## Artisan food production: What makes food 'artisan'?

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#### 1. Abstract

Artisan food is characterised as being made through creativity, passion, traditional methods and with traditional ingredients. John McKenna describes this as the quartet of place, product, passion, and personality of the producer with tradition being implicit rather than explicit in this description. This chapter considers the contemporary framing of artisan food and artisan producers, how the use of the term 'artisan' has evolved over time, and the emergent trends within the artisan food sector. The research question arising from these ideas is: *Can artisan food be both innovative and traditional at the same time?* The chapter discusses three food producers and critically evaluates the extent to which they fit within existing definitions of 'artisan food'. The term 'artisan' can be said to be socially constructed i.e. the meaning is constantly reconstructed as new innovations are adopted and associated with place, product and producer. Artisan food needs to stand out in some contemporary way from more mass produced food, especially as it often has higher costs of production or includes an embedded environmental or social value that the purchaser must be willing to pay for.

### Introduction

- 31 Consumers are becoming increasingly aware and differentiated in their food choices, with
- 32 characteristics from organic to 'ethical sourcing' to 'local' production featuring increasingly
- highly in their consumption choices across Europe and beyond (Dunne and Wright, 2017). In
- 34 the academic literature, there seems to be no clarity, and instead a conflation of the concepts
- of 'artisan', with 'good food', 'speciality food' (Wyshak, 2014; Collinson, 2018), 'traditional',,
- 36 'farmhouse', 'natural' (FSAI; 2015; Collinson, 2018), and 'farm-produced' (Oledinma & Roper,

2021). Artisan has also been linked to notions of the craft aspects of food, i.e. 'cottage industry'
(Murray, 1987), 'craft food' (Ashkenazy et al., 2018; Darnhofer & Strauss, 2015; Oledinma &
Roper, 2021), and 'handmade' (Collinson, 2018).

The concept of artisan food has been studied as a driver of tourism (Collinson, 2018; Smith & Xiao, 2008; Testa et al., 2019), in the maintenance of social networks (Grimes & Milgram, 2000), the difference between local production for local consumers and local production for distant consumers (Fonte, 2010), and in the wider context of global food trends (Desmarais, 2003). Artisan food has also been considered in relation to its embedded nutritional value (Ruiz-Cano et al., 2013), high quality (Quinn & Seaman, 2019), gender opportunities and equality (Maidment & Macfarlane, 2011;) Escurriol Martinez et al., 2014), and the tensions between factory and artisan producers (Oledinma & Roper, 2021). Another aspect is that of artisan being linked to autonomy and independence in terms of business and regional identity (Quinn & Seaman, 2019).

- According to The School of Artisan Food, 'artisan' food has the following qualities (The School of Artisan Food, 2021):
  - It is food produced via 'non-industrialised methods, often handed down through generations, but now in danger of being lost';
  - Embeds producer knowledge, understanding and respect for their raw materials, and is made by people who have an 'historical, experiential, intuitive and scientific understanding' of the production process, and have social and environmental awareness; and
  - Producers who make artisan food never stop learning and improving their craft.

This definition proposes tradition, but also the elements of being experiential and improving as a craft suggest elements of innovation. Innovation is quite simply the process of innovating i.e. the introduction or adoption of new ideas, new technology or new ways of thinking. McKitterick et al., (2016) differentiate between incremental (small changes that lead to innovation over time) and radical innovation where adoption of new ideas or technology happen quickly, and state that many artisan foods demonstrate radical elements of innovation. Leroy et al., (2013) comment on the difference between tradition (authentic, local) and innovation (improving, unconventional, novel, global) and the contradictory aspects of innovation in a traditional food product. However they state innovation can be associated with the re-emergence of the traditional in a market where this has not been a contemporary focus and where authenticity is an implicit characteristic of the food driven by characteristics and a sense of familiarity for consumers. This suggests that the familiar can indeed be innovative in a re-emergent market

Thus, the term artisan food can be positioned in terms of the food itself, the way the ingredients have been sourced, processed and the innate features of that method, the people and their values, beliefs, and ethical perspectives, the degree of formalisation of the businesses involved, the interaction between craft and markets (McKitterick et al., 2016), and the story of the product and aspects of transparency, authenticity and roots, (Ashkenazy et al., 2018). These aspects will be considered in turn. Artisan food has been described as luxury, elitist, exclusive and expensive (Thompson & Kumar, 2018). Indeed, artisan food may need to stand out in some contemporary way from more mass produced food, especially as it often has higher costs of production or includes an embedded environmental or social value that the purchaser must be willing to pay for. Artisan could be said to describe a food product produced in limited quantities or means of production, with a socio-traditional value, generally associated with a specific location, culture or heritage, which may go some way to re-connecting consumers with multiple aspects of their food. The case studies later in this chapter will be evaluated according to the FSAI definition of artisan:

- Being made in limited quantities
- By skilled craftspeople

- Where the processing method is not fully mechanised and follows a traditional method
- The food is made in a micro-enterprise at a single location
- The characteristic ingredient(s) used are grown or produced locally, where seasonally available and practical
  - To complement this definition, the evaluation will also consider the more abstract definition by the Irish food writer, John Mckenna, who defines it as 'a synthesis of the *Personality* of the producer, the *Place* it comes from, the *Product* itself and *Passion* in the manner it is produced' (Teagasc, 2017). Neither of these terms address innovation as an inherent aspect of a food being artisan and yet creativity and craft is at the heart of artisan food production. This leads to the research question:
- 98 Can artisan food be both innovative and traditional at the same time?
  - The next section considers the evolving nature of the term 'artisan' over time and the innate aspects of innovation which this demonstrates.

### 2. Artisan as an attribute: product, production and producer

The academic literature on artisan production of food is rather limited (Azavedo and Walsh, 2019), with varying uses of the term 'artisan'. Pre-1990s, the terms 'artisan' and 'cottage industry' (Murray, 1987) were fairly synonymous, and in some areas this remains the traditional view (e.g. in parts of Spain and Greece). 'Artisan' seems throughout the last 20

years to have had an historic element, with those promoting artisan wishing to protect local history, heritage and traditions. The late 1990s see the start of the artisan food movement as we recognise it now, with producers, consumers and other stakeholders wishing to protect and market 'smaller regional food producers... make foods concurrent with local history' (Quinn & Seaman, 2019, p.4), whilst strengthening links to the locality and preserving traditional production practices (Bowen & De Master, 2014; Lotti, 2010; Oledinma & Roper, 2021). Whilst this motive is still strong, more recently perhaps, there is a rising emphasis on local community, knowledge (Escurriol Martinez et al., 2014), and its use in alternative food networks.

Whilst the general indicators of what it is for a food to be 'artisan' may remain constant, the reach in terms of how the term is used has widened and diversified. This means that the term 'artisan' is becoming more relevant to a wider circle of consumers, and becoming a tool allowing smaller producers to compete with large scale producers /supermarkets by creating a 'niche' parallel market. The creation of new markets can in itself be described as innovation, especially where such market opportunites have not existed in the past. Iterative themes arise from the literature with regard to artisan food production (mastery and craft, values and beliefs and place in terms of locality and seasonality) see in Table 1. Thus the definitions focus on product, place and producer as aspects of production where methods are traditional and time-consuming.

Table 1. Aspects of artisan food production

Theme	Description
Mastery and craft	Mastery and craft production involving an historical, experiential and
	intuitive understanding, acquiring skills from experienced
	practitioners, emphasising hands-on and tacit knowledge rather than
	learning by rote or from the book (Jackson, 2013).
	Craft production, having an economic/social and cultural environment
	embeddedness (Escurriol Martinez et al., 2014).
	Skilled craftspeople where the processing method is not fully
	mechanised and follows a traditional method (FSAI, 2015).
Place (locality,	Civic Agriculture: Caricofe (2011) emphasises the strong desire of
seasonality)	artisans to operate 'locally embedded businesses.'
	Characteristic ingredient(s) used are grown or produced locally,
	processed in a given location and where seasonally available and
	practical (FSAI, 2015).

	Food that forms part of the established tradition of its local area, usually produced on a relatively small scale (Quinn & Seaman, 2019).
Values and beliefs	Products 'embody the processor's values and beliefs' (Gralton & Vanclay, 2009).
	Artisans were found to be 'values-based individuals emphasizing product quality through their careful sourcing of ingredients and the
	use of traditional, time consuming production methods' (Carifcofe, 2011).
	Producers are driven by a mix of lifestyle oriented goals and commercial growth ambitions (McKitterick et al., 2016).

What production systems are classed as 'artisan,' is complicated. In some countries, what constitutes *artisan* changes depending on the area and product. For instance, in Spain there are varying regulations throughout the country regarding where the raw materials originate from, the number of workers producing the artisan product etc. (Escurriol Martinez et al., 2014). In the UK, there is no specific artisan food law; artisan producers must abide by the same rules as larger food producers. In the United States of America (USA), the Food and Drugs Agency (FDA) ruled in 2014 against the historic tradition of aging cheese on wooden boards (Danby, 2015); some Spanish regulations also forbid the maturing of cheese on wooden shelves (Escurriol Martinez et al., 2014) on hygiene grounds. If this was the traditional method of production, can cheeses matured in other ways be classed as 'artisan'? Conversely, should 'artisan' be able to disregard health and safety legislation on the grounds of authenticity or scale? Is this a form of innovation where the product still exhibits the characteristics of craft and creativity, but when a new emergent form of 'artisan' production does not, to comply with contemporary legislation, follow historic practices?

In the mid-1990s, a dichotomy within food production was recognised as: standardised/generic versus specialist/dedicated food systems; the former related to industrialised food production, mass market production, and economies of scale, whilst the latter described artisanal food production with labour-intensive production methods to produce products for specific groups of consumers (Oledinma & Roper, 2021; Storper & Salais, 1997). This binary segregation of production is echoed in the present day dichotomy of food networks, between conventional and alternative; however, this distinction, many argue, is too rigid, with artisanal and alternative food networks co-existing and interacting with conventional networks on multiple levels (O'Neill, 2014). Within these new networks is the perception of an artisanal food economy, which has been described as 'artisan entrepreneurs'/farmers ... influential in developing a new economy which 'selectively uses technology, couples it with traditional

elements and addresses societal and consumer needs' (Darnhofer & Strauss, 2015, p. i). This peer to peer networking to provide an artisanal ecosystem has also been highlighted by others (Blundel, 2002; Felzensztein et al., 2010), driving social innovation, niche markets, and new, innovative and creative business models, centred around skills and knowledge merging the old and the new (Darnhofer & Strauss, 2015). Thus, artisanal food economies can make traditions relevant to a modern society. Culinary tourism may also be perceived as its own emergent economy, with regional foods strengthening an area's place on the map as a tourist destination and also rejuvenating culinary traditions which, but for the tourist market, may have been lost in history due to lack of local participation or awareness. Thus, food can be used as a tool to rebrand an area and create a sense of social community. Culinary tourism has been defined as when eating, tasting, buying and appreciating local food products is an important component of visits to the area (Hall & Gössling, 2016; Smith & Xiao, 2008), with an emphasis on culture, authenticity and local, three vital components of being artisan. This raises an interesting question: as to whether innovative entrepreneurship can focuses on regional taste and food culture i.e. local gastronomy (Dann & Jacobsen, 2009). Metaxas and Karagiannis (2016) culinary tourism driven by gastronomy represents examples of innovative entrepreneurship. Extending the context of culinary tourism is the development of artisanal products as 'cultural goods.' This is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, eating the product may not necessarily be the primary aim, instead the focus being on creating the cultural experience, seeing or even keeping the product as a keepsake, and creating a food memory e.g. seaweed in western Ireland (Collinson, 2018). Can this experiential aspect of artisan food be used as a marketing tool for tourists or within food businesses that develop innovative brands that are differentiated from the existing market by being pitched to appear as artisan?

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What is meant by local is in itself a debate wrought with diverging opinions (O'Neill, 2014), especially the question whether, by 'food', we mean the final product or also include the ingredients within it. Some studies in southern Europe have shown more of an emphasis on the locality of ingredients (Escurriol Martinez et al., 2014). However, others have considered the scaling up of Italian alternative food network schemes and suggest fluidity in the notion of local (Martindale et al., 2018), meaning producers can purchase ingredients from beyond their local area but within a direct chain. This approach is in contrast with UK viewpoints on alternative food networks, which Martindale et al. (2018) assert have a more rigid idea of local. As many of the notions of artisan mention an environmental awareness, it may be that artisanal producers use ingredients obtained in an environmentally friendly way/close by, or that the processes cause minimal environmental damage. The idea of seasonality and traditions of an area may also point to a more local ingredients base, although changes in traditional cultivations and economics may have influenced this.

Generally, when considering artisan products in the UK, one might think of cheese, breads, preserves, chocolates, pies and cured meats, ales and ciders. Obviously, some of the ingredients, such as cocoa, are not locally grown. However, as Escurriol Martinez et al. (2014) show, artisan food can be anything: alcohol, dairy, poultry, meat, fruit and vegetables, condiments, and flour. In such areas as rural Spain, traditionally grown foods are seen as artisan but without necessarily commanding the higher price that may be associated with artisan in the UK; however, as debated by many traditional/ home producers wish to disassociate themselves with the term 'artisan' due to larger commercial producers using the term to describe competing products. A UK equivalent example is that described by Quinn & Seaman (2019), who highlight the 'Oakham' chicken range from M&S not being from Oakham as an authentic place of provenance, but instead from a range of poultry farms across the UK. Whilst this product is not marketed by the retailer as artisan it can affect the sales of other businesses positioned as artisan if consumers feel their product experience has been fulfilled by buying a product from the Oakham range. The above leads to the following considerations: In the UK, would we call locally grown vegetables 'artisan'? Is the consideration of what is artisan more complex? Are some foods determined as artisan in the UK seen as mainstream foods in other cultures, e.g. local honey, milk, cheese, olives etc.?

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In summary, determining what artisan food, artisan production (Ramadani et al., 2019) and artisan producers are is difficult to do from the existing literature. Tensions exist between different producers of craft/artisanal products. For instance, although factory production of craft cider is not artisan, it directly competes with artisan-produced ciders. Farm producers of artisan cider argue that the allowance of non-traditional production methods during factory production of craft cider reduces the value of the geographic indication (GI) and provenance in terms of protecting food heritage and artisanal production (Oledinma & Roper, 2021). Legal and social tensions that develop are the difference 'between supporting artisanal production and protecting the potentially more economically significant, factory-based production of traditional products'. For example, as organic food products become more mainstream and are produced on more industrial farming and manufacturing scales making them less alternative, does this create an alternative consumer demand for foods that are differentiated from the mainstream, beyond organic? (Fonte, 2010). Wider permissiveness in the scope of Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) allows factory made products to benefit from being linked to local tradition and heritage, with any associated marketing gains, without adhering to traditional production techniques. This may crowd out artisan producers from the market. The mechanisms for implementing protected food names related to food heritage in the UK following Brexit means that national UK legislation will be revised and refocused. It is interesting to consider how they should be positioned given the narrative in this chapter. With

a view to the craft aspects of artisan food and the making of food with specific organoleptic qualities, or made with creative passion, is something inherently lost during the mass production of products or with new techniques and innovations, i.e. *Can artisan food be both innovative and traditional at the same time?* This question is now considered in a series of case studies.

# 4 Entrepreneurial and innovative ways to 'stand out' and yet still be defined as 'artisan'

Standing out from 'the crowd' in a given market place drives a food producer's unique selling proposition (USP). However, for consumers to recognise a new product (or service), and engage with it they need to be able to identify some common features of the new product while at the same time need to see how a new product is different from other options they have available. This difference needs to be big enough to differentiate a product and yet not too big to be distracting and allowing comparisons with existing products (De Clerq and Voronov, 2009). The three case studies now considered exhibit different characteristics of what it is to be 'artisan' and informs the discussion section of the chapter. Information about the case studies is sourced from company websites and social media accounts, as well as personal experience of the authors.

- . eElements of the FSAI definition are used to consider these three producers and whether they can be said to produce artisan foods and how any innovation associated with the producer can be determined:
  - 'Limited quantities': FSAI state total production by the food business operator should be less than 1,000 kg/ litres of food per week on average over a year.
  - 'Skilled craftsperson': someone who has special expertise in making food in a traditional manner.
  - 'Traditional': 'proven usage on the domestic market for a period that allows transmission between generations; this period is to be at least 30 years'.
  - 'A micro-enterprise': an enterprise which employs fewer than ten persons...and whose annual turnover and/or annual balance sheet total does not exceed EUR 2 million.
  - 'Characteristic ingredients' include milk in cheese, pork meat in ham, strawberries in strawberry jam, and oats in porridge. The characteristic ingredient(s) are those that would normally require a quantitative ingredient declaration (QUID) under the food information regulations.
  - 'Locally': within100 km of the manufacturing/food service establishment

1. Wild Irish Seaweed(Wild Irish Seaweed, 2021)

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- This is a family run business, run by the Talty family, in its 4<sup>th</sup> generation, in Southern Ireland.
- The seaweed is naturally grown, and certified as organic (https://wildirishseaweeds.com/).

### 1. Limited quantities

- They state they are the global leader in the supply of natural, wild organic seaweed for the food ingredients, pharmaceutical, nutraceutical and cosmetic industries. This statement does not suggest small scale/limited quantities.
  - 2. By skilled craftspeople
- Wild Irish Seaweed is a family run business who have special expertise in their craft via following traditional harvesting and production methods passed down through generations.
  - 3. The processing method is not fully mechanised and follows a traditional method
  - For four generations, the same family has for over 100 years been collecting seaweed via hand-harvesting sustainable techniques, which qualifies both in terms of the time period and the transmission through generations suggestions by the FSAI as being 'artisan'. On their website they state 'We have kept the same hand harvesting techniques handed down over 4 generations' and 'Our harvesters like our ancestors use sustainable harvesting methods to ensure our seaweed will regenerate for the generations to come' (Wild Irish Seaweed, 2021). However, they have also built a 'state of the art' drying and processing facility, allowing for innovation.
    - 4. The food is made in a micro-enterprise at a single location.
- Their website suggests that the seaweed is processed at one location, although this is not expressly stated. However, the business is not a microenterprise.
  - 5. The characteristic ingredient(s) used are grown or produced locally, where seasonally available and practical
- The seaweed is harvested from the West coast of Ireland, in County Clare, close to where their business is situated. It is grown naturally and harvested sustainably, suggesting working with the seasons.
- In summary, Wild Irish Seaweed seem to fulfil some of the FSAI requirements of being artisan, with the possible exceptions of business size, and limited quantities of production. They more readily fit the description of an 'artisan entrepreneur' by embracing technological developments and new market opportunities, whilst preserving traditional methods and

heritage. Much emphasis is placed on their identity as a family business being handed down the generations, and the importance of sustainably sourcing local good quality seaweed; the locality and harvesting of the raw ingredient is as important to them as the processing of it. Thus, the intrinsic value they give to the natural product, as well as the economic opportunity, embodies their beliefs in working with the environment, characteristics not seen in the FSAI definition. Mckenna suggested artisan food reflects *Personality* of the producer, the *Place* it comes from, the *Product* itself and *Passion* in the manner it is produced.' This example would fulfil all four Ps. Wild Irish Seaweeds Ltd. describe themselves as 'where tradition meets innovation' (Wild Irish Seaweed, 2021). i.e. that whilst four generation have harvested seaweed it is the use of this seaweed as a raw material for food ingredients, pharmaceutical, nutraceutical and cosmetics sectors that make the business innovative. It could be argued that the artisan entrepreneur is innovative in how the food products are positioned and packaged, and is able to extend the customer base beyond existing markets.

## 2. Cotswold Kid Meat- Just Kidding (Just Kidding, 2021)

Cotswold Kid Meat started in 2013 and has achieved the Great Taste Award Gold Star for three of their kid cuts (an accreditation scheme for artisan and specialty food producers). They are a 2-man band, employ sustainable practices and are part of the Slow Food Movement<sup>1</sup> (https://cotswoldkidmeat.com/).

#### 1. Limited quantities

Cotswold Kid Meat sell with Farm Drop<sup>2</sup> to London, direct to consumer via events, online retail, local pubs, Michelin starred restaurants, and clients such as Jamie Oliver and James Martin. Considering the breadth of their customer base and the quantities needed to fulfil their orders, the quantity produced is difficult to determine from the data available.

### 2. By skilled craftspeople

They use a local family run abattoir, Broomhall<sup>3</sup>, and a local artisan butchery, Woodchester Meats. This butcher has been in operation since 1994, and along with Just Kidding, does not yet qualify as 'traditional' in terms of age of business. One of the business owners of Just Kidding is from a farming background, and the other was a chef, which are both undoubtedly skilled professions. They have been rearing kids since 2013, producing high quality, awardwinning meat. Recipes are available on their website promoting the creative use of the kid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> https://www.slowfood.org.uk/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.farmdrop.com/shop

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> http://www.jbroomhallltd.com/

meat. The artisan and creative element of the business is further promoted through the circular use of skins to produce rugs, wall hangings, and cushions. It could be argues that embracing circularity in this way is to be an innovative entrepreneur.

## 3. The processing method is not fully mechanised [industrialised] and follows a traditional method

The goats are kept as free range, allowing for as natural/ 'wild' a life as possible. Whilst it is not traditional to rear goats for meat in the UK, keeping animals free to roam qualifies as not being 'industrialised'. The abattoir is local and family run, suggesting it is small; the wholesale butchery is described as 'artisan', and from an internet search, it appears to serve the area local to Stroud only. However, what would qualify them as 'artisan' is harder to decipher as there is little information about their butchery practices or techniques, but on-line reviews do call them 'high-quality...true artisans'. The FSAI specifies that the traditional method used in production must be from the domestic market. Thus, whether or not their method of goat rearing is traditional for global farmers, makes defining the production system as artisan in the UK context more difficult.

### 4. The food is made in a micro-enterprise at a single location

The final meat product is not generated from a single location, with 4 locations in the supply chain: the original dairy enterprise where the kids are sourced from, the rearing farm (where they are fed on grass in the summer and cereals grown 10 miles away in the winter), the abattoir and the butchery. Just Kidding is run by 2 people, which is micro scale in tersm of the FSAI definition.

# 5. The characteristic ingredient(s) used are grown or produced locally, where seasonally available and practical

The kid billy goats are sourced from a 'high health status dairy farm', but the location is unspecified.

In summary, using the FSAI definition of what it is to be artisan, Just Kidding does not meet all these criteria; however, if the emphasis is on processing and using traditional/unmechanised/ skilful methods and craftspeople, then the producers could be said to be artisan. Perhaps, with the rising importance of animal welfare, environmental sustainability, and the interest in local food, the artisan entrepreneur, the processes they use and the products produced should reflect these characteristics; although, this would mean what it is that makes a food make artisan is more consumer centric than product centric. Just Kidding focuses on the aspect of giving the billy goats a purpose and a value which they never previously had, to avoid euthanasia, and also to practice sustainable, circular practices on

farm. These are characteristics intrinsic to the identity and personality of the producers and the product. Therefore, some questions arise from this case study:

- 1. Should such characteristics of identity and personality be valued in artisan food, or does identity and personality merely describe niche products?
- 2. Should the definition of artisan continually adapt so aspects of the process sustainability or circularity can redefine what it is to be artisan? If multiple changing criteria are used to define what it is to be artisan, does this risk losing the identity of what it is to be an artisan product or producer altogether?

So, whilst not conforming to traditional ideas of artisan, Just Kidding are creating their own emergent version of artisan. This entrepreneurial and creative approach has developed a market through an emotive story and sustainable practices, attractive to a new movement of foodies and consumers interested in traceability, animal welfare, sustainable farming, and good quality produce. They are, as a result, more in line with the '4 Ps' version of artisan, whilst also symbolising authenticity, short supply chains and a respect for their raw materials. A small business but with increasing reach, they have contributed to and created their own local food network by using small businesses in processing their product, which in itself would characterise them as innovative entrepreneurs. This gives rise to another question:

Should the definition of artisan include a requirement for community involvement as an extension of tradition?

3. Black Mountains Smokery (Black Mountains Smokery, 2021)

 The final example is Black Mountains Smokery, a family-owned smokery business with 12 core staff in Wales (https://www.smoked-foods.co.uk/). They have received the Gold Star Great Taste Award for many of their products and have had much press coverage, including with Kate Humble and the Guild of Fine Foods. They use language on their website to create an image of artisan, such as 'Welsh artisan food,' 'traditional,' and 'we now work closely with many like-minded artisan family producers, mostly Welsh, many local.'

#### 1. Limited quantities

They use sustainable fish and high-quality meat; the narrative on their website would suggest they supply quantities sufficient for wholesale and retail: they supply chefs, caterers, cafés, farm shops and delis, the local rural community and a 'very loyal, ever-increasing customer base further afield'. They also work with other artisan producers in the area, demonstrating community value, a characteristic not mentioned in the artisan definition, but highlighted in the

cases. However, these facts suggest their production is not in limited quantities, again no specific data was available.

#### 2. By skilled craftspeople

Black Mountains Smokery highlights how the quality of the products is reliant on the skill of the smoker, describing the importance of timing and temperatures, care taken, and the traditionality of the craft, therefore demonstrating skilful expertise.

### 3. The processing method is not fully mechanised and follows a traditional method

The craft of smoking and curing itself is traditional but instead of being for preservation, the narrative on the website explains it's for taste enhancement. They do, however, use modern custom-built kilns; whilst the traditional craft has been active in the area for over 30 years as a preserving technique, the use of modern kilns does not satisfy the definition of traditional in its purest sense, again questioning the description of artisan in the context of requiring innovation in processing.

### 4. The food is made in a micro-enterprise at a single location

The fish and meat come from other areas, but processing is completed at the smokery. With just over 10 employees they exceed the definition of a micro-enterprise.

# 5. The characteristic ingredient(s) used are grown or produced locally, where seasonally available and practical

Whilst the producers have detailed product provenance, the salmon are sustainably farmed in Shetland, the seafish are Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) certified from the North Sea, the Red Tractor duck and chicken can come from anywhere in the UK; only the sausages are from Crickhowell, a local butcher, the cheeses from Wales, and the oak shavings used for smoking are Welsh. Thus, many of the characteristic ingredients come from more than 100km away. The question is whether it would be practical to source these raw ingredients more locally, but as they are not traditional products for Wales this may be tricky. As they have local ingredient options which would arguably provide a more authentic product, such as John Dory, Mackerel, grey mullet, and lamb, however, fulfilling this part of the artisan definition is possible without compromising the niche feeling of the product. Again, the FSAI criteria cannot be used to define what it is for food to be artisan here, but the 4Ps fit this business well.

In summary, as the business has innovated their business model to provide a wider choice for their customers, this creates a challenge to provide artisan food in totality. Other businesses they work with are creating innovative foods that blend the traditional with the 'gourmet'. For example, their shop includes Welsh Tea, where the tea is sourced from Assam and China.

- Products in their shop, which would be commonly described by consumers as artisan (their products are niche, expensive not everyday food consumables), and their identity as a family business, with an emphasis on flavour and sustainability, supports this blending. Their emphasis is also on 'service', developing relational trust with the customer. This idea of value creation by story-telling, creating a relationship of trust, both systemic and personal, surely also kindles this feeling of traditional values, and perhaps what it is to be artisan. Questions arising from this case study include:
- 1. How necessary is it for the raw ingredients to be sourced in the local area, for a food or the producer of that food to be termed artisan?
  - 2. Should the relationship created with the customers be a criterion within the artisan food/producer definition?
    - 3. Should wider community value be a consideration for artisan food/producers?
  - 4. Should the definition also include luxury goods/niche products as suggested by some authors, even if they are not local?
  - 5. Does the producer have to be a micro-enterprise to be termed artisan?
  - These three case studies show the innovative ways in which these businesses have positioned themselves, their processes and their products to 'stand out'; yet can the businesses themselves all be defined as 'artisan'?

### 5.Concluding thoughts

In the literature, there is evidence of an increasing demand for artisan food as consumers search for the 'authentic', through 'a desire to purify and to cleanse – the body, the mind and the soul' (Collinson, 2018, p.39). The profligate nature of western societies, i.e. a situation of "peak stuff" in the early 2000s, has been in decline (Goodall, 2011), and there is a greater emphasis on health, planet and experiences. Artisan food, therefore, has a role beyond nutritional access in many countries and provides a strong driver for food economies and emergent requirements for addressing concerns over resource use and environmental impact of products. One of the case studies, kid meat was an innovation that came from this concern and the business model focused specifically on innovative ways to improve circularity.

In Europe, artisan food is a vital part of the rural economy and culture in some countries, e.g. Spain (Escurriol Martinez et al., 2014). Artisan food is available in European towns through the development and embedding of alternative food networks (Martindale et al., 2018), with emphasis on local food specialities and identity (Parrott et al., 2002). In the UK, the contemporary role of artisan food is more limited. As well as being seen through an economic lens, the local food movement can be seen through a political focus. Part of the strength of the local food movement is rooted in notions of artisan food being more environmentally

friendly, anti-capitalist, favouring small producers and marginal areas, promoting food sovereignty and creating greater connection between locality and food quality (Fonte, 2010). The support for local food can redefine food consumption as an expression of citizenship that speaks of collective rights and responsibilities (Lockie, 2009). This suggests a form of neoliberal consumer action where consumers use their consumption choices and food decisions as expressions of social agency or citizenship (Fonte, 2010; Guthman, 2007).

 Attributes such as 'authentic' can be real or constructed stories or narratives (Collinson, 2018) that are based on aspects of food heritage and, in part, can prove misleading. The case studies show the narratives that frame the foods, reflecting the traditional, luxury and gourmet. None of the case studies fulfil all the FSAI requirements for being traditionally artisan, with the increased scale of production and their markets developing being a common theme. The three case studies here show businesses that have arguably grown beyond the micro scale, drawing a wider customer base by word of mouth, social media, food festivals, and marketing. This demonstrates how rigid the FSAI criteria are, leading us to question whether such rigidity is necessary for describing what it is to be artisan. What is evident though is that it is the aspects of product quality and tradition (whether an historic tradition or a developing, new emergent pereptions of tradition) rather than the production methods which are more prominent in the narrative associated with artisan food production. The case studies also explore flavour and taste as essential elements of artisan food, and the building of food networks and community involvement with that network. This is interesting with the emphasis on tradition and heritage.

Considering the craft aspects of artisan food and the making of food with specific organoleptic qualities or with creative passion, artisan food can be said to be both innovative and traditional at the same time. The innovation can be in recipe design, processing techniques or business model. The traditional aspect is in the storytelling associated with the food and the embedded authenticity associated with the product, place, people, processes, personality and passion. The passion can be intrinsic in the food and can address multiple features of the product.

In order to be 'artisan', the local production and attachment to people and time, often summarised as heritage, needs to be visible and addressed in the narrative around the artisan food. This narrative can be delivered on the packaging, in associated leaflets, or on the company website and social media. This narrative adds to the physical eating experience with a cognitive experience associated with the food's source and producers. What it is to be 'artisan' can be objectively defined in part, but other aspects are subjectively linked to the creative and often gourmet aspects of the food. Returning to the chapter's question, 'Can artisan food be innovative and traditional at the same time?', we can conclude that this is not

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