The supplement at the… sau(r)ce: On Jamie Oliver's (dis)placed global brand identity

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George Rossolatos MSc, MBA, PhD, University of Kassel, Germany

email: georgerossolatos123@gmail.com

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Abstract

Amidst the constantly augmenting gastronomic capital of celebrity chefs, this study scrutinizes from a critical discourse analytic angle how Jamie Oliver has managed to carve a global brand identity through a process that is termed (dis)placed branding. A roadmap is furnished as to how Italy as place brand and Italianness are discursively articulated, (dis)placed and appropriated in Jamie Oliver's travelogues which are reflected in his global brand identity. By enriching the CDA methodological toolbox with a deconstructive reading strategy, it is shown that Oliver's celebrity equity ultimately boils down to supplementing the localized meaning of place of origin with a simulacral, hyperreal place of origin. In this manner, the celebrity's recipes become more original than the original or doubly original. The (dis)placed branding process that is outlined in the face of Oliver's global branding strategy is critically discussed with reference to the employed discursive strategies, lexicogrammatical and multimodal choices.

Keywords: Jamie Oliver, place branding, celebrity branding, personal branding, critical discourse analysis, deconstruction

1. Introduction: Scope, aims and contributions of this study

Media celebrity chefs' gastronomic or culinary capital (Goodman, Johnston and Cairns 2017) has been augmenting exponentially over the years as their performative duties have been increasingly impinging on central lifestyle aspects of contemporary global citizens (Machin and van Leeuwen 2007; Stringfellow et al. 2010). Having found their proper place amidst the pantheon of celebritized cultural intermediaries (Sherman 2010), celebrity chefs exert paramount influence not only on the culinary habits of end consumers, but also on local and translocal policy making. Interestingly, UNESCO's recognition of gastronomy as key driver in destination/place branding has spawned the Creative City of Gastronomy accreditation (Pearson and Pearson 2015). As the perspectives and conceptual panoplies recruited across disciplines for conceptualizing celebrity chefs' ever more colorful foodscapes (Johnston and Goodman 2015) have been proliferating, the chefs themselves have been seeking ways to sustain their innovativeness and competitive advantages over their direct and indirect competitors by feeding into the surplus value of their personal brand (Marwick 2013; Shepherd 2015).

In such a fiercely competitive landscape, Jamie Oliver has done a remarkable job over two decades in carving a unique mindscape among the members of his constantly augmenting clientele. Oliver's success has been attributed repeatedly in the related scholarship to a unique combination of an authentic personality, as perceived overlap between on-screen and off-screen lives (Lewis 2010; Bennett 2011; Piper 2015), coupled with an adamant quest for those ingredients that contribute to the performance of outstandingly gustative recipes, yet easy to prepare and packed with nutritional goodness.

As performatively portrayed (Bennett 2011) by many of his contemporary TV celebrity chefs, Italy constitutes a culinary hot-spot and Italianness a regularly evoked gastronomic axiom. Italianness has been appropriated by celebrity chefs in multifarious ways, from D'Acampo's extravagant display of machismo (Wall 2018) to Oliver's incessant quest for rare recipes and out-of-sight places in an attempt to tame the exotic (Leer and Kjaer 2015) and to domesticate what has been termed in the extant literature Britain's culinary 'Other' (Rossato 2015) or authentic otherness (Askegaard and Madsen 1998). Celebrities are becoming brands in their own right, with their own values existing in the minds of their audience in a similar way to corporate and consumer brands (Halonen-Knight and Hurmerinta 2010).

Although Oliver's celebritihood was nurtured in the televisual mediascape of the UK, thanks to the availability of his culinary excursions and travelogues on globally accessible platforms such as YouTube, as well as to an entrepreneurially shrewd mindset that has been urging him constantly to diversify across culinary related products (from ready-to-eat foods to recipe books and cooking utensils) and services (bars and restaurants), he soon rose to a global gastronomic icon. His path to stardom ramified through multiple axiological and thematic avenues, from his early days as Naked Chef, focusing largely on the recipes themselves, to campaigning for affordable gourmet recipes for the masses (Johnston and Goodman 2015) and a whole host of cause-related marketing tactics in an attempt to win hearts, alongside stomachs. Oliver's brand strategy has been paying off globally: his books became best-sellers in Austria, while his shows have been broadcast on more than a handful of regions (including the Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium; Rossato 2015). What remains to be elucidated is how Oliver's celebritihood as differentiated brand identity (compared to the competition) is discursively construed (Tolson 2015).

In order to account for Oliver's discursive construal of his brand DNA as celebritihood, this study puts forward the notion and strategic brand-building process of (dis)placed branding as a recent phenomenon that deviates from localizing and naturalizing place of origin discourses (cf. Vuignier 2016 for an overview of studies that posit 'place of origin' at the heart of place branding). The propounded perspective endorses the associationist approach to place brand equity (Kavaratzis and Hatch 2013; Kavaratzis and Kalandides 2015), while being in full alignment with the argumentative thread that the construal of a celebrity chef's identity as displacement of the localized meaning of 'place' is a complex process rather than a specific outcome. The aim is to show how this process materializes, as endeavored in the context of the outlined discursive strategies and their substantiation in the discussion of findings.

As argued in the following pages, Oliver essentially appropriates the Italian origins of his pesto recipes (the focal product line in this study), while re-inventing not only Italianness as such, but the very notion of place of origin. This place is shown to be tantamount to a simulacral, hyperreal foodscape that is produced through the mediatized discursive articulations of Oliver's travelogues (Channel 4, UK). Subsequently, the brand Jamie Oliver displaces Italianness, on whose sublated relics it edifies its own place of origin. To this end, an inevitably multidisciplinary avenue is pursued, while engaging dialogically, on the one hand, with directly relevant conceptualizations and empirical research into celebrity chefs from neighboring disciplines such as celebrity studies and media studies, while, on the other hand, transferring these insights to ongoing discussions about the meaning of origin in place-of-origin branding. "Celebritihood dovetails with branding in terms of both being heavily dependent on associations/connotations" (Lewis 2001, p. 588). The articulation of Oliver's originary discourse is mapped out by recourse to the methodological toolbox of critical

discourse and deconstructive analysis, while the findings are discussed in terms of implications for place branding research and practice.

2. Canvassing Oliver's brand identity by way of a global brand mix audit

The meaning and the modes of articulating identity constitute recurrently central areas of investigation across disciplines that are directly relevant to the thematic scope of this study. In celebrity studies, identity formation has been approached through the concept of celebrification (Tolson 2001, 2015), in place branding by applying the notion of brand identity to geographical locations, expanded to incorporate multiple stakeholders (Govers and Go 2009), in media studies through celebrity related audience reception studies. In order to consolidate how the distinctive approaches that have been voiced within disciplinary silos converge and fruitfully inform the case of Oliver's global brand identity, as well as elucidate what role is performed by the notion of 'place' in the projection of a brand identity, I shall begin by critically addressing key aspects of his global brand mix (Torelli 2013), with a focus on the Jamie Oliver Pesto product line.

This product line is drawn upon as prototypical for illustration purposes insofar as it is the most extensive one in Oliver's diversified product portfolio (spanning 10 unique flavor variants), but also globally available. Let it be noted that the analysis of Oliver's global brand mix is intended as a cultural branding audit (Torelli 2013) with a focus on projected brand image, as a preamble to the ensuing analysis of the discursive articulation of 'place', and not as an attempt to determine which brand image concepts and to what extent function as brand preference, market share or sales drivers. As repeatedly argued by Keller (see Author 2014), brand equity, and by extension cultural brand equity (Torelli 2013), is a proxy measurement of actual consumptive behavior, while higher equity does not automatically translate into superior sales figures. Nevertheless, the associationist (connectionist) rationale that has been carried over from Keller's brand knowledge structure as the foundation of consumer-based brand equity (Keller 1998, 2003; Author 2014) to place brand equity perspectives (Kavaratzis & Hatch 2013; Kavaratzis & Kalandides 2015; Florek 2015) is endorsed here (at least as regards the discursive articulation of projected brand image) in terms of how the travelogues' brand imagery is transfigured into brand image concepts (as discussed in greater detail in the Research Findings section). Furthermore, although the analysis that is presented here seeks to make a contribution primarily to the place and celebrity branding literatures, the multiple dimensions that coalesce in making up Oliver's brand inevitably call for drawing on four directly relevant branding streams, that is traditional strategic brand planning, place branding, celebrity and personal branding. At the same time, given that Oliver's brand identity is largely a mediatized one, relevant advances in media and cultural studies have been incorporated in the offered analytic.

In distribution terms, Oliver's product line is globally available for shipping through major etailers, such as Amazon, to at least the same destinations as key competitors, such as Barilla and Filippo Berio. Let it be noted that Amazon ranks first among global etailers in the food sector. Therefore, in breadth of distribution terms (while comparing etailers' competitive assortments' listing with brick'n'mortar retailing where breadth of distribution denotes the % of a retailer's total outlets that stock at least one SKU per manufacturer), Oliver's pesto line is on a parity with globally stronger players. In terms of product assortment, at least nominally, that is without any further insight about the frequency of out-of-stock incidents, the entire product assortment is ready to order, again on a parity with the

other two competitive brands. What is inviting to further scrutiny, though, and perhaps problematization, is Oliver's pricing strategy and packaging design (I shall not delve directly into a competitive advertising analysis as Oliver does not employ mainstream ad communications vehicles, as against the competitive brands, without implying that his TV shows do not function at the same time as advertising vehicles for his branded products, which will be discussed separately).

As may be gauged from Table 1 (price/gr index columns), although Oliver's product line is not directly competitive in market share terms to entrenched brand players such as Barilla and Filippo Berio (the latter being the branded oil market leader in both the US and UK markets), it does command a sizeable price premium while overindexing significantly compared to the category average (Table 1, price/gr INDEX columns).

Table 1. Pesto sauce brands' pricing analysis

						price taking 15 Sep 2018			price taking 26 Oct 2018		
brand	country of origin	variant	gr	ounce	ounce conv. Gr (1 ounce = 28.3495231 grams)	price $	price/gr	price/gr INDEX	price $	price/gr	price/gr INDEX
jamie oliver	UK	green pesto	190			12.49	0.066	131	12.49	0.066	121
jamie oliver	UK	pepper and ricotta	190			13.47	0.071	141	13.47	0.071	131
jamie oliver	UK	chilli and garlic	190			12.49	0.066	131	12.49	0.066	121
Barilla	Italy	pesto rosso	190			10.19	0.054	107	10.19	0.054	99
Barilla	Italy	pesto genovese	190			10.09	0.053	106	10.46	0.055	101
Filippo Berio	Italy	classic basil		6.7	190	5.83	0.031	61	7.79	0.041	76
Filippo Berio	Italy	sun dried tomato		6.7	190	5.83	0.031	61	7.79	0.041	76
Filippo Berio	Italy	tomato and ricotta		6.7	190	5.83	0.031	61	7.79	0.041	76
						AVERAGE PRICE	0.050	100	AVERAGE PRICE	0.054	100

Source (price $): www.amazon.com
Note: Price-taking was performed on two separate occasions with a monthly interval on straight SKUs (that is neither on promotion, nor as multipacks that may carry a lower list price compared to single, unbundled product SKUs) in order to smooth out possible effects stemming from Amazon's dynamic pricing/EDLP (everyday low-price) model.

The question that emerges at this juncture concerns how Oliver justifies this price premium in the context of his brand mix. From a product positioning point of view, all three players lay claim to Italianness. However, Italianness is articulated in considerably differing manners in packaging terms between Oliver's assortment and the other two brand players. Indubitably, Oliver's being perceived as a lifestyle personal brand attains to generate unique and differential brand associations compared to the other two brands that pursue a more

product-centric positioning avenue. But how is Italian culinary lifestyle, as an integral aspect of gastronomic capital or gastro-brand equity, reflected in packaging terms?

Upon a closer examination of the three competitors' packaging we notice that whereas the two established players make direct claims to Italianness on the front pack (e.g. Felippo Berio classic pesto features a flash at the front pack's bottom right corner with the text 'made with Italian basil', while Barilla front packs feature the text 'No.1 in Italy'), Oliver's packaging does not feature prominent descriptors that might afford to enhance a direct associative transfer between Italy as place of origin and the packaging. Let it be noted that all brands' packs are characterized by a marked absence of any brand mythic substantiation on the back of pack which features standard information about product ingredients and nutritional contents.

Additionally, Oliver's packaging aesthetics in terms of color coding do not display significant differences from competitive brand packs which revolve around each SKU's main ingredient (e.g. red for tomatoes, pepper), a typical case of sensation transference (Spence 2016) as intermodal interplay (Author 2018) between ingredients and packaging aesthetics. The key point of differentiation, in packaging terms, between Oliver's pestos and the other two brands rests with the featured visuals. This point may be portrayed as a continuum of abstraction from more to less concrete visual representations of Italianness and subordinate brand associations that are suggestive of Italy as place of origin. At the lower end of abstraction, Barilla leverages freshness by featuring appealing visuals of the main ingredients included in each sauce; at a medium abstraction level, Filippo Berio capitalizes, apart from the Italian sounding brand name, on the color of each sauce's main ingredient without portraying ingredients as such; at the maximum level of abstraction we encounter Oliver's pestos which feature neither verbal descriptors that might be even connotatively suggestive of Italianness, nor ingredient related visuals. The only visual on the front pack is that of Jamie Oliver himself, in a medium shot (face and torso), with his typical smiling face. Thus, it appears that the association of authenticity that Oliver has built over time through his adaptations of Italian inspired flavors culminated in a displacement of Italy as originary locus whence stem the branded recipes, with Oliver himself. What remains to be seen is how this displacement is discursively construed.

From a marketing communications point of view, what is truly remarkable about Oliver (and the same holds in varying degrees for celebrity chefs in general) is that he fills at the same time multiple slots, customarily reserved for different types of cultural intermediaries. He is a TV show anchorman, a modern explorer, a lifestyle influencer and trend-setter (Piper 2015), a cult personality behind a diversified product and service portfolio (one might say the Branson of the culinary world), as well as a branded product. All of these roles appear to be mutually reinforcing in a value chain where traditional marketing communication vehicles such as TV advertising, celebrity endorsement and product placement have been substituted in a personality branding predicament by (unpaid by the brand) talk-show self-advertising, self-endorsement (that is the same person acting out at the same time as anchorman who is endorsing his own products), and showcasing of own branded equipment. In short, he is a one-in-all marketing powerhouse, generating ever ramifying synergies between products, services and marketing communications. A crucial difference between a celebrity as personal brand and an endorser as celebrity mediating between a brand and consumers consists in the former being immersed in the spectacle and capable of claiming ownership, whereas the latter being recognized as a mediator, with no ownership status. Oliver's direct immersion in the mediatized spectacle (rather than indirectly as an extraneous brand endorsing celebrity) of the travelogues renders them

equivalent to indirect advertising for the celebrity personal brand. Subsequently, the values or brand image concepts anchored in a specific place (i.e. Italy) and in the activities and social practices that are enacted in that place (ranging from the selection of ingredients to the application of unique recipes) are transferred directly back to the celebrity brand. The celebrity, thus, does not merely project a consumptive ethos, but enacts and performs it in a closed circuit.

This difference may be rendered more palatable by drawing a sharper distinction between internal and external transfer of associations. In the case of endorsement advertising we are concerned with a transfer of associations from a celebrity who is external to the brand's direct environment (i.e. not partaking of internal marketing environment stakeholders). In the case of personal branding, and particularly of the form represented by Oliver, we are concerned with an internal transfer of associations, that is from brand owner directly to the product. In this respect, the function of the celebrity does not consist merely in "embodying an idealized model of selfhood" (Lewis 2010, p. 587), but in mirroring ways of engaging in cultural practices in terms of actions, interaction patterns, lexical and lifestyle choices. Oliver is not, for example, David Beckham whose lifestyle leans towards the ideational/aspirational side of the celebritihood lifestyle spectrum. Oliver's brand persona is that of an intimate companion, rather than of an aspirational, yet impersonal role model. He might as well be a member of the spectator's peer group, rather than a lifestyle diva living in a remote and inaccessible location.

This performative dimension of brand identity, however, begs the question at a more foundational level as to whether the 'real' self that is portrayed in a mediatized spectacle, such as Oliver's travelogues, in fact indexes an originary notion of selfhood, rather than an ex post facto redoubling of the origin as retroactive positing of an originary selfhood. The ascription of authenticity to a celebrity's discourse as speaking 'from and for' oneself, rather than acting out or feigning doing so in fact mystifies the source whence stems a self-identity, that is the cultural baggage that help shape up a personality in line with one's received and constantly negotiated habitus. The perception of authenticity as presence-to-oneself is the effect of the transparency of the medium and the passive obliteration of the staging paraphernalia that produce the mediatized image of speaking for and out of oneself. By the same token, the construal of media celebrities alongside 'ordinariness' has been severely contested in the media studies literature (see Bennett 2011).

The recognition of the mediatized image as disintermediated speaking out of oneself is the outcome of spectators' latent desire to identify oneself with a determinate set of signs. This desire is the progeny of a demand for maintaining homeostasis and effecting existential closure. The voyeuristic projection of this desire to the celebrity allows for being seduced into recognizing the mediatized self as identical to oneself, and hence as being 'authentic'. The desire for identification with one's specular image as true, rather than always already as a deflected reflection (a case of irreducible misrecognition, as shown by Lacan), is the main driver behind actually believing in the mediatized portrayal of authenticity. The 'true to oneself' celebrity is valued precisely by dint of accommodating this desire which surfaces even more forcefully in times of extreme liquidity, uncertainty and instability. Ultimately, the celebrity chef's ability to command a price premium shelters this surplus of desire as the effacement of the distance that separates one's self-identity as phantasmatic fullness beneath the fragmentary utterances and images. The impossibility of presencing this fullness renders the notion of authenticity a self-contained simulacrum (also see Buscemi 2014).

Within this simulacral territory, as is the case with brands that progressively migrate from a narrow segment to mega-brand status, a chef's positioning throughout the

celebrification life-cycle stretches from concrete (e.g., in Oliver's case, interwoven with specific cause-related marketing claims as previously shown) towards abstract brand associations, in terms of brand promises that eschew the restricted economy of brand image concepts (e.g. 'affordable gourmet recipes') and verge on existential and ontological territories that encapsulate deeply laden "social anxieties" (Torelli 2013, p. 124), such as the meaning of 'origin'.

Oliver opens up a 'recipiontologial' space for accommodating origin as such, regardless of where this might have originated in terms of geographical location. This global brand strategy, if effectively executed, is far more impactful than the first level associative transfer in terms of country-of-origin associations, as it institutes an originary hyperspace that may accommodate any locale (provided that similar ancillary, conditioning spectacles will have been aired prior to the product launch).

In a nutshell, Oliver's pesto brand identity has displaced Italy as place of origin, recontextualized it as place of origin in abstracto and resemanticized origin from Italy to Oliver himself. This strategy as a nuanced take on place of origin branding is conceptualized here under the rubric of '(dis)placed branding' and resonates with the deconstructive strategy of supplementarity. "For Derrida, supplementarity is at the always divided 'origin' of presence" (Morgan Wortham 2010, p. 204). In effect, Oliver has supplemented the notion of origin from a place dependent concept to a hyperreal one, generated through his mediatized travelogues. Although his passion for Italian gastronomic habits are consistently communicated in his culinary expeditions and in his cookbooks, the pesto packaging posits Oliver at the source of the sauce or the supplement at the sau(r)ce. From a broader perspective, "mass media contents do not usually *refer* to the spatial aspects of their own production, distribution and reception – they represent the world instead from a generalized, de-spatialized standpoint – yet the spatiality of media always operates in the background, *dis*placing social reality in various ways" (Couldry and Hepp 2017, p. 89). The de-spatialization and naturalization of place are part and parcel of media's ritual space (Couldry 2003, p. 116).

The ensuing analysis aims at unearthing the discursive articulation of this supplementarity by pursuing a critical discourse analytic route. More specifically, the permeating research question that guides the CDA analytic is the following:

(RQ) How is Oliver's celebritihood as set of brand associations transformed into a place of origin that displaces Italianness and transfers it in abstracto to the personal brand?

3. Methodological framework

3.1 Critical discourse analysis as interpretive method

The main mission of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is "to demystify discourses by deciphering ideologies […] in organizing social institutions or in exercising power" (Wodak 2001, pp. 10-11). "Scholars explore how certain ways of representing the world, performing identity and constructing social belonging are normalised in media spaces" (Phelan 2018, p. 287). The methodological toolbox of CDA is quite varied, and different approaches emphasize different aspects of discursive articulation. For example, there is a vast distance between the fundamental epistemological and ontological premises that underpin Van Dijk's socio-cognitively oriented CDA and Fairclough's textuality oriented CDA.

Since the driving research question of this study concerns demonstrating the modes of discursive articulation of Oliver's (dis)placed branding approach by attending to his latest Italian travelogues, on the one hand, and examining which social actors and 'other voices' are suppressed in the process of appropriating Italianness, on the other hand, the CDA methods of inquiry that will inform the interpretive crystallization of the respective discursive formation stem mainly from Fairclough's (2003) approach as it lies closer to the original Foucauldian conceptualization of discourse (cf. Author 2018). As highlighted by Machin and van Leeuwen (2007), discourses do not simply reflect social practices, events and interaction modes, but essentially transform and legitimate them. This implies the possibility of alternative discursive formations by drawing on different social textual aspects, a methodological principle of CDA that pays heed to the openness of social texts and the varied ways whereby they may be hermeneutically (Meyer 2001) framed, analyzed and comprehended. This approach is neatly aligned with the (albeit scarce) brand textuality perspectives that have been put forward in the branding and brand equity literatures (cf. Hatch and Rubin 2006; Author 2014).

"Fairclough's model of CDA […] illustrates the interdependent and embedded nature of three levels of analysis, which are text, discourse practice and sociocultural context" (Richardson and Langford 2015, p. 85). These three levels are tantamount to a micro, a meso and a macro level where discursive phenomena are addressed. The micro level involves a descriptive account of the actors, the settings and their modes of situated interaction by attending to lexicogrammatical aspects, inasmuch as to the semiotic modes of discourse production. Since our corpus consists of moving images, attending to multimodal semiotic aspects of discursive articulation (i.e. kinetics, haptics, visual, sonic signs over and above verbal semiosis) is a key requirement. To this end, I am also drawing on van Leeuwen's (1996) multimodal critical discourse analytic methodological insights with a specific focus on the portrayal of social actors and their interaction modes. As suggested by Koller (2012, p. 23), social actors at the micro level are analyzed by asking questions such as who and how is excluded, genericised, activated or subjected. Alternatively, as framed by Fairclough (2003, p. 193), "how are social actors represented (activated/passivated, personal/ impersonal, named/classified, specific/generic)."

The meso-level concerns identifying the discursive practices where situated social interaction is couched and, concomitantly, the discursive strategies that provide orientation to the employment of a linguistic and multimodal inventory. Discursive practices include ideas, values and attitudes (Machin and Ledin 2018). Particular emphasis is placed in the ensuing analysis on discursive strategies as they constitute the hypertextual roadmap whereby Oliver's discourse appropriates the concept of 'place of origin'. Finally, the macro level concerns the broader sociocultural and economic content wherein discursive practices are historically nested.

In this study, I am focusing strictly on the micro and meso levels. From a brand, place and celebrity identity construction point of view, this focus affords to pinpoint how the discursive tactics that are employed by social actors at the micro level are transfigured into axiological (or evaluative) components at the meso level. The exploration of the process of evaluation is integral to a CDA undertaking. According to Fairclough (2003), it involves asking questions as to how evaluative statements are configured, for example in terms of modality. Evaluations constitute discourse schemas, that is "socio-cognitive schemas that allow practices to be transformed into discourses about practices." In fact, the brand image concepts that sustain a brand identity are usually articulated as evaluative judgments featuring one or more adjectival and adverbial pre- and post-modifiers or suggested

indirectly through multimodal signs in the course of the travelogues' deployment. Evaluative judgments do not merely communicate an intended brand identity, but are responsible for the construal of a brand user identity or of a media audience (Lischinsky 2018). Therefore, attending closely to the process of evaluation is mandatory for identify how the micro and meso levels of discursive production interact in fleshing out (dis)placed branding.

Since the way 'place' is discursively configured is of paramount importance here, I am also paying specific attention to the process described by van Leeuwen (1996, p. 59) as spatialisation, "that is a form of objectivation in which social actors are represented by means of reference to a place with which they are, in the given context, closely associated." Van Leeuwen's (1996) process of passive agent deletion is also very important, as it attains to unearth how the extra-textual role distribution of social actors becomes re-allocated and transformed while becoming enscripted in the multimodal grammar of the travelogues.

3.2 The corpus of this study

The travelogues that make up the corpus of this study (Table 2) stem from the latest 'Jamie cooks Italy' series (https://www.channel4.com/programmes/jamie-cooks-italy), aired between August and October 2018, also including 'behind the scenes' off-takes uploaded on YouTube. As explained in the introduction, the closer a brand identity transitions towards a mega-branding territory, the more abstract claims it tends to make (such as the encompassing discursive schema of 'place of origin'), and credibly so in terms of audience reception insofar as effective bonding has been generated between the brand and its core franchise. Hence, it is crucial that the discursive articulation of Oliver's (dis)placed branding be addressed in the context of this advanced phase in his celebritihood life-cycle.

Table 2. Jamie Oliver's travelogues employed in this study

no	episode	link
1	1_Jamie Cooks Italy aeolian islands	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uo7OkmJO_Rs
2	2_Jamie Cooks Italy Puglia	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ad63uaFO4UA
3	3_Jamie Cooks Italy Naples	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=riAprjxicag
4	4_Jamie Cooks Italy Basilicata	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QpqwlURc5L0
5	5_Jamie Cooks Italy Sicily	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpqBLLR1MZ8
6	6_Jamie Cooks Italy Tuscany	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uCPCkRmQ1Og&t=0s&index=7&list=PLglYC0MHrh6zCTbp9vgHf0Bf_kHEZHgls
7	7_Jamie Cooks Italy Rome	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kKnfHdcsa8A
8	8_Jamie Cooks Italy Piedmont	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qc8DeMtVKYY&t=6s
9	9_Behind the scenes with the Nonnas	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t8mMgb4TVHk
10	10_Behind the scenes_Jamie receives his New Book!!!	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gSnkzhO2FPY&list=PLcpoB2VESJmf0xJjZkqVvx1hHpj3HTzG9&index=7

4. Discussion of findings

As pointed out earlier, Oliver's (dis)placement of origin that is performed via the product packaging is the end phase in a chain of discursive transformations. This section cartographs the process whereby Oliver's discursive construal of his place branding discourse as simulated origin and indispensable aspect of his personal brand identity is fleshed out. This process deploys as a hypertext permeating the individual travelogue texts, with multiple hermeneutic entry points (Oostendorp 2015). As noted by Page (2012, p. 182), "self-branding and micro-celebrity place particular emphasis on the construction of identity as a product to be consumed by others, and on interaction which treats the audience as an aggregated fan base to be developed and maintained in order to achieve social or economic benefit." The resulting originary discourse that constitutes Oliver's brand identity kernel is portrayed as a roadmap of four interlocking moments of brand truth that crystallize in the respective discursive strategies of transfiguration, suppression, displacement, and facialization (Figure 1). These strategies (meso level) are outlined in the following by attending to their underlying lexicogrammatical and multimodal sign choices (micro level; each travelogue/episode is cited in line with the assigned number in Table 2).

4.1 The discursive strategy of transfiguration as transformation of mediatized brand imagery into brand values (or the figurative aspect of brand discourse into the axiological)

This strategy is concerned with how values are realized (Fairclough 2003), and in our case with how the place-based imagery that is employed in the travelogues transformed into abstract concepts (discursive schemas) through the process of evaluation, as presented earlier. In place branding terms, brand imagery is equivalent to the tangible elements of place branding, according to Lucarelli's (2012) model of city brand equity, whereas brand image concepts to the intangible elements. In this respect, 'place', as eloquently put by Govers and Go (2009), constitutes a nexus of identity, experience and image. "Brand values are abstract representations of brands in terms of desired end-states used by consumers as guiding principles in their lives" (Torelli 2013, p. 15). "Brands that reach an iconic status become consensus expressions of the abstract values of a cultural group" (Torelli 2013, p. 112). As a substantiation of this strategy, the travelogues thrive with imagery of outdoors cooking and close-ups on locally, home-grown raw materials (ingredients), thus transferring naturalness to Oliver's brand identity.

Nonnas, the heroic culinary figures in Oliver's travelogues and gatekeepers of a traditionalist ethos, are portrayed in Oliver's discourse as carrying magical powers. Their know-how is enshrouded in a mystical discourse, while being identified with trickery: "it is the creative flair of Selena's Nonnas that turns simple back garden ingredients into mind-blowing recipes; and I am here to learn their tricks" (1); "turning simple seafood into something sublime" (1); "the simple into the sublime" (2) "Nonna Marina is a magician in the kitchen" (1). Subsequently, what is passed onto Oliver is not a set of technical instructions, but an unwritten book of spells for transforming raw materials into gastronomic capital. Moreover, what is passed onto Oliver is done out of a sheer recognition of his being the unquestionably rightful heir to a tradition, as suggested by the employment of the willing modality in utterances such as "Nonna Frankina wants to teach me…" The legitimacy of Nonnas as

gatekeepers of a mystical tradition is construed through hyperbolically accentuated adjectives, such as 'legendary' (1) 'local legend' (3). By the same token, the culinary discourse at hand is strewn with recurrent superlatives such as 'fantastico', 'amazing', 'belissimo'.

Having lunch with a Nonna's extended family (1) transfers co-belongingess. Authenticity is regularly predicated of the involved recipes in Oliver's utterances, while heritage (Tellstrom et al. 2006) and tradition are transfigured through Nonnas' explicit stress on the number of years they have been cooking the same recipe, occasionally coupled with stressing the number of years they have been married.

4.2 The discursive strategy of suppression or social actors' 'passive deletion'

The Nonnas are represented as a group (designated via the employment of the mass noun 'Nonnas'), by employing the discursive strategy of assimilation: "Social actors can be referred to as individuals, in which case I shall speak of *individualisation,* or as groups, in which case I shall speak of *assimilation*" (Van Leeuwen 1996, p. 48). This facilitates their obliteration as individual agents. They constitute expendable figures whose role as procurers of secret recipes and as gatekeepers of tradition is obliterated at the end of the respective travelogue episodes. The implicit justification for this obliteration is presented through an explicit prior legitimation of a natural selection discursive order. In the same manner that Nonna (4) was destined for this job, as if by an invisible selection process (explicitly stated) in the context of a naturalizing discourse, she is also destined to be obliterated as soon as she passes on her secret to Oliver (unstated).Thus, the place-specific social actresses (Nonnas) undergo a passive agent deletion process (van Leeuwen 1996). At the end of each episode they are passively deleted from memory. What survives throughout the travelogues is the central agentic figure of (dis)placement, that is Oliver (and at a supporting level his mentor Gennaro Contaldo).

The social actors are subjected (Koller 2012) to Oliver through the grammar of the travelogues' spectacle and the attendant re-distribution of social roles. The recurrent employment of possessives by Oliver affords to passivize and subordinate the salient social actors (Nonnas, Gennaro) to a latent hierarchy presided by Oliver: "my girls", with reference to the Nonnas (9), "my mentor" (with reference to his partner-in-cooking Gennaro). "Possessive uses show that readers are principally addressed as part of a hierarchical structure" (Lischinsky, 2018: 545). Possessivation designates the process whereby an active agent is transformed into the possession of another actor (van Leeuwen 1996). On a similar note, Gennaro, although seemingly an indispensable partner across travelogues, and almost on an equal footing as Oliver, is yet subjected to Oliver through "relational identification" (Machin and van Leeuwen 2007, p. 45). That is, his identity in the travelogues' hypertextual grammatical edifice stems from being related to Oliver.

The foregrounded Nonna in travelogue (4) is primarily represented through a strategy of objectivation/spatialization: "*Spatialisation* is a form of objectivation in which social actors are represented by means of reference to a place with which they are, in the given context, closely associated" (Van Leeuwen 1996, p. 59). Her identity is construed in a semantic structure that subordinates know-how to her place of birth (Basilica) and that renders her a 'hallmark' of that place. Oliver and Gennaro roam through the village in their quest for Nonna, while they are informed about her whereabouts by a neighbor who retorts by indexing. Nonna's identity is thus discursively construed in the multimodal interplay between

a neighboring social actor's indexing and her credentials as destined to perform her social role. In this manner, the stage-setting of the travelogue naturalizes the social distribution of roles and transfers this 'naturalness' (as pre-ordained social order) back to the connotative symbolic panoply of Oliver's identity.

Naturalness and natural selection also reflect on Oliver's role as recipient of a tradition and its secrets. His request from Nonna (4) concerns imparting a secret, and not simply teaching him the tools of the trade. His ultimate goal is to partake of and appropriate a secret, the secret of the origin. As explicitly stressed throughout the travelogues: "I'm unlocking a secret". The performance of Nonna's handmade pasta recipe, thus, assumes a ritualistic character that is tantamount to the performance of a privileged access to a secret (*simpliciter*) that has been imparted solely to Oliver.

This is quite forcefully portrayed in the 'behind the scenes' episode (10) where Oliver performs a commemoration media ritual (Coluldry 2012) upon receiving his latest book based on the 'Jamie cooks Italy' series. Oliver's cookbook constitutes a deposit of memories that are retrieved on the occasion of celebrating their re-inscription in the cookbook. The fleetingness of the social events, thus, is immortalized by becoming part of Oliver's memory structure, re-arranged and re-appropriated by Oliver who becomes their guardian and legitimate purveyor. And insofar as a brand user identity is also projected in this discourse, Oliver's memories become his audience's memories. Italy has become part of his audience's memory stock by dint of being transferred through Oliver's memories. The actual social actors who participated in the travelogues' social events ultimately fade from memory, whereas the brand image concepts (belongingness, authenticity, naturalness, magical powers) as discursive schemas are carried over to Oliver's brand identity as cultural inventory and gastrocapital.

4.3 The discursive strategy of displacement as uprooting of the underlying materialities of sociohistorically situated social interaction and the attendant role distribution embedded in non-mediated social space, their re-inscription into mediatized representations and reintegration in the hyperreal space of the mediatized spectacles

In (9) Oliver does not simply expatriate Italianness. He repatriates the notion of origin. This is most strikingly manifested in the stratagem of transferring (literally) the Nonnas (the original experts) from their natural habitat to the hyperreal origin. This transfer is couched discursively in Oliver's imperative (Page 2012) 'Come home with me, come back to London with me'. London, in this sentence, qualifies Oliver's 'home' as a secondary elaboration. The actual home that emerges first in this utterance is Oliver's simulacral abode as originary locus. Most importantly, any bifurcation as to why this is a repatriation, rather than an expatriation, is dispelled by employing strategically the adverb 'back' which presupposes that the evoked locale has always been the place of origin. Oliver does not simply invite the Nonnas to visit him in London, but to go back to an impersonal place of origin (the mutually binding hyperreal originary locus of Oliver's imaginary habitat- which happens to be London, as a secondary mode of articulating 'the' origin).

Having been displaced from their natural habitat and their role as keepers of the secret, the Nonnas are portrayed as having found new roles in Oliver's 'home', from secretaries to social media co-ordinators. In other words, their role was re-arranged from a source of authority and expertise to Oliver's subordinate employees. This discursive strategy constitutes a key turning point in Oliver's (dis)placed branding roadmap and is

indicative of role reallocation (van Leeuwen 1996) from an actual social practice to its grammatical reconstruction. "Representations can reallocate roles, rearrange the social relations between the participants" (van Leeuwen 1996, p. 43).

4.4 The discursive strategy of facialization as the celebritized place of origin that stands in absentia synecdochically for the axiological components that were strewn in individual travelogues

Pursuant to the effective implementation of the strategies of transfiguration, suppression and displacement, the celebrity's (Oliver's) face on the Pesto variants' packaging now credibly supplements iconographically the 'real' place of origin. In this manner, Oliver's face functions as a 'talking label': "celebrity chefs are a form of 'talking label' similar to food labels; as such, they act as both a cultural intermediary and boundary object to construct knowledge around choosing/shopping, cooking and eating and connect audiences to food and themselves" (Barnes 2014, p. 2). The celebrity's face in a mediatized environment controls the transitivity of the flow of images, as eloquently put by Lury (2004), while functioning as a "sign of a liquidity that flows through old and new media, across windows, products, signs, screens and (computer) interfaces" (Lury 2004, p. 77). In this respect, Oliver's face on the front pack functions as a visual synecdoche for the overarching brand image concept of origin, a placeholder that is neither subject, nor object, but a mark of a logic of flow (Lury 2004) with regard to the imagery that is projected in a hypertextually cohesive manner throughout the travelogues. The celebrity's face enshrines symbolically the place of origin as ontological originary locus and enfolds the secret that is responsible for both nurturing ontological insecurity in a globalized milieu where traditional conceptualizations of place have been waning and ontological security in terms of partaking of a projected lifestyle that transcends geographically demarcated boundaries. In other words, Oliver's face is a riddle that simulates the paradoxical co-belonging of a radical uncertainty as to the meaning and locale of 'origin' and the quenching of the ontological angst generated by this uncertainty. In effect, Oliver's smile on the Pesto product-line front labels underscores the mastery of the riddle by giving shape to a closed circuit that circumscribes and imbricates the question and the answer with regard to 'origins'. Within the contours of this self-referential trajectory, Italy and Italianness perform the role of a pre-text, that is of an epiphenomenal origin that, in fact, originates in Oliver's simulacral discourse.

This predicament resounds magnificently Derrida's notion of 'redoubling', according to which the supplementary signs that simulate the origin are responsible for construing it in the first place. This might be said to hold in any case for place branding discourses which are dependent on the communicative imagery that is woven around and about geographically demarcated locales. As Govers and Go (2009) contend, the notion of a place brand identity is an illusion. Redoubling becomes even more important and punctuated in its operation in the global branding strategy of our celebrity chef insofar as, in this instance, the celebrity is catapulted to an originary double of what in any case may be posited as originary by dint of the redoubling process. Moreover, this double redoubling invites us to reconsider the plausibility of Coulder's distinction between mediatization and a social reality that is displaced through its mediatization or remediation. If a 'social reality' is anyway dependent for its existence on a discursive formation (in Foucault's terms; cf. Author 2018) or, in narratological terms, on a storied reality that is bound to inflect and/or deflect some aspects of this reality at the expense of others, then vindicating mediatized discourse for cunningly

naturalizing a 'fictively' represented social order makes the implicit assumption that a social order as extra-discursive truth may be reflected adequately through another non-mediatized discourse. Subsequently, the deconstructive reading of Oliver's originary discourse affords to add a secondary critical layer to the evoked critically minded media theoretic approach by constraining the possibility of an unadulterated, non-mediated reference to an extra-discursive social reality. This should not be taken as implying that the mediatized distribution of social roles of the social actors who participate in the staging of Oliver's travelogues is not guided by the dramaturgical exigencies and the semiotic economy of the spectacle. As previously shown, the effacement of Nonnas is mandatory for effecting the associative transfer of origin through the mediatized rite of passage that is staged in the concerned travelogue. However, over-emphasizing their role as place of origin would entail the essentialization of underlying social struggles whereby they came to be assigned that role which might as well be attributed genealogically to foregone opportunities.
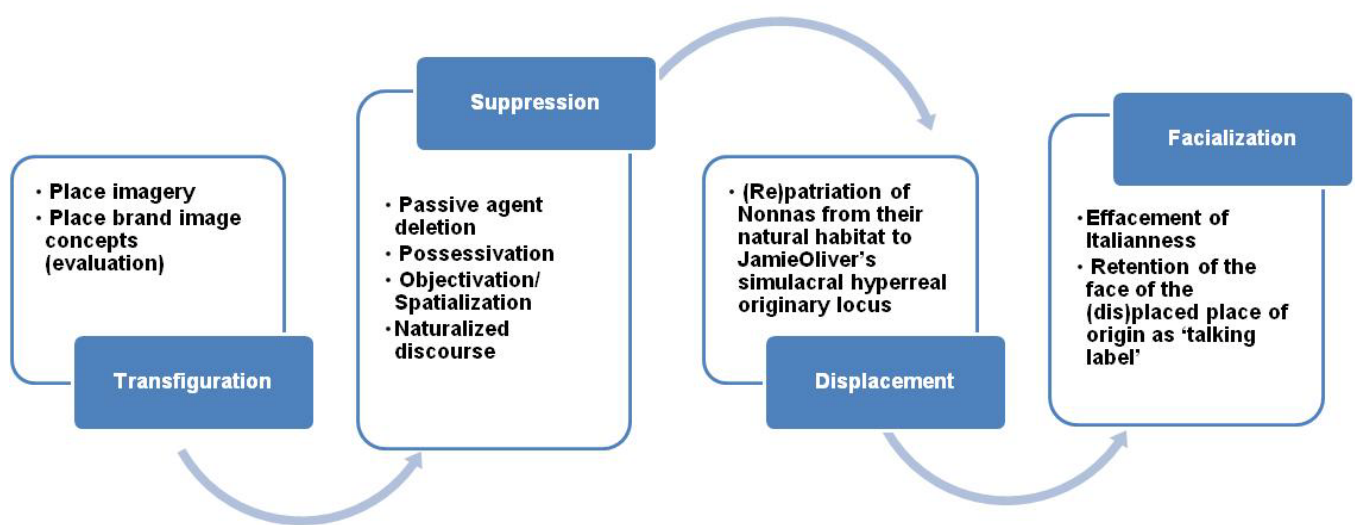

Figure 1. The discursive construal of (dis)placed branding roadmap

5. Conclusions a nd c ontributions t o the e xtant l iterature on pl ace br anding and practice

By recognizing that place brand identity is a complex process (and a dynamically shifting one), rather than the output of a process and a static concept, while also taking into account repeated calls in the celebrity branding literature with regard to offering discourse analytic accounts of the celebrification process, this study sought to furnish a roadmap as to how Italy as place brand and Italianness are discursively articulated, (dis)placed and appropriated in Jamie Oliver's travelogues and how this construal is reflected in the Jamie Oliver Pesto global brand strategy. By enriching the CDA methodological toolbox with a deconstructive reading strategy, it was shown that Oliver's gastronomic capital (or celebrity equity) ultimately boils down to supplementing the localized meaning of place of origin with a simulacral, hyperreal place of origin.

Going forward, it merits pointing out that discourse analytic and critical discourse analytic perspectives are particularly apt for exploring processual aspects of brand image and equity formation, inasmuch as for operationalizing management strategies with regard to tantalizing place branding issues, such as the resistance of stakeholder groups in the

implementation of place and destination branding strategies and tactics. Especially as regards the vexed issue of streamlining localized ordinary civilians and store-owners with an intended place brand strategy (Kavaratzis and Hatch 2013; Kavaratzis and Kalandides 2015), mapping out 'discourses of resistance' and contested meanings, the respective discursive strategies and their modes of articulation constitute top priorities. CDA perspectives may equip brand planners with the requisite tools for comprehending and managing power games among members of such stakeholder groups, as well as affiliation networks and potential feuds that may mitigate the effective rolling-out of a place branding program. Moreover, CDA may furnish the conceptual panoply for designing a stakeholders' expectations platform and implementing it as a diachronically iterative feedback and control mechanism.

As shown in this study, there is a vast discrepancy between the distribution of roles in a 'real' economy on a local level and how this distribution is re-arranged in the context of the grammar of Jamie Oliver's travelogues. By the same token, controlling for such discrepancies between localized stakeholders' expectations and how they are reflected in the brand vision and the branding components of a place brand strategy may be attained through a meticulous and iterative discourse analytic platform.

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