

Regional brands produced beyond the region: An analysis of beer brands from recently closed breweries in Europe

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Abstract

Global industry has been undergoing changes in the concentration of brand ownership and production, with acquisitions and closures being a major factor in this evolution. The impacts of such activities are commonly studied from an economic perspective and from the perspective of internal firm-level and deal-level factors, while the influence of external geographical factors is largely neglected. Our research focuses mainly on the importance of geographical cultural factors affecting beer brands whose production location was moved after the closure of the original breweries. The research includes a complete sample of 30 brands from recently closed breweries across Europe. Brands are divided into seven categories according to how their marketing strategy has (or has not) changed in terms of exploiting regional and national identity. The overall success of these brands is then measured in terms of the development of their share in the home countries' markets. Differences in brands' strategies and successes are explained through a wide range of country-level factors and the individual characteristics of the breweries. It is shown that the level of beer tradition or identity in the countries, as well as the country's beer life-cycle position, plays a crucial role in the evolution of the studied brands.

Keywords: acquisitions, brewing industry, globalisation, regional branding, spatial identity, Europe

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1. Introduction

The intensification of globalisation since the 1960s has fundamentally changed transport and communication, the structure and division of production, and the lifestyles of many people. These processes may not always be understood positively, and their acceptance depends greatly on local conditions (Martin, 2011; Robertson, 1995; Swyngedouw, 2004). When these impacts are perceived as negative, they may be opposed by resistance in the form of so-called neolocalism. This is manifested by a return to the “local” – belonging to the local community, social and cultural traditions, and the increased preference for local products (Schnell, 2013; Schnell and Reese, 2003). To succeed, transnational corporations (TNCs) should thus understand the growing importance of “local” in contemporary markets and include it in their strategic thinking.

The brewing industry is suitable for research in this field as globalisation trends and subsequent neolocal reactions are manifested strongly here. During the last thirty years, after a series of brewery acquisitions (Fig. 1), closures, and the concentration of production by larger groups, only four TNCs have dominated the global beer production, controlling

between 50–60 percent of the market (Howard, 2014; Madsen, 2020). In response the phenomenon of establishing local microbreweries was noted, first described in the United States (Schnell and Reese, 2003), which has spilled over almost the whole world in the form of tens of thousands of new enterprises (e.g. Holtkamp et al., 2016; Limberger and Tulla, 2017; Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2014; Reid and Gatrell, 2017; Wojtyra, 2020). The diversity of beer supply has resulted in an extremely strong role for customers, who can choose from a plethora of beer brands. Particularly in regions where the beer tradition is strong, customers negatively perceive the homogenisation of the supply, which has been closely linked to production concentration (Cabras and Higgins, 2016; Swinnen, 2017). Thus, both small and large breweries have to constantly struggle for the favour of their customers, and in cases of an inappropriately chosen strategy, they can easily lose them.

These changes imply that the impacts of globalisation and the evolution of acquisitions in the brewing industry depend significantly on the context of the country where they occur, whether in terms of the country's past development or the attitudes of consumers and their interest and knowledge

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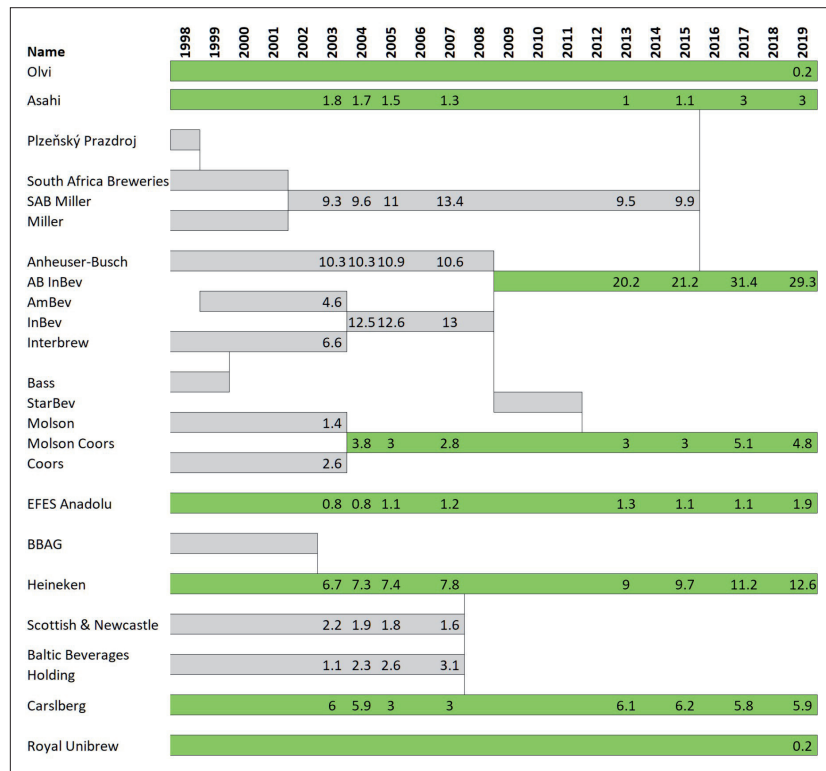


Fig. 1: Acquisitions of transnational brewing groups and their shares on the global beer production
Source: Barth Haas Group (1998–2020)

of beer. This is documented by Materna et al. (2019), who compared the impacts of the acquisitions and closures of breweries by Heineken. Consumers from the Czech Republic, a traditional brewing country, perceived very negatively the closure of the Kutná Hora brewery and the subsequent transfer of the production elsewhere, leading to a slump of interest in the brand. In the opposite case of the Piast and Królewskie brands in Poland, where beer is not so culturally embedded, customers did not seem to notice a transfer in production location, which allowed Heineken to continue promoting the brand as a regional product and combine the benefits of offering attractive "regional" products with the advantages of production concentration leading to economies of scale (cf. Harvey, 2010).

The purpose of this paper is to examine the external validity of the findings of Materna et al. (2019), and more generally the role that national context plays within a wider sample of brands and countries. We thus analysed all 30 brands across Europe whose production was relocated after acquisition. The impacts of such production relocation are analysed to show how the chosen strategies and subsequent evolution differ depending on national contexts and the brands' embeddedness in their respective regions¹. We insist that spatial identity plays an important role in the geographical study of acquisitions in conjunction with other cultural-geographical and economic-geographical factors. The following research questions arise:

1. Has the main marketing strategy of brands from closed breweries been changed in terms of utilisation of different hierarchical levels of identity?
2. Have the TNCs managed to keep their market share after closing newly-acquired breweries (in relation to the chosen main marketing strategy)?

3. How have the chosen marketing strategy and the acquisition success varied according to geographical factors?

The broad geographical scope is the main merit of the paper. While almost all research in brewing geography (as well as research on the acquisitions' success) is conducted on a national basis, comparative analyses that may point to the role of the national context are fundamentally absent. In particular, there is a lack of research that would include cases from Western and Eastern Europe, two parts of continent which have undergone fundamentally different political and economic developments.

The following section presents a review of the approaches which deals with the factors of the acquisitions' outcomes. It aims to propose a typology and provide an explanation of these factors, point out the importance of geographical factors and fill the gaps in previous studies. Methods and data (including their limitations) are introduced in the third section. The results present the typology of marketing strategies for the brand promotion and try to explain such a choice. The fifth section provides answers to the three research questions, followed by a conclusion summarising the main findings.

2. Acquisition outcomes from the perspective of brewery geography

Acquisition, as the takeover of one firm by another, is a corporate strategy that can be driven by the efforts of large companies to achieve economies of scale in production or distribution, reduce costs, and secure market dominance, or it can be the consequence of an extended period of economic difficulties for the firm being acquired (Stilwell, 2018). From

¹ The term "region" or "regional" refers to the sub-regions of individual countries

a purely economic point of view, it is a functional, rational, and effective strategy (Gammelgaard and Hobdari, 2013), which may, however, involve relatively problematic and painful social impacts such as job or business losses at the original production sites (Stilwell, 2018) or devaluation of local capital if the acquiring company decides to close the original production site (Harvey, 2010).

Local companies may be completely extinguished if production concentration of previously spatially dispersed products follows the acquisition (Harvey, 2010; Stilwell, 2018). If the local brand is preserved, there are two basic strategies of acquisitions regarding relations between TNCs and the acquired local company (Dicken, 2015). The first case is when a TNC buys a local producer but leaves its product and production site unchanged (Dicken, 2015; Madsen, Gammelgaard and Hobdari, 2020). This can preserve the link between the local producer and its consumers (Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019). In the second case, after the acquisition, the local brand may only shield the production of a TNC's standardised global product (Dicken, 2015), or products which are adapted to economies of scale. From a geographic point of view, however, there could be a third strategy which intersects with the previous

ones. In accordance with the saving effort, a TNC closes the original factory to concentrate the production elsewhere. The product, however, still has the original production process (or the original recipe in the food sector) and the original brand. In doing so, it can be presented as a regional product from the original production site (Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019), as will be discussed below.

2.1 The factors of acquisition outcomes: Typology and explanation

The evolution of acquired companies depends on many factors (see Tab. 1). So far, most studies are economic in nature and have focused on organisational factors of acquisition success (such as the degree of autonomy, cooperation, integration of the acquired companies) in sectors with a higher added value (see, for example: Al-Laham, Schweizer and Amburgey, 2010; Datta and Grant, 1990; Homburk and Bucerius, 2006; Kaplan and Weisbach, 1992). At first, these factors could be identified as either (1) internal or external, as in the case of a creative business environment (Bertoncelj and Kovac, 2007), which is made internally by firms themselves but could also be influenced by other external economic, human, cultural or institutional factors

Factors	Description	
<i>Internal factors (economic)</i>		
Firm-level factors (factors on the side of companies)	Hard factors	Companies' status, structure, organisation, economic aspects, such as professional and realistic assessment and planning, financial sources, speed of plan implementation (Bertoncelj and Kovac, 2007), competitive similarity between companies (Zeng and Schoenecker, 2015), type of TNC's ownership – concentrated family or bank vs. dispersed stock market ownership (Geppert et al., 2013), acquisition likelihood on the side of the acquired firm (Zeng, Douglas, and Wu, 2013)
	Soft factors	Organisational culture, quality of management, employees, communication (Bertoncelj and Kovac, 2007), organisational similarity between companies (Zeng and Schoenecker, 2015), acquisition likelihood on the side of the acquired firm (Zeng, Douglas, and Wu, 2013)
Deal-level factors (factors on the side of the acquisition)	Hard factors	Form of business agreement between companies, such as degree of autonomy, cooperation, integration of the acquired companies (Al-Laham, Schweizer and Amburgey, 2010; Datta and Grant, 1990; Homburk and Bucerius, 2006; Kaplan and Weisbach, 1992)
	Soft factors	Development of soft aspects as part of the contract, such as preservation of the production tradition or making a suitable environment for suppliers' development (Pavlínek, 2015)
<i>External factors (geographic)</i>		
Individual factors	Hard factors	Distribution strategies (Hasman, Hána, and Materna, 2016)
	Soft factors	Regional embeddedness (e.g. name and the age of the acquired company), marketing strategy (Materna, Hasman, and Hána, 2019)
Contextual factors (incl. institutional factors)	Hard factors	Position of country in the product life cycle or the stage of market development (Hána, Materna and Hasman, 2020), formal-institutional factors (Madsen, Gammelgaard and Hobdari, 2020) including legislation, international organisations, and the impact of the emergence of the Eurozone area (Muehlfeld, Weitzel and Witteloostuijn, 2011), coordinated vs. liberal market in the TNC's home country (Geppert et al., 2013)
	Soft factors	Consumers' strength of identity (Marks and Mirvis, 2011; Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019), product tradition in the country (Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019), and other informal-institutional factors such as historical consumption habits (Madsen, Gammelgaard and Hobdari, 2020) or societal concerns about alcohol abuse (Gammelgaard and Dörrenbächer, 2013)

Tab. 1: A typology of factors affecting the evolution of acquired companies (Note: Internal deal-level soft factors, external individual hard factors, and external contextual hard factors are not included in the content of previous studies on acquisition evolution, but we can infer them from the mentioned publications. Institutional factors are treated as contextual factors, but they are beyond the scope of this paper)

Source: authors' elaboration

(see also Madsen, Gammelgaard and Hobdari, 2020). These external factors are geographically specific while other, more partial social sciences (including economic sciences) focus on internal relationships within the system of the object of interest. Geography, as a complex science, is primarily focused on external relationships (Hampl, 1998). Therefore, we can see the internal-external dichotomy also as an economic-geographic one. Internal economic factors could be then divided into (2) firm-level and deal-level factors (Renneboog and Vansteenkiste, 2019), and (3) hard and soft ones (Bertoncelj and Kovac, 2007). Soft factors can also be labelled as human or cultural ones (Marks and Mirvis, 2011), and are on the external side of the typology which can influence success, as economic factors do. According to Marks and Mirvis (2011), the identity of consumers, which may be disrupted by the arrival of an “out-group” subject, also affects the success of acquisition.

The research on acquisition success (or profitability) in the beer industry is quite similar. The approach is based on economic (largely firm level) factors (Geppert et al., 2013; Muehlfeld, Weitzel and Witteloostuijn, 2011; Zeng, Douglas and Wu, 2013; Zeng and Schoenecker, 2015). There are only a few exceptions in the current research which examine the influence of external geographical factors on the success of brewery acquisitions, such as regional differences in institutional factors (Muehlfeld, Weitzel and Witteloostuijn, 2011) or the influence of institutional factors in the TNC's home country on the decision for acquisition (Geppert et al., 2013). Materna, Hasman and Hána (2019) present cultural factors of regional and local identity which may influence the success of acquisitions of the Heineken TNC in three different central European countries.

This discussion highlights some gaps in the geographical study of brewery acquisition. Current studies are mainly economically oriented (see e.g. Muehlfeld, Weitzel and Witteloostuijn, 2011; Zeng and Schoenecker, 2015), but they do not deal sufficiently with external (geographical) factors which can be divided into (1) individual vs. contextual factors (Spencer, 2020; Vallbé, Magre and Tomàs, 2018), and (2) hard vs. soft factors (see e.g. Bertoncelj and Kovac, 2007), as shown in Table 1. Individual factors are basically connected to the external expression of the subject in space (external behaviour of an individual company), contextual factors include characteristics which are not directly related to the subject but create the context of the environment in which it operates. So far, studies examine soft cultural factors mainly as internally (economic) in connection with the companies themselves (Bertoncelj and Kovac, 2007). As Marks and Mirvis (2011) mention, however, there are also external cultural factors, like the identity of people, which may, similarly to economic factors, considerably influence the acquisition outcomes. We can call these external soft factors, cultural-geographical ones, just as external hard factors can be labelled as economic-geographical. Geographical factors also have specificity in their connection to every hierarchical level of space (local, regional, national), with interactions in a general sense.

2.2 Geographical factors of acquisition evolution

In the present time of a standardised global culture and economy, global brands have become symbols of quality, global life, culture, and prosperity for most consumers (Alashban et al., 2002; Holt, Quelch and Taylor, 2004). These effects also apply to beer, which has turned into an important commodity in international trade since the 1960s (Harvey, 2010),

like other beverages (Benson-Armer, Leibowitz and Ramachandran, 1999; Overton, Murray and Banks, 2012). This standardisation in the brewing industry has resulted in the concentration and rise of corporations on beer markets almost everywhere (Cabras and Higgins, 2016), and into a global convergence of tastes (Swinnen, 2017). A certain proportion of consumers from advanced markets, however, have negative views on the increasingly interconnected and complex world, the dominance of large corporations and the most successful regions, and standardised global consumption (Holt, Quelch and Taylor, 2004; Ozsomer, 2012; Garavaglia and Swinnen, 2020). This dissatisfaction leads them to withdraw into their home regions or localities (for a discussion of different aspects of localness, see Schmitt, Dominique and Six, 2017), purchasing diverse local food, developing local traditions and lifestyles, and supporting the local economy – which is the base of the neolocalism movement (Schnell, 2013; Schnell and Reese, 2003; Wojtyra, 2020) and may even grow into a fetishisation of the local (Naylor, 2000). The increasing popularity of local products could also be driven by their better quality (Naylor, 2000; Winter, 2003), or by ethical or environmental impacts of global production (Barnett et al., 2005; Hoalst-Pullen et al., 2014; Holtkamp et al., 2016). But as Amin (2002) points out, globalisation cannot simply be seen as “global-distant-theirs” and “local-near-ours” categories. Conversely, globalisation and neolocalism are interconnected concepts based on the glocalisation principle (Robertson, 1995; Swyngedouw, 2004), where both levels take advantage of each other (Martin, 2011). Peripheral regions can especially benefit from the growing popularity of local specialities which can fill the niche food market (Ilbery and Kneafsey, 1999; Pike and Pollard, 2010), or attract tourists to come and taste local products (Williams, 2009). As a result, the processes of global homogenisation and local differentiation take place side by side (Overton, Murray and Banks, 2012).

This shift in consumer behaviour is based on spatial identity, which can vary from international, national, and regional to local identities (see Lepič, 2017; Paasi, 2002; Tselios and Tomaney, 2019) and is already described as an important factor in acquisition evolution (Marks and Mirvis, 2011; Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019). We can also distinguish between different scale levels of the identity of the acquired brands which are connected to the level of their production (Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2014). This level of identity can then be used by a TNC to make the acquisition more successful as local attitudes, regional symbols, and geographical indications used for marketing purposes can help to sell the product (Overton, Murray and Banks, 2012; Overton and Murray, 2016; Paasi, 2002; Rusten, Bryson and Aarflot, 2007). Geographical indications can be described as cultural or historical identities in a group of products associated with a specific locality (Bowen, 2010), and are the result of neolocalism (Overton and Murray, 2016). As every commodity includes its symbolic value, meaning the semiotic and moral narratives associated with it (Le Heron and Hayward, 2002), the commodities with geographical indications try to assert that only a particular location has the conditions suitable for the production process (Harvey, 2010; Reid and Gatrell, 2015), which can be supported also by the activities of state institutions (Wilkinson, Cerdan and Dorigon, 2017) and which includes both rational and emotional values (Lewis and Vickerstaff, 2000). Moreover, marketing using geographical indications could fundamentally change the perception of product linkages to a place, while it can create artificial constructions of

“traditional” and “local” (Rangnekar, 2011). Companies can refer to regions (Šifta and Chromý, 2017), even if they use extra-regional linkages for their production (Bowen, 2010) or produce completely outside the region (Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019).

There are certain contradictions between the savings achieved through economies of scale and the higher profits achieved through the local production of more expensive specialities (Harvey, 2010). When local producers began to gain a larger market share, even TNCs want to participate in the profits made by advantage of locally rooted producers either through new false regional brands (similar to ‘faux craft’ or ‘crafty’ breweries: see Howard, 2018) or through acquisitions of traditional regional brands (Dicken, 2015; Howard, 2018; Garavaglia and Swinnen, 2020)². The management of these beer brands must be successful and efficient (Keenan, 2020; Pike and Pollard, 2010). If the local identity, general knowledge, and popularity of the production place are weak, the benefit from offering the local brand after its acquisition is too low to keep production going. If any identity exists, however, and the TNC wants to make production more efficient after acquisition, it could transfer production of the local brand into another plant in a different region but still use the original production place in the branding, despite having only indicative or fictive connections to the particular place (Overton and Murray, 2016). This type of local identification with a ‘regional’ product can be called a ‘false regional identity’ (Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019) and is some kind of fictional local embeddedness (Bowen, 2010, 2011; Overton and Murray, 2016). Locals who have a weak feeling of spatial identity might not even notice this change in production. While they still identify themselves with the product, they may subjectively perceive the ‘false regional identity’ as completely genuine, as evidenced by Schnell and Reese (2003) and Materna, Hasman and Hána (2019).

It remains important to study identity as a geographical factor on many hierarchical levels, however, while even breweries can be divided into local, regional, national and international categories according to their sale area (see Hasman, Hána and Materna, 2016). For example, the strong position of beer in Czech, German, Belgian, Dutch, Austrian, British, or Irish national identity (for Czech identity: see Vinopal, 2006; for British: Cabras, 2011; for Dutch: Davids, 2015) may influence the identity of locals, make their identification to a local beer brand stronger (e.g. for Germany, see Loy, Glauben and Mongrowius, 2020) and the position of TNCs after acquisition harder than in other countries (see Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019). But these countries have advanced beer markets which is not the most common goal of TNCs, which prefer to exploit growing emerging markets for their investments (Hána, Materna and Hasman, 2020; Limberger and Tulla, 2017). On the contrary, these countries are in several cases home countries of TNCs, which may also be part of their national identity and therefore their situation in the home market is different – they are not “out-group” subjects (c.f. Marks and Mirvis, 2011) but subjects with home development history (for the example of Heineken, see Davids, 2015). In the home country, where the beer market is stagnating, they no longer have many opportunities for investment, so they turn abroad (Hána, Materna and

Hasman, 2020; Keenan, 2020). On the other hand, the home country of a TNC is also important in terms of its abroad acquisition strategy. For a TNC from a small home country (like Heineken from the Netherlands, or Carlsberg from Denmark) internationalisation is a necessity, while they can develop a strong global position only abroad (Geppert et al., 2013). Their strategy is also more cautious than the strategies of TNCs from bigger countries such as Anheuser-Busch from the USA (before its fusion with Belgian InBev in 2008) or Scottish and Newcastle from the UK, which take a relatively high financial risk (Geppert et al., 2013).

3. Data, methods, and limitations

This research project was conducted with a sample of 30 breweries, which were closed by the TNCs after their acquisition, leading to the production of their brands being transferred to another TNC production site or, in a few cases, ceased (see Tab. 2). There was just one limiting factor for sampling – we included only breweries (and brands) for which we could obtain data from our main data source (Euromonitor database), indicating that we excluded small breweries and brands which were abandoned before 2007. The sample thus contains a very heterogeneous set of breweries located across Europe (Fig. 2), enabling us to make some basic generalisations from our findings.

Our first research question was answered by an analysis of brands’ market presentations. We focused particularly on brands’ visual presentations (labels, coasters, etc.) and slogans, as well as press statements of TNCs’ representatives. The extent to which this presentation articulates features of local, regional, and national identity and how this presentation has changed over time with an emphasis on changes related to the brewery acquisition and subsequent closure, was investigated. The websites of brands or entire TNCs were the basic sources of information. In general, however, these were insufficient, especially for older data. Many brands also do not have any official presentation today. Thus, we had to supplement these data with other information that we managed to find. The scarcity of information in some cases, particularly for those closed many years ago and/or located in the eastern parts of Europe, is one possible limitation of our analysis.

The second research question is whether the TNCs have managed to maintain the market share of the brand from the closed production site. This analysis utilised data from the Euromonitor database. Such data were only available for the period 2007–2016, which was limiting for brands whose former production sites had closed before 2007.

Two types of data were collected to answer the third question about contextual and individual factors of TNC’s success. Data related to individual brands came from the web portals www.europeanbeerguide.net and www.ratebeer.com, which provide basic information about breweries, their locations, and production volumes, and also from the brands’ web presentations and other available sources. Contextual data were based on six variables that describe the beer market at the country level. For a better interpretation, we merged these data into factors by principal component analysis. This method helped us to describe the national context for the interpretation of individual brands’ acquisition outcomes.

² Conversely, there is an interesting effort by small start-up breweries to take advantage of economies of scale through the so-called contract brewing, i.e. the production of their own “local” beer in a large brewery using their own recipe (e. g. Van Kerckhoven, van Meerten and Wellman, 2020).

Beer brand	Country	TNC	Founded	Closed	Former site	Current site	Approximate production before closure (hl)
Oranjeboom	Netherlands	InBev	1671	1990, 2005	Rotterdam, then Breda	Dommelen + Belgium	2,100,000
Burgasko	Bulgaria	InBev	1971	2002	Burgas	Haskovo	500,000
Plevensko	Bulgaria	InBev	1973	2005	Pleven	Haskovo	lower hundreds of thousands
Bramik	Czech Republic	InBev	1899	2007	Prague	Prague	1,000,000
Bass	UK	InBev	1777	2005	Burton-on-Trent	Samblesbury	4,000,000
Caffrey's	UK	InBev, since 2006 Molson Coors	1897	2004	Belfast	Burton-on-Trent	862,500
Bere Azuga	Romania	SAB Miller	1870	2009	Azuga	Cluj Napoca	120,000
Topvar	Slovakia	SAB Miller, since 2016 Asahi	1964	2009	Topoľčany	Velký Šariš	450,000
Dnipro	Ukraine	SAB Miller	2009	2009	Dnipropetrovsk	Donetsk	higher hundreds of thousands
Tetley's	UK	Carlsberg	1822	2011	Leeds	Northampton	3,000,000
Karhu	Finland	Carlsberg	1853	2009	Pori	Kerava	1,073,500
Piast	Poland	Carlsberg	1894	2003	Wroclaw	Szczecin	1,000,000
Pripps	Sweden	Carlsberg	1828	2004	Stockholm	Falkenberg	1,000,000
Cardinal	Switzerland	Carlsberg	1788	2011	Fribourg	Rheinfelden	1,725,000
Moretti	Italy	Heineken	1859	1997	Udine	Milano	lower hundreds of thousands
Beamish & Crawford	Ireland	Heineken	1792	2009	Cork	Cork	574,000
Hostan	Czech Republic	Heineken	1394	2009	Znojmo	Brno	100,508
Zlatopramen	Czech Republic	Heineken	1867	2012	Ústí nad Labem	Velké Březno	250,000
Królewskie	Poland	Heineken	1948	2004	Warszawa	Warka	1,000,000
Kujawiak	Poland	Heineken	1858	2006	Bydgoszcz	Elbląg	lower hundreds of thousands
Ariana	Bulgaria	Heineken	1884	2004	Sofia	Stara Zagora	250,000
Cogoň	Slovakia	Heineken	1896	2004	Nitra	Hurbanovo	573,600
Martiner	Slovakia	Heineken	1893	2003	Martin	Hurbanovo	332,780
Gemer	Slovakia	Heineken	1965	2006	Rimavská Sobota	Hurbanovo	399,100
Hateg	Romania	Heineken	1978	2010	Hateg	Miercurea Ciuc	1,000,000
Rechtskoye	Belarus	Heineken	1975	2013	Rechitsa	Bobruysk	285,000
Lapin Kulta	Finland	Heineken, since 2013 Royal Unibrew	1873	2010	Tornio	Lahti	100,000
Ceres	Denmark	Royal Unibrew	1856	2008	Arhus	Faxe + Odense	lower hundreds of thousands
Taurus	Lithuania	Royal Unibrew	1860	2006	Vilnius	Panevezys	lower hundreds of thousands
Lačplēša	Latvia	Royal Unibrew	1948	2008	Lielvarde	Liepāja	57,500

Tab. 2. Beer brands included in the research project. Sources: <https://www.ratebeer.com/>, <https://www.europeanbeerguide.net/>, <https://beerme.com/>

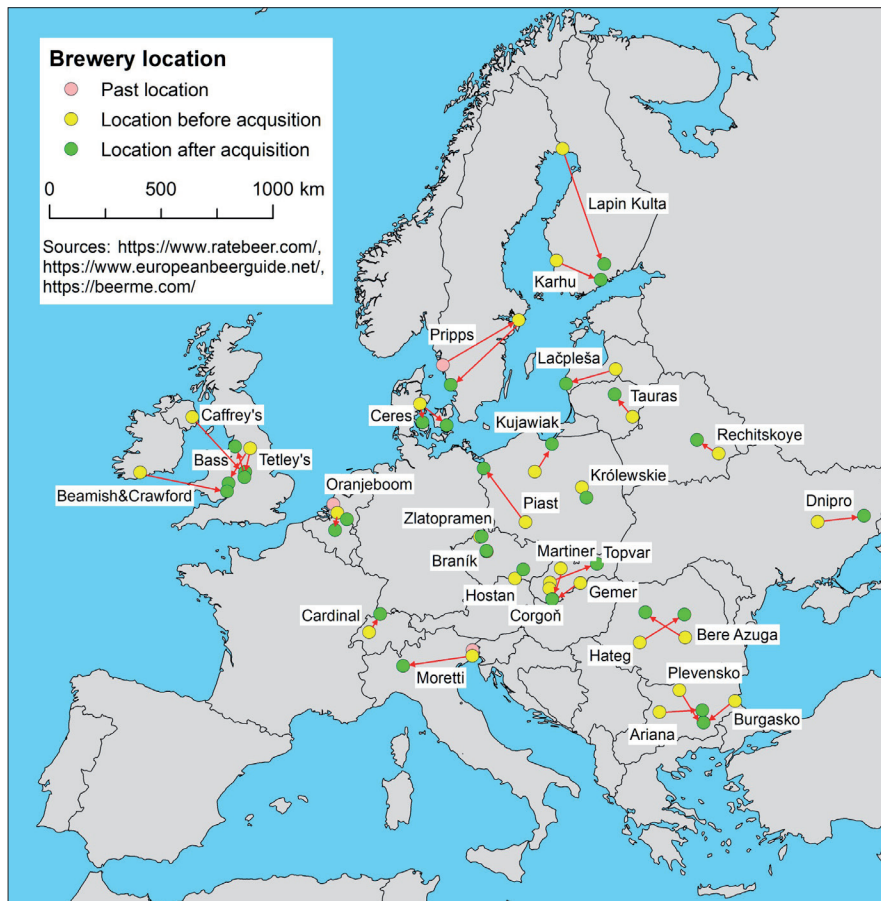


Fig. 2: Relocation of analysed brands
Source: authors' elaboration

As the sample of breweries was very heterogeneous and a wide variety of qualitative and quantitative indicators were used, we chose the following research procedure. Individual brands were categorised according to changes in the exploitation of regional and national identity for promotion purposes. Within each category, we examined: (1) how successful the brands were; and (2) how these brands' strategies and success differed, depending on geographical cultural factors. Finally, we aimed to generalise our findings in the discussion.

4. Results

4.1 A glimpse at the overall results

At first, we carried out a principal component analysis to create factors that help to quantitatively describe the national context. Based on eigenvalues greater than 1, six original variables were clustered into two factors (Tab. 3). To better interpret these factors, we named them according to the concepts they represent, though we are aware of necessary reduction. The first factor includes variables

Variable	Factor 1 (life cycle)	Factor 2 (tradition)	Source
Concentration of production	- 0.908	- 0.051	Euromonitor (2018)
Share of TNC on production	- 0.779	0.096	Euromonitor (2018)
Share of imported beer on consumption	0.704	- 0.097	Brewers of Europe (2010, 2014, 2019)
Share of dark beers on consumption	0.686	0.262	Euromonitor (2018)
Yearly beer consumption per capita [litres]	- 0.199	0.839	Brewers of Europe (2010, 2014, 2019)
Number of beer pints affordable per average income	- 0.023	0.812	http://www.pintprice.com (2019), ILO Data Explorer (2020)
Share of consumption in restaurants	0.400	0.794	Euromonitor (2018)

Tab. 3: Country level variables and factor loadings

Note: Values represent factor loadings (correlations) between extracted factors and original variables. Strong correlations (above 0.6) are in bold. Principal component analyses and oblimin rotation with Kaiser Normalisation was used; the two factors explain 66.7% of the total variability. All data correspond to the year of brewery shutdown with the exception of Number of beer pints affordable per average income variable, where only recent data (2018) were available. Concentration of production is defined as the share of the three largest brands in the national market. Number of beer pints affordable per average income shows how many average-price pints of beer a country's resident can buy if they earn an average salary.

that correspond to a country's position in the beer life cycle. A product life-cycle concept describes the level of development of a national beer market (for more, see Hána et al., 2020). Countries in the early (growth) phase of a life cycle have negative values of this factor, while positive values indicate countries in the final (decline) phase. The second factor represents variables mirroring the national beer traditions. Resulting factor scores for each brewery are displayed in Table 4. These results of the principal component analysis must be considered as indicative to some extent, since not all of its assumptions (such as independence of observations, sample size) were met. Nonetheless, robustness checks showed that the results do not change if we alter the analysis specifications.

Now let us turn our attention to the analysed brands. Through the analysis of the brand presentation, we identified a total of seven different general strategies. These strategies are not mutually exclusive. In fact, many brands applied more strategies in parallel or gradually (see Tab. 4).

4.2 Cessation of brand production

Abandoning a brand (with its specific recipe) from the closed production site is a step that would seem the most logical given the pursuit of most efficient production and marketing (see Keenan, 2020; Pike and Pollard, 2010). The fact that this strategy was chosen in only five cases (moreover, the situation is not always clear), indicates the value that the original brands had as regional products (Williams, 2009). All cases occurred in Eastern European countries in the initial phase of the beer cycle (Tab. 4). In addition, the names of these brands always directly referred to the region where the production site was located. It seems that these brands were not worth maintaining production for TNCs, as they were not attractive to consumers outside the region and were too weakly connected to regional identity.

As examples, the Bulgarian brands Burgas and Plevensko, come from breweries with a short tradition and were named after the cities where they were originally produced. This could similarly apply to the Ukrainian brand Dnipro, about which it was virtually impossible to find any information (probably due to the political situation). Compared to Bulgaria and Ukraine, Poland and Slovakia are countries with a higher degree of beer traditions. More production sites were closed there around the same time, and while some more attractive brands were retained, production of two (Kujawiak in Poland and Gemer in Slovakia) was terminated.

4.3 Abandonment of regional identification

The second option, which is again typical of countries in the initial stage of the beer life cycle (Eastern Europe, Finland), is to reduce or replace regional branding with “non-spatial” strategies (e.g. emphasis on taste or masculinity, see also Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019). This strategy was not very successful as the market share of all these brands decreased. The only exception is the Bulgarian Ariana, whose market scope was already national before the closure and whose market share has been steadily growing. After the transfer of production from Sofia, the brand no longer refers to the region of the capital and instead recalls its Czech founders – referring to its origin from a traditional brewing country.

In total, this strategy was selected by ten brands. It is typical for Heineken, which used it in seven cases, including Hostan and Zlatopramen brands from the Czech Republic, where the beer tradition is very strong: this is probably

reflected in the particularly large slump in market share. A similar case is British Bass, which has been associated for a long time with its location in Britain's main brewing city, Burton-on-Trent (Haugland, 2014), not only in terms of marketing but also in terms of ingredients: Burton ales (including Bass) recipes were based on local very hard water (Yool and Comrie, 2014), and the name ‘burtonisation’ was introduced in the brewing industry for a specific chemical water treatment (addition of calcium sulfate and calcium chloride). After the original factory shutdown and the relocation of a large part of the production to Samlesbury, there must also have been a significant change in taste, as taste depends on the chemical composition of the water (Gatrell, Nemeth and Yeager, 2014; Yool and Comrie, 2014), which cannot be fully harmonised with the original source even by burtonisation. The world's former largest brand is now struggling with a negligible market share.

Karhu (Finland) and Topvar (Slovakia), where the Topolčany coat of arms was replaced by the simple letter “T” in the logo (Fig. 3), are other brands that completely exited regional branding. The remaining brands in this category reduced their connections with the regions but did not completely abandon it. For example, Lapin Kulta (Finland), which closed production in Lapland in 2010, kept the original slogan “Golden beer from Lapland” on cans in 2016, but not in 2019 (Fig. 3). It still retains the symbol of the north arrow, however. Logos associated with the original regions were also retained by brands from closed breweries Hateg (Romania) and Corgoň (Slovakia). Finally, Martiner (Slovakia) abandoned regional labelling on its products but continues to support local sports and cultural events, what can be important for building a relationship with consumers (Lewis and Vickerstaff, 2000).



Fig. 3: Examples of leaving regional branding by Lapin Kulta and Topvar brands. Source: <https://lenta.com>, <https://www.lapinkulta.fi>, <https://opive.sk>, <http://acp.sk>

Brand	Country	Strategy		Home country's market share [%]											Beer national context			
		Primary	Secondary	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Life cycle	Tradition			
Burgasko	Bulgaria	Production ceased	.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.30	-1.11
Plevensko	Bulgaria	Production ceased	.	1.1	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	-0.27	-0.94
Dnipro	Ukraine	Production ceased	.	1.9	1.0	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.63	-1.34
Kujawiak	Poland	Production ceased	.	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-1.30	-0.21
Gemer	Slovakia	Production ceased	Return to regional	6.3	6.1	5.0	5.3	5.2	4.7	4.7	4.3	4.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.70	0.51
Topvar	Slovakia	Abandons regional	.	12.6	9.9	8.8	8.2	6.4	5.6	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.6	5.6	5.6	-0.33	0.18
Hostan	Czech Rep.	Abandons regional	.	3.9	3.2	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.8	-0.38	2.09
Zlatopramen	Czech Rep.	Abandons regional	.	2.7	2.7	3.0	3.6	3.6	4.3	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.3	3.7	3.3	3.3	-0.51	1.82
Ariana	Bulgaria	Abandons regional	.	12.7	12.9	13.4	13.1	12.9	14.7	14.7	14.3	14.3	14.8	14.7	14.7	14.7	-0.28	-0.92
Corgoň	Slovakia	Abandons regional	.	6.6	6.8	6.2	6.1	5.2	4.6	4.6	4.4	4.4	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.5	-0.78	0.67
Martiner	Slovakia	Abandons regional	.	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.2	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	-0.86	0.83
Hateg	Romania	Abandons regional	.	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	-0.43	-0.30
Bass	UK	Abandons regional	Return to regional	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	1.60	0.93
Karhu	Finland	Abandons regional	Regional to national	23.7	20.4	19.6	17.7	18.0	18.8	18.8	18.6	18.6	18.0	17.7	17.3	17.3	-1.18	-0.48
Lapin Kulta	Finland	Abandons regional	Regional to national	14.5	13.3	14.3	14.2	13.5	12.8	12.8	12.3	11.8	11.8	11.6	11.3	11.3	-0.97	-0.55
Bere Azuga	Romania	Regional to national	.	0.9	0.9	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	-0.40	-0.24
Moretti	Italy	Regional to national	Return to regional	7.2	7.2	8.0	8.2	8.6	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.8	8.9	9.0	9.0	1.07	-1.01
Pripps	Sweden	Stays national	.	13.1	14.1	14.4	12.5	12.1	12.1	12.1	11.4	11.4	11.1	11	11.7	11.7	1.62	-1.03
Beamish	Ireland	Stays national	.	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.86	0.51
Rechtskoye	Belarus	Stays national	.	6.1	5.3	1.9	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.76	-1.43
Tauras	Lithuania	Stays national	.	1.2	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.8	0.13	-0.81
Lačpleša	Latvia	Stays national	.	1.2	1.6	1.2	4.3	4.4	5.1	5.1	7.8	9.5	9.5	7.4	6.6	6.6	0.45	-1.34
Braník	Czech Rep.	Stays regional	.	3.6	4.0	3.9	3.8	3.9	4.1	4.1	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.6	4.5	4.5	-0.42	2.13
Caffrey's	UK	Stays regional	.	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.58	1.03
Piast	Poland	Stays regional	.	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	-1.22	-0.26
Cardinal	Switzerland	Stays regional	.	8.0	7.9	7.9	7.7	7.8	7.9	7.9	7.8	7.7	7.7	7.6	7.6	7.6	0.86	0.44
Królewskie	Poland	Stays regional	.	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	-1.24	-0.24
Oranjeboom	Netherlands	Export	Return to regional	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.83	0.74
Ceres	Denmark	Export	Stays regional	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	-0.47	-0.11
Tetley's	UK	Return to regional	.	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.92	0.46

Tab. 4: Selected strategies and evolution of the market share of brands analysed (Note: The values from before the brewery shutdown are highlighted in grey. Last two columns display the factor scores computed by the principal component analysis). Source: Euromonitor (2018)

4.4 Shift in the focus from regional to national identity

A similar strategy is to shift branding from the regional to the national level. As this is the case of brands from countries with a lower degree of beer tradition (Tab. 4), however, the connection to national identity is not very strong. This applies to the brands that have in some way become the flagship of the TNC and whose market scope was extended from the regional to the national level even before their former production site's closure. In the case of Italian Moretti (Fig. 4), a steady increase in production can be observed. Romanian Bere Azuga stagnated after the closure of the original site and the share of both Finnish brands (Karhu and Lapin Kulta) has declined. Karhu and Lapin Kulta were already mentioned in the previous category – this ambiguity is due to the fact that, apart from non-geographic marketing, national identity was also utilised after abandoning regional identity (for instance, Karhu launched a campaign combining its beer with saunas in 2017).

4.5 Maintaining national identification

This category consists of brands that were profiled through national identity in the long-term, and the closure of the original production site was, thus, not a reason to change the marketing strategy. In Western Europe, these are two traditional brands that were among the major players in the national market, but their market share has been gradually declining in favour of brands that remain outside the TNCs' ownership. The first one is Swedish Pripps, which uses national identity only marginally. In comparison,

the Irish Beamish&Crawford also utilises a lower scale of identity, specifically references to the city of Cork, where production remained even after the closure of the original site. Conversely, in the case of two brands from less developed beer markets, UniBrew intensively focused on national identity and achieved success as the market share of both Latvian Lačpleša and Lithuanian Taurus is growing. Finally, the Romanian Rechitskoye was in decline for a long time and its share has been further declining after the production relocation.

4.6 Maintaining regional identification

Another strategy is closely related to the concept of false regional identity discussed above – brands are still presented through regional symbolism, even though they are no longer produced in the region. Materna, Hasman and Hána (2019) gave illustrative examples of the Polish brands Piast and Królewskie, stating that the strategy is best applied in countries with a relatively low beer tradition, where it is easier to convince consumers that the brand is still a regional product when it actually is not. Looking at the data from all of Europe, however, we have to correct this statement – all other cases can be found exclusively in countries where beer is very well embedded. An example is Caffrey's, which is still referred to as Premium Irish Ale (Fig. 5), although its production has been transferred from Northern Ireland to England; however, in terms of market share, it is a long-term marginal brand. More successful is the Danish Ceres, which even after the move, sells one of its beers under the slogan



Fig. 4: Shift of Moretti branding from regional (Birra Friulana) to national (Italia) level

Source: <https://www.beer-coasters.eu>, <https://www.baractivity.com>



Fig. 5: Piast “from Lower Silesia”, the taste of Warsaw (Królewskie), and Premium “Irish” Ale
Source: <http://piwopiast.pl>, <https://www.krolewskie.pl>, <https://www.graphis.com>

“Dortmunder is a classic from East Jutland”. East Jutland is the region where the original site (Arhus) was located, but none of the current ones (Faxe, Odense). The Swiss Cardinal had not been linked to its original region through labelling but through numerous marketing activities. This did not change since the production relocation, and even today Cardinal is involved in its original region through support of local sports and cultural activities. Although the Cardinal's share on the Swiss market was gradually declining, it was a very slight decline. The latest case of a brand from a traditional brewing country, which continues to use local motives, is the Czech Branik. This example is slightly different as its production was moved within a single city (Prague), where, however, the identity in the brewing industry is manifested at the district level. The brand's marketing still refers to the Branik district, although it is now produced in the Smíchov district. At the same time, its market share is constantly growing as it has left the production of more expensive beer and draft beers and is focusing on the segment of cheap and bottled beers. This shows the brand's focus on less demanding and probably less informed consumers, who may still be able to perceive it as a local product from Branik. Conversely, the effort to use the “premiums” for regional specialities described in the theoretical part (Harvey, 2010), is not evident here.

4.7 Export

Although many of the analysed brands had exported an important part of their production, after the closure of former production sites, their exports were usually reduced or completely stopped. For example, Bass consumption in the US fell from 665,000 hl in 2001 to 242,000 hl in 2010³ after the purchase by InBev. In contrast, the export orientation became a dominant strategy for two brands. Both also employed a national identity within their marketing strategy as they utilised the fact that they come from countries with a higher beer tradition than the importing countries. The bottles of Danish Ceres, the most imported brand in Italy, bear a highly visible slogan “Imported from Denmark” (Fig. 6). In contrast, Ceres's share of the domestic market is below one per cent. Oranjeboom even disappeared from the domestic market for a long time and operated its website only in foreign language mutations, with the main slogan being “Add some Dutch to your life” – although part of the production actually left the Netherlands and moved to Belgium. Both cases represent brands that refer to the country of their production but prefer their sales activities abroad, where they do not have to convince their customers that they are still the same brand, which is still associated with the original production site.

4.8 Return to regional brands

Most recently, a new strategy has been observed. It is an attempt to take advantage of changes in consumer preferences in the context of neolocalism, which is associated with a renewed emphasis on traditions and regional products (Overton and Murray, 2016; Schnell, 2013; Schnell and Reese, 2003). After a rather careless approach to local brands by TNCs, a major turnaround is taking place: focusing on local products and renewing previously abandoned local brands. As this strategy is completely new for TNCs (the first case was Dutch Oranjeboom in 2016), it is not possible to



Fig. 6: “Imported from Denmark”

Source: <http://maremmabevandesrl.negozy.com>

assess its success yet. Sometimes it is a return of abandoned brands, which is the example of Slovak Gemer, which had better luck than other abandoned brands (see section 4.2). That can be explained by the higher tradition of beer brewing in Slovakia than in Bulgaria or Ukraine, as well as by a larger share (and thus the embeddedness) of Gemer in the market. Oranjeboom also returned to the domestic market, using the historic brand “Princesse Beer” and numerous references to the original place of production (Rotterdam) on the label (Fig. 7). Moretti opted for a different way of utilising neolocal tendency. It launched six “regional” beers, which always use one specific regional ingredient. One of these beers refers to the Friuli region, where Moretti originally came from, while others are associated with regions that have historically nothing in common with the brand.

Renewal of two traditional brands happened in the UK in 2018. First, the return of the previously famous Bass ale was announced, with marketing emphasising the history of the brand, not its spatial identity. According to critical responses traceable on the web,⁴ however, the return failed in marketing terms, particularly being criticised for production outside Burton-on-Trent and the illogical slogan “imported pale ale” for beer produced and sold in the UK. Ironically, Bass ale was, to a lesser extent, produced under license in Burton by Marston's Brewery even before 2018. The second British example is Tetley's. Its owner, Carlsberg, launched an intensive campaign to resume production of the traditional No. 3 Pale Ale in cooperation with an independent brewery located in Leeds and to return traditional motives (including the Leeds's coats of arms) to the logo of the entire brand (Fig. 7). The fact that it is

³ Source: https://enacademic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/498679#cite_note-Euromonitor:2C_2011-39

⁴ See, for instance, <https://www.petebrown.net/2018/11/12/bass-ale-is-back-i-wish-i-was-more-delighted/>



Fig. 7: Oranjeboom from Rotterdam, Moretti from Apulia, Bass imported from the UK to the UK, and Tetley's branding before and after a change in 2018

Source: <https://www.doranjeboom.com/home>, <https://www.birramoretti.com>, <https://global.rakuten.com>, <https://www.bmstores.co.uk>, <https://www.carlsberggroup.com>

a deliberate campaign aiming to use the connection with local production is demonstrated by the statements of the marketing department of Carlsberg⁵. Considering the non-negligible role of beer in the UK consumers' identity (which was, among others, reflected by high public criticism of the earlier production relocation from Burton and Yorkshire, respectively), the connection to the traditional production site may be the reason why Tetley's return can be more successful than that of Bass, although data on the success of both brands are not yet available.

5. Discussion

5.1 Changes in the main marketing strategies

The main conclusion of our analysis is that the individual brands differed considerably, and it was not possible to determine any dominant chosen strategy. The most common was a resignation on regional branding, which could be inefficient and non-perspective for TNCs (Keenan, 2020; Pike and Pollard, 2010). We also observed a recent breakthrough, however, which brought greater emphasis of consumers on local products in the spirit of neolocalism (Naylor, 2000; Schnell, 2013; Schnell and Reese, 2003). Traditional brands and the relationship to regions or localities of original production are being renewed. These are not always the places where the brands are actually produced, and the relationship is frequently fictional for marketing purposes (Bowen, 2010, 2011; Overton and Murray, 2016). Producers

thus take advantage of consumers' false regional identities, assuming consumers are not interested in the real origin of products (Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019). It seems that producers have not sufficiently appreciated the role of identity in brand-consumer relations before, and they now reflect it with the rise of neolocalism in contemporary marketing strategies. This illustrates that in sectors where consumers' attitudes to the product play a crucial role, acquisitions and plant closures cannot be viewed only from an economic perspective, but the spatial identity factor must also be considered (Marks and Mirvis, 2011; Materna, Hasman and Hána, 2019).

5.2 Evolution of market shares

Regarding the second research question, a decrease in market share clearly prevailed (21 cases), while only six brands were growing and the remaining three were stagnating. That does not necessarily mean the decreased demand was directly caused by production relocation, however – many brands had been losing their market share even before brewery closing. Moreover, the current global trends do not favour medium-sized brands (which are the cases for most of the analysed ones). On the one hand, the concentration of production occurs (Cabras and Higgins, 2016), and on the other hand, the interest in small local producers is growing (Schnell, 2013; Schnell and Reese, 2003). The analysed brands would probably have declined even if their breweries had not been closed.

⁵ For more see <https://www.morningadvertiser.co.uk/Article/2018/05/11/Tetley-s-to-be-brewed-in-Leeds-again>

5.3 The role of geographical factors

Several geographical cultural factors were identified that affected the chosen strategies and subsequent results. Contextual level factors, especially the embeddedness of brewing in the country's traditions and consumers' identity, seemed to be more fundamental. The country's location was also relevant, as TNCs seemed to approach Eastern European countries differently than Western European ones. In Eastern European countries in the initial stage of the beer life cycle, brands or utilisation of regional identity in marketing were abandoned much more often than in Western European countries, where keeping regional branding or focusing on export was more favoured. At the same time, brands that abandoned regional branding usually experienced a higher market share decline. It is not clear however to what extent this was a consequence of the unsuccessful marketing strategy and to what extent it was caused by possible TNC's strategy to gradually suppress the brand. It was further confirmed that in countries with a higher degree of beer traditions, breweries were more strongly connected to their regions. The relocation of production was more often criticised by consumers (see Bass or Tetley's in the UK, or Hostan and Zlatopramen in the Czech Republic) and brands that abandoned regional branding were unsuccessful. TNCs thus more often tended to continue to bet on regional identity, even though the brand was no longer produced in the region. This included a recent return to traditions and localism leading to more frequently utilised false regional identity, and in one case (Tetley's) even the return of physical production to the original region. In this sense, the assumption of Materna, Hasman and Hána (2019) that false regional identities occurred more in countries with a low beer tradition was not confirmed, and their example of Poland proved to be rather an exception. In fact, Poland has a medium rather than a low beer tradition within the European context (see Tab. 4). Brands in countries with a low beer tradition do not have much to build on and there is no motivation to keep such brands alive due to their weak embeddedness in regions. Finally, it is not surprising that a steady increase in market share was observed only within the countries with a relatively low beer tradition (the only exception being Czech Braník, see section 4.6).

Conversely, individual-level variables seem to have played a minor role. Some of them did not matter, while some regularities can be noted for others. The least successful were those brands that were named after the region where they were produced, so they were closely connected to the original place of production. Their production was terminated (Burgansko, Plevensko, Dnipro, and temporarily also Gemer), or profoundly decreased (Rechitskoye, Topvar, Lapin Kulta). The abandonment of brands was always the case of newly established ones (from 1965 and later)⁶, as they did not even have time to embed in their regions. Conversely, all brands that remained in production were established before 1965 (the only exception is Hateg). Finally, the results show that the chosen strategies were not related to which TNC acquired the brewery as the individual TNCs chose different strategies for their breweries depending on other circumstances. The only exception is Heineken's strong tendency to abandon regional branding. This may be related, however, primarily to the fact that Heineken focussed more on Eastern Europe than other TNCs.

6. Conclusion

Although the results cannot be generalised beyond the scope of the brands examined in this project, our research documents the important role of geographic factors in understanding the evolution of acquisitions. We have shown that external geographic factors need to be considered in every assessment of acquisition outcomes. Research has so far been limited to economic internal factors in the field of economic studies. It is relevant for companies to see these geographical factors when setting their strategies. Therefore, we believe that our research will contribute to a shift in knowledge about trends of the current globalised economy, local responses to the global shift, and the impact of actors from both TNC and local contexts.

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⁶ Although the Kujawiak was produced in a brewery with a longer tradition, the brand itself was not launched on the market until 1975.

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