genuine sense of antiquity, which also requires regional authenticity. Third, it advances our understanding of the contradictions inherent with authentic markets: the apparently fabricated nature of authentic markets and scripted nature of authenticity claims (Peterson, 1997; Fine, 2003). It reveals that producers need not sway from their commitment to personal authenticity in order to render their products desirable and meaningful to consumers as their

markets take shape. This is particularly the case when intermediaries emerge who reinterpret products for the benefit of consumers, albeit for self-serving reasons.

Table 1-1. Summary of interviews

Roles	Ontario	Quebec
Producers	9	16
Retailers	5	7
Distributors	1	1
Other (consultants, regulators, writers)	2	6
Total	17	30

Table 1-2. Archival data summary

Type of Data and Source	Province	Date Range & Page Count	Analysis of Data
Newspaper Reports (*The Montreal Gazette*, *La Presse*, *Le Soleil*, *Le Devoir)*	Quebec	1985-2013 1648 articles	Analyzed to study the content and change over time of the discourse about Quebec cheese and Terroir in urban Quebec. Added conceptual depth to the analysis and validated the claims by informants about the chronological sequence of events in the industry.
Rural Development Agency (*Solidarité rurale du Québec*) reports about artisanal agriculture	Quebec	1991-2013 469 pages	Analyzed to study the content and change over time of the discourse about food in rural Quebec. Solidarité rurale du Québec is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1991 that has rural county governments, trade unions and business development organizations as stake holders. It was pivotal in defining and disseminating the concept of Terroir in Quebec by hosting conferences on the topic, publishing reports and actively participating in Ministry of Agriculture committees to define policy. Its publications revealed a shift in discourse from the time of its founding to when it began emphasizing the Quebec Terroir in the late 1990s.
Government Reports (*Quebec Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food*)	Quebec	1997-2008 551 pages	Government reports describing government agricultural and cheese-specific programs, and the state of the artisan cheese industry. These reports revealed the efforts of government agencies to implant the concept of a Quebec Terroir. They also discussed the structure of and challenges facing the industry.
Industry Reports and Surveys	Quebec & Ontario	2007, 2008, 2012 114 pages	Reports about and surveys of artisan cheese producers by marketing agencies, commissioned by the dairy associations. The reports provided strategic recommendations for producers and insight into industry structure.
Artisan cheese Guidebooks	Quebec & Ontario	1994-2013 10 books (Quebec only) 2 books (Canada incl. Quebec)	Guidebooks provided a synopsis of the artisan cheese industry by showcasing producers and their products. Guidebooks often followed a similar format. They introduced readers to cheese terminology and provided a brief historical narrative about the industry. They then discussed individual producers, in a manner that I presumed was consistent with the image each producer sought to portray. The introductions of Quebec guidebooks generally evoked Quebec's French heritage and life in New France. Also, a number of books published in Quebec were in the form of cookbooks with recipes created specifically for Quebec cheeses.

Table 1-3. Summary of themes expressed by groups of storytellers

Storytelling Group	Personal Authenticity	Regional Authenticity
Quebec Producers	**	*
Ontario Producers	**	
Quebec Intermediaries (about Quebec cheeses)	*	**
Ontario Intermediaries (about Quebec cheeses)	*	**
Ontario Intermediaries† (about Ontario cheeses)	*	

**Represents the major theme used to describe the product
* Represents a less important theme used to describe the product

† A single asterisk (*) is used to represent how Ontario cheeses were described by Ontario intermediaries because they showed little interest in speaking about Ontario cheeses; they often redirected questions about Ontario cheeses to European or Quebec cheeses.

Table 1-4. Representative Quotations for Theme 1: Personal Authenticity

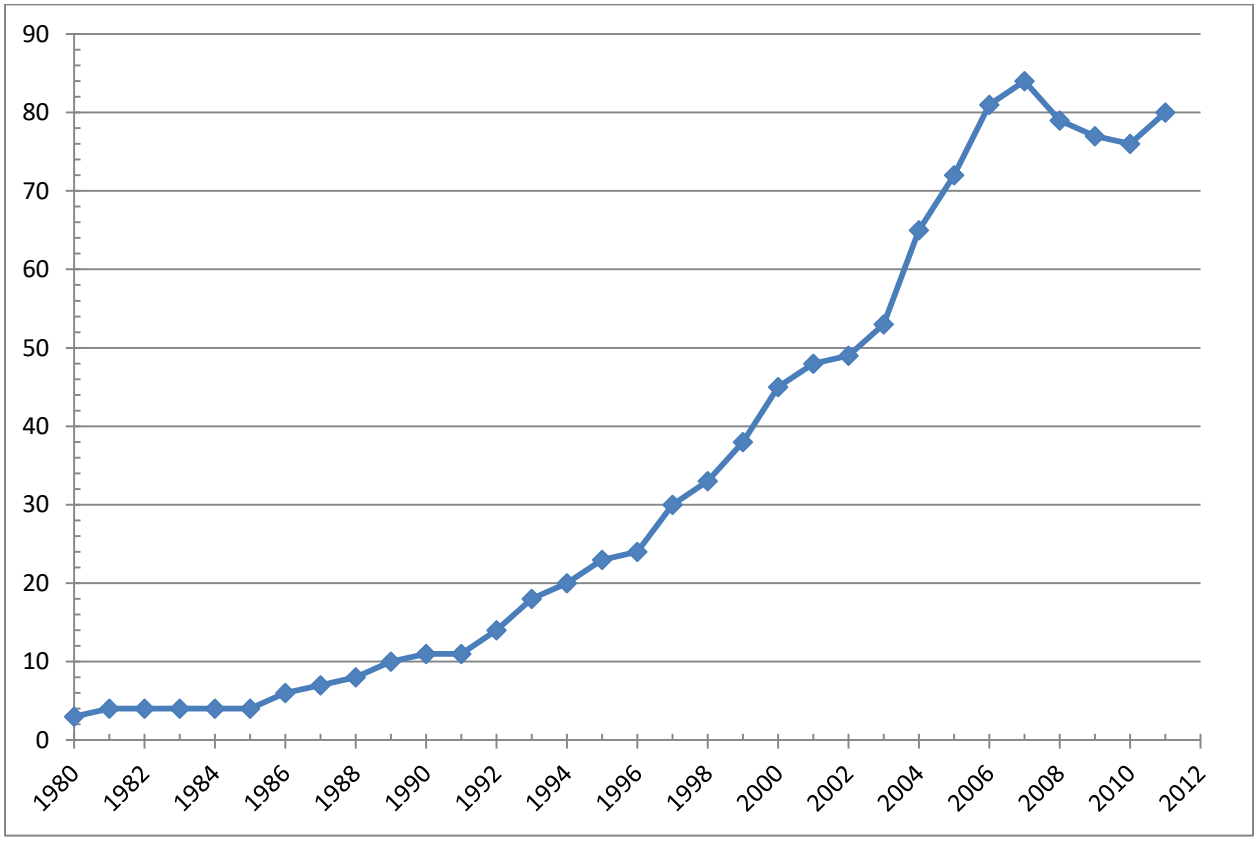
Integrity	
Dedication	"We say natural, because we are not certified organic, but [customers] like the flavor of the product, they find it interesting, and they know it is made locally, with care. So there is trust." (Quebec Producer)
	"That's what keeps you driven, when people say that is really good, even if it's not that good, they just know that there is a little bit more care." (Ontario Producer)
Transparency	"If you call me and tell me "your cheese was not good", or "I would like you to do something or another", there is a better chance I will listen more than a large company." (Quebec Producer)
	"Our door is open 24/7 basically. If [customers] want to walk into our farm and look at our goats, look at our fields, see how we practice, even volunteer to help us, they know that the invite is always open, so we are transparent I think is the best word." (Ontario producer)
Emotion	
Passion	"An artisan, for me, is the person who works with their hands and has a passion, someone with the desire to produce something real." (Quebec Producer)
	"People taste the passion in our cheese, if [we are preoccupied outside of work, consumers will tell us] "you know what, I just don't feel the love in it… the cheese kind of got dry this week" or something like that, people know it." (Ontario Producer)
Pride	"'We love being surprised by flavors. In my case, that is why I became a cheese maker, why I became interested. There is a panoply of incredible flavors and [the idea] of becoming master or artisan of that interested me." (Quebec Producer)
	"When you're a chef you measure your self-worth by the amount of food you produce and how people feel after they eat it. And then to going to doing something industrial where you don't even touch the cheeses… I would have rather mopped floors."(Ontario Producer)
Actualization	
Degree of automation	"Artisanal is that which is not industrial, mechanized, automated." (Quebec Producer)
	"Artisanal is certainly very small volumes. It is not mechanized, it is not automated. It is made as much as possible by hand. You know, here, all our cheeses are rubbed by hand and the molds are filled by hand. There is hardly any equipment." (Quebec Producer)
Personal involvement	"If I allow someone else to make my cheese, it's not my cheese anymore, it's their cheese… the cheese is an extension of myself. It makes me feel good to make something that someone else wants."(Ontario Producer)
	"For me artisanal means that I touch every cheese. So its small enough vats and it's all made by hand and everything gets touched." (Ontario Producer)
Vertical integration	"If we were just buying milk it's just like going to the grocery store and getting your ingredients and you make something. We get more out of it because we have the animals, we know where the milk came from, we know how much work it took... [this is] more hands-on." (Ontario Producer)
	"You're feeling what you are making. It's like when you put manure in your garden, you plant your tomatoes, at the end of the season you eat your tomatoes. You know what's going in, you know everything, you actually feel it, you put your heart, blood, work and sweat, it's the same with the goats." (Ontario Producer)

Table 1-5. Representative Quotations for Theme 2: Regional Authenticity

Connectedness to Regional Soil	
Uniqueness of Soil	"People come in to buy local… local for them means Quebec. Consumers know that when they buy local, they are protecting their terroir. They want a product that is specific and represents the tastes of Quebecers and not a universal product that would please everybody." (Quebec Retailer)
Place of belonging	"It is the taste and the typicity[2] that makes it so that in Quebec we have a curiosity… we have the gastronomy of pleasure, of attachment, of emotion". (Quebec Retailer)
Pride for Regional Culture	
Cultural distinctiveness & distinction	"We believe we can become the Europeans of North America, we believe this because we are visionary." (Quebec Producer)
	"Quebec made some great strides in the evolution of cheese making. We want to go further in our status in North America, because I think Quebec should become the supplier of fine cheeses to North America, we have the cultural capacity to do it." (Quebec Retailer)
People like "us"	"We have to personalize it. I will give you the example of [a Quebec cheese named after the producer's ancestors]. The name has a signification… there is a historic link and we are positioned to explain it to the consumer. When the consumer can personify the product they consume, well there is an attachment, and a pride as well, and all gets interwoven: Culture, pride for Quebec, pride of what we make, associated to people from here, associated to a place, a location, a geography, and that's it. We are a vehicle, commercially speaking, we seek to be a vehicle for that culture, as much as possible… It is no longer a cheese that we sell, it is with this value surrounding it that we can justify the $40, $45, $50 per kilogram we ask. Yes, there is a methodology to calculate prices, but the value must be beyond the pecuniary value strictly speaking. We must give the client an image." (Quebec Retailer)
Expression of Regional History	
Origin myth	"In Quebec, we have an old French tradition. It arrived here with Champlain in 1632, it was the cows and the recipes from all over France, the Frenchman with his recipe book and cheese. We made cheese all along the [Saint-Lawrence] river. And we lived through the first death of our cheese heritage with the arrival of the loyalists." (Quebec Retailer)
	"If we look historically, starting at the beginning, at the beginning we were under French governance. Therefore, being under French governance we developed [French] eating habits and when we came under English governance, other things were added to the culture. They tried to eliminate certain things but didn't succeed... and we always kept a history of cheese, it's cultural, I think it's really in our DNA to cook, eat well, to do the best with fresh products." (Quebec Retailer)
Revival myth	"If we go back to the British conquest, after the British conquest, for all sorts of reasons, the Francophone people closed ranks and lived a little in isolation… with the 1960s, with the Quiet Revolution, [Quebec society] started to reopen" (Quebec Food Writer)

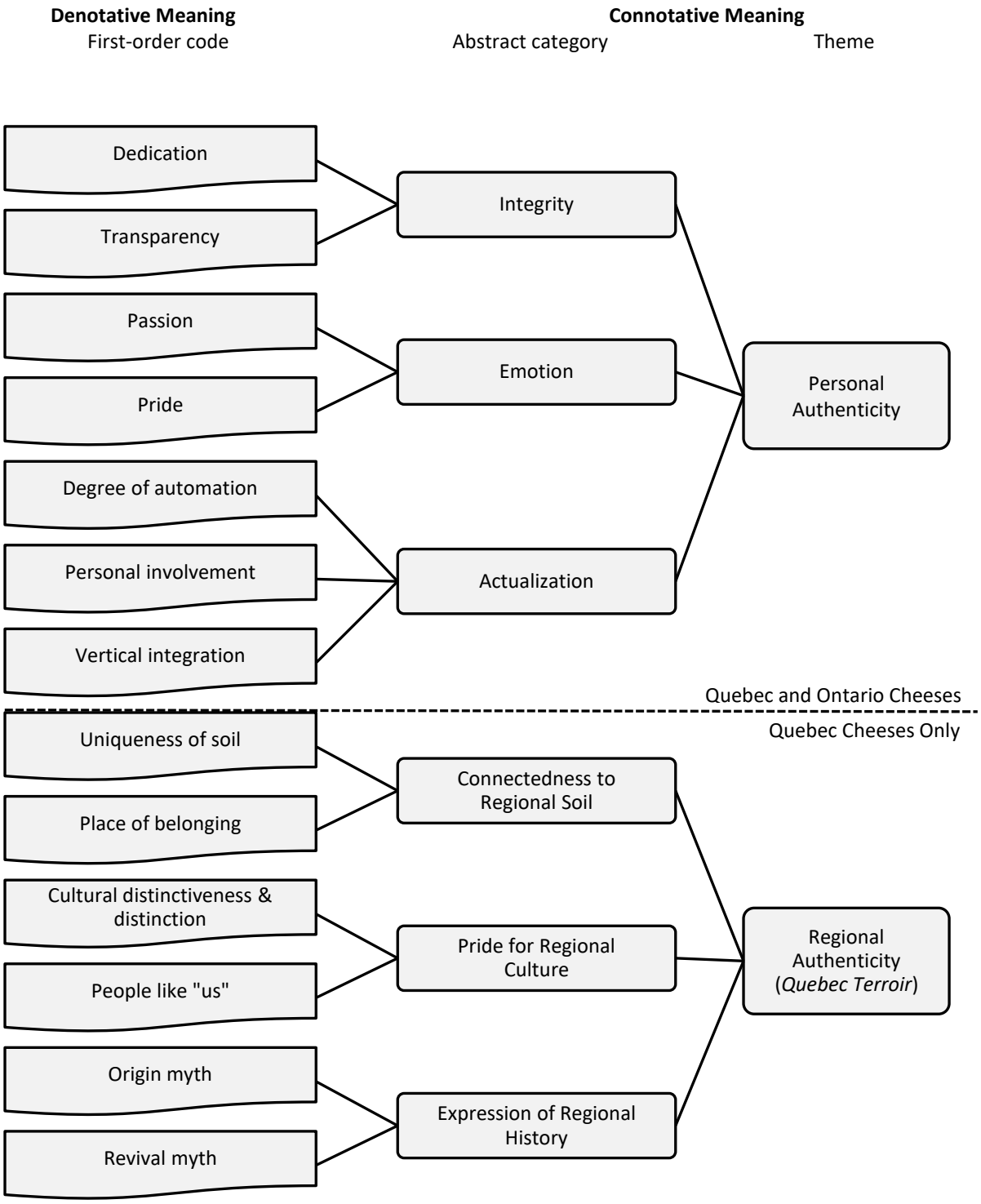
[2] *Typicity* is from the French term *typicité,* which refers to the characteristic traits of foods produced in a given terroir. It suggests that terroir imparts unique and recognizable flavors to the cheeses and wines produced there.

Figure 1-1. Annual Count of Artisan Cheese Producers in Quebec[3]



[3] Organizational density was triangulated using data from multiple sources. A market insider provided an Excel spreadsheet indicating the years of operation, the types of milk used and amount of milk processed by Quebec cheese producers. The information in the spreadsheet was verified using a guide to the Quebec artisan cheese industry (Foreman, 2012) and records of artisan cheese production permit holders from the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food of Quebec (Ministère de l'Agriculture, des Pêcheries et de l'Alimentation du Québec).

Figure 1-2. Data Structure



Paper 2. THE MAKING OF PATRIOTIC MARKETS

ABSTRACT

This study sheds light on the construction of patriotic markets. Patriotic markets are exchanges of products or services whose consumption inspires a sense of belonging to a nation. While there is evidence that specific products or services may come to embody patriotic beliefs, there is little research on how entire categories may do the same. I reveal the state as an important actor in the construction of patriotic markets. Whereas the state has traditionally been regarded as playing a neutral role in markets, largely as a regulator, I show that the state can imbue markets with patriotic understandings, thus helping promulgate its preferred notions of nationhood. Specifically, I show that when the state introduces a patriotic discourse about a nascent market, the discourse may become quickly appropriated by market actors, informing how they organize. I also show that the state may enshrine these discourses in patriotically worded laws and regulations.

INTRODUCTION

> "Bush arrived on the scene in grand fashion, his motorcade driving once around the 2.5-mile racetrack and creeping slowly past the main grandstand to cheering, clapping, and flag waving from the majority of the 180,000 fans in attendance. Wearing a black Daytona 500 leather jacket covered with NASCAR insignia, Bush inspected cars and posed for pictures with various drivers. Country singer Lee Greenwood entertained fans with his well-known rendition of "God Bless the USA." Adding military flavor to the spectacle, two F-15s streaked by overhead, followed by another flyover from a B-2 stealth bomber flanked by fighter jet escorts. Air Force One, stationed at nearby Daytona Beach International Airport, was clearly visible to fans in the grandstands" (Newman & Giardina, 2010, p. 10).

Nationhood is so taken-for-granted in stable, modern, Western states, that most appeals to our national identities, even when successful, simply go unrecognized and unquestioned (Billig, 1995). References to nationhood are both ubiquitous and, as a result of their ubiquity, able to hide in plain sight. However, in some cases, such appeals are so blatant we cannot help but recognize them. The above quotation reveals, in vivid detail, the patriotic fervor generated by the display of America's military might and the visit by its figurehead, George Bush, to the Daytona 500 during his 2004 re-election campaign. Rather than a lone occurrence or simple marketing ploy, this wedding of economic and political interests had long been nurtured through close ties between the Republican Party and NASCAR's management, to their mutual benefit (Newman & Giardina, 2010).

The NASCAR case exemplifies a co-alignment of political and economic interests in the making of, what I term, 'patriotic markets'. I define patriotic markets as categories of products or services whose consumption inspires a sense of belonging to a nation-state. Examples abound of

organizations seeking to inspire patriotic sentiment: in a particularly visible example, during the 2016 American presidential campaign, Anheuser-Busch renamed its Budweiser brand of beers simply as 'America'. Post-9/11 America saw a rapid outburst of a militarized form of American nationalism, which was subsequently normalized and commercialized, so that today it is not uncommon for products of all types to come adorned in national symbols (Silk & Falcous, 2005), where firms often vaunt their military-focused philanthropy as they 'support the troops' (Weedon, 2012). However, beyond the marketing efforts of individual firms, entire categories of organizations may come to be regarded in patriotic terms. For example, activists have labeled energy efficiency a patriotic duty, because it is said to contribute to energy independence (Stafford, 2003). Likewise, NASCAR is not alone in the sporting world because much of American professional sport has been injected with a hyper-masculine, militarized form of American nationalism in recent years (Silk, Andrews, & Cole, 2005).

In a globalized era of free flowing capital and continued deregulation, national identification remains a powerful force (Opp, 2005). As a result of such deregulation, product markets are increasingly becoming vehicles for national identity, to be experienced and affirmed through their consumption (DeSoucey, 2010). States, for their part, are increasingly employing strategies from the business world to actively define – or redefine – national identities, in order to attract the 'right kinds' of foreign investment (Aronczyk, 2013). Yet, there is a paucity of research on how emergent markets may gain an aura of national authenticity, that is, the perceptions of rootedness in national history and expressiveness of national identity. Apart from sport, food is another venue that can elicit strong patriotic sentiment (Blowen, Demossier, & Picard, 2001; Montanari, 2006; DeSoucey, 2010). This research is of the emergence of the artisanal cheese

market in the Canadian province of Quebec, a market that became intimately tied to notions of Quebec nationhood. Whereas cheese producers' initial entries were inspired by the tenets of the alternative agriculture movement, which was related to small-scale, sustainable and community-oriented production, the products were incorporated into a much larger patriotic discourse. This discourse transformed the 'local' into the 'national' and attracted the attention and participation of a wide array of field actors. In this research, I ask, how do patriotic markets arise?

In studying the making of this patriotic market, I make two main contributions. First, I reveal the key role of the state. Institutional accounts have focused on the state as a source of socio-political legitimacy (Baum & Oliver, 1991; Sine, David, & Mitsuhashi, 2007) or a creator and enforcer of laws and regulations (Dobbin & Dowd, 1997; Dobbin & Sutton, 1998; Scott, 2008). Yet, they have entirely disregarded the state's ability to activate and channel patriotic sentiment, which, as I show, may be directed at the making of patriotic markets. In the case of artisan cheeses, the state's powerful position had the effect of convening a highly diverse constellation of actors and providing them with a patriotic terminology with which to conceptualize and construct the patriotic market. Second, I reveal that patriotic markets may need to be tied to a sense of national loss or threat, against which consumption may be interpreted as a patriotic act. Moreover, this sense of patriotic duty is not limited to consumers, but must be manifested in seemingly altruistic behaviors by all the actors involved in the construction of the market.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Nationhood is a social construct that produces what Anderson (1991) famously describes as 'imagined communities'. As a relatively novel means of categorizing the collective-self, national identities can, particularly at times of war, even supersede familial or communal bonds in

service of putative nations, the vast majority of whose members one is never likely to meet (Calhoun, 1998). National identities, similar to other collective identities, produce social boundaries that reside on in-group and out-group distinctions, that often reflect criteria favorable to the in-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, national identities are distinct from all other collective identities in that they express a particular political theory: they delimit geographic space by defining territorial homelands, to which they assign expectations of political sovereignty, the vehicle of which is the modern state (Billig, 1995; Brubaker, 2009). Thus, the social boundaries that differentiate nations of neighboring states, legitimate the political boundaries that physically separate them (see Appendix 1 for more on the rise of the nation-state and the types of nationalism).

I define as nationalist discourse all language that evokes, and thereby helps construct or reproduce, notions of nationhood. Most palpable during times of war, nationalist discourse can sway into the overtly patriotic[4], self-aggrandizing rhetoric that espouses national greatness, often

[4] I use the terms 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' interchangeably. The distinction between 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' in the lay and some scholarly discourse is an unfortunate one, and reflects a value judgment (Brubaker, 2009), rather than a distinction with any empirical validity. Scholars have recently challenged the distinction, arguing that both terms refer to the same orientation towards a putative nation (e.g. Billig, 1995; Calhoun, 1998; Alexander, 2003; Brubaker, 2009). 'Nationalism' is often used as a negatively charged term because it is erroneously associated with hostility towards out-groups, and as the cause of wars and genocides, while 'patriotism' is often used as a positively charged term because it is associated with a laudable and selfless love of country (Brubaker, 2009). In the United States, this distinction is further accentuated by the prevailing value distinction between rational thought and emotion, where patriotism is associated with rational thought – regarded as cool and enlightened – and nationalism is associated with emotion – regarded as irrational, passionate and dangerous (Billig, 1995; Alexander, 2003). This distinction

with references to political sovereignty and the nation's founding myths (Trevor-Roper, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990). However, even at times of peace, nationalist discourse never entirely disappears. Nations exist in a world of nations, and nationhood is constantly being reaffirmed, be it in the way economic data is collected, Olympic games competed, or passports accorded (Calhoun, 1998). This steady stream of nationalist discourse represents a nearly imperceptible background hum that inculcates our daily lives, and is referred to as a 'banal' nationalism by Billig (1995). For example, whether the media speaks of industries or the weather, it often does so of 'national' industries or presents 'national' meteorological maps, all the while subtly evoking nationhood and narrowing the world, both in its complexities and geographies (Billig, 1995). Thus, even when nationalist discourse appears dormant, it represents a ready pool of powerful, taken-for-granted values and beliefs, available to be mobilized for any number of ends (Brubaker, 2004).

Nonetheless, nationalism's uses in and consequences on markets have been virtually ignored by institutional theorists. In fact, this lacunae is repeated in much of organizational

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mirrors the distinction between ethnic and civic types of nationalism discussed in Appendix 1, whereby 'ethnic nationalism' is often truncated simply as 'nationalism' (Billig, 1995), and 'civic nationalism' then becomes 'patriotism.' Yet this distinction is a matter of perspective, such that 'nationalism' is often employed to describe the ideology of xenophobic 'others' still wedded to their ethnic or tribal pasts, while 'patriotism' is employed to describe 'our' virtuous sentiments towards our more civilized nations. Recent scholarly work argues that national identity may be activated (i.e. a sense of patriotism or nationalism aroused) for any number of ends, good or bad. Although I regard the two terms as interchangeable, I use the term 'patriotic market' to avoid the negative connotations sometimes associated with 'nationalism'.

research, with the exception of a narrow stream of research studying mergers and acquisitions by multinational enterprises, a literature that attends specifically to the tensions associated with notions of foreignness as organizations cross national boundaries. Consequently, the literature review that follows is structured in three parts: First, I review what literature does exist from an institutional perspective that suggests an influence of nationalist discourses and national identities on markets or organizations; Second, given that the discourse of nationhood represents the legitimating basis of the modern state, I review how the extant literature has conceptualized the state and its relationship to markets. Third, for a more thorough understanding of how nationalist discourses are deployed, I turn to the narrow stream of literature on mergers and acquisitions by multinational enterprises, which is among the rare literatures that focuses squarely on the uses and consequences of the nationalist discourse.

Patriotism in Institutional Theory

How conceptions of nationhood can impact markets, and, more specifically, how markets may become symbolically charged with patriotic ideals, have been largely ignored in institutional theory. Institutional theory argues markets or organizational fields operate according to logics, which are interrelated sets of material and symbolic resources that represent the organizing principles of institutions (Thornton, 2001, 2002; Dunn & Jones, 2010; Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011; Jones, Maoret, Massa, & Svejenova, 2012). These are said to be nested within more deeply institutionalized and broadly meaningful, societal-level logics, which Friedland and Alford (1991) explain are those of capitalism, family, democracy, Christianity, and, particularly for the purposes of the present discussion, the state. Yet, few have elaborated on the logic of the nation-state.

Those who have discussed the state logic, have often done so in a manner devoid of notions of nationhood. In their study of the U.S. banking sector, Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) oppose the 'national' and 'community' logics, by stating the former refers to a drive for efficiency and standardization, while the latter refers to a drive to maintain community autonomy. Also studying the banking sector, Almandoz (2012, 2014) redefines the 'national logic' as the 'financial' logic, but the implications are the same: national banks are guided entirely by concerns for scale and profit, whereas the community banks operate "on the basis of strong, affective, and enduring ties among members of small and bounded groups" (Almandoz, 2012, p. 1382). In both cases, these authors disregard the main force of nationalism, which, as Calhoun (1998) explains, is its ability to construct powerful communal bonds:

> "Nationalism moves people emotionally, not least because it provides a sense of location in a large and complex world and an enormous reach of history. It is crucial to grasp nationalism is a positive source of meaning – and even inspiration – and of mutual commitment among very large groups of people" (Calhoun, 1998, p. 126).

Thus, ignored is the possibility that the national logic, similar to the community logic, creates strong, affective bonds and a desire for autonomy, albeit among a larger (imagined) community.

Yet, some authors do recognize that conceptions of nationhood can have material impacts on markets. For example, Haveman, Habinek and Goodman (2012) reveal that American national identity informed 18th century efforts to construct an American magazine publishing industry. The emergent industry, which would be independent of the then-dominant British magazine publishing industry, was seen as crucial to the development of the young nation, whereby "American magazine founders, even in the colonial era, viewed their ventures as keystones of political freedom" (p. 592). In turn, they relied upon the then recently established U.S. postal service for

distribution, which had itself been founded "as a tool for creating a national community that would transcend [U.S.] state boundaries" (p. 590). Likewise, Zilber (2006) explains that the Israeli high technology sector became symbolic of the broader Israeli national project, which provided it with an important basis for legitimacy (Zilber, 2006). Consequently, indications do exist that national identities can inform how market actors organize their activities or are received by their environments.

Moreover, the literature reveals both state and market actors can deploy symbols of nationhood to strategically advance their agendas. In a later study about Israeli high-tech sector, Zilber (2011) explains that market actors sought to maintain close relationships with the Israeli state by organizing annual conferences where state officials were invited, national symbols such as the Israeli flag, Hebrew and the national anthem were deployed and high-tech was discussed as part of the Israeli national project. These elements were largely missing at another conference attended purely by market actors, where global markets were the focus of discussion (Zilber, 2011). Similarly, though from the perspective of the state, Rao (1998) explains that the consumer watchdog organization, Consumers Union, was censured by the state simply by defining it un-American, a categorization potentially so hazardous that this activist organization radically revised its purpose and form.

In sum, while institutional theory only tangentially discusses patriotism, it does suggest that patriotism can have a material impact on markets. Institutional theory does have the theoretical tools, in the form of the theory of institutional logics, to conceptualize how patriotism may be mobilized and affect markets. However, prevailing conceptualizations of a 'state logic' emphasize bureaucracy, standardization and profit, ignoring the power of nationalist discourses and the force

of national identities. In the next section, given the lack of attention to the patriotic underpinnings of the state, I review how the state has generally been portrayed by institutional scholars.

Portrayals of the State in Institutional Theory

Institutionalists have largely conceptualized the state as a rationalizer of social life. Institutional theorists draw heavily from Weber's texts about institutions, rationality, and the state (Scott, 2008). As Weber wrote, "the development of modern forms of organization in all fields is nothing less than identical with the development and continual spread of bureaucratic administration... Its development is, to take the most striking case, at the root of the modern Western state" (Weber, 1978, p. 223). Organizational research has continued in this tradition of regarding the state as a rationalizing force. In their seminal paper, Meyer and Rowan (1977) explained that "one of the central problems in organization theory is to describe the conditions that give rise to rationalized formal structure" (342), invoking Weber to propose the quest for legitimacy is the cause of rationalization and the centralized state is its vehicle. In this vein, DiMaggio and Powell argued that through the enactment and enforcement of laws and regulations, the state is among the "great rationalizers of the second half of the twentieth century" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 147).

Accordingly, research on the state in organizational theory has proceeded along two main paths. The first path has considered the state's role in isomorphism by coercion. Markets are complex spaces organized by layers of institutions under state control. At the highest level, anti-trust laws and interventionist policies affect the forms of cooperation and competition firms enact (Fligstein, 1990; Fligstein, 1996; Haveman, Russo, & Meyer, 2001; Mezias & Boyle, 2005) and the strategies they undertake to obtain financing (Dobbin & Dowd, 1997). Governments may

dictate the scope of firm activity by codifying industry boundaries, thus constituting distinct industries and limiting inter-industry competition (Haveman, 1993; Amburgey, Dacin, & Kelly, 1994; Dobbin & Dowd, 2000; Haveman et al., 2001). Closer to the daily activities of organizations, governments may demand the implementation of specific organizational practices (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983), or, at the very least, enact laws whose practical implications are socially constructed and then widely applied (Dobbin & Sutton, 1998; Kelly, 2003; Chuang, Church, & Ophir, 2011).

The second path has considered the state's capacity to legitimate novel organizational forms and practices. Institutional elites have the capacity to confer legitimacy by endorsing novel organizational forms and practices (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Sociopolitical legitimacy (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994), which derives from evaluations of fit with prevailing norms and values (Bitektine, 2011), is often inferred from organizational ties with the state (Baum & Oliver, 1991, 1992; Sine, Haveman, & Tolbert, 2005). For example, Sine, David, & Mitsuhashi (2007) found that in the emergent independent power sector, of the projects qualifying under the government program, those with government issued certifications, which were purely symbolic and could be had by all qualified firms for a minimal fee, were more likely to achieve start-up. Even absent regulation, the state may legitimate by its own patterns of consumption, as was the case for management consulting, of which the state was an important consumer during the formative years of the profession (David, 2012).

Alternatively, cognitive legitimacy, the perception that an organization belongs to a known category of organizations (Bitektine, 2011), is also affected by the state. Entrants into nascent markets lack even the basic cultural materials to apprehend and project the contours of their market. Entrepreneurs may lobby the state to regulate and codify their spheres of activity as distinct

market categories (Sine & David, 2003), thereby enjoying greater access to resources, audience attention, and seeing rising organizational entries (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio, 1991; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). Returning to the independent power example cited above, by their selection of the types of projects and technologies that would qualify for the program, government administrators drew the boundaries of and legitimated the nascent 'independent power' category (Sine et al., 2007).

However, organizational theorists have seldom applied Weberian style historical and interpretive methodologies in their analyses. The state is generally regarded as residing external to markets and devoid of signification. In research on stable markets, the state is often conceptualized as a source of exogenous shocks and figures into research only to the extent that it enacts laws or regulations that challenge prevailing field arrangements. Alternatively, in research on new or contested markets, the state is occasionally portrayed as an impartial arbiter, selecting between competing 'logics' (Granovetter & McGuire, 1998; Garud, 2008), but not altering the contents of those logics or the collective identities of the actors who promote them. While much of organizational research takes an interpretive approach to elaborate the 'logics' of markets and the collective identities of market actors, seldom do researchers apply the same methodologies to study the state and its influences on the markets it regulates.

In sum, the constellation of values and beliefs that give shape to and legitimate the modern state are largely absent in the institutional literature. The literature's characterization of the state simply as a powerful actor able to confer socio-political legitimacy or define rules and regulations ignores the very values and beliefs that allow it exist in the first place. The state exists to represent and give voice to the nation, yet the implications of this to markets has been seldom discussed. For

a greater focus on how patriotic sentiment is activated and its consequences, in the next section I turn to a narrow stream of research on international mergers and acquisitions.

Patriotism in International Mergers and Acquisitions

In organizational studies, research on international mergers and acquisitions has provided the greatest insights into the uses and consequences of nationalism. The meanings societies assign to foreign firms have major implications for the success of the multinational enterprises who enter those markets (Brannen, 2004). A stream of international business research has emerged that considers particularly how nationalist discourses are mobilized to interpret the foreignness of acquiring firms by the media in host countries and the employees of acquired firms. If most other areas of organizational research tend to ignore the importance of nationalism and the pull of national identities, these international business scholars suggest that they do so out of a fundamental belief in the retreat in importance of the nation-state with the rise of globalization.

In contrast, these scholars recognize that national identities still matter. The dramatic changes believed to have taken place with the advance of globalization are "are as yet, at best unfulfilled visions" (Ailon-Souday & Kunda, 2003, p. 1073), potentially regarded as amounting to little more than "globalony" (Emmott, 1991). Whereas accounts in support of globalization may be "rationalistic" in nature, nationalism continues to have great sway because, "in contrast to the rationalistic discourse, the rhetoric of the nationalistic discourse is often emotional, appealing to taken-for-granted, although often ambiguous, collective national sentiments" (Tienari, Vaara, & Björkman, 2003, p. 390)[5].

[5] It should be noted that this distinction between "rationalistic" and "nationalistic" perpetuates the very distinction to

These scholars reveal that nationalist discourses may be deployed to maintain social boundaries between employees along national lines in multinational enterprises (Riad & Vaara, 2011). Ailon-Souday and Kunda (2003) study the language used by Israeli employees to define 'national distinctiveness' with respect to their American counterparts in an Israeli high-technology firm that acquired an American competitor. Likewise, Vaara and Tienari (2011) study the language used by Swedish, Danish and Norwegian employees following a merger of financial service firms located in each of those countries. In both cases, the authors find that nationalist discourses were strategically mobilized as part of intra-organizational political struggles, to resist policies of integration. Specifically, each national group constructed 'us' and 'them' relationships and drew form prevailing patriotic accounts of national traits, to construct narratives of superiority with respect to and that justified limited integration with their foreign colleagues.

Research also indicates how such stories of nationally-grounded distinctions may be constructed. First, patriotic stories may take on militaristic or confrontational overtones (Vaara & Tienari, 2002), whether by evoking past national glories or historical conflicts. Nationalistic discourse is also often relationship-specific (Tienari et al., 2003), because it resonates most when it refers to historical conflicts between the specific nations implicated in the cross-border acquisitions. As an example of the use of past glories, Greenwood, Hinings and Brown (1998) study the cooperation among the international business units of a large accounting firm, as it chose

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which I refer in footnote 1. As I state there, patriotism is often portrayed as rational and positive, and nationalism as emotional, irrational and dangerous. I continue to argue that 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' are equivalent, and thus both have the potential to evoke positively or negatively-charged emotions.

to enter the former Soviet-Union upon the opening of that market. They find that the decisions to participate in the venture by national business units were partly founded on colonial-era beliefs of "national spheres of influence within the Big Six. For example, that the German firm has an "historic" place in Eastern Europe or the British firm has a "special connection" with Africa and other former colonies" (Cooper et al., 1998, p. 534). Moreover, by "talking about a national "Other", managers helped to make sense of their own position in the world. Drawing on, and elaborating national stereotypes as aggressive, bureaucratic, caring, imperialist" (541), the international partners constructed a social hierarchy among participating business units. Likewise, Zhu and McKenna (2012) study the failed takeover of an Australian mining firm by a Chinese state-owned enterprise, revealing that much of the discourse surrounding the Australian response evoked long-standing fears among Australian society of an Asian, particularly Chinese, invasion.

Second, and perhaps more fundamentally, events must first be recast as patriotic in nature to enable the telling of historical, national stories. The deployment of the nationalist discourse often requires events or individuals become "symbols representing their former 'cultures'" (Vaara & Tienari, 2002, p. 290). Riad and Vaara (2011) provide, perhaps, the most in-depth analysis of how this occurs by analyzing metonymy – when a part stands in for the whole, as in the case of the 'crown' standing in for rule of the king – present in nationalistic accounts. They reveal that subtle turns of phrase can conjure a rich constellation of highly taken-for-granted and value laden meanings. They identify two types of metonyms: The first type is the national metonym, which occurs when, for example, a country stands in for the organization. An example of this they provide relates to Lenovo's purchase of the IBM's personal computer division, where a newspaper article discusses "the Chinese way of buying America". The second type of metonym is the metonymic

national identifier, which occurs when a tangible element associated with a nation (such as a flag) stands in for an ideology (such as national sovereignty). An example from the IBM acquisition they provide is of a newspaper article that states, "when the once-red China takes a bite out of Big Blue", where 'red' refers to communist ideology, and "Big Blue" is a double entendre that refers to IBM and America. The red and blue distinction evokes long-standing ideological oppositions between east and west. In either case, such subtle turns of phrase can equate the sale of a firm to the sale of nation, suggesting threat to national sovereignty and arousing collective indignation and war-like mobilization (Riad & Vaara, 2011)

In sum, organizational research on international mergers and acquisitions has provided many insights into the importance and effects of nationalist discourses. It reveals that these continue to elicit powerful reactions among individuals, providing them with often unquestioned cognitive frames to conceptualize organizations, their members and events. The nationalist discourse resonates most when deployed in relation to members of other nations with historically antagonistic ties to one's own, and is deployed often to construct "positive distinctiveness", or threats that must be collectively neutralized. However, interestingly, even among scholars interested in the uses of the nationalist discourse in cross-border acquisitions, the state remains under-investigated. Even Tienari et al. (2003), who do recognize this lack of attention to the state, largely conceptualize the state as the *target* of nationalist discourse, deployed to convince state officials to reject foreign takeovers of local firms. In this research, I study the making of a patriotic market, revealing not only the force and uses of the nationalist discourse, but also the ability of the state to infuse it into the construction of new markets.

METHODOLOGY

I use archival data to study how markets evolve as they become increasingly embedded in their institutional environments. This study is part of the larger comparative study of the nascent Quebec and Ontario artisan cheese markets presented in paper one of my dissertation. Whereas the previous paper was largely based on a semiotic analysis of the interview data, the present paper represents a 'deep dive' into the Quebec context and focuses on archival materials. The empirical context is therefore limited to the emergence of the Quebec artisan cheese market, which I study between the years 1980 to 2013.

Empirical Context

This research is based on a qualitative study of the emergence of the Quebec artisan cheese market, where I study how it came to be associated with Quebec nationhood. Consequently, it is important to note Quebec society's unique political context. Although Quebec remains a Canadian province, Quebec society regards itself as a distinct nation and the province is home to an active secessionist movement. In the first section below, I expand on that political context. In the section that then follows, I discuss historical patterns of cheese production and consumption in the province. Although it is tempting to assume that Quebec society, as a descendant of French society, must have many of the same food traditions, this is not the case, particularly in relation to cheese consumption. In fact, many of those perceived links were constructed in recent years and their construction, in relation to cheese, represents part of my findings in this dissertation.

Quebec history and identity

The French colony of New France was first settled in 1608 with the founding of Quebec City, which fell to the British in 1759 during the Seven Years' War. New France was incorporated

into the British territories as Lower Canada, and eventually as the province of Quebec with the founding of Canada in 1867. The British severed links between Lower Canada and France and over time the descendants of New France came to identify themselves as French Canadian.

However, French and English Canadian societies evolved along different trajectories. After the British (allied with native tribes and French Canadian militia) successfully defended Canadian territories from American attacks, British loyalists poured into areas of Quebec that had largely been French speaking. Protestant and urbanizing, the loyalists became increasingly secular and industrial. Meanwhile, French Canadians, Catholic and under the strict authority of the church, remained rural (Bruner, 2002). English Canadians came to dominate economic and political life in Quebec and the inequalities became salient with urbanization, spurring the rise of a nationalist movement in the 1950s (Bruner, 2002; Gundlach & Neville, 2012).

The movement caused a change in national identity from French Canadian to Quebecer (Québécois). Intellectuals and activists promoted the new Quebec identity to widen the perceived gulf between French and English Canadians. Their discourse emphasized Quebec's pre-conquest past in New France and, by extension, Quebec's historical links to France (Maclure, 2003; Oakes & Warren, 2007). Intellectuals celebrated the authenticity of the early life of French settlers, claiming that any traditions appearing after the 1759 defeat were of foreign origin and suspect (Maclure, 2003). The new identity was anchored to the provincial territory. While French Canadians living outside the province continue to identify themselves as Canadians, those living inside the province now identify themselves as Quebecers (Oakes & Warren, 2007).

The movement culminated in two referenda for the secession of Quebec and had far reaching implications to the Canadian government. The first referendum was held in 1980 and the

second, which resulted in a secessionist defeat by only 0.6%, in 1995. It should be noted that the losses were due in no small part to fears promulgated by the federal government of a post-secession economic collapse in Quebec. Today, Quebec's 'national' identity is undisputedly the Québécois identity and a popular term – often disparagingly used – is 'The ROC' to refer to the 'the rest of Canada' as a pseudo-separate entity. The Canadian government has devolved many of its powers to the provinces since the start of the 'Quiet Revolution' in an effort to appease demands by successive Quebec governments for greater autonomy (Bickerton, 2010). The federal government has also granted Quebec extraordinary powers in some cases, such as the unique right among Canadian provinces to determine its immigration policy (Boushey & Luedtke, 2006). Furthermore, in 2006, the Canadian parliament passed a motion recognizing the Québécois as a distinct nation within Canada. The issue of secession remains a perennial favorite among Quebec journalists and politicians.

Quebec Dairy Sector Prior to 1980. Historically, Quebec was always a large producer of milk, producing 29.4 million hectoliters of milk in 2013 (Government of Canada, 2011), which would rank it 8th in milk production were it an American state. Quebec was also a large producer of cheddar, and was home to over 1,200 small-scale cheddar producers in the late nineteenth century, largely serving English demand. However, the industry experienced massive consolidation following a collapse in English demand due to rising international competition, and a poor reputation for quality, combined with the high costs of modernization (Fournier, 1994). By 1980, there were no artisanal cheddar producers remaining and the dairy sector was highly centralized with a small number of very large firms.

Despite a plausible assumption that Quebec must have French food traditions because it

has French roots, Quebec's food traditions were highly affected by its natural environment and social ties with aboriginal tribes. French economic interests in New France were closely related to the fur trade. Settlers appropriated many food practices from indigenous peoples – among whom men would live for years at a time while hunting for fur – to survive the harsh winters (Desloges & De Courval, 2009). Quebec society traditionally never conceptualized itself as having a fine or distinctive cuisine (Bizier, 2012) and consumption of dairy was largely limited to milk and butter (Lambert, 2006; Desloges & De Courval, 2009). The earliest settlers did produce cheeses from their French heritage, but these were largely produced on the farm, for personal consumption, and were rarely available for sale (Fournier, 1994). Save for a few cheeses produced by monastic orders, the production of these cheeses disappeared with urbanization (Fournier, 1994).

Consequently, Quebec society's cheese consumption was limited to cheddar, and a mild form of cheddar at that. The production of cheddar came to Quebec with the arrival of the large numbers of Loyalists after the American declaration of independence. Cheddar production would grow dramatically in Quebec because cheddar could endure the maritime crossing to Britain and therefore producers had access to a large export market. However, even though Quebec produced large quantities of cheddar, Quebecers largely produced sharp cheddar for export and preferred the milder form for their own consumption (Fournier, 1994). This history did not portend the artisanal cheese market that would later develop, with its diverse and often pungently scented cheeses. An article featuring a retrospective on the career of one of the first fine cheese retailers to open shop in Montreal described the context in 1961 as follows:

> "It required audacity and considerable vision to embark on such an adventure in the Belle Province [the nickname for Quebec], because Quebecers in that era reveled mainly in industrial cheeses and cheddar, an inescapable part of the ancestral heritage that everyone loved to devour without restraint. "They were

> good, and still are, but diversity did not exist. Nothing to satisfy the curious. And the rare cheeses arriving from France landed in Quebec with all the classical prejudices related to their strong odors. It wasn't easy to bring European cheeses to Quebec tables…" recounts Ian Picard with a smile" (Anonymous, 2014, September 9) .

As a result, in 1980, when the first Quebec artisan cheese producers appeared, the vast majority of the cheeses that were produced were mild cheddars.

However, the back-to-the-land movement, which spurred the emergence of artisanal agriculture across North America (Paxson, 2012), also spurred entries of producers into the artisan cheese market. In 2012, the number of producers had grown to 80 in Quebec. Figure 1 reveals the number of artisan cheese producers in Quebec between 1980 and 2012. The figure shows that at the start of the period there were virtually no artisan cheese producers. Growth in the number of cheese producers began in the early 1990s, and accelerated in the early 2000s.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Data Collection

Data was gathered from three main sources: publications by the primary actors, media accounts, and interviews with informants. Table 2-1 provides a summary of the data.

Insert Table 2-1 about here

Industry Publications. My primary data source is archival materials produced by the main actors who helped fashion the industry. I gathered and read reports written by producer associations, government agencies and a prominent rural development organization, Solidarité Rurale du Québec (translated as Rural Solidarity of Quebec), comprised of rural activists, trade unions and

other organizations. It should be noted that these actors were identified as data collection and analysis unfolded, which they did in an iterative fashion. For example, the importance of Solidarité Rurale du Québec (SRQ hereafter) to the development of the cheese market only appeared during analysis, after much of the industry data had been collected. The language used by seemingly unrelated actors was surprisingly similar, until it surfaced that SRQ not only promoted the same discourse, but, with the support of the Quebec provincial government, had organized the first conferences on local agriculture in Quebec, where key terms and ideas about agriculture, which greatly supported the development of the artisanal cheese market, were first discussed and developed.

Media Accounts. Whereas industry publications were written for consumption by other industry actors, media accounts were intended for consumption by the wider public, and both affected and reflected how the general public came to conceptualize artisan agriculture and, specifically, artisan cheese. I conducted keyword searches looking for newspaper articles with combinations of the terms artisan, cheese, Quebec and terroir (which I discuss further below). I also read biographies about and books published by individuals who had a profound influence on gastronomy in Quebec, including food journalists and celebrity chefs. I read guidebooks about artisan cheese because these books narrate the historical evolution of the market, explain the key characteristics of artisan cheese and showcase individual producers.

Interviews. I supplemented archival materials with interview data. Informant selection began by gathering the names of all cheese producers. I obtained the government issued list of milk-processing permit holders for the year 2011. The document indicated the type of activities and approximate size of each firm, which enabled me to identify artisan cheese producers. I sent

interview requests by mail to all artisanal cheese producers and contacted them by telephone individually. I attended the Quebec Artisan Cheese Festival and the Quebec Fine Cheese Festival during 2012 and 2013 where I met multiple cheese producers. I also tracked the participation of producers in cheese festivals and their mentions in the media to ensure my sample included highly visible artisans. I did so because I presumed these artisans would have had greater influence in the construction of the market. I interviewed 16 cheese artisans in Quebec, terminating the interviews when I was satisfied saturation had been reached. I also recruited informants across a wide range of 'support' roles, such as retailers, distributors, regulators and consultants. I identified these actors by referrals from cheese producers. I also identified retailers using internet listings of cheese shops in Montreal, the largest city in Quebec. Interviews generally lasted between 1 and 1.5 hours and were transcribed and manually coded using Atlas.ti 6.0.

Data Analysis

Given the paucity of empirical work on the construction of patriotic markets, I pursued an inductive theory elaboration approach. I moved iteratively between gathering interview and archival data, and between data and theory, as is commonly done in interpretive research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). The analysis proceeded in three major stages, which I now describe. It should be noted, that the stages did not proceed in a strictly sequential fashion, because I returned to earlier stages as new findings came to light.

First, I developed a chronological order of key events (Langley, 1999). Given my interest in social construction, it was important to elevate discourse to primary status and not define key actors or events *a priori*. I identified events that appeared highly consequential to the eventual development of the patriotic market. I also coded the texts for the frames used to discuss artisan

cheese and other foods. During the early years, prior to the emergence of the artisan cheese category, I found that the stories told about artisanal foods, by the actors who would later be highly involved those markets, differed dramatically, and I traced the evolution of each. Table 2-2 provides the timeline of events that marked the development of the Quebec artisan cheese market.

Insert Table 2-2 about here

My preliminary analysis revealed that the Quebec artisan cheese market category co-evolved with other categories of artisanal foods, all subsumed under the larger category of 'Quebec terroir' products. I collected data on that larger term as well. 'Terroir' is best known in relation to the classification of wine, but the concept underpins the food designation system used across Europe for a wide variety of gastronomic products (Barham, 2003). Terroir emphasizes the origin of foods by representing their distinctiveness according to ostensibly distinct regional soils and climates, as well as unique regional food traditions (Barham, 2003; Trubek, 2008; Paxson, 2012). Given its reliance on notions of tradition, it has the capacity to reify traditions according to particular narratives of the past (Barham, 2003). These narratives may begin as regional, but often blend into the national, eliciting patriotic sentiment and creating what DeSoucey (2010) refers to as "gastronationalism." Efforts are under way to introduce a more geologically-focused variant or terroir, devoid of tradition-related claims, in the United States (Trubek, 2008; Paxson, 2010, 2012). Despite the term being a French term, it was entirely new to Quebec and Quebec society had never conceptualized itself as having a terroir. Figure 2-2 provides the numbers of newspaper articles that co-mentioned Quebec and Terroir, and those dedicated to artisan cheeses. Quebec artisan cheeses represented by far the food category most associated with the concept of a Quebec Terroir,

which came to be used to refer to any and all gastronomic products produced in Quebec, such as wines, ciders, jams, pies, cured and uncured meats, etc.

Insert Figure 2-2 about here

The temporal bracketing allowed me to identify and make sense of the fact that during the earliest period, there were a wide variety of discourses present, which then converged to a patriotic discourse over time. The role of the state emerged as pivotal at this point. Not only did political actors provide the earliest, and most powerful, associations between artisanal cheese and patriotism, they remained involved throughout the development of the market. I connected the entries of actors into the market or the changes to their discourses to key events. The methodologies I employ to analyze the data and report my findings closely resemble those of Ansari and Phillips (2011), who studied change in the mobile telephony industry. Like them, I develop a descriptive figure of the events that unfolded, followed by propositions in the discussion section. In this research, I was interested to identify who initiated the transformation and how it evolved. It is important to note that while the phases I identified are associated with specific dates, the dates should not be considered exact transition points because the phases were partially overlapping.

FINDINGS

I distinguish four phases in the process of market construction. Unlike characterizations of the state as an impartial arbiter or regulator, its influence was not to select between market logics developed by market actors, but to actually infuse *meaning* into the market, thus help construct the market logic. The state did so by constructing the category of 'terroir products', of which Quebec artisan cheese became the exemplar. I identify a four phase process: The first phase concerns the

fragmented period of initial entry by producers. The second phase concerns the development of the superordinate category of terroir, which evoked patriotic pride for local artisanal foods, and particularly for artisanal cheese. The third phase concerns the rhetorical work of diverse groups to appropriate terroir into their discourses as they entered other, otherwise unrelated, markets. Finally, the fourth phase represents efforts to refine and regulate the category as ambiguity rose. Figure 2-3 provides a summary of the four phases.

Insert Figure 2-3 about here

Phase 1: Fragmented Initial Entry Phase (Circa 1980-1996)

During the first phase, Quebec cheese artisans had begun cheese production without the existence of a clear market category. Quebec artisans who entered at the earliest stage – similar to their Ontario counterparts discussed in paper one – reported that they sold much of their production at farmers' markets and had little access to urban retail channels. Artisans also described a deep reluctance among consumers at that time to taste fine cheeses, even among consumers at farmers' markets, where one would expect consumers to be most open to novelty. This was particularly the case for goat milk cheeses, whose scent was often disparagingly described as that of "wet wool", a common misconception at that time[6]. Artisans explained that there was little general interest in cheese and whatever interest later emerged only started to appear in the 2000s, as confirmed by media mentions shown in Figure 2-2.

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[6] This statement is particularly incorrect if we recognize that goats do not produce wool, but hair, as was pointed out by a number of artisans.

The intermediaries who became central protagonists in the construction of the Quebec artisan cheese market showed little interest in it at this stage. These groups were politicians, rural development activists, and chefs, each organized around three distinct institutional logics. First, Quebec's political establishment followed the national logic, in pursuit of an autonomous state for Quebec society and the strengthening of the national identity the state would represent. The Quebec government was criticized for being indifferent to the economic and social decay of rural communities, by seeking to centralize authority over rural communities in an effort to bolster its political control over the territory, and by favoring policies that would strengthen urban industrial interests that could later provide an economic foundation to a sovereign state (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 1997).

Consequently, artisanal foods were largely non-existent in government policies, and whatever policies did exist, were also based on the logic of establishing a sovereign nation-state. The government sought to increase a sense of 'belonging' and 'attachment' to Quebec soil among urban Quebecers (interview with government administrator), while addressing rising rural poverty. Urban Quebecers had little knowledge of rural Quebec and the government sought to promote tourism within the province. As part of this policy, the ministry of agriculture encouraged the development of rural bed and breakfasts, regional foods and activities that could serve as the infrastructures and attractions for increased tourism (interview with retired government administrator). Urban Quebecers were so unaware of local foods produced in rural Quebec that the ministry of agriculture even operated a travelling exhibit that would be placed in high-traffic urban areas, to showcase food products from rural Quebec. However, by in large, these strategies were designed to encourage travel by urban Quebecers to rural Quebec, not increase sales of rural

products in urban centers.

Second, there was a mass mobilization of activists, rural development agencies and trade unions across rural Quebec, who organized around the community logic. The community logic is characterized by the 'Main Street' versus 'Wall Street' opposition and encourages actions to "protect local autonomy in the face of efforts by nationally oriented outsiders to impose a "national" logic" (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007, p. 800). The community logic emphasizes the importance of strong, affective communal ties in rural areas (Almandoz, 2012), where often actors are motivated by community welfare, rather than profit maximization (Marquis & Battilana, 2009; Almandoz, 2014).

Solidarité Rurale du Québec[7] (SRQ hereafter) was founded in 1991 and became a central rural development advocacy group. It was comprised of regional and municipal governments and business development agencies, rural trade unions, business associations and activist groups. Its inaugural general assembly was attended by over 1200 delegates, where the organization's mission was defined as to counter depopulation, economic stagnation and social decay of rural communities. Over the years that followed, the organization would frequently challenge the provincial government, by demanding large-scale economic decentralization and accordance of greater autonomy to rural agencies. In 1997, the Quebec government recognized SRQ as an official advisor on matters of rural development, allowing it to serve on numerous provincial government committees.

The SRQ sought to position itself as a modern, forward-looking organization, and

[7] Translated as Rural Solidarity of Quebec

expressly voiced its opposition to artisanal production as a means to solve rural decay. SRQ sought a more profound economic, political and cultural shift in rural communities than the government was willing to provide and its proposed tourism policies could deliver. The SRQ promoted a technology centered approach to rural development: "it does not imply, in passing to a new model of economic development, to return to artisanal production or to renounce efficiency" (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 1991, p. 48), thus rejecting artisanal production as a solution for the problems of rural social and economic decay. Moreover, rather than evoke Quebec patriotic sentiment as a resource to gain public support, SRQ sought to strengthen rural identity in *opposition* to the Quebec national identity, which delegates lamented was having a homogenizing effect on society and effacing the differences between urban and rural life (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 1991). To reinforce rural identity, they called for greater support to rural artists, acknowledgement of rural architectural heritage and the creation of rural theatres, museums, festivals, and media (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 1991).

Third, chefs in Quebec, supported by the urban food media, organized around a professional logic (DiMaggio, 1991; Lounsbury, 2002). Historically, French Canadians did not conceptualize their foods as fine or distinctive, but rather as hardy fare, prepared from the small variety of ingredients traditionally cultivated in Quebec (Bizier, 2012). Fine restaurants were virtually nonexistent in Quebec and those that did exist, were rarely staffed by French Canadians, who generally believed cooking was done in the home, by the lady of the household (Bizier, 2012). Quebec chefs embarked on a professionalization project during the 1970s. Evoking the nationalist discourse, they argued that every nation – which is how Quebec society was beginning to regard itself – should have a distinct national cuisine. Chefs described their objectives as consistent with

the national identity building project and sought government support to establish culinary institutes to raise the standards of Quebec cuisine (Bizier, 2012).

However, chefs did not speak about artisanal agriculture in patriotic terms, as they later would. While chefs did deploy patriotic language about creating a national cuisine, the patriotism they evoked was for their recipes, not the ingredients they used. The cohorts of chefs who graduated from the newly established culinary institutes continued the work of their predecessors to raise the standards of Quebec cuisine. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, these chefs worked closely with local farmers to increase the selection, quantity and quality of locally cultivated vegetables (Laprise, 2012). Media savvy, certain chefs became celebrities and were outspoken about the importance of fresh local foods. Yet, fresh, high quality, local ingredients were simply regarded as necessary inputs to the *recipes* chefs sought to associate with Quebec's national identity.

In sum, the market was highly fragmented and most of the actors who would later participate in it were little involved at this point. It is interesting to note that chefs were the only group actively attempting to rouse patriotic sentiment, with respect to a proposed 'national cuisine' distinctive to Quebec and as a supposed pillar of the Quebec identity, but their efforts were largely unsuccessful. Regarding the SRQ, it was even somewhat aligned in opposition to the government, as it emerged out of a general dissatisfaction in rural communities with the government's policies that favored large corporations and urban development.

Phase 2: Categorical Realignment (Circa 1996-1999)

Phase 2 was characterized by a realignment of the diverse discourses about artisanal agriculture, and specifically about artisan cheese, around notions of Quebec nationhood and

identity. The category of 'terroir' products was introduced and sanctioned by the Quebec government in various policies to encapsulate the proposed link between food and nationhood. Although the concept was novel to Quebec and remained highly obscure to most Quebecers, it was interwoven with patriotic connotations and became a focal point for collective action in the emergent market.

In 1996, one year after the failed referendum for Quebec's succession from Canada and with societal tensions still high, Quebec politicians aroused intense patriotic sentiment in support of artisanal cheeses. They recast a nondescript measure by the Canadian Health Ministry to ban the production of raw milk cheeses[8] as an attack on Quebec values and traditions. Politicians orchestrated a political confrontation with the federal government that even found its way into the Canadian parliament. A serious point of contention at the time of the referendum, and which politicians now evoked in reference to artisan cheese, was the demand by Quebec for 'distinct society' status within Canada, and increased political autonomy for Quebec. Quebec politicians used the ban on raw-milk cheeses as a tool to advance their 'national' agendas. A member of the Canadian parliament from Quebec rose to speak during parliamentary debates and sardonically recited a poem written for the Canadian Minister of Health:

"[…] Quite the contrary, he's well overcooked.

His death-to-cheese plan in Quebec is not brooked.

Our society distinct,

[8] Raw milk cheeses are produced without the use of pasteurization, which kills all naturally occurring bacteria. Proponents insist that raw milk cheeses are tastier than pasteurized milk cheeses, while opponents raise concerns about the risks of bacterial contamination (West, 2008).

Will put up a stink,

Against this project most sinister,

Unless you withdraw it, oh minister.

Let hear it whomever it pleases,

We cry, “We'll not go without our raw milk cheeses” (Mercier, 1996, April 16).

The poem referred to Quebec’s bid for official recognition in the Canadian constitution as a ‘distinct society’ within Canada, and suggested raw milk cheeses were an integral part of that distinctiveness. It also reframed the Health Ministry’s actions as ‘sinister’, evoking beliefs in Quebec about English Canadians as malicious and having the intent to suppress or erase Quebec’s culture and traditions.

The confrontation aroused intense patriotic sentiment across society in defense of an ostensibly threatened tradition. As shown in Figure 2-3, there was a spike in the number of articles about Quebec cheeses in 1996, bringing considerable attention to what had been a marginal activity. The confrontation created a “solid common front in Quebec” (Anonymous, 1996 April 12), referencing and reminiscent of the Quebec nationalist movement, attracting actors across Quebec society to take a stand against the ban. A committee established by the federal government to consider the matter was inundated with hundreds of petitions, reports and expert commentaries (Gauthier, 1996, July 9).

Consumers who had never purchased fine cheese rushed to cheese shops in support of Quebec cheese artisans. The sudden rise in demand quickly exhausted retailers’ stocks of Quebec raw-milk cheeses, and they took the opportunity to introduce consumers to other types of cheeses. Retailers active at that time, and even those who entered later, explained that they sought to “educate” consumers about fine cheeses. A newspaper article explained the situation as follows:

> "The controversy surrounding the proposed regulation to ban the production of raw milk cheeses has, paradoxically, created in Quebec such excitement and curiosity that distributors and retailers can barely satisfy demand. In less than two months, this type of artisanal cheese that was virtually unknown in Quebec, acquired a capital of sympathy uncommon among consumers and that is discernable in more than simply sales figures... The principal effect of the proposed regulation was to pique the curiosity of people. Even if we see consumers go back to their preferred cheeses after a few weeks, their tastes will have changed or developed. Ultimately, all artisanal or fine cheeses have become more popular" (Bisson, 1996, June 5) [translated by author].

Given the small scale of fine cheese production within Quebec, the increased demand for fine cheeses among Quebecers was partly met by European imports. The above article went on to indicate that one importer of fine cheeses had to double its imports to meet demand. This increased activity was reflected in fine cheese importation statistics: Figure 2-4 reveals that, on a per capita basis, fine cheese imports into Quebec, which had historically been identical to that of Ontario, began a steady and sustained increase that year. It is important to emphasize that prior to the government's actions, the cheeses affected by the proposed regulation had never represented a tradition in Quebec; as one of the few journalists to not be swept up in the debate wrote, "it represents a recent fashion, marginal as a commercial activity, which touches only a privileged minority" (Dubuc, 1996). The Canadian Health Ministry eventually backed down and repealed the regulation a few months after it was first proposed.

Insert Figure 2-4 about here

While the confrontation over raw-milk cheeses was a particularly overt example of the government's efforts to tie artisan food to Quebec national identity, it also took much more subtle,

though further reaching, actions. The government sanctioned and supported the creation of a new 'terroir' market category to embody the links between artisanal agriculture and Quebec's history and culture. The concept of 'terroir' is commonplace in France and Europe to encapsulate – and somewhat reify – the links between regional foods and national cultures (Barham, 2003; Trubek, 2008). It has become integral to rendering food a vehicle for resistance against globalization across Europe, and underlies considerable patriotic language about food, what DeSoucey (2010) refers to as 'gastronationalism.' Yet, the idea that Quebec too had a terroir was entirely new, particularly given the aforementioned lack of awareness of regional foods in urban centers and generalized beliefs that traditional Quebec meals were comprised of simple, hardy dishes made with largely undistinctive ingredients.

Government policies codified the concept of terroir. Consistent with the government's earlier efforts to encourage the development of tourism to rural Quebec, the government passed a law allowing foods and agricultural products to be designated by their region of origin. The law enabled the establishment of a four year subsidy program entitled *Measure of Support for the Development of Terroir Products.* The Measure's objective was to "provide financial aid to rural entrepreneurs concerned with safeguarding traditional knowledge and know-how, the valorization of rural Quebec heritage, the occupation of the territory and the valorization of terroirs"(Ministère des Régions, 2003). The program associated artisan agriculture to Quebec heritage and identity for the first time.

SRQ aligned its discourse with the provincial government's and cooperated with the government to elaborate the terroir concept. Despite its earlier assertion that it did not regard artisanal production as the solution to rural economic and social decay, and its antagonistic

relationship with the government, SRQ would become the primary vehicle to elaborate and diffuse the terroir category. SRQ also served on the selection committee organized by the government for the *Measure of Support for Terroir Products,* and was mandated by the government to promote and provide training on the commercialization of terroir products to the rural government agencies that would administer the Measure. It associated "to products of the terroir the attributes of authenticity, distinctiveness and antiquity" (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 1999, p. 41), urging support for and protection of products and producers that were ostensibly carriers of Quebec traditions.

This realignment saw an important shift in the SRQ's discourse. Whereas rural communities had been earlier regarded as *threatened* by a strong national identity, which was said to overwhelm a distinctive rural identity and be a cause of rural depopulation (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 1991), rural communities were now described as the points of *origin* and rural artisans as the *defenders* of the Quebec national identity. In 1998, SRQ organized the first conference in Quebec on the topic of authenticity and terroir. The conference was financed by the government, and attended by a wide range of actors, including chefs and academics, such as anthropologists and sociologists. At the conference, an attendee summarized the long-term plan for the 'local food' sector:

> "Tradition is to be unpacked, ingenuity to be cultivated and palates to be seduced….We can give ourselves the objective to take all the products of the soil and try to Quebecify them, that is, give them a local flavor...to give an identity and distinctive attire to products, resulting in a different taste, a unique mode of production and packaging representative of here" (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 1999, p. 30).

He explained that first the traditions authentic to Quebec were to be identified, and, counterintuitively, given their purported antiquity, distinctive products should then be invented

and introduced to society. In effect, local foods were to be linked to Quebec identity and 'nationalized'. Subsequently, the SRQ, again with government support, embarked on a project to catalog all rural made foods, with the objective of creating an inventory of possible terroir products (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 1999).

The main outcome of this stage was the government's introduction and support for the use of the new category of 'terroir', with its patriotic connotations. The government generated intense patriotic support for artisan cheeses and generalized those sentiments to all types of agricultural products, through the terroir category. The term 'terroir' largely appeared in texts, such as those published by the SRQ, where it was defined and its existence claimed, not in the popular press. The meaning of terroir also remained obscure and the material impacts of the *Measure of Support for Terroir Products* were negligible. Despite it being the sole subsidy program for rural small-scale agricultural processors, it fell well short of disbursing all of its allocated funds, due to a lack of suitable applications (Cimon-Morin, 2004). There was confusion among entrepreneurs and program administrators regarding the meaning of terroir, and, in particular, about the products and production processes that were genuine traditions, as opposed to those that were simply 'rural' (Cimon-Morin, 2004). With respect to the artisan cheese market, of the 57 financed projects, only eight related to cheese or butter production. What is more, subsidized projects could only receive a maximum of $25,000 CAD, a marginal amount considering that the estimated cost of starting an artisanal cheese firm was over $200,000 (Ministère de l'agriculture des pêcheries et de l'alimentation, 2004).

In sum, political actors saw in artisan cheese a means to satisfy their political interests, and in the terroir concept a means to crystalize a relationship between food and national identity. It is

perhaps unlikely that the SRQ alone could have convened the diverse set of actors necessary to construct a language of terroir, which it did with the backing of the state. Moreover, beyond simply the construction of the language of terroir, the government's policies helped disseminate the concept across Quebec society, making it available for general use, as we see in the following section.

Phase 3: Rhetorical Buy-In (Circa 2000-2003)

The provincial government's evoked links between food and identity gave license to other actors in Quebec to creatively do the same. As shown in Figure 2-3, the number of newspaper articles mentioning the Quebec Terroir rose dramatically, as actors rhetorically bought-into the concept. I refer to this phase as 'rhetorical buy-in' because diverse actors appropriated the language of terroir and its patriotic connotations. The patriotic language was highly resonant and expedient to all those involved, and they reinterpreted and deployed it in various ways, to satisfy pre-existing interests. Consequently, the collective identities around which they organized were not the narrower field-specific identities, but that of Quebec, shared across Quebec society.

The language of SRQ showed a dramatic change from that of the organization's founding. The SRQ's slogan had always been "so goes the village, so goes the country," but this slogan conceptualized the countryside largely as a breadbasket. The earlier conceptualization was now extended into the realm of identity, and SRQ now argued that the traditions needed for a strong Quebec identity lay in the province's villages and the ways of life still practiced today. In the span of a few years, SRQ's vision of rural identity changed from an identity in decay and in need of regeneration, to a generative force and the solution of rural problems: "products of the terroir represent, according to us, a key element of rural economic diversification. This type of production

can create village prosperity and render cultural identity an inexhaustible source of economic activity" (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 2001, p. 3).

However, despite SRQ joining the provincial government in its usage of the terroir concept, the organization did so while remaining faithful to its original goal of securing greater rural autonomy. Identity and terroir became new concepts to advance old objectives: if, as SRQ claimed, rural communities represented the cradle of Quebec's traditions, then rural communities should receive extraordinary powers to preserve those traditions. SRQ also initially attempted to enlarge the concept of terroir beyond agriculture to include all handicrafts. When unable to do so, it created an even larger category it called 'patrimonial products,' of which terroir foods were only one type. It argued 'patrimonial products' could be anything from crafts to medical compounds, derived from Quebec's natural environment and using traditional know-how.

In a similar fashion, chefs and the food media became highly important to the dissemination of the terroir concept. Quebec chefs had been deploying a patriotic discourse for decades in their bid to professionalize and gain greater recognition. Their patriotic claims were connected to their recipes, because they argued that they were in the midst of creating a cuisine distinctive to Quebec. While chefs had actively encouraged the development of a 'local food' sector to gain access to a greater variety of fresh ingredients (Laprise, 2012), which were in short supply in traditional Quebec agriculture (Bizier, 2012), the ingredients never played a starring role. Chefs had conveyed tradition largely by relentlessly reinterpreting the same limited corpus of traditional Quebec recipes. With the rise of the terroir concept that cloaked local foods in Quebec identity and traditions, chefs were freed from simply reinterpreting the same traditional recipes, while still claiming their dishes to be authentic to Quebec culture and traditions.

With small scale agricultural producers – now defined as artisans – of various types, chefs, rural tourism boards and the media created the impression of a province abundant in tradition by their usage of the terroir term. Producers of all types of foods rushed to rebrand their products as terroir. This served to rapidly create the perception of a province steeped in a rich artisanal food history. Regional tourism boards across Quebec hosted dinners or festivals, designed to attract urban tourists, where invited chefs prepared dishes with 'products of the terroir' or where such products were available for purchase. Tourist routes linking artisans began to appear in all regions of Quebec. Also, a popular press developed around the concept of terroir: cookbooks providing recipes using Quebec Terroir products, and guidebooks suggesting Quebec artisans to visit, began to proliferate (Dorion, 2001; e.g. Bizier, 2003).

Retail channels also developed in the early 2000s. The best known retail store for artisanal products from rural Quebec opened in 2000 and was among the first to bridge the rural and urban divide. During an informal discussion, the store owner explained that she had been motivated by the conviction that "every nation should have a cuisine worthy of it". She also explained that when she opened the store, the business plan had also called for an additional floor to her store dedicated to providing cooking lessons using products exclusively from Quebec. Specifically for cheese, the first distributor entirely dedicated to Quebec artisanal cheeses was founded in 1999 (followed by a second distributor in 2006), greatly facilitating cheese producers' access to urban centers. Prior to these distributors, cheese producers were obliged to make their deliveries and develop new customers on their own. One artisan even described an attempt, which had been short-lived and ended in failure, to use a fish distributor to distribute his cheeses.

Artisan cheese became an exemplar of terroir products. Although SRQ was mandated to

promote the concept of terroir and train regional agencies in the commercialization of terroir products, SRQ's language remained abstract. There was a general lack of understanding about what products were actual traditions, but the terroir category was still tied to patriotic pride and perceptions of product distinctiveness. Buoyed by the political events of 1996 that aroused patriotic sentiment in support of Quebec artisan cheese producers, the numbers of cheese producers and attention to their products had increased. As early as 1999, a food critic proclaimed "cheese is a star of products from the Quebec Terroir" (Kayler, 1999). The same critic, one of the best known in the province, would end every restaurant review with a brief mention of the number of Quebec cheeses contained on the restaurant's cheese platter. SRQ, also, frequently used the artisan cheese market as an example when describing its complex vision for a new rural economy: In a 151 page book by SRQ arguing the existence of rural traditional know-how and its potential as a basis for a new rural economy, ten pages were dedicated to artisan cheeses to explain what SRQ meant by traditional know-how and to exemplify its vision (Solidarité rurale du Québec, 2002).

In sum, the association between artisanal food and identity, captured by the umbrella concept of the Quebec terroir, resonated greatly across society. The concept was still ill-defined and artisan cheese market represented an exemplar, but it attracted considerable attention. It is interesting to note that the government was largely uninvolved at this stage. With the patriotic language of terroir having been constructed and its diffusion encouraged in the earlier stage, at this stage market forces took over: entrepreneurs entered the various markets for artisanal foods and demand by consumers rose dramatically, as did media attention.

Phase 4: Calls for Conceptual Refinement (2004 Onwards)

The initial excitement about terroir began to subside and calls to sharpen its definition

began to increase. Products labeled as terroir had multiplied as firms sought to benefit from the term's apparent patriotic appeal and suggestion of tradition, as well as the related belief of their high level of quality (Lemasson, 2012). Producers of all sorts of gastronomic products, be they of meats, jams or alcoholic beverages of all types, began deploying the 'terroir' term. Whereas 'local foods' had begun to appear in cities across North America, these generally connoted environmental sustainability and transparency, and were often associated with proximity, as in the case of the 100-mile diet. In contrast, many similar producers appearing in Quebec deployed the terroir term, which, although it too suggested environmental sustainability, connoted place somewhat differently: rather than connote space in relative terms, as distance between the producer and the consumer, it did so in absolute terms, as a product of Quebec. Consequently, products produced in the far reaches of Quebec's large territory were considered local, while products produced nearby in a neighboring province would be foreign. A working group organized by the Quebec government to define the term terroir for incorporation into an eventual designation system released its report in October of 2003. The report reiterated the need for a new law and the creation of a government agency to administer the law because:

> "Already, we find on store shelves a range of products presented as originating from a region and whose labels or advertising designate them to be terroir, farmers', artisan or other types of products. This proliferation of denominations leave buyers and consumers perplexed as to the veritable nature of the products they buy and their claims" (Le groupe de travail sur les appellations réservées et les produits du terroir, 2003, p. 5).

The media began to challenge the presumption of quality, and SRQ and the government sought to devise a labelling and product quality assurance system. In 2006, the government passed act A-20.03, a new food designation law that called for the creation of the accrediting body suggested by

the working group. This designation system became an important tool for a range of products such as lamb, cider and wine.

Interestingly, cheese artisans largely ignored the food designation system. Cheese artisans valorized creativity and product distinctiveness, while the designation system valorized tradition, and therefore required some degree of product standardization. Given the strong demand for Quebec artisan cheeses since the 1996 political conflicts, artisans did not recognize any need to alter their practices to take advantage of the system. This was in contrast to most intermediaries, who consistently argued that the future of the Quebec market lay in cheese artisans taking "seriously" the concept of terroir, by identifying regions with particular types of cheese and exploring how regional soils produced distinctive cheese flavors. The first application for an artisan cheese-related reserved designation was made in 2013 and based on the use of milk from a particular breed of cow.

The notoriety and apparent authenticity of Quebec artisan cheese continued to rise. Quebec artisan cheeses became both a source of national pride within the province and part of a desirable image to be projected outside it: As a chef at an artisan cheese tasting explained, "these products are seen as family jewels, but they are also the image of Quebec" (Deglise, 2005, December 17). Producers of other types of artisanal foods found inventive ways of associating their products to Quebec cheeses. For example, Quebec artisanal wine producers – generally regarded as producing low quality wines – hosted annual Quebec wine and Quebec cheese tasting events, as occasionally did Quebec craft beer producers. A visit to a leading ice-cider producer for an interview revealed that tastings were conducted with samples of conspicuously labeled Quebec artisan cheeses, surrounded by Quebec flags. Rural festivals would promote the presence of cheese artisans selling

their products as important attractions. Meanwhile, cheese festivals could attract large crowds even without music, games, or the presence of other types of artisanal producers. Guide books about Quebec cheese proliferated, some even in the guise of cookbooks containing recipes apparently conceived specifically for Quebec cheeses. So did books about Quebec Terroir products that included large cheese sections.

In sum, the government became involved again in the markets for artisan foods. Having given the initial impulse to the development of markets for artisanal foods by infusing them with patriotic connotations, at this stage it began regulating and protecting the apparently distinctive and traditional products that would eventually emerge. As for artisan cheese producers, the notoriety and popularity of their products supported their market's continued growth and so they did not take advantage of the government's policies, which required that they agree upon common methods of production.

DISCUSSION

What began as an offshoot of the alternative agriculture movement, took on patriotic overtones as Quebec artisan cheese producers were joined by a wide range of actors who saw in artisan cheese a means to satisfy their varied interests. It is important to note that early entrants into the artisan cheese market faced resistance by consumers as late as the 1990s: even consumers at farmers' markets, who would conceivably have been most curious about these artisanal products, were often reticent to taste goat milk and other strongly-flavored and scented cheeses. However, starting in the mid-1990s, the artisan cheese market took on a patriotic signification. This transformation occurred in large part because of the involvement of the state and other market actors, who saw in artisan cheese production a means to satisfy their interests. These actors evoked

the shared Quebec national identity and constructed the infrastructures that would support artisan cheese and other nascent markets for Quebec-made gastronomic products. This study reveals the conditions where patriotic markets may develop, a new understanding of the participation of the state in markets, and the importance of actors portraying themselves as altruistically serving the nation. I discuss each below.

Conditions Leading to the Making of Patriotic Markets

The timing of the transformation of artisanal cheese from an artisanal food to symbol of Quebec nationhood was crucial to the making of this patriotic market. Studies by scholars of nationalism often look to the early years of emergent states to reveal the malleability of time and place, as relatively novel products are made to appear historical by associating them to the founding myths of emergent nations (Trevor-Roper, 1983; Smith, 2001). The early years of new states are characterized by high levels of patriotic sentiment and active nation-building projects. This was the case with the emergence of an American magazine publishing industry independent to the British publishing industry in the 18th century, as discussed by Haveman et al. (2012). Admittedly, to a certain degree, the present case does fit with such accounts of nation-building, because Quebec society had been in the midst of a decades-long nation-building project.

However, it would be erroneous to assume patriotic markets are made only in the context of nation-building. Smith (1996) explains that the salience of nationalism is often cyclical, whereby periods of high nationalism "start out from a sense of decline, alienation and inner exile, and go on to promise renewal, reintegration and restoration to a former glorious state" (p.584). While during the birth of new nations, patriots may refer to the greatness of long-lost communities or kingdoms (Hobsbawm, 1990), during periods of renewal, in established nations, patriots may

evoke former national glories and call for renewed adherence to the ideals of their nations' founding fathers (Smith, 1996, 1998). The implications of this is that while patriotism may be high during active nation-building projects and attenuate as state structures develop, it can periodically resurface: The arrival of a particularly populist political leader, an economic downturn, a war, mass immigration, or major social changes may all ignite moments of renewal. Such was the case with the emergence of the American country music category, which took shape between the 1920s and 1950s. Major social changes occurring in the United States at that time were producing unease among white, rural Americans, who appropriated a form of country music laden with patriotic connotations that expressed their image of a 'true' white America (Peterson, 1997).

While, Quebec society had long been engaged in an active nation-building project, nationalist sentiment had not been equally high throughout. Calls for Quebec's secession from Canada had calmed in the years following the first referendum, only to be re-ignited again in the early 1990s: Quebec had not been a signatory to the Canadian constitution and efforts were undertaken in the late 1980s and early 1990s to reach agreement among all Canadian provinces. These agreements collapsed and information surfaced that rekindled national tensions, which were further enflamed by Quebec politicians who nearly succeeded in achieving sovereignty in a very closely contested referendum in 1995. Consequently, calls in 1996 by Quebec politicians, who evoked many of the themes present during the referendum campaign, to defend the production of artisan cheese from the Canadian federal government, proved particularly resonant. These calls may not have mobilized Quebec society to the extent that they did had they come at another time. Consequently, I argue:

Proposition #1: Patriotic markets are more likely to develop during periods of national renewal

State Involvement in the Making of Patriotic Markets

I also reveal that the state may actively participate in the making of patriotic markets. Despite the attention devoted by institutional scholars to uncovering the principles that organize organizational fields, those of the state, an important protagonist to most fields (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011), are largely ignored. The state's laws are said to simply manifest the logics advanced by key market or societal constituencies, leading to settlements of disputes and greater certainty. Yet, such conceptualizations evacuate the state of any of its own guiding principles. The very basis of legitimacy of the nation-state is an ongoing understanding of nationhood among its citizenry (Billig, 1995; Calhoun, 1998). Moreover, particular interpretations of nationhood may be more amenable to helping the state or political elites pursue their goals (Silk & Falcous, 2005). For example, highly militarized and patriotic accounts linked to stereotypes of male physical prowess in sport may serve to bolster military recruitment and reduce public questioning about the country's military involvements (Weedon, 2012).

In Quebec, the state sought to not only strengthen conceptions of Quebec nationhood, but to construct a particular understanding of the Quebec nation. Beyond instigating a conflict with the Canadian federal government over the production of raw milk cheeses, the state was highly involved in the development of the concept of the Quebec Terroir, a term imported from France where it evoked French patriotic sentiment (DeSoucey, 2010), and conceptions of fine food and connectedness to the 'national soil' (Trubek, 2008). The provincial government funded and supported a series of conferences that brought together restauranteurs, the tourism sector, regional

governments, social scientists and the SRQ to discuss the implications of a Quebec terroir and how it could be put into place. It should be stressed that these actors were discussing traditional Quebec regional foods *before* there was awareness in the cities that there were traditional Quebec regional foods. It was out of such efforts that actors then began taking an inventory of foods produced in Quebec to create classifications of possible Quebec Terroir products.

The wide breadth of actors involved in helping create a Quebec Terroir may never have been assembled had it not been for the involvement of the state. Creating the Quebec Terroir required bridging the urban/rural divide, building the infrastructure for and generating interest in culinary tourism in rural Quebec, supporting the establishment of small-scale producers, and creating distribution channels and initiating demand for their products. Moreover, it was not simply the fact that these actors were convened, but the shared and patriotically laden vocabularies and ideas they developed that were important. The SRQ had been a pivotal actor in the rural areas, but it had originally sought to strengthen rural Quebec in opposition to urban Quebec and a growing national identity that it was concerned would efface a distinct rural identity.

The literature refers to such pivotal moments of production or reproduction of markets or organizational fields as 'field configuring events' (Lampel & Meyer, 2008). Meyer, Gaba and Colwell (2005) first defined the concept as 'settings where people from diverse social organizations assemble temporarily, with the conscious, collective intent to construct an organizational field' (p.467), although it was later enlarged to include the reproduction of organizational fields during awards ceremonies (Anand & Watson, 2004; Anand & Jones, 2008) or annual conferences as well (Zilber, 2011). This literature recognizes the frequent presence of the state at such pivotal meetings, be it as the official member with voting rights at international

conferences (Schussler, Ruling, & Wittneben, 2013), or at important national conferences (Garud, 2008), and market actors may endeavour to foster close ties with political elites (Zilber, 2011). Moreover, during field emergence, political elites can have decisive roles at such crucial times. Oliver and Montgomery (2008) discuss the emergence of the Jewish legal profession in pre-state Israel at a professional conference held in 1944, where the principals that would later guide the profession and the boundaries it would maintain were first developed. The profession was closely linked to the Zionist movement and of the 87 participants, 50 were elected representatives, who directed the topics of discussion (Oliver & Montgomery, 2008). Given that the state is the ultimate expression and beneficiary of shared beliefs about nationhood, as well as purveyor of national identity, it may be particularly influential in shaping patriotic discourses. It is hard to imagine a particular conception of nationhood diffusing without, at least in part, being endorsed by political elites. Consequently, I argue:

Proposition #2: Patriotic markets are more likely to develop when the state introduces or endorses discourse about the market that evokes national identity.

Moreover, beyond simply providing or informally endorsing a particular patriotic discourse, the state may also encode that language in laws or regulations. The ability of the state to define the 'rules of the game' using laws and regulations has been discussed at length by institutional scholars (Dobbin & Dowd, 1997; Haveman et al., 2001). What is important here is the wording used in these laws or regulations. Consider, for example, even more overt expressions of patriotism in the naming of laws and regulations such as the 'Patriot Act' or the 'Buy America Act'. Similar to the latter, the Quebec government sought to encourage the consumption of

Quebec-made products, albeit in a more subtle fashion. It valorized local foods by defining them as expressions of Quebec national culture. In 1999, the provincial government established the *Measure of Support for the Development of Terroir Products*, a subsidy program that, while a failure in its stated objective to encourage the establishment of new businesses, was a major success in disseminating the concept of terroir. Moreover, the government then established a certification system for terroir products that expressly linked food to place and tradition. Consequently, I argue:

Proposition #3: Patriotic markets are more likely to develop when enshrined in laws or regulations that evoke national identity

The Content of Patriotic Discourses

The parliamentary crisis of 1996 where raw milk cheeses were framed as an essential element of Quebec culture, represented the first time most Quebecers ever heard of this previously marginal product. The extant research shows that nationalism provides a toolkit of resources that can be used by market actors to erect social boundaries to defend against loss, both real (Ailon-Souday & Kunda, 2003) and imagined (Vaara & Tienari, 2002), often by constructing a sense of positive distinctiveness for members of the focal nation (Riad & Vaara, 2011). Much of the research has been conducted in the context of international mergers and acquisitions, where there is a tangible 'loss' of ownership, often of highly visible firms who may be important employers. The literature reveals the threats portrayed by such patriotic claims often surpass the real potential economic impacts of the acquisitions and evoke matters of national security, particularly when the acquiring firm is of a country historically regarded as an antagonistic in the target company's national discourse (Tienari et al., 2003).

What is interesting in the Quebec case, is that this threat was almost entirely fabricated. Unlike highly visible international mergers and acquisitions, where there is a tangible foreign firm, a known and often beloved local firm, and a real change in ownership, artisanal cheese producers were largely unknown to the public. Moreover, the law in question was a nondescript measure by Health Canada to simply assure food safety. We find here the power of such fabricated 'national' threats to not simply mobilize society to defend known businesses, but to first raise the public's awareness of their very existence, and to do so for an entire category of businesses, not simply for lone firms. Even among the small number of artisanal cheese producers existing in Quebec at that time, raw milk cheese producers would have made up a small minority (some data suggests there were only 5 very small firms). Nonetheless, their potential loss was framed as an attack against Quebec culture, by evoking the prevailing Quebec nationalist discourse about a Canadian federal government that was at best indifferent or intransigent, and at worst malevolent in its regard and policies towards Quebec society. These claims resonated among Quebec society as they were picked up by the media. Quebecers, many of whom had never walked into a cheese store, went in search of Quebec artisanal raw milk cheeses. Given the very limited supply, cheese retailers quickly ran out of stock of raw milk cheese and turned customers on to other Quebec made artisanal cheeses, before running out of stock of those as well. Consequently, I argue:

Proposition #4: Patriotic markets are more likely to develop when consumption is portrayed as a form of defense from national threats

Yet, it was not only the portrayal of artisanal cheese production as under threat that mattered. The actors involved in the making of this patriotic market altered their own discourses to portray their involvement with the Quebec Terroir or, more specifically, artisan cheese, as

altruistic, patriotic acts. Quebec chefs had long used such a patriotic discourse, by claiming their goal was to create a new, distinctively Québécois cuisine. According to that discourse, their concern was not simply for their professional advancement, but for the preservation of the Québécois identity, by strengthening a so-called distinct culinary tradition. Yet, their project had failed as they found themselves simply reinterpreting the same tired dishes. With the rise of the language of 'terroir', chefs now framed their novel creations as de facto authentic to Quebec culture by virtue of their authentic ingredients. SRQ, likewise, at its founding had lamented about the strengthening Québécois identity, but now fully embraced the notion that artisan foods manifested Quebec culture and that artisans were protectors or carriers of that culture. Intermediaries in the cheese market represented artisans as patriots, working tirelessly for the good of the Quebec nation. While these groups continued to pursue different ends, they collectively vaunted their own and the cheese producers' selfless patriotism.

David Sine and Haveman (2013) define altruism as the situation where actors "deemphasize their self-interest and emphasize instead the benefits of their activities for constituents or society at large" (p.12). They further explain that "whether this altruism was strategic or heartfelt is impossible to know and not of central concern; what is important is that this was a prominent element of their theorization efforts" (p.11). As an example, Under Armor, the sporting goods manufacturer, supports military and first responders' organizations, and partners with the "Wounded Warrior Project" by providing sporting equipment for veteran rehabilitation; it also maintains a large section of its website, adorned with national and military symbols, where veterans may post their stories of war and trauma (Weedon, 2012). In the present case, altruism was expressed not as support to the military, but as working to protect Quebec's

traditions. Consequently, I argue:

Proposition #5: Patriotic markets are more likely to develop when market actors demonstrate a sense of altruism towards the nation.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I discuss an aspect of markets that has seldom been discussed by institutional theorists: the role of patriotism in the construction or maintenance of markets. While it is challenging to generalize from a single case study to all patriotic markets, indications do exist that the hypotheses developed here may be relevant to other contexts. Another market for an artisanal food in Quebec that experienced a rapid rise in popularity along with artisan cheese was Quebec ice cider – ice cider is produced in a manner similar to ice wine, where the apples are allowed to freeze outside prior to juice extraction, a process that locks much of the water within the fruit, making for a richer, sweeter extract. If any food product had an obvious claim to becoming associated with Quebec national identity, it was ice-cider, because it was actually invented in Quebec. It was also the first food category to be incorporated into the government's regional food certification program. However, it never benefited from expressions of threat and calls for solidarity in its defense, as did artisan cheese. Today, ice-cider remains a food product often served to guests or sold to tourists, but has not enjoyed the same cultural acceptance of Quebec cheese, which is widely consumed across Quebec society.

This research provides many avenues to study patriotic markets. This is particularly the case regarding the relationships between the state and markets, avenues that have been largely ignored thus far with institutionalists' singular focus on the state's ability to legitimate or enact laws and regulations. Moreover, this research provides avenues to study how the patriotism

associated with patriotic markets may change over time. Research may find that the patriotic sentiment may be being high at first and dissipate over time. Likewise, it may show that even when patriotism appears dormant in markets, it may reappear at challenging times, such as when the market is near collapse. In data unreported above, such a case occurred with Quebec artisan cheeses in 2008. A cheese contaminated with a dangerous bacteria caused the death of one consumer and the illness of others, but the government was unable to identify the source of the problem. It subsequently decided to have all cheeses in the province, from all cheese shops, collected and destroyed, which risked sending many artisans into bankruptcy. The retailers I interviewed stated that they lost tens of thousands, even surpassing a hundred thousand, dollars of inventory each and quickly decided to never distribute Quebec cheeses again. However, to their surprise, and with disregard to the sensationalist media coverage, consumers appeared at their stores in the morning of their first re-opening, demanding Quebec cheeses in support of local artisans.

Appendix 1. The Rise of the Nation-State

The 'state' was a radical departure from the earlier system governed by monarchs virtually divorced from the populations they governed. The legitimacy of the new system was conferred by 'the people,' to a state oriented 'for the people.' That notwithstanding, first 'the people' needed to be constructed. The new system called on individuals to redefine their primary loyalties to the state rather than to their ethnic communities, and to speak with a unified voice (Calhoun, 1998). The emerging national identities fueled, and in turn were fueled by, the breakdown of communal life and the increasing social integration characteristic of modernity (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Calhoun, 1998). National identity ultimately became the prevailing form of collective self-representation, expressed in national flags, anthems, ceremonies and hosts of other national symbols. In some states, such as Germany, the national identity was based on conceptions of shared ancestry, while in others, such as France and the United States, it was directed at state institutions[9].

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[9] By this distinction, I refer to what have been termed ethnic and the civic types of nationalism. The exemplar of ethnic nationalism is taken to be late 18th century Germany. Romantic philosophers and German nationalists argued that individuals naturally belonged to nations, but due to various reasons natural nations had been fragmented and oppressed over the course of history, and should reawaken and reunite. Advancing an essentialist view of culture, nationalists constructed ties among heterogeneous groups by calling on them to celebrate what was authentic to their nations "through the rediscovery, reconstruction and appropriation of the communal past to become the basis of a vision of collective destiny" (Smith, 1998, p. 90). By evoking shared language, culture, ethnicity and genealogy to construct the nation, they made these attributes symbolic of nationality.

Meanwhile the civic form of nationalism is often represented as qualitatively different to the ethnic form. The exemplars of civic nationalism are taken to be the early Unites States and France (Hobsbawm, 1990; Smith, 1998). In

But these differences largely disappeared in practice because state structures and national cultures often revealed a blend of both (Smith, 1998; Alexander, 2003), and despite the voluntarist rhetoric associated with the latter, it was not more or less inclusive, only differently so (Brubaker, 2004).

National identity can be studied no differently to any other social identity. The "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) that represents the nation is a relatively novel means of categorizing the collective-self, and reorients citizens' affiliations away from their immediate towns and villages, which is where they historically stood, to an understanding of a larger collective body. National identity, similar to other collective identities, evokes in-group and out-group distinctions, often based on evaluative dimensions flattering to the focal nation in comparison to foreign nations (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It is, however, distinct from other collective identities in that national identities reflect a particular political theory and are accompanied by expectations of political sovereignty in the geographic spaces they inhabit (Billig, 1995; Brubaker, 2009). Rather than reside on the state's capacity to provide goods to its citizenry, the state's legitimacy actually resides on a more complex foundation of symbols and identities that make the existence of the state appear appropriate and even pre-destined, despite oftentimes sharp internal divisions.

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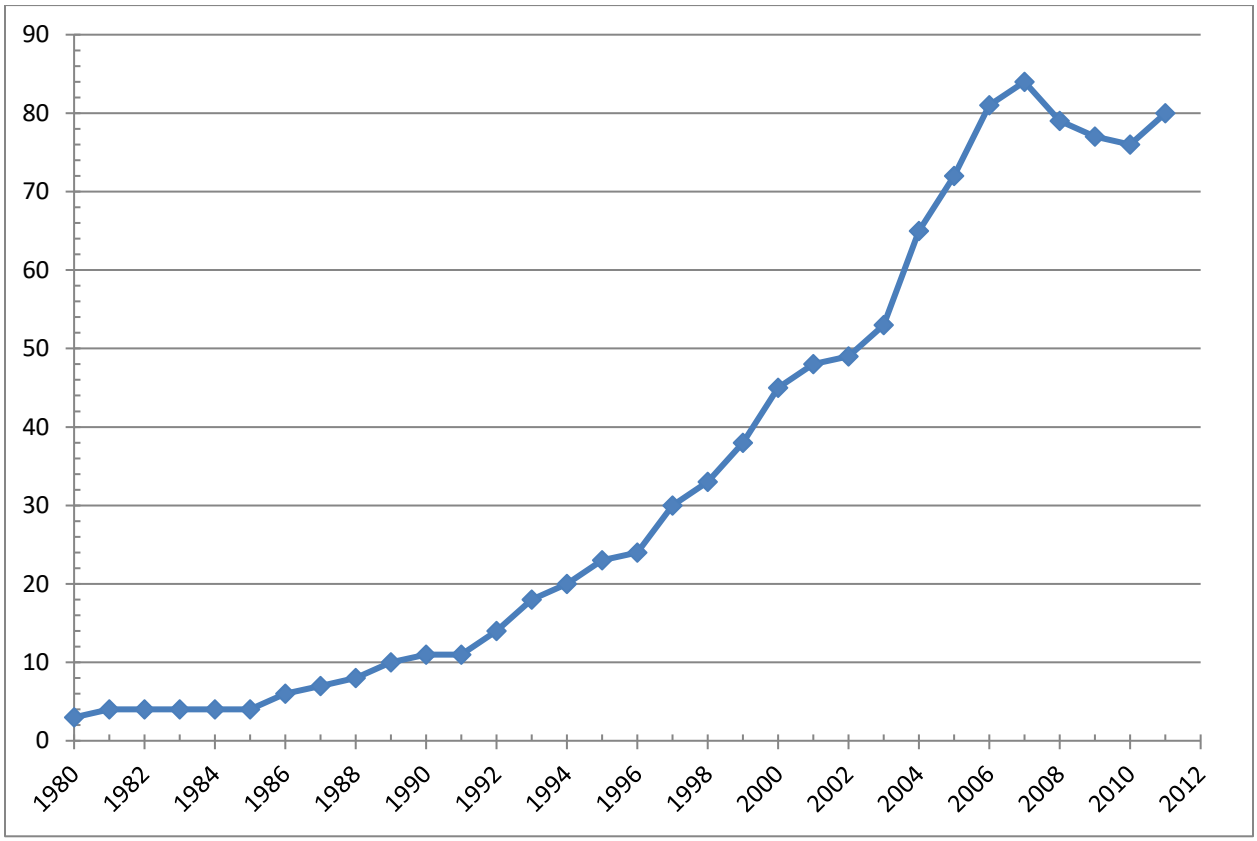
these countries civic nationalism is said to be oriented towards the political institutions which confer equal rights to all citizens, and which provide a space for widespread participation in state affairs (Keating, 1996). The nation here is regarded as voluntary; it is associated to a territorially defined community rather than "myths of shared ancestry" (Keating, 1996). For instance, in France, at the time of its founding, French territory was home to multiple languages, among which French represented only a minority (Calhoun, 1998).

Figure 2-1. Annual count of artisan cheese producers in Quebec [10]



[10] Organizational density was triangulated using data from multiple sources. A market insider provided an Excel spreadsheet indicating the years of operation, the types of milk used and amount of milk processed by Quebec cheese producers. The information in the spreadsheet was verified using a guide to the Quebec artisan cheese industry (Foreman, 2012) and records of artisan cheese production permit holders from the Ministry of Agriculture,Fisheries and Food of Quebec (Ministère de l'Agriculture, des Pêcheries et de l'Alimentation du Québec).

Figure 2-2. Media mentions of Quebec terroir and Quebec cheeses

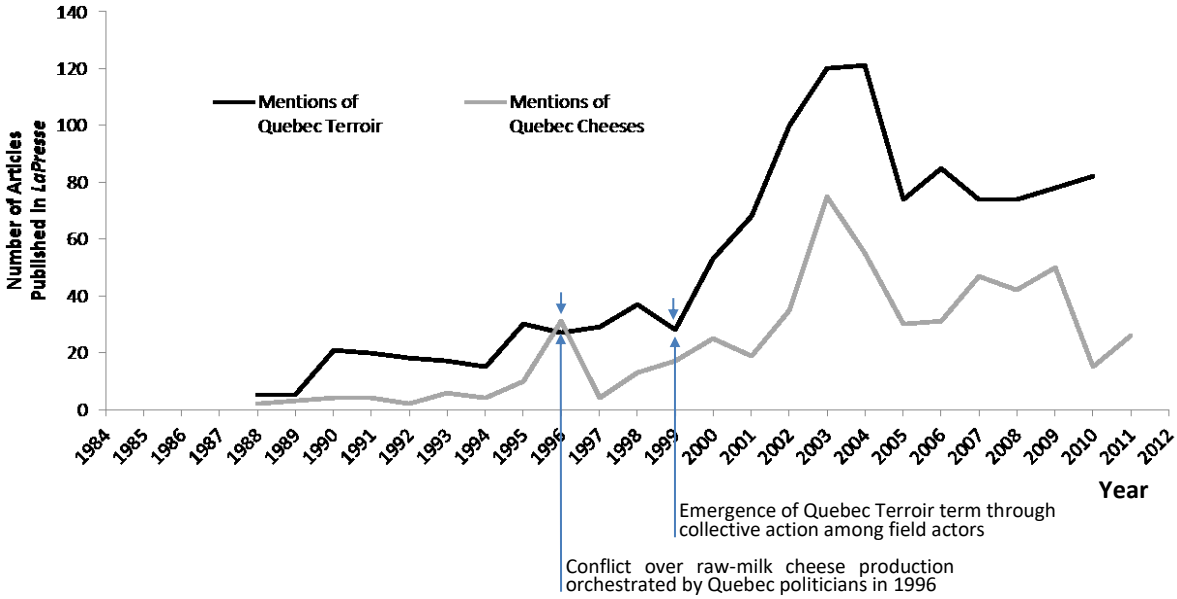


Figure 2-3. Process of market construction in artisanal foods

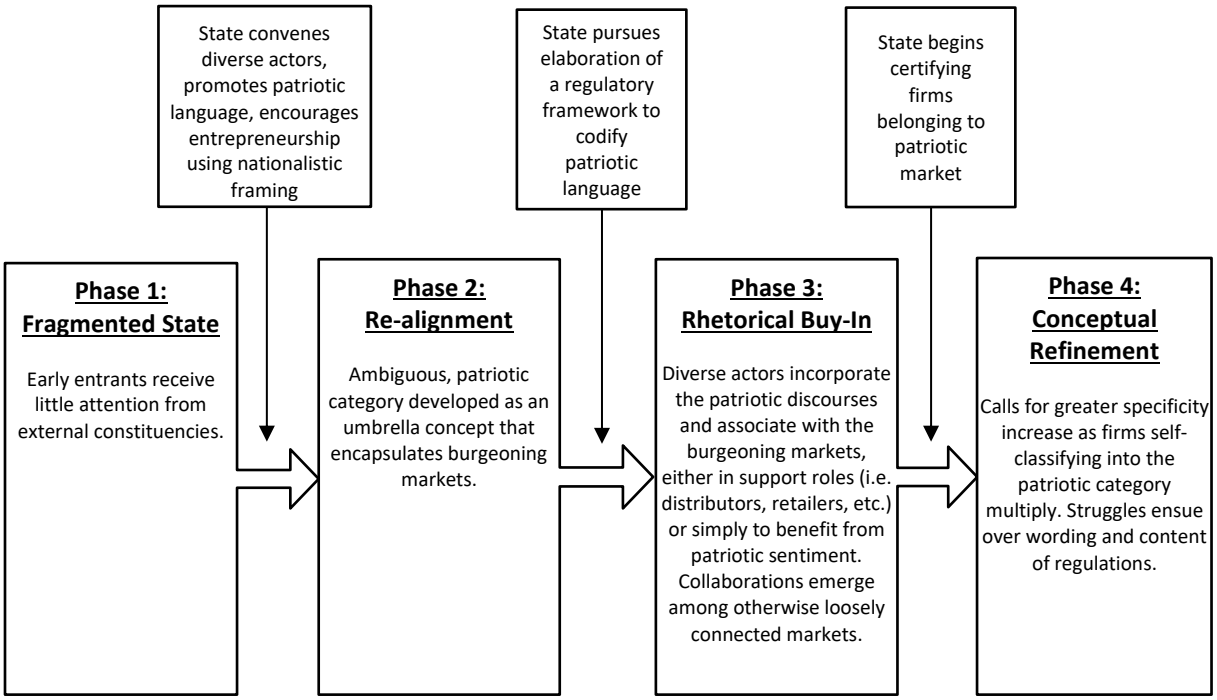


Figure 2-4. Per-capita cheese importation into Quebec and Ontario

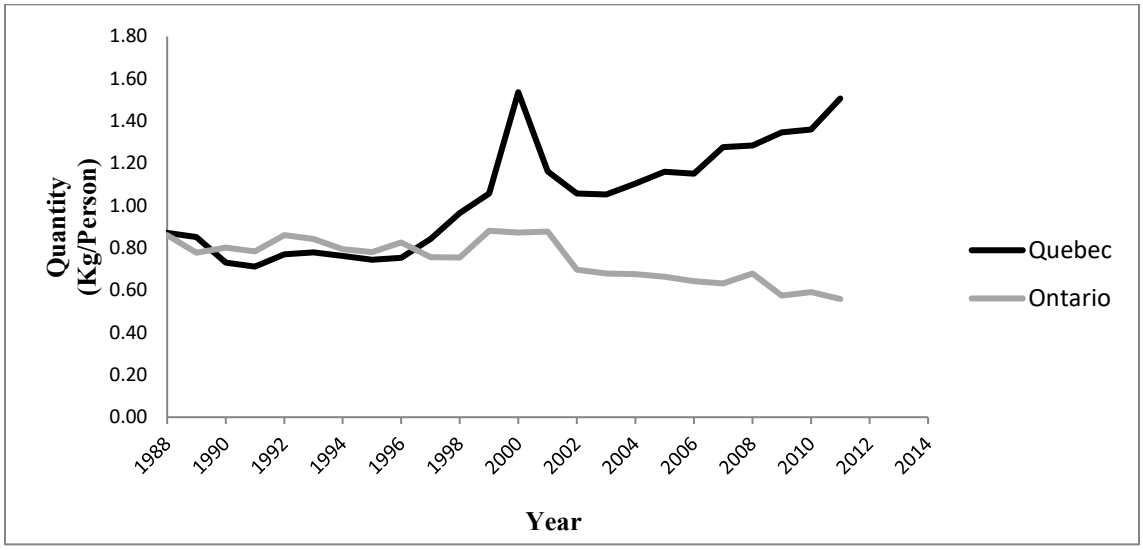


Table 2-1. Data summary

Type of Data and Source	Date Range & Count	Analysis of Data
Interview Data		
Producers Retailers Distributors Other (consultants, regulators, writers)	16 interviews 7 interviews 1 interview 6 interviews	
Industry Reports		
Rural Development Agency (*Solidarité rurale du Québec*) reports about artisanal agriculture	1991-2013 657 pages	Solidarité Rurale du Québec (SRQ) was highly active in the construction and dissemination of the concept of a Quebec Terroir and perceptions of regional authenticity. Its texts revealed that the organization disseminated a meaning of terroir that differed to that of other actor groups and in a way consistent with its earlier agenda to garner support and autonomy for rural communities. These data helped us understand how SRQ framed regional communities as the carriers of Quebec traditions and used that claim to advance its interests.
Government Reports (*Quebec Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food*)	1997-2008 551 pages	Government reports describing government agricultural and cheese-specific programs, and the state of the artisan cheese industry. These reports revealed the efforts of government agencies to implant the concept of a Quebec Terroir. They also discussed the structure of and challenges facing the industry.
Media Accounts		
Newspaper Reports (*The Montreal Gazette*, *La Presse*, *Le Soleil*, *Le Devoir)*	1985-2013 1648 articles	Analyzed to study the content and change over time of the discourse about Quebec cheese and Terroir in urban Quebec. Newspaper articles referring to the Quebec Terroir contributed to our understanding of the emergence and evolution of "regional authenticity". Statements by cheese producers quoted in the articles also provided additional data on how producers represented cheese production.
Artisan cheese Guidebooks & Cookbooks	1994-2013 10 books (Quebec only) 2 books (All of Canada)	Guidebooks were key vehicles in the dissemination of the concept of Terroir and the fabrication of perceptions of regional authenticity. They revealed how the producer authenticity conveyed by producers was reinterpreted in terms of regional authenticity by the environment. For example, guidebooks often followed a similar format: They included producer profiles where each producer described their cheeses and reasons for becoming cheese producers, often in the frame of producer authenticity. Yet the introductions of Quebec guidebooks generally evoked Quebec's French heritage and life in New France, thus suggesting regional authenticity for the market category.

Table 2-2. Timeline of events

Date	Quebec artisan cheese-related developments
1991	Solidarité Rurale du Québec (SRQ) founded. Initial discourse makes no mention of artisan food or Quebec identity. Explicitly states that it does not consider a return to artisan production a solution for rural community decay.
1996	Bloc Québécois (federal political party espousing Quebec secession) politicians frame proposed ban on raw-milk cheese production as an attack on Quebec traditions. Escalate issue to a debate in the Canadian Parliament.
1996	Quebec government enacts law on "reserved designation" for foods to allow foods to be designated according to their region of production. "Terroir" does not appear in the legal text.
1997	Quebec government enacts regulation for law on reserved designations passed the year before. "Terroir" does not appear in the text.
1999	Quebec government Ministry of Agriculture establishes *Measure of Support for the Development of Terroir Products*. This is the first time the term terroir is used in policy. The material impacts of the Measure are limited. Over the four years the measure is active, only 57 projects are funded, merely eight of which are for artisan cheese production, and with a maximum subsidy of $25,000. However the program introduces the concept of terroir.
1999	SRQ, in cooperation with the Quebec Ministry of Agriculture, hosts the first conference on Terroir. SRQ also publishes the first inventory of terroir products. Of 440 named products, only 19 are cheeses. SRQ reframes its discourse to emphasize terroir.
2000	Newspaper mentions of 'terroir' products rise dramatically.
2003	Final year of the *Measure of Support for the Development of Terroir Products*.
2006	Quebec government enacts a new law on reserved designations. The term terroir is in the legal text. The government also establishes the *Conseil des appellations réservées et des termes valorisants* to administer the reserved designation program. Quebec cheese producers find it difficult to create a reserved designation for their products because their desire to pursue producer authenticity is inconsistent with the homogeneity required for a reserved designation.
2008	A listeria outbreak due to a contaminated Quebec artisan cheese leads to the near collapse of the entire industry. Unable to find the source of the outbreak, the government decrees all artisan cheeses be confiscated and destroyed and halts the production and sale of artisan cheese for one month. Numerous producers fail soon thereafter. However, many survive because consumers converge on cheese shops to purchase Quebec cheeses as soon as the interdiction is lifted. Public outcry also forces the government to offer producers restitution for damages incurred due to the government's actions during the outbreak.
2013	First application for a cheese-related reserved designation is made to the *Conseil des appellations réservées et des termes valorisants.*

Paper 3. Regional Identity and the Construction of 'Local' Market Categories

ABSTRACT

In a global marketplace, firms compete on price and quality with competitors situated anywhere in the world and who may benefit from a host of locational advantages. Consequently, nascent industries in regions without a history of similar businesses may initially be uncompetitive on price or quality. I study how new industries that cannot initially compete on price and quality gain a foothold, and particularly the role of regional identity therein. I argue that regional identity can shelter 'local' firms from foreign competition, enabling firms that were initially uncompetitive to improve their offerings. It does so by delimiting geographic space and channeling audience attention to 'local' firms. Furthermore, firms that appear to reflect the regional identity may activate the 'patriotic' support of their regional communities. This research is based on an analysis of newspaper articles from French and English language newspapers in Montreal and the relative attention they devote to the emergent wine industry in the province of Quebec compared to the longer established and generally higher quality wine industry in the neighboring province of Ontario. English speaking Montrealers generally adhere to the Canadian identity that conceptualizes the local as all of Canada, whereas French speaking Montrealers generally adhere to the Quebec identity that conceptualizes the local as the province of Quebec. I show that of mentions of 'local' wines, the French language media devoted greater attention than the English language media to vineyards situated in Quebec. I contribute to the understanding of market emergence in regional communities, by revealing the influence of regional identity.

INTRODUCTION

The study of entrepreneurship using the social constructivist lens (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) has drawn considerable attention in recent years (Fletcher, 2006; Jennings, Greenwood, Lounsbury, & Suddaby, 2013). Traditionally interested in change in established markets or organizational fields, institutional scholars have developed a new research agenda that seeks to uncover the culturally contingent nature of entrepreneurship (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001) and the symbolic work entrepreneurs perform to construct new market categories (e.g. Kennedy, 2008; Navis & Glynn, 2011; David et al., 2013; Kennedy & Fiss, 2013). This research reveals that market categories are often constructed collectively by entrepreneurs by recombining broadly circulating categories and identities (Navis & Glynn, 2010; David et al., 2013; Glynn & Navis, 2013), often in a co-construction process with their audiences (Navis & Glynn, 2010). Yet, this increased attention to the role of culture in the emergence of new market categories has favored the study of large and expansive markets benefiting from broad-based demand (e.g. Navis & Glynn, 2010). This ignores that the individuals who design and produce the products may be closely clustered within the same places, as in the case of Silicon Valley (Saxenian, 1994; Romanelli & Khessina, 2005), or that, in some cases, smaller markets may be entirely circumscribed by regional boundaries and attached to distinct historical and cultural factors (Marquis & Battilana, 2009).

Meanwhile, research that has directly studied the effects of community and place on the emergence and success of local ventures has tended to ignore institutional context and the role of culture. Scholars have sought to identify regional resource endowments or institutional structures that explain differences in levels of economic activity across regions. Such endowments may be in the form of key material resources and infrastructures (Krugman, 1993), human resources and

supportive regulatory regimes (Porter, 1990; Hindle, 2010), and favorable social norms (Saxenian, 1994). For example, Saxenian (1994) argued that the fortunes of California's Silicon Valley and Massachusetts' route 128 diverged because of differing norms of knowledge sharing among firms, where higher rates of knowledge sharing in Silicon Valley contributed to the region's comparative success.

Other research has highlighted the importance of community elites, networks and norms to the success of local entrepreneurs. Research suggests that the single most important determinant of success for new ventures in regional communities is support by the community (Kilkenny, Nalbarte, & Besser, 1999). Scholars studying how such regional support is activated emphasize the norms of cooperation and collaboration for the benefit of the community. They reveal the contributions of community entrepreneurs (Johannisson, 1990) and community brokers (Cromie, Birley, & Callaghan, 1993) – local elites who draw on their networks to altruistically support entrepreneurs located in their regional communities. Research also shows that social enterprises – firms that return some or all their profits to their communities – garner greater support from the regional community (Kilkenny et al., 1999; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004). But these findings apply largely to cases of altruism, be it by entrepreneurs or local elites.

Institutional scholars refer to such community-oriented norms as a "community logic". They have found that the community logic, when activated, may shelter local firms from non-local competition (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007) and increase resource munificence for newly founded local ventures (Almandoz, 2012, 2014). These studies have tended to view the activation of the community logic as reactionary and largely spurred on by local elites protecting their status and wealth. For example, deregulation of the U.S. banking sector in the 1980s resulted in acquisitions

of community banks by national banks. Local banking elites, threatened with a loss of status, responded by founding new community banks that better catered to local needs (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). However, while all regional communities may express some form of community logic, this approach says little about what makes communities distinct and thus capable of fostering the development of markets unique to them.

Romanelli and Khessina (2005) take a different approach by arguing that regions are all distinct and vary in the content and strength of their regional industrial identities. Regional industrial identities can have direct implications for regional economic development because they affect the levels and types of investments made by foreign investors. They argue that even where local resource endowments and institutional structures make a region suited to a particular industry, the regions must first be recognized as such by external audiences, by virtue of distinct regional industrial identities. Like a virtuous circle, such socially constructed identities contribute to increasing the availability of the very resources necessary for the success of the industries in question. However, Romanelli and Khessina (2005) do not open the 'black box' of social construction to question how this virtuous circle is first set in motion: while they discuss the significance of regional industrial identities to external audiences, they do not discuss how such identities are constructed within the regions by the individuals who live there.

What these studies all ignore is that regions are invested with meaning, not simply for external audiences, but first and foremost for their inhabitants. Unlike existing approaches that regard communities as collections of localized networks that transmit community-oriented norms, or as simply jurisdictionally or geographically delimited space, I regard place as invested with meanings that reflect collective histories, memories and identities (Gieryn, 2000; Zukin, 2011). As

Benedict Anderson famously wrote, communities are more than social networks: "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" (1991, p. 7; parentheses in original) by a sense of "we" in the form of identities that define people and place. Regions differ in the resonance of their regional identities, which are ultimately what produce the "emotional, sentimental bonds between people and place" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 481) and a sense of solidarity among residents (Thomas & Meyer, 1984). Organizational actors who identify with local communities may be more sensitive to the communities' needs (Marquis & Battilana, 2009) and audiences may apprehend local firms differently (Freeman & Audia, 2006), possibly imposing expectations that firms support their communities (Greenwood, Díaz, Li, & Lorente, 2010). This suggests that greater research is needed to understand how regional identity impacts the emergence of new 'local' markets.

To address this shortcoming, this study explores the links between regional identity and the activation of the community logic. Specifically, I show that regional identity shapes audience perceptions of the 'localness' of firms and influences the activation of norms of support for local businesses. The research context is the emergent Quebec wine market category and based on an analysis of newspaper articles from Montreal French and English language newspapers. English speaking Montrealers generally adhere to the Canadian identity that conceptualizes the local as all of Canada, whereas French speaking Montrealers generally adhere to the Quebec identity that conceptualizes Quebec as a distinct nation. Moreover, the neighboring province of Ontario is endowed with a natural environment better suited to wine production and home to older and generally higher quality wine producing vineyards. I study differences in attention accorded to Quebec and Ontario vineyards by English and French language Montreal newspapers. I also study

the foundings of Quebec wineries as a result of rising perceptions in Quebec that wine production is a reflection of the Quebec identity.

THEORY DEVELOPMENT

In this paper I argue that regional identity represents an important cultural resource that informs the construction of markets in regional communities. Regional identity inscribes meaning to people and place and defines social and territorial boundaries. Marquis and Battilana (2009) explain that apart from community-based social networks and norms, "communities also have a deeper set of shared frameworks or mental models upon which actors draw to create common definitions of a situation, and that these are tied to longstanding identity and tradition associated with locations and regions" (2009, p. p. 292). Such frameworks and mental models can agglomerate geographically due to any number of factors, such as historical migration patterns (e.g. Schneiberg, 2002; Schneiberg & Soule, 2005). Whatever its origins, regional identity reflects attributes charged with symbolic value for community members and used to define who they collectively are, and the geographic boundaries of the space they inhabit (Gieryn, 2000; Lamont & Molnar, 2002). Yet, little research has been conducted on how regional identity affects the emergence of new 'local' markets.

Conceptualizing the Local

One of the key areas of research on the emergence of market categories has been how market boundaries come to be defined. Market boundaries are crucial because they define who is part of the market and who is not, constituting the set of comparable organizations that then influences competitive behaviors (Porac et al., 1995), structures consumer choice (White, 2000) and channels audience attention (McKendrick, Jaffee, Carroll, & Khessina, 2003). While novel

firms, each with their own idiosyncrasies, are constantly appearing and disappearing, market categories increase the perceived similarities of the firms said to be within the category, while increasing the perceived differences with those in other categories (Kennedy, 2008; Wry et al., 2011). Categorical boundaries are often greatly informed by prevailing social identities, which are deployed by entrepreneurs and other stakeholders to give meaning to the new products or services (Navis & Glynn, 2010; David et al., 2013).

Media attention is a key factor in the classification process (Zuckerman, 1999). Media mentions are often used to measure and analyze the prevailing beliefs of a population or community and how they manifest in the context of a given market (Zilber, 2006). However, beyond simply reporting those beliefs, media also shapes them and can draw attention to novel spheres of activity (Kennedy, 2008; 2008). Research reveals that in nascent markets, the media can help co-classify novel organizations, enhancing the appearance of similarity among co-classified firms, as well as distinctiveness between firms in different market categories (Kennedy, 2008; Navis & Glynn, 2010; Kennedy & Fiss, 2013). With respect to regional identity, the media can also become a conduit for the application of community-oriented norms on local firms in areas with strong regional identities (Greenwood et al., 2010).

I argue that the attention devoted by the media to local firms is affected by regional identity. Regional identity imbues space with meaning and produces a sense of place and community (Gieryn, 2000). The concept of 'local' can be ambiguous and McCaffrey and Kurland (2014) find that even in 'buy local' agricultural campaigns, multiple definitions of 'local' can exist: these include a definition tied to political jurisdiction, a relative measure of distance (i.e. the 100-mile diet) or a measure based on personal contact. Yet, I argue that where a strong regional identity

exists, it will often take precedence among such overlapping and competing conceptualizations. Strong regional identities define the distinctions between both the local and the foreign, and between in-groups and out-groups. Where strong regional identities exist, all firms that inhabit the place defined by the identities will be classified as 'local' and benefit from heightened attention.

Hypothesis 1: Adherents to a regional identity are more likely than non-adherents to attend to organizations located within the geographic space delimited by the regional identity.

Moreover, the tenor of the attention devoted to regional firms by adherents to the regional identity may be disproportionately positive. In cases where the ventures are replications of organizations found elsewhere, they may already be subject to well-defined expectations of costs and quality. However, given their lack of history and experience, the new ventures may face product quality or production efficiency deficits relative to incumbents in other regions, which can prevent the development of organizations in the new locales. As an expression of regional support for start-ups in nascent markets, adherents to the regional identity may choose to evaluate local firms and their products more positively than the firms initially warrant. Journalists and other stakeholders may thus relax their expectations with respect to the 'local' products in an attempt to encourage consumption.

Hypothesis 2: Adherents to a regional identity are more likely than non-adherents to provide positive evaluations of organizations located within the geographic space delimited by the regional identity.

Identification Processes

However, even among 'local' firms, firms may differ in the amount of attention they receive. Some market categories may appear more consistent with a regional identity than others, and where a strong regional identity exists, firms belonging to such categories are likely to receive greater attention. Market categories that appear consistent with the regional identity attract audience attention because they are highly resonant, which Baron (2004) defines as their ability to "capture or activate powerful distinctions along social, ethnic, religious, economic, political, and cultural lines" (Baron, 2004, p. pg. 11). In other words, the distinctions that define boundaries of people and place at the regional level, when incorporated into market categories, increase the distinctiveness of those categories.

Social identities are built on social boundaries that distinguish in-groups from out-groups (Lamont & Molnar, 2002). According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), members of the in-group may build their self-esteems by celebrating their distinctiveness from particular out-groups, based on comparisons along dimensions meaningful and generally favorable to the in-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Rao et al., 2003). While the dimensions upon which regional identities are built will vary from one region to the next, where strong regional identities exist, local residents will, by definition, have a strong sense of the distinctiveness of their communities.

Such associations between a nascent market category and regional identity may be more than a product of chance, and can be encouraged by market actors, by the stories they tell. Entrepreneurs deploy generalized beliefs to render their novel products, services and practices meaningful to their audiences (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001) and beliefs about people and place can represent such cultural resources. For example, Glynn and Halgin (2011) explain that Martha

Stewart Living Magazine deployed stereotypical conceptions of French, Italian and traditional American cultures to describe the purpose of Martha Stewart Living, which was to make European high culture accessible to middle class Americans.

In turn, market categories that appear consistent with a regional identity benefit from increased attention. The consumption of products from market categories that appear consistent with the regional identity can become symbolic markers of belonging to, celebrating and protecting the distinctiveness of the community. Local politicians on the campaign trail may make requisite appearances at or purport to support firms that belong to such market categories, as an expression of their own dedication to the regional community. The market category may also be used to define the identity of the region to outsiders, by appearing in advertising campaigns used to attract tourism or industrial investment. Consider, for example, the city of Pittsburgh, which was long recognized as a hub for heavy manufacturing and the steel industry, in line with the city's own image as a blue collar town. We can imagine that steel plants and union halls would have been requisite stops for any mayoral candidate. Pittsburgh also attracted considerable investments to the steel industry from external investors because of this regional identity (Romanelli & Khessina, 2005). Therefore, new market categories that appear consistent with the regional identity will garner greater media attention.

Hypothesis 3: *The more consistent a nascent market category appears with a regional identity, the greater the local media attention to the category.*

Encouraging Market Entries

Regional identities may also influence organizational entries by local entrepreneurs. Many

regions benefit from civic boosterism, where the local communities' strengths are lauded by local elites (Marquis & Battilana, 2009), but such boosterism may be more pronounced in some regions than in others (Marquis, Glynn, & Davis, 2007; Glynn, 2008b). This is particularly the case in regions with strong regional identities, where boosterism may be generalized across the community rather than be limited to elites (Greenwood et al., 2010). Civic boosterism is often intended to strengthen the economic and social fabric of the community by attracting businesses and encouraging philanthropic or altruistic behaviors (Kilkenny et al., 1999; Romanelli & Khessina, 2005), but in communities with strong regional identities, this may take on additional overtones. For example, where there is a concern about the maintenance of the regional identity's distinctiveness, not all forms of economic activity may be regarded as equally desirable, and economic development through the creation of 'local' businesses may be valorized over the entry of foreign firms (McKendrick & Hannan, 2013).

Such boosterism can encourage both support for and entries by local entrepreneurs. Studying the emergent wind energy sector, Sine and Lee (2009) found that environmental movement organizations shifted the perceived value of otherwise unused wind, leading entrepreneurs in states with higher levels of environmental movement activity to see greater opportunity in wind power and found more wind power projects, even controlling for the availability of windy land. Likewise, local boosterism may reshape perceive opportunities within regions, so that even ventures lacking many objective or material advantages over similar ventures located outside the region, may seem increasingly competitive, when their 'localness' is regarded as a key resource by entrepreneurs located within the community.

However, for localness to become regarded as a key resource by entrepreneurs, the

emergent market category must come to be increasingly associated with the regional identity. To some degree, this process rests on the success of earlier entrants in telling stories of concern or altruism for their communities, particularly in terms of protecting or enhancing the regional identity. For example, entrepreneurs may tell stories about how their products or services contribute to or are manifestations of local traditions or explain why the success of their organizations contributes to building prestige for the region. Such stories, repeated by the media, help portray the distinctive local character of emergent sectors. As they accumulate, they encourage further entries by entrepreneurs who regard localness as a valuable resource.

Hypothesis 4: *The more consistent a nascent market category appears with a regional identity, the greater the foundings of firms within the category.*

RESEARCH METHODS

I investigate the role of the Quebec identity on the emergence of the Quebec artisan wine market. The first wineries appeared in Quebec in 1985, when the Quebec government began issuing licenses for artisanal wine production. The number of wineries has since grown to 110, despite persistent problems with product quality and consistency. Specifically, I study how regional identity affects the relative attention devoted to the nascent Quebec artisan wine market with respect to the well-established and legitimate wine market in the neighboring province of Ontario (Voronov, De Clercq, & Hinings, 2013), whose climate is better suited than Quebec's to viticulture and whose wineries produce higher quality and larger volumes of wine.

The research design employs mixed methods. The present research is part of a much larger inductive, qualitative study where a large body of interview and archival data was collected and

analyzed. The qualitative research was conducted on the emergence of artisan cheese and cider markets in Quebec. The present research was designed to test theory developed in those qualitative studies, using quantitative methodologies applied to a separate, hitherto unstudied market. Artisan wine producers in Quebec face their own unique sets of challenges, which are linked to a natural environment unsuited to viticulture, competition from fine wine producing regions around the world, and consumer perceptions that Quebec is not a place for wine production. In many ways, these challenges make the emergence of an artisan wine market in Quebec more improbable than that of the artisan cheese or cider markets, because Quebec has long been a large producer of both milk and apples.

Empirical Context

Viniculture in Quebec is a novel activity, though a surprising one given Quebec's climate. The first commercial wineries appeared in Quebec in 1985 and their number has since grown to 110, despite persistent problems with product quality and consistency. The taste of any wine is closely tied to the grape varietals used, soil, seasonal rainfall and sunshine and the winemaker's skill (Dubois & Deshaies, 1997). Although the southern areas of Quebec are at the same latitude as Bordeaux, the climates of the two regions are vastly different. Typically, white grapes require 120 days of sunshine to achieve maturity and red grapes require approximately 145 days (Dubois & Deshaies, 1997). Whereas France receives an average of 160 days of sunshine, Quebec only receives between 120 and 145 days, based on location (Turcotte, 1997), which means that in many years red grapes never entirely mature. The cold Quebec winters, which can see temperatures below -35 degrees Celsius, also make it risky to grow the grape varietals used in the large wine producing regions of the world, because the roots of those plants may freeze (Dubois & Deshaies,

1997; Turcotte, 2007). Therefore, hardier, faster ripening varietals must be used, which even if skillfully processed, will result in unconventional tasting wines.

Compounding the extraordinary challenges posed by the natural environment was the Quebec winemakers' general lack of skill in wine production. Many winemakers began planting grapevines and producing wine solely based on what they had read in books and winemaking manuals, without any prior experience. As late as 2005, 20 years after the appearance of the first Quebec wineries, a newspaper article discussed a tasting of Quebec wines by a Canadian wine writers' association: "It's not sour grapes, but these wines were not impressive. In fact, they were wincingly bad overall. I was hoping that the 42 existing wineries had made better progress by now, even given the marginal grape-growing climate" (Stimmell, 2005, January 26). Although the author did provide a few examples of acceptable wines, he continued:

> "The remainder of the wines? The reds tasted like the worst homemade efforts, with skunky or stewed prune or palsied flavours. The whites showed candied grape lollipop or juniper and pine needle flavours. Missing from the tasting were wines from the 16 most northern wineries, which, I have it on good authority, no one wants to drink. Here the vines never really come even close to ripeness."

Given the exigencies of Quebec's capricious and harsh climate, the production of quality wines demanded extraordinary skill, which Quebec winemakers generally lacked.

Additionally surprising is that the Quebec wine market developed despite the existence of a larger, well-established and higher quality wine producing market relatively nearby in the neighboring province of Ontario. Ontario enjoys a more temperate climate than Quebec and most Ontario wineries are located in the Niagara peninsula, which also receives warm winds off the great lakes (VQA, 2014). Ontario also has a long history of winemaking. Although Ontario wineries traditionally grew hardy grape varietals, by 1985 when the first Quebec wineries

appeared, the Ontario market had already begun to transition to the production of fine wines. The transformation began with the founding Inniskillin Winery in 1975, which imported European winemaking techniques and planted the same grape varietals used to make fine wines across the world (Frank, 2008). Working actively to legitimate the nascent Ontario market for fine wines, winemakers collaborated to create and institute quality certifications similar to those of other fine wine producing regions, and developed distinctive products such as icewine (Voronov et al., 2013). In sum, throughout the history of Quebec's nascent wine market, Ontario wineries have surpassed Quebec wineries in number, production volumes and wine quality.

Regional Identities in Quebec

The province of Quebec is part of a larger territory originally settled by the French as New France, which was conquered by the English in the mid-eighteenth century. As part of Canada, the descendants of New France came to identify themselves as French Canadian. However, urbanization during the 20th century revealed to French Canadians the extent of English Canada's hold on economic and political power and fuelled the rise of a nationalist movement (Bruner, 2002; Gundlach & Neville, 2012). Movement intellectuals advanced a new identity for French Canadians living in Quebec. By the 1960s, the dominant collective identity in the province among its French speaking population had begun to change from French Canadian to Quebecer (Québécois). The Quebec identity discourse emphasized Quebec's origins in its pre-conquest past of New France and celebrated Quebec's cultural, and distinctiveness in North America and particularly from the rest of Canada (Maclure, 2003; Oakes & Warren, 2007).

Today, the Canadian and Quebec identities coexist in Montreal. Montreal, the largest city in Quebec, is home to a sizeable English speaking population, whose members generally adhere

to the Canadian identity, which broadly conceptualizes the 'local' as Canada. Meanwhile, French speaking Montrealers generally adhere to the Quebec identity, which conceptualizes the 'local' as Quebec. Therefore, Montreal represents an ideal context to study the effects of regional identity on the attention devoted to 'local' firms, independent of effects of geographic proximity.

The Emergence of a Quebec Terroir

French Canadian society had traditionally never defined itself by its cuisine (Bizier, 2012). Despite its French heritage, French Canadian society largely developed divorced of French influence after the arrival of the British, who broke all ties between French Canada and France. Furthermore, even before the arrival of the British, early settlers had already appropriated many food practices from indigenous peoples to survive the harsh winters (Desloges & De Courval, 2009). French Canadians regarded their foods largely as hardy, working class fare and not as fine gastronomy as in France (Bizier, 2012). For example, a contest held in 2007 by a prominent newspaper declared a variant of shepherd's pie the dish that most embodied Quebec food culture (Deglise, 2007, December 15). An earlier contest held by a radio station had come to the same conclusion (Lemasson, 2012).

However, the concept of a *Quebec Terroir* emerged and began to be widely used in Quebec in the late 1990s. Producers of wine and other gastronomic products, who had begun to appear in Quebec during the early 1980s as part of the same alternative-agriculture movement present across North America, began using the term Quebec Terroir. The term resonated with the public and began to be used widely in the French language media. The term Quebec Terroir became shorthand for buying 'local', but also carried a constellation of additional meanings.

The meaning of *terroir* is complex, despite being commonly used in Europe, where it

underpins the dominant food designation system across the continent (Barham, 2003). The term is best known in relation to wines, but also informs the designation of cheeses, olive oils, vinegars, meats, etc. Designations are legally protected terms used in the labeling of product categories, such as Feta Cheese, Champaign Wine, Black Forest Ham, whose use is reserved only to firms located in strictly delimited regions and producing according to highly regimented practices. The modern European system of food designations draws from the French concept of terroir, which carries a complex set of meanings: First, the term connotes distinction, where expert committees evaluate the taste and quality of the products that are to make up each new designation (Barham, 2003). Second, the term connotes distinctiveness of place. Directly translated as soil, terroir suggests that foods are imprinted with flavors specific to their place of production, which implies that foods produced elsewhere cannot achieve the same flavors. (Trubek, 2008).

Third, the term connotes tradition. To be regarded as products of a terroir, proposed products must be shown to represent long standing traditions and be part of the cultural heritage of the regions where they are produced (Barham, 2003; Trubek, 2008). Typically a producers' association will submit a proposal to the accrediting body requesting the creation of a new designation, and if accepted, their organization becomes accredited to certify products and grant firms the right to use the designation. As a reflection of the multifaceted aspects of terroir, the accrediting body that decides on such proposals relies on committees that include chefs, food experts, geologists, soil scientists, plant scientists, sociologists, anthropologists and historians (Barham, 2003).

However, the influence of the terroir concept is much larger than simply the designation of foods. The concept has a tendency to reify culture. Even in France, the classification of a food as

representative of a region's terroir tends to emphasize the centrality of that food to the region's history, displacing other traditions and narrowing the diversity of what was once produced there (Barham, 2003). This relationship between food and conceptions of regional history and culture is not accidental, because the very notion of food as historically and culturally contingent emerged with the rise of the nation state, when food became a strategic tool used by nationalists to stitch together disparate communities to form apparently cohesive societies and justify their larger territorial claims (Montanari, 2006; Trubek, 2008).

Likewise, the Quebec terroir concept evoked patriotic attachment to firms that would have previously been only recognized solely for the proximity of the producer to the buyer. 'Local' agriculture, best exemplified by the 100-mile diet (Roosevelt, 2006), was transformed from a relative measure of localness, to one that was absolute and that corresponded with the territory of Quebec. For example, the following quotation equated the notion of terroir to Quebec and all of Quebec as 'local': "The spirit of terroir… it is the foods we prepare with products from Quebec" (Kayler, 1998, July 25). In so doing, producers that may have been valued solely for their sustainable production methods and their proximity, also became valued for their origins in Quebec, eliciting regionalist sentiments and warranting regional support.

Importantly, the Quebec terroir concept framed small-scale agricultural producers in Quebec as contributing to the distinctiveness and distinction of Quebec society, in a manner consistent with the prevailing Quebec identity. The Quebec identity emerged in the 1950s as part of a larger movement to define the distinctiveness of French Canadians from the rest of Canada, while engaging in a rapprochement with France (Maclure, 2003). The Quebec terroir concept contributed to the larger Quebec identity building project by evoking the same distinctions that

shaped the Quebec identity. For example, in a newspaper article, a sociologist evoked the oft used distinction between Quebec's Latin origins and the rest of North America's Anglo Saxon origins, and the stereotype of Anglo-Saxons as being incapable of enjoying the art of living: "there is no word in English to translate "terroir". They use "local food", but it is not the same. The Anglo-Saxons are interested in it largely from a perspective of health. That has nothing to do with the soil… terroir products have a soul and a cultural value. It is a very Latin concept" (Bérubé, 2009). This was despite Quebec society never having previously conceptualized its foods as unique or distinctive (Bizier, Séguin, & Laprise, 2004; Bizier, 2012). Likewise, a celebrity Quebec chef was quoted as saying:

> "It is a question of a culinary identity… As a society, we have, perhaps, reached that point. We [chefs] speak a lot about terroir and identity. Without these products, which belong to all Quebec and offer a unique flavor, this portrait of [our] identity is not complete" (Deglise, 2008, April 12).

He framed terroir products and, by extension, his recipes that made use of them, as integral aspects of a distinct Quebec identity.

Consumption of and support to terroir products and producers became framed as a patriotic act. Small-scale agricultural producers across Quebec became regarded as integral to Quebec's culture and heritage and signifiers for Quebec identity, worthy of patriotic support. For example, a newspaper article celebrated the efforts of a bookseller who sold numerous books about Quebec artisanal agriculture, describing support for artisanal products in a patriotic manner:

> "She is the owner of the Librairie Gourmande[11] at the Jean-Talon Market and she never tires of chatting about cooking, chefs and products. Ann Fortin is one of those [people] who would make the best

[11] The term 'librairie' means 'bookstore' in French.

> ambassadors for our culture: enthusiastic and bright, always ready to defend our artisans and our heritage" (Beauchemin, August 30, 2008).

The article likened the seller to an ambassador promoting her nation's interests abroad and defending Quebec culture and heritage, and the artisans as "our artisans." Even the lack of interest in gastronomy traditionally in Quebec society and its recent rise were associated with the nationalist struggle:

> "We were "eaters of hot dogs" [a reference to a quip about Quebecers in 1976 by the Canadian Prime Minister to the Quebec Prime Minister]. Our culinary culture was never recognized as refined. When we spoke of fine restaurants, we spoke of French cuisine. Our cultural alienation was translated to culinary alienation. Now things are changing" (Rey, 2011, May 7).

The individual interviewed referred to cultural alienation, a common term used to refer to the oppression of Quebec society under British and Canadian rule, as well as an accompanying loss of and need to regain its authentic roots (Maclure, 2003). Such discourse associated terroir products to not only the distinctiveness of the products consumed, but the cultural distinctiveness of the society that consumed them.

Research Design

The time period of this study is from 1985, the year the first Quebec wineries were founded, to 2011, the last year for which winery founding data was obtained. To capture the effects of regional identity on the Quebec artisan wine market, I collected data on mentions of Quebec and Ontario wines in Montreal daily English and French language newspapers. I did so to study how regional identity shapes the conception of space and channels audience attention. This design focuses attention squarely on the role of culture and identification, rather than on the direct actions of regional elites or the influence of social networks as has traditionally done research on

entrepreneurship in regional communities. This design also controls for the effects of proximity, which organizational ecologists argue is central to legitimation processes. Ecologists argue audiences are more likely to accept novel organizations located nearby because the audiences are more likely to come into direct contact with them (Freeman & Audia, 2006). Given that all the newspaper articles were written by and for Montrealers, the physical proximities of the wineries and accessibility to their wines were the same for all the readers of the sampled newspapers, the identity of the readers being the only major difference.

The sampled newspapers were *The Montreal Gazette* and *La Presse*. The popular press reinforces nationalism and national identity (Tienari et al., 2003) and has even been credited with sparking nationalist movements in the post-colonial era by the manner in which it projects to society an image of itself (Anderson, 1991). Accordingly, this study is conducted under the assumption that the journalists writing in the sampled newspapers do so in a manner consistent with the identities of their readerships: As the sole daily generalist English-language newspaper, The Montreal Gazette manifests the Canadian identity, whereas the French-language newspapers manifest the Québécois identity. Of the three daily Montreal-based French language newspapers, *La Presse*, *Le Devoir* and *Le Journal de Montreal*, La Presse was most similar to The Montreal Gazette in terms of format, size and content[12], and its content started being archived the earliest.

[12] The Journal de Montréal is equivalent to La Presse in circulation and length, but its content tends be more sensationalist in nature and only began being indexed in news databases in 2006. Le Devoir is a much smaller newspaper than La Presse, both in terms of circulation, with approximately one seventh the circulation, and in length, containing fewer, but longer, articles. It also differs in content, with an emphasis on politics, arts and culture. It began

An exhaustive search for newspaper articles mentioning Quebec or Ontario wines or wineries was conducted. Articles about local wines represented a small minority of all wine-related articles, which included regular wine reviews and mentions in articles on foreign travel. Consequently, I developed search strings for the Quebec and Ontario wine markets that included winery names, as well as names of the winemaking regions in either province. The search strings were translated to French for searches in La Presse. The Montreal Gazette articles were collected using the *Proquest Canadian Newstand* database, and La Presse articles were collected using the *Newscan* database. The study period was between 1988, the year La Presse content began being archived, to 2011. A total of 1606 articles were found. Figure 3-1 reveals the number of newspaper articles mentioning 'local' wines, which included wineries in both Ontario and Quebec, by each newspaper. The figure reveals that the two newspapers accorded similar levels of attention to 'local' wines in most years.

Insert Figure 3-1 about here

I manually coded the newspaper articles for two variables. First, I coded the articles for positive evaluations. I coded as positive evaluations any mentions of a Quebec wine as good or even acceptable. Evaluations ranged from formal, scored, wine reviews to passing references to good wines while discussing Quebec wineries. Second, I coded the newspaper articles for co-mentions of terroir and Quebec wines, of which only 94 were identified in the two newspapers,

being indexed in 1993.

over the 15 years, 76 of which were in La Presse[13]. The low numbers of co-mentions possibly reflected a reluctance on the part of wine journalists to speak of Quebec wines as expressive of a particular terroir (i.e. by connecting wine flavor to specific qualities of the soil and climate) as they did commonly for imported wines. Moreover, most mentions of wine were not directly of the wineries or their products, but of the wine routes. Figure 3-2 provides the annual number of articles that co-mentioned Quebec wines and terroir in La Presse. For comparison purposes, the peak in the number of co-mentions in La Presse came in 2004 with 12 articles, and the peak in The Gazette came in 2008 with 6 articles. It is important to note that differences in the usage of the term terroir in English and French language media cannot be entirely attributable to language differences. Given the importance of the notion of terroir to wine, wine journalists in The Gazette frequently used it in their articles, but rarely in relation to Quebec wines and never in terms of Quebec identity or history.

As a result of the low numbers of co-mentions, a separate, wider search was conducted for newspaper articles containing mentions of terroir in relation to all Quebec-made foods, not simply those associated with Quebec wines. Terroir was an ill-defined term that entered the common parlance and enveloped all locally-produced foods. Its development was spurred on by higher quality products, such as artisanal cheese, ice cider, lamb, meat and other categories. The low numbers of co-mentions between terroir and wine did not reflect the dynamism of small-scale agriculture in Quebec at the time and the enthusiasm with which consumers demanded its products.

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[13] I coded The Gazette articles for mentions of terroir only for comparison purposes, as these were not required in the analyses.

All small-scale agriculture came to be painted with the broad stroke of 'terroir,' possibly creating positive spillovers for relatively lower quality products, such as Quebec wines, even if wine journalists did not explicitly mention the term. Consequently, a search for all references to terroir was carried out. The search process began by searching for articles with mentions of terroir and Quebec. I retained articles that pertained to locally made foods and beverages, including wine, resulting in 1328 articles, of which 1248 were found in La Presse. The search began with co-mentions of terroir and Quebec to exclude all articles referring to foreign terroirs, often mentioned in reviews of imported wines. Figure 3-2 also provides the number of newspaper articles mentioning the Quebec terroir in La Presse. The figure reveals that wine, typically the food most associated with terroir around the world, represented a small proportion of the total mentions of terroir in Quebec. The peak in 'terroir' mentions in La Presse came in 2004, with 121 mentions. For comparison purposes, the peak in terroir mentions in The Gazette came in 2008, with only 14 mentions.

Insert Figure 3-2 about here

To test hypotheses one and two, I use a panel design with the two newspapers as respondents. Hypothesis one pertains to how regional identity affects the allocation of attention to local producers. I assume that each newspaper may allocate a certain amount of attention to 'local' wines, which is shared between the generally higher quality wines produced in the adjacent province of Ontario and the relatively lower quality wines produced in Quebec. To test hypothesis one, I calculate the degree of attention devoted to Quebec wines, calculated as the number of newspaper articles devoted to Quebec wines, divided by the total number of articles about local

wines (i.e. Quebec and Ontario), per year, for each newspaper. Figure 3-3 reveals the degree of attention devoted to Quebec wines by each of the two newspapers. It is interesting to note that while Figure 3-1 reveals that the two newspapers annually printed approximately the same number of articles on Quebec and Ontario wines, Figure 3-3 reveals that the proportion of those articles devoted to Quebec wines differed between the two newspapers. The independent variable is a dummy variable for La Presse. The xtreg function was used in STATA.

Insert Figure 3-3 about here

Hypothesis two pertains to how regional identity affects the evaluation of local products or producers. To test hypothesis two, the dependent variable is the proportion of positive evaluations of Quebec wines, calculated as the number of articles containing positive evaluations, divided by the number of articles about Quebec wines, published annually in each newspaper. It is important to emphasize that a lower number does not indicate a higher number of negative evaluations, but rather fewer articles with explicitly positive evaluations. The independent variable was a dummy variable for La Presse. The xtreg function was used in STATA.

Hypothesis three pertains to the impact of a product category's perceived ties to regional identity and the attention devoted to the category. The Gazette was removed from this analysis because the Québécois identity was less salient to its readership. To test hypothesis three, the dependent variable is the number of mentions of Quebec wines in a given year. The independent variable is the number of articles mentioning terroir during the previous year. Articles mentioning terror were selected as a proxy for the appearance of consistency between a market category and a regional identity because the terroir concept embedded 'local' agriculture, including wine

production, in the broader Quebec nationalist discourse, evoking patriotic sentiment and attachment. Control variables are the numbers of articles mentioning Quebec wines, the numbers of articles containing positive evaluations of Quebec wines and the number of Quebec wineries, all lagged by one year. Given that there is only one respondent, a panel design could not be used and an OLS regression was conducted in its place. Breush-Godfrey and Durbin's alternative tests were conducted ('estat bgodfrey' and 'estat durbinalt' commands in Stata, respectively) to test for the presence of autocorrelation (Baum, 2006), which can exist with time-series data. Neither test revealed the presence of autocorrelation. In an unreported analysis, a Cochrane-Orcutt regression ('prais' command with the 'corc' option in Stata) was conducted to correct for autocorrelation and the results were unchanged.

Hypothesis four relates to the effect of discourse associating Quebec wines with Quebec identity on organizational foundings. The dependent variable was the number of Quebec winery permits issued per year. A list of wine making permit holders for the year 2011 was obtained from the *Régie des alcools, des courses et des jeux,* the Quebec government agency that issues winemaking permits. The list contained winery names, permit issue dates and permit numbers for the 110 permit issued up to 2011. Missing in the list were names and permit issue dates of the 17 of 110 wineries that had ceased operations. Dubois and Deshaies (1997) provide winery names, permit numbers and issue dates up to 1997, which accounted for seven of the 17 failed firms. For the remainder, winery names were identified in newspaper articles and other texts. For the failed firms, incorporation dates were used to approximate the dates they received their permits. Comparing the permit issue and incorporation dates of all other firms, it was revealed that firms typically incorporated the year of or before receiving their permits. Figure 3-4 shows the growth

in the number of permits issued.

Insert Figure 3-4 about here

To test Hypothesis 4, I adopted an event-count model where each organizational founding was recorded as an event (Carroll & Hannan, 2000). Event count data is commonly estimated using a Poisson distribution. However, the Poisson distribution assumes the variance is equal to the mean, which is often not the case with event count data. The data showed overdispersion, where the variance is greater than the mean, which suggested the use of the negative binomial form of the model (Hausman, Hall, & Griliches, 1984; Ramaswamy, Anderson, & DeSarbo, 1994). I dropped The Gazette from this analysis because, the Québécois identity being less salient to its readership, I did not expect its articles to have any effect on organizational entries.

The independent variable was the number of articles mentioning the Quebec terroir in relation to food. Mentions of terroir, rather than co-mentions of terroir and wine, were selected because of the low number of co-mentions, which did not reflect the dynamism of small-scale agricultural production in Quebec at the time. A reluctance on the part of journalists to speak specifically of Quebec wines as having a particular terroir, did not reflect the burgeoning demand for terroir products among consumers, and especially the emerging association of terroir with the Québécois identity. Moreover, the majority of mentions of Quebec wines came not in the form of discussions about the wines or wineries, but in references to the wine routes, which journalists suggested were pleasant to visit while sampling other artisanal products. Consequently, it appeared more relevant to measure the development of the overall terroir concept, given that the emergence of the wine market was tied to that of the larger concept.

Five control variables were included. The first control variable was the number of newspaper articles mentioning Quebec wines. The second was the total wine consumption in Quebec (Statistics Canada, 2014). Consumption values were in liters and I took the natural logarithm. The third and fourth control variables were organizational density and organizational density squared (Carroll & Hannan, 2000). Organizational density is important because during the early phases of market development, the greater the density of a novel organizational form, the greater its cognitive legitimacy, because audiences are increasingly exposed to the form and gain a better understanding of it (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). Legitimation increases subsequent foundings monotonically and its effect is controlled by the organizational density variable. However, as the organizational density approaches the carrying capacity of the resource space, competition sets in and failure rates rise. The effect of competition on organizational foundings at this point is non-monotonic (inverted U-shaped) and is controlled by the density squared term.

Independent and control variables were lagged by five years to account for the number of years required to start a winery. As per government policy, the granting of permits was dependent on the applicants' first vintage passing a chemical analysis by the liquor board. Consequently, prospective winemakers were expected to plant and grow their vines, purchase the required production equipment (according to the policy, winemakers were required to own their wine-making equipment and could not sub-contract production or rent equipment) and produce a first vintage before they could even receive a producers' permit. The sale of the first vintage would then commence in the following year. Discussions with a Quebec winemaker revealed that three to four years of growth were required for newly planted vines to produce grapes in the quality and quantity needed for commercial production. This was corroborated by Quebec winery websites,

which occasionally mentioned the year the vines had been planted and the year their products first went on sale. Therefore, winemakers would have begun acting on their plans to found wineries approximately four years prior to receiving their permits, to which we lagged one additional year, for a total of five.

Findings

Table 3-1 reports the descriptive statistics and Table 3-2 reports the regression coefficients for the first analysis. This analysis simply confirms statistically what can already be seen visually in Figure 3-3 regarding differences in attention to Quebec wines across the two newspapers. The results indicate that La Presse dummy variable was significant ($p \leq 0.001$) and positive, revealing that the proportion of articles about Quebec wines over all local wines (i.e. including Ontario and Quebec) in La Presse was 32.5% higher than the English language newspaper. Thus, Hypothesis 1, which stated that adherence of audiences to a strong regional identity affects the classification of and the level of attention devoted to 'local' organizational populations, was supported.

Insert Table 3-1 about here

Insert Table 3-2 about here

It is important to note that The Gazette was not exempt from the effects of regional identity, the only difference being that the identity most salient to its journalists and readership was the Canadian identity. For example, the newspaper's wine critic began a 2002 article entitled *We're in the Medals Again* with the sentence "[h]ere is the next chapter in my crusade to convince readers

just how good Canadian wines have become," and he proceeded to laud the successes of Canadian wines at international wine competitions (Anderson, 2002, June 8). The "we" in the title referred to Canadians, not Quebecers, as the wines he discussed were all produced outside Quebec.

It may be interesting to consider some possible alternative explanations as to why Anglophone Montrealers may be more inclined to focus on Ontario-based wineries than Francophone Montrealers. It is possible that Anglophone Montrealers may have family in Ontario, which the Francophone Montrealers do not, suggesting a social network-related explanation. However, English-language newspaper articles often described the accessibility of Ontario wineries and suggested weekend trips to Ontario departing from Montreal, not as part of things to do while already in Ontario. Another alternative explanation may be that there was a division of labor between English and French language media, whereby each covered a different population of organizations. However, such an argument would assume that Montrealers were in the habit of reading both English and French language newspapers in order to obtain a fuller understanding of current-events, a habit for which there is no evidence. The English and French language media spoke to different publics, each with its own beliefs and values.

Table 3-3 reports the descriptive statistics and Table 3-4 the regression coefficients for the second analysis. This analysis tests whether adherents to a strong regional identity are more likely than non-adherents to accompany articles about 'locally' produced products with positive evaluations. The control variable for the density of wineries was not significant. Surprisingly, the La Presse dummy variable was significant, but negative, the opposite direction hypothesized. This indicates that as a proportion of all articles about Quebec wines published in each newspaper per year, La Presse articles contained fewer positive evaluations. Thus, hypothesis 2 is not supported,

but the result also provides some very interesting insights into how adherents of a strong regional identity may choose to cover 'local' firms. Positive evaluations in both newspapers were often for the products of a small group of relatively higher quality Quebec producers. However, the Gazette did not print many articles concerning the remaining wineries, whose numbers were growing annually. In contrast, La Presse printed many more articles about these other wineries, often in the form of corporate portraitures. Such articles would showcase local firms, interview the founders, discuss their visions, but never actually broach the topic of product quality. Consequently, such articles had the effect of reducing the proportion of positive evaluations of Quebec wines in La Presse, while increasing overall mentions.

Insert Table 3-3 about here

Insert Table 3-4 about here

Table 3-5 reports the descriptive statistics and Table 3-6 the regression coefficients for the third analysis. In this analysis, I estimate the mentions of Quebec wines, with an interest in how it was affected by the rising association of artisanal foods with the regional identity. Model 1 contains only the control variables, which are the number of articles containing mentions of Quebec wines, the number of articles containing positive evaluations in each newspaper and the number of wineries, all lagged by one year. Only the number of wineries in the preceding year is significantly associated with the number of mentions in the current year. Model 2 adds the number of articles that discuss the Quebec terroir, which is significant ($p \leq .05$). The analysis reveals that every additional article mentioning terroir during the previous year increases the number of articles

mentioning Quebec wines by 0.20. This suggests that Quebec wines benefitted from the developing concept of terroir. This may have occurred in two ways. First, terroir became an umbrella term that co-classified all locally produced artisanal products, many of which were of higher quality than Quebec wines, creating positive spillovers for the wine market. More importantly, the emergence of the notion of terroir, because of its links to regional identity, channeled attention towards the support of all local artisanal agricultural products. Thus, hypothesis 3 is supported.

Insert Table 3-5 about here

Insert Table 3-6 about here

Table 3-7 reports the descriptive statistics for the fourth analysis and Table 3-8 reports the regression results for the estimates of organizational foundings. Model 1 contains only control variables. It reveals that none of the control variables significantly affected organizational entries. Model 2 adds the number of mentions of the Quebec Terroir, which was significant ($p \leq .01$). It reveals that every additional mention of the Quebec Terroir in the media increases winery foundings by 0.22. This suggests that the emergence of the terroir concept, which suggested links between artisanal agriculture, including wine, and the Quebec identity, cued entrepreneurs to opportunities in wine production, encouraging their market entries. Thus, hypothesis four is supported.

Insert Table 3-7 about here

Insert Table 3-8 about here

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I discussed the influence of regional identity on the construction of new 'local' markets. My approach is consistent with the extant research in its finding that entrepreneurs in regional communities may receive increased attention by community members, enabling them to garner resources from their local environments. However, the extant literature draws attention to norms of community support that are transmitted through social networks. I suggest alternative mechanisms for the activation of community support, related to regional identity. Community is not simply based on network ties, but is first and foremost imagined (Anderson, 1991). I show that the meanings individuals attach to place and community affect the organizations to which they attend, and the market categories they co-construct.

I reveal two mechanisms by which regional identity affects the construction of new market categories in regional communities. First, in communities with strong regional identities, the media and the broader community will focus greater attention on firms located within than those located outside the geographic boundaries evoked by the regional identity, irrespective of actual proximity. Regional identity delimits space according to 'local' and 'foreign' and draws attention to firms located within the boundaries of the 'local'. This was seen in differences in media coverage of Quebec wines in English and French language daily newspapers. The Gazette articles did not draw as sharp a distinction between Ontario and Quebec wines as La Presse, because its readership adhered to the Canadian identity. Therefore, among all nearby wineries, The Gazette articles were

more likely to mention the higher quality wines produced in Ontario.

These findings suggest that the value conferred to firms for their 'localness' is mediated by the strength of the regional identity. Where a strong regional identity is missing, community members may be inclined to compare 'local' and 'foreign' firms on equal grounds, according to the same evaluation criteria. If the local firms are at a quality or price disadvantage to foreign firms, a local market may never emerge. Such an outcome would likely have occurred in Quebec, had all stakeholders attended to Quebec wines in the same manner as The Gazette. It is important to note, however, that the results also suggest that journalist do not falsely claim locally produced products are of high quality if such claims are unwarranted. I could find no significant difference between the English and French language newspapers in the proportion of all mentions of Quebec wines that contained favorable evaluations. This may be because reporters risk damaging their own reputations if they recommend products that then disappoint consumers. Consequently, while reporters may be inclined to profile 'local' entrepreneurs and business, they may refrain from commenting on the quality of the products.

The second mechanism I discuss is related to the identification of community members with the nascent market category. Firms associated with the regional identity may garner increased support because they appear to reflect and even further contribute to the distinctiveness of the regional community. This mechanism differs to the previous, which was solely dependent on where a firm was located, and thus could potentially apply to all 'local' businesses. This mechanism suggests that some businesses or categories of businesses may appear 'more local' than others and thus benefit from heightened levels of community support. The discourse of terroir suggested locally-produced artisanal foods were a sign of the distinctiveness of Quebec society

and warranted special attention by consumers.

This research also contributes to the organizational ecology literature. One of the core tenets of organizational ecology is that as the prevalence of novel organizational forms increases, the forms gain legitimacy because community members encounter and can interact with the organizations with greater regularity (Hannan & Freeman, 1987; Freeman & Audia, 2006). However, the prevailing view of density is based on their physical proximity to their audiences. In this study, the physical proximity of Quebec and Ontario wineries and the availability of their wines were equal for all Montrealers. The differences in attention between English and French language newspapers were therefore not products of proximity in physical space, but rather in *identity* space. The English-language media in Quebec paid greater attention to the higher quality – though physically further – Ontario wine market, which appeared adequately 'local' according to the Canadian identity.

This study does have some limitations. Given that Quebec had a strong regional identity, it is possible that the findings of this study are limited to regions with strong regional identities and are not applicable to regions with weak or moderate regional identities. Moreover, all the organizations located in the Quebec artisan wine market category, as the name implies, were located within the province. It is unknown whether findings of this study are applicable to categories that span regional boundaries or are even international in nature.

In conclusion, this study took advantage of a unique context to study the effects of regional identity on the emergence of new markets. Typically, a regional identity is shared among all inhabitants of a region, but Montreal is a rare case of a large city whose inhabitants do not share the same regional identity. Moreover, the emergence of the Quebec wine market offered a unique

case, because it emerged in proximity to the established and higher quality Ontario wine market. The study revealed that regional identity affects both how actors delimit and attend to organizational populations, and that perceptions of a markets' consistency with the regional identity can further enhance the level of attention accorded to the category.

Figure 3-1. Number of articles containing mentions of 'local' wines (i.e. including Quebec and Ontario)

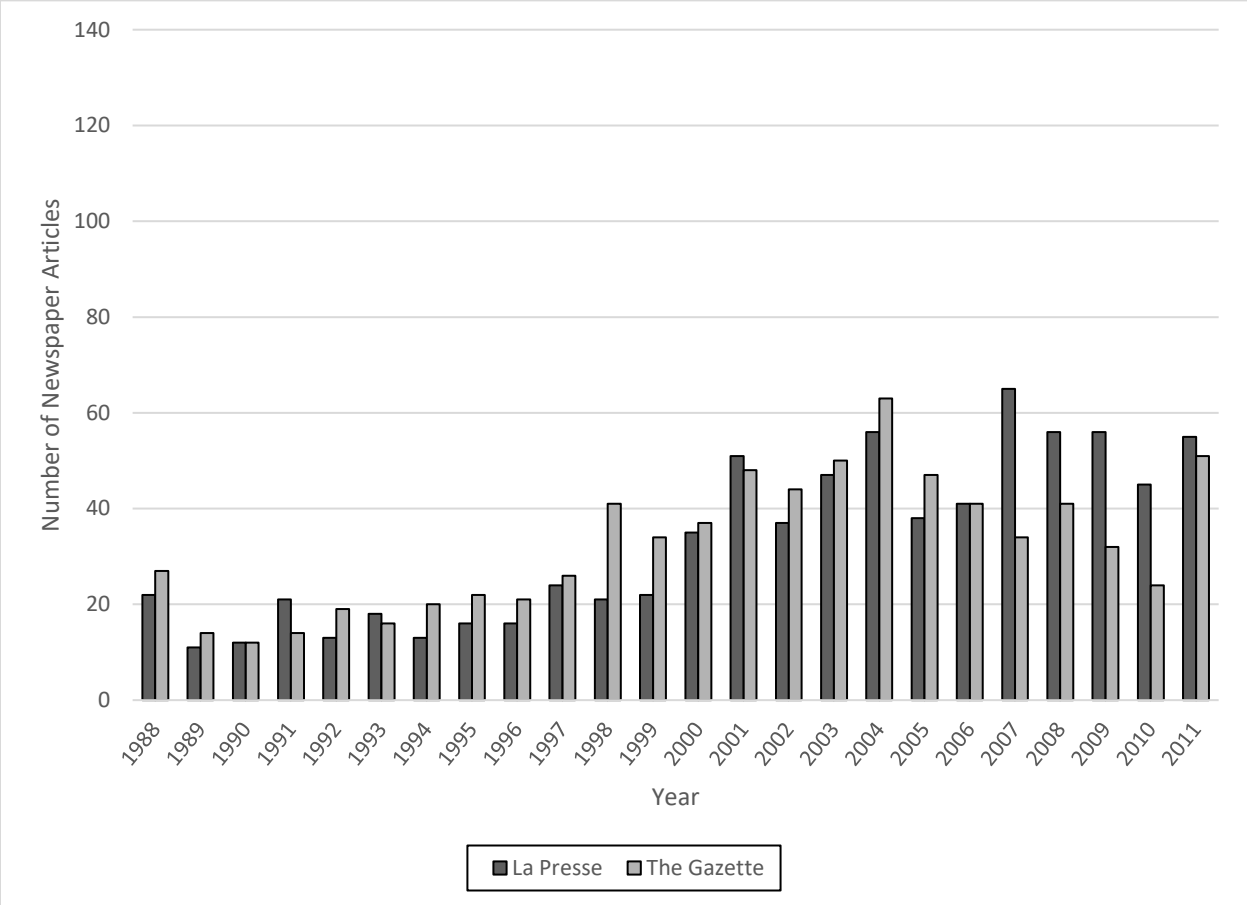

Figure 3-2. Number of articles containing mentions of the Quebec terroir in francophone outlet

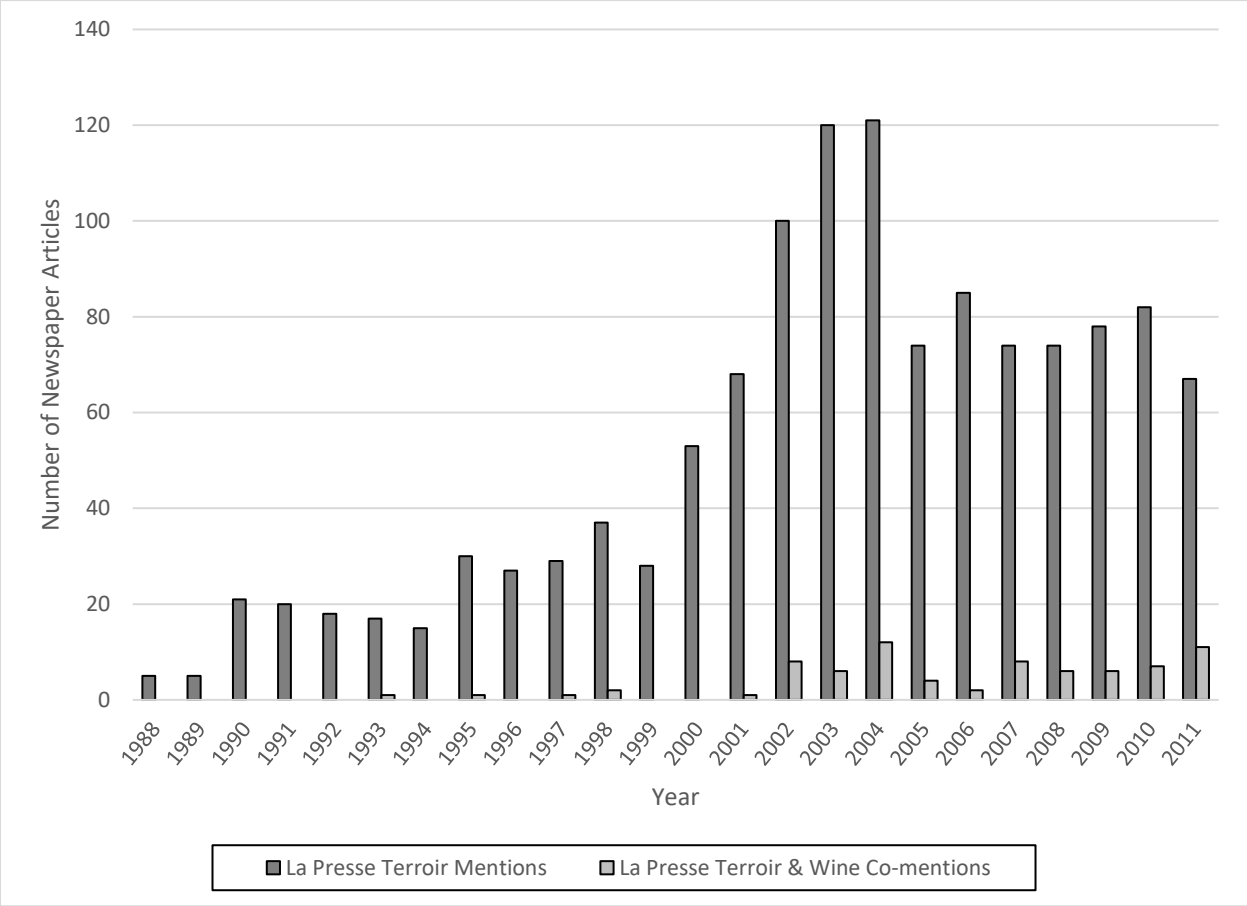

Figure 3-3. Degree of attention accorded to Quebec wines as a proportion of mentions of all 'local' wines (i.e. Quebec and Ontario)

Figure 3-4. Cumulative number of winery permits issued in Quebec

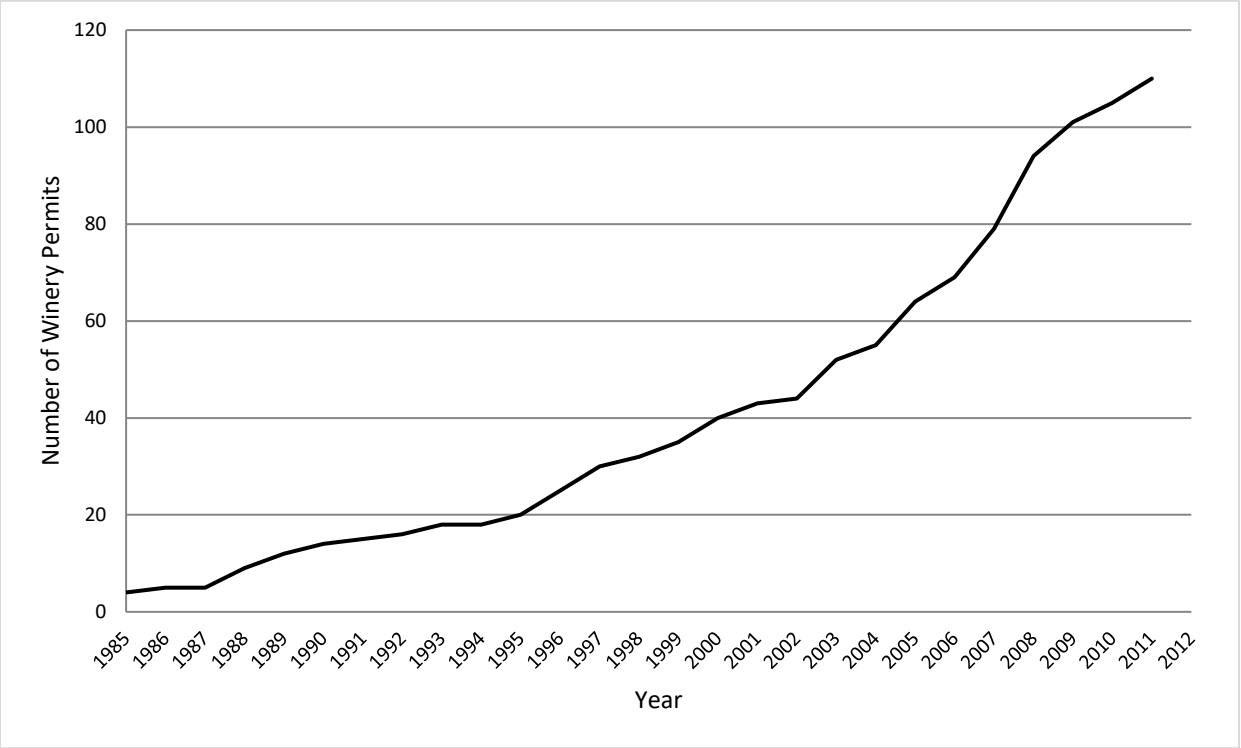

Table 3-1. Descriptive statistics and correlation coefficients

	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3
1. Attention to QC wines	0.562	0.221	1.00		
2. La Presse	0.500	0.505	0.74	1.00	
3. Quebec winery density	45.8333	31.744	0.27	0.00	1.00

Table 3-2. Estimating attention devoted to Quebec wines by regional identity adherents

	Model 1
La Presse	0.325***
	(0.040)
Quebec winery density	0.002**
	(0.001)
Constant	0.314***
	(0.040)
R^2	0.628

N = 48
*p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤0.001
Standard errors are in parentheses below parameter estimates.

Table 3-3. Descriptive statistics and correlation coefficients

	Mean	S.D.	1	2
1. Proportion of positive evaluations of Quebec wines	0.15	0.18	1.00	
2. La Presse	0.50	0.50	-0.38	1.00
3. Quebec winery density	45.83	31.74	-0.00	0.00

Table 3-4. Estimating the proportion of positive evaluations of Quebec wines in news articles by regional identity adherents

	Model 1
La Presse	-0.139**
	(0.050)
Quebec winery density	-0.000
	(0.001)
Constant	0.219***
	(0.051)
R^2	0.14

N = 48
*p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤0.001
Standard errors are in parentheses below parameter estimates.

Table 3-5. Descriptive statistics and correlation coefficients

	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4
1. Quebec wine mentions	24.21	14.33	1.00			
2. Quebec terroir mentions $_{(t-1)}$	51.34	36.08	0.78	1.00		
3. Quebec wine mentions $_{(t-1)}$	23.22	13.78	0.81	0.81	1.00	
4. Positive evaluations $_{(t-1)}$	1.78	2.19	0.35	0.70	0.54	1.00
5. Quebec winery density $_{(t-1)}$	41.45	30.05	0.87	0.73	0.88	0.42

Table 3-6. Estimating mentions of Quebec wines by regional identity adherents

	Model 1	Model 2
Quebec terroir mentions $_{(t-1)}$		0.202*
		(0.075)
Quebec wine mentions $_{(t-1)}$	0.230	0.012
	(0.259)	(0.239)
Positive evaluations $_{(t-1)}$	-0.409	-1.692
	(0.850)	(0.879)
Quebec winery density $_{(t-1)}$	0.330**	0.279*
	(0.111)	(0.098)
Constant	6.198	5.382
	(3.025)	(2.643)
R^2	0.732	0.798

N = 23
*p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤0.001
Standard errors are in parentheses below parameter estimates.

Table 3-7. Descriptive statistics and correlation coefficients

	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5
1. Winery permits issued per year	4.07	4.07	1.00				
2. Mentions of Quebec Terroir $_{(t-5)}$	44.39	37.63	0.75	1.00			
3. Mentions of Quebec wine $_{(t-5)}$	21.62	13.29	0.67	0.92	1.00		
4. Quebec wine consumption $_{(t-5)}$	18.27	0.21	0.51	0.88	0.81	1.00	
5. Quebec winery density $_{(t-5)}$	33.25	24.94	0.52	0.87	0.84	0.92	1.00
6. Quebec winery density squared $_{(t-5)}$	1701.58	2259.98	0.82	0.82	0.76	0.92	0.977

Table 3-8. Entrepreneurial activity: Winery permits issued per year

Independent Variable	1	2
Mentions of Quebec Terroir $_{(t-5)}$		0.022**
		(0.008)
Mentions of Quebec Wine $_{(t-5)}$	0.033	-0.011
	(0.027)	(0.027)
Quebec wine consumption $_{(t-5)}$	-0.278	-3.186
	(2.239)	(2.380)
Quebec winery density $_{(t-5)}$	0.060	0.057
	(0.044)	0.041
Quebec winery density squared $_{(t-5)}$	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)
Constant	4.910	57.740
	(40.307)	(42.891)
X^2	13.13*	19.74**

N = 19
*p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤0.001
Standard errors are in parentheses below parameter estimates.

General Conclusion

This dissertation makes four main contributions to research on the emergence of new market categories and specifically to markets associated with identities of place. The first, most important, contribution pertains to the process whereby new market categories emerge. The extant literature on market construction argues that nascent markets are given meaning largely by entrepreneurs, but I show that intermediary actors may construct discourses that diverge from those advanced by the entrepreneurs, in a manner that best satisfies the intermediaries' own interests. The second contribution pertains to authenticity, where I reveal and elaborate on two types of authenticity, personal and regional authenticity. I also extend research on authenticity beyond concerns over how organizations conform to established conventions of authentic production, to the study of the emergence of entirely new authentic market categories. The third contribution pertains to the role of the state in the emergence of nascent markets. I show that the state does not only enact and enforce laws and regulations, but it can also infuse markets with meaning. The fourth contribution pertains to regional identity. I show that regional identity can channel audience attention to firms located within the region, as can discourses that link the nascent category with the regional identity.

This research also carries a number of limitations. The research is largely set in a single context and is therefore based on the series of events that transpired and in the order that they did within that particular location. The research is also limited by data availability, which can be low early in the development of markets as production statistics begin to be tabulated and other types of documentation produced only as markets mature. The small size of firms inherent with the populations researched also compounded the problem of data availability, as the firms largely went

unrecognized during the early years of their respective markets and did not have active industry associations to gather statistics or produce documentation on their behalf.

The research findings should also be generalized with caution. The finding that market intermediaries may construct discourses largely disconnected to those advanced by entrepreneurs may be of wide ranging significance. However, it may be particularly applicable to cases where the firms in question are small and do not have the resources to powerfully disseminate their own messages. Moreover, the findings pertaining to regional identity may be applicable only to contexts also having strong regional identities. It is unknown whether the findings of this research would apply to regions with moderately strong regional identities.

This dissertation also suggests a number of avenues for future research. First among these is the investigation of how the identified processes would unfold in regions with only moderately strong regional identities, as one may find within the United States, where few regions or communities espouse distinct 'national' identities (i.e. identities intertwined with expectations of political sovereignty). In such regions, where social boundaries are less sharp and identities more overlapping, would authenticity carry the same weight or even the same meanings? Another avenue for future research is to study how regional identity may influence the emergence of markets not perfectly bounded by the community's geographical boundaries, but instead extending beyond them, or markets unrelated to arts, culture and food, which are often most closely associated with the identity of place.

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