

SLOW FOOD: A GLOBALIZED SOCIAL MOVEMENT WITH
AN ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MISSION

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To A.J.B

A goal without a plan is just a wish
- Antoine de Saint-Exupery -

Thank you for convincing me to go back to school and for supporting my plan every step
of the way.

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Abstract

This research utilized the Slow Food Movement (SFM) as a case study to explore how a social movement transformed as it expanded to become a transnational movement. It examines the interconnectedness of a transnational social movement that emerged in Europe and expanded globally. Methods included the systematic analysis of newsletters, e-mails, flyers, websites, the Slow Food USA blog, newspaper articles and brochures, complemented by interviews and talks with leaders of the local Tucson chapter and participant observation at local and national events.

Findings demonstrate that the political climate during the 1960s facilitated the spread of the original ideas of the SFM via brokerage and loose networks. However, in order to make the shift from the local to the global sphere, the SFM made the choice of implementing a hierarchical structure in which the top tier is solely in charge without consulting the local. Since this movement's mission is anti-globalization in nature (i.e. it is against the notion of imposing universal principles onto the local), the shift to the global accomplished by implementing an anti-democratic organizational structure goes against the very principles this movement claims to uphold. Structurally the Slow Food Movement reflects a global movement and it furthermore promotes itself to appear as one coherent movement by the employment of a global, anti-globalization frame through individual mission statements and by a unity of display in the physical layouts of the various SFM websites. While structurally the local *convivia* and the national Slow Food levels are indeed parts of a large, hierarchical SFM, the individual levels are able to symbolically distance themselves from the notion of the "global" by distributing level appropriate messages.

Through intentionally created advocacy networks reflected as projects and organizations (e.g. *Terra Madre*, Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, *Presidia* and the *Ark of Taste*) a transnational network exists through which information is exchanged on a regular basis; however, coordinated tactics or joint mobilization across national borders could not be observed. Hence, the *global* position of the SFM is only a theoretical or symbolic position. Furthermore, the findings in this study highlight the importance of the organizational infrastructure as resource mobilization for social movements that shift beyond the local. The SFM purposely shifted from loose networks to an organizational hierarchy, resulting in a professional movement tied together through special created advocacy networks. This organizational structure leading to a professional social movement was a purposely-applied tactic to bring together a number of conscience constituencies that collaborate for the goals and mission of the movement. Nevertheless, while the various groups and projects share similar objectives, they are small, segmented,

and autonomous cells that work on very specific local or national levels. The findings stress the persistent significance of the local and national level of social movements.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

I. Introduction

This study of the Slow Food Movement examines the interconnectedness of a transnational social movement that emerged in Europe and expanded globally. The findings of this study contribute to the understanding of how a social movement that arose and expanded outside the US national culture transformed to a transnational social movement.

Debates on globalization demonstrate the potential of contradictory possibilities for the emergence and maintenance of social movements. On one hand, social movements have been a main arena for resistance to globalization, yet many of the movements have themselves become transnational in the process. Various studies demonstrate that the processes of globalization offer the possibility to resist or transform the globalization forces within societies and for local contexts resulting in *glocalization*. Since the processes of globalization aid in the establishment of large global entities, while simultaneously aiding in the emergence of social movements in response to these entities, then the question arises how local groups whose power supposedly decreases are able to emerge or resist. Do movements use the same tools offered by the globalization processes to resist or transform these processes, or do they invent new ones? Do the processes of globalization offer new, previously unavailable opportunities for groups or social movements and, if so, how are these opportunities realized? What possibilities or

obstacles do the globalization processes create for local people, and how are these possibilities or obstacles dealt with?

Many transnational social movements are anti-globalization in nature and hence provide a place in which opposition to globalization can be expressed. Some of the existing theories and concepts developed in the social movement literature have been applied to transnational movements on a theoretical level; however there are some important shortcomings in the currently available empirical research on transnational movements. For example, many works on transnational movements primarily focus on opposition to global institutions such as the World Trade Organization and the World Bank. Yet, unlike most transnational movements, the Slow Food Movement is not against a specific national or international institution, or multinational corporation, nor did it emerge from within the US national culture that formed the assumptions of many social movement theories.

Other studies cite movements such as Amnesty International, Friends of the Earth and the World Wildlife Federation (WWF) as examples of transnational movements, but in-depth case studies on the inter-connectedness of their individual local, national, and international levels have not been conducted. Indeed, none of the studies currently available focus on how a movement that emerged in a European local context, in direct response to the forces of globalization, transformed into a transnational movement that is truly globally active.

Additionally, since many of the social movement concepts and theories arose out of research conducted on national and local movements, this study contributes by evaluating whether these concepts and theories continue to hold relevance for transnational movements. Some scholars argue that transnational movements benefit by acting locally since the local is nested within the political opportunity structure of the national and the international. This gives merit to the idea of “think global, act local,” the slogan of many contemporary global movements. While the emergence and scale shift is often discussed in terms of brokerage and diffusion of information, missing is an examination of how a movement is able to emerge and shift beyond the local. Does globalization provide new opportunity structures for mobilization? Moreover, does a movement have to make specific choices or give up certain characteristics in order to make this shift?

Studies in the fields of globalization and social movements agree that transnational activism is on the rise, and it is therefore astonishing that research on the emergence, expansion and inter-connectedness of transnational movement is very limited. This study fills a gap in the literature on combining globalization and social movements, with a theoretical focus that is explicitly on the evaluation of how a movement that began with a local concern and that emerged as a direct response to the forces of globalization transformed as it expanded to become a transnational movement.

In this research, the Slow Food Movement was utilized as a case study to explore how a movement that began with a local concern and that emerged as a direct response to forces of globalization, had to transform as it expanded to become a transnational

movement. The methods applied in this study include systematic content analysis of newsletters, e-mails, flyers, websites, the Slow Food USA blog, newspaper articles and brochures, complemented by interviews and talks with leaders of the local Tucson chapter and participant observation at local and national events.

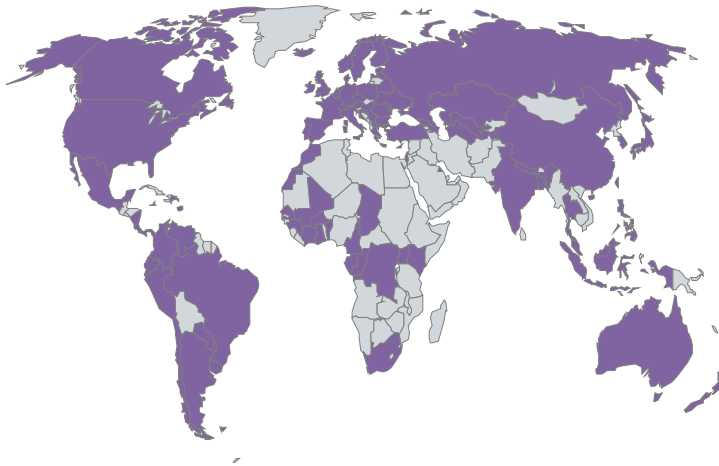
II. The Slow Food Movement: An Overview

The Slow Food Movement emerged in Italy in 1986 when Italian journalist, Carlo Petrini protested the building of a McDonald's near the Piazza di Spagna in Rome. The Slow Food Manifesto, which was established in 1989, claims "we are enslaved by speed and have all succumbed to the same insidious virus: *Fast Life* (Slow Food Manifesto), which is "rooted in the contemporary world of globalization and the information society" (Andrews 2008: 30).

This movement has its origin at a very specific, local place, yet it has expanded to a transnational movement in just over two decades. During the primary years the movement was a purely European phenomenon with the officially recognized headquarter in Italy, and national Slow Food Movements opening in Germany in 1992, followed by Switzerland in 1993. After Slow Food USA was founded and opened in New York in 2000, more national Slow Food Movements opened in France (2003), Japan (2004), Great Britain (2005), and in the Netherlands and Australia (2008). Today the Slow Food Movement has over 100,000 members in more than 132 countries (slowfood.com). The countries in which the movement is active range from Andorra to Venezuela (see map one for all countries in which the International Slow Food

Movement is active). While activity does not necessarily imply the strength of representation, measured by the amount of local and national convivia, for example Great Britain has over forty local chapters (convivia) while countries such as Andorra, Bangladesh, and China are represented by only one convivium each, this movement is truly globally active.

Map 1: The International Slow Food Movement: Countries with Active Convivia



*map created with smartdraw

The Slow Food Movement espouses anti-globalism as its core mission. It emphasizes that the fast life fostered by globalization has disrupted every aspect of traditional ways of life, especially in regards to the food system and consumption behavior. Most notably, as the manifesto of the Slow Food Movement points out, are the increasing negative consequences of globalization, such as the standardization of taste, the threat to biodiversity, the destruction of the environment (particularly in relation to the industrialization of agriculture), the degradation of the small producer, the extinction of low profit breeds, vegetables, fruit and grains, and the loss of cultural identity (Slow Food Manifesto). In order to elicit a change, the Slow Food Movement asserts, we have

to start working on the basic element of society, more specifically, we have to turn “fast food” and all social behaviors connected to the notion of “fast food”, into “slow food.” This will help to “rediscover the flavors and savours of regional cooking” and with this we may be able to “banish the degrading effects” of the fast life phenomena (slowfood.com).

An evaluation of the Slow Food Movement presents a sociologically significant case study on how a movement that begun with a local concern and emerged as a direct response to the forces of globalization had to transform as it expanded and ultimately became a transnational movement. An exploration of the concern, awareness, participation, and activities of the Slow Food Movement sheds light on whether this movement has to make specific choices or give up certain characteristics in order to avoid surrendering to the very thing it is trying to resist.

III. Globalization Theory

Literature on globalization often begins with the declaration that it is a complex phenomenon entailing political, economic, cultural and ideological factors. Additionally, it is highlighted that a comprehensive definition for what constitutes globalization does not exist. Even the term “globalization” is often contested and terms such as *globality* (Scholte 2000; Steger 2003), *globalism* (Keohane and Nye 2005), and *grobalization* (Ritzer 2004a) are added, newly defined, or assigned.

Besides these terminology issues, the multiple globalization debates highlight concerns regarding the interpretation of globalization. Debates surround the notion that

globalization is a new phenomenon and evidence is provided by illustrating this through the loss of power of nation states with the simultaneous increase in power of transnational corporations (McMichael 2004; Scholte 2000; Urry 1999; Waters 1995), the development of new concepts, such as the emergence of a global consciousness (Scholte 2000; Urry 1999) and the increased inter-connectedness through new communication and transportation technologies and other technical advances of the digital revolution (Friedman 2005). Some argue that globalization can lead to a global consciousness, or more specifically the awareness of the world as a single place. This can be achieved, for example, via global sports competition or global trade fairs (Scholte 2000: 54). Other acknowledge this possibility and point out that institutions such as the European Union (EU) and the United Nations (UN) provide elementary forms of regional frameworks for new conceptions of belonging, but they also warn that not everyone necessarily considers themselves a global citizen (Held 2003).

The other side of this globalization debate insists that globalization is only a continuation of previous processes integrating the global economy (Ellwood 2001). Referred to as the "skeptics" of globalization, scholars on this side of the debate hold that globalization is not a new phenomenon, but instead that contemporary social changes are continuations of past processes attaching themselves to and thriving on processes such as Taylorism, Fordism and capitalism (Held and McGrew 2002; Webster 2002). Moreover, they insist that the interconnection of networks experienced today is nothing new, but is due to an increase of linkages of previous established networks which only intensified, but were not newly created, during the globalization process (Keohane and Nye 2005).

This debate about the interpretation of globalization raises some critical questions. If the processes of globalization are indeed new processes, then do they offer new, previously unavailable opportunities? If the nation state decreased in power and the power of TNCs increased, then what consequences do these power shifts have for “people on the local ground?” If, as the other side is claiming, the globalization processes are only riding the coattails of previous processes, how does the increase of the connections, even if not newly created, influence the way the local and the global are perceived within these networks?

Another broad, analytical distinction in the globalization debate is made in regards to the consequences of globalization on nations, societies, and the local level. Here the arguments emphasize either the negative or positive traits of the globalization processes. The negative side highlights issues such as the unpredictable nature of the globalization process insofar as it is described as a 'juggernaut - a runaway engine of enormous power which, collectively as human beings, we can drive to some extent but which also threatens to rush out of our control and which could rend itself asunder" (Giddens 1990: 139). For this reason, it is argued, local society is often influenced or even changed by seemingly unrelated global processes occurring at the other side of the globe that intensify local events.

One of the most articulated arguments regarding the negative impact of globalization is that the processes of globalization are invading and eradicating local cultures, local traditions and local foods (McMichael 2005; Ritzer 2004; Hendrickson 2002). McMichael highlights this by an analysis of the corporate food regime, blaming

the globalization processes of economic liberation and global deregulation for the negative impacts. He argues that via political means and in unequal competitive relations among states, agricultural prices are artificially depressed leading to overproducing and dumping in the world market, which in turn negatively affects small farmers everywhere on the globe (McMichael 2005: 267). He backtracks this emergence of the corporate food regime by suggesting that Britain “formed its free trade empire spatially through incorporation of new lands and resources” and politically by deepening “the circulation of capital” thus establishing a “project that linked the fortunes of an emergent industrial capitalism to expanding cheap food supply chains across the world,” while the approach by the United States was one of political legitimating “via economic and military aid” to underdeveloped countries, creating “alliances and markets for its agribusiness” (McMichael 2005: 271-272). Global trade negotiations regarding the world agricultural trade which were held in 1986 (the Uruguay Round) did not consider the unequal positions of world markets of Northern and Southern nations, and the foundation of the agreement is the economic efficiency notion of producing what one produces best and then trading with other nations, which completely shifted the focus from a national self-sufficiency of food security to global world markets. The author suggests that this neo-liberal approach of the corporate food regime, in which only a few corporations hold the power and the control from ‘seed to supermarket shelf’, mainly focuses on the expansion of profit, which inevitably led to a “loss of land, livelihood, and knowledge” (McMichael 2005: 283). Even after this pessimistic analysis of the current condition, McMichael argues that since these effects can be felt all over the globe, the tension created by the

uniformity of the corporate food regime initiated the emergence of protective and proactive global food sovereignty movements.

Similarly, the processes of globalization are blamed for the demise of small farms and food suppliers in that these processes aid the emergence of large food chain clusters in which the decision making power never leaves the cluster, as exemplified by Cargill/Monsanto and ConAgra (Hendrickson 2002). As was the case of the large trade negotiations mentioned by McMichael, by working directly with global food retailers, such as Wal-Mart, the power only lies in the “hands” of the large food chain clusters and the large retailers who are powerful enough to set their own prices to pay suppliers (Hendrickson 2002: 358). However, since food is mass produced for mass consumption in this globalized, industrial food system, these large entities are unable to adjust to a small, specialized and unique market. Moreover, consumers realize that big business is motivated purely by profit and global food companies are unable to develop a trusting relationship with their consumers (Hendrickson 2002: 360). These weaknesses, in addition to hot issues about the destruction of the environment and other negative social consequences as a result of the workings of large global firms, have drawn customers’ attention and opened up “spaces for alternatives” resulting in the emergence of social movements, such as the Kansas City Food Circle which

...talk about decentralization and taking back control of the food system...referring to the building of local social bonds and the necessity for reconnecting the people who inhabit a particular space” (Hendrickson: 2002: 364).

Additional negative impacts of globalization are highlighted in relation to the institution of McDonald’s and its ability to physically locate to almost every corner of the

planet, such as a “a prominent hill in Jerusalem” (see Friedman 2000). Moreover, McDonald’s is often used for its defiance of any boundaries and disregard of any inhibitions, for example a McDonald’s opened across the street from the Dachau concentration camp - now a museum - in Germany which when it first opened provided its visitors with flyers titled “Welcome to Dachau”. The institution of McDonalds is time and again used as a symbolic representation of the unstoppable forces of globalization (Schlosser 2001; Giddens 2003).

Corresponding arguments focus on the unequal representation of the interest of the most powerful nations. The terms *Westernization* and/or *Americanization* are utilized to put forward that a globalized world is a world that reflects the cultural imperialism of Western nations, foremost that of the United States, in which many of the 'trends' emerge that are then globalized (see also Ritzer on McDonaldization 2004b). Ultimately, this argument entails the spread of Western norms, values and lifestyles to every sector of society and the fear that in every part of the globe it will eradicate local cultures and traditions. The processes of globalization, driven by the power, influence and profit of Western nations, corporations and organizations, impose the same principles on the economical, ideological, political and cultural dimension of the local, resulting in one *McWorld* (Sklair 1999; Ellwood 2001; Stiglitz 2003; McMichael 2004; Ritzer 2004a; Barber 2006, Heron 2008).

Moreover this side of the debate argues that globalization leads to increased inequality internationally (Goesling and Baker 2008) and nationally (Massy 2009). Some researchers, while agreeing that globalization leads to inequality, claim the answer is not

as clear-cut as it is often argued. For example, after applying a theoretical model to the link between globalization and inequality, Mills' findings reveal that globalization leads to increased inequality in industrial nations, while it decreased inequality in developing nations (Mills 2009). Similarly, globalization processes evaluated on individual life courses revealed various outcomes depending on the specific life phase. For example, middle-aged professional men were found to benefit from globalization, while the same processes negatively affected young adults (Buchholz et al 2009).

Contrary to these arguments is the debate that the processes of globalization are positive, since these processes are assumed to lead to increased equal opportunities for participants all over the globe (Friedman 2005), and an increase in the possibility for the spread of true capitalism and democracy (Norberg 2003). Moreover these processes, it is argued, raise standards, measured in terms of efficiency, standards, services and hygiene (Mack and Surina 2005; Cohen 2000; Watson 1997; Wu 1997). More importantly, unlike the "skeptics," people on this side of the argument claim that globalization will lead to the revival of local habits and traditions.

While differentiating between the structural forces and the symbolic forces of globalization, Ram asserts that globalization does not need to destroy local habits and customs, but actually, it may aid to preserve or even revive them (2004). He contributes to the debate by proposing that the processes of globalization can work simultaneously on different levels and have different impacts. After examining the relevance of the falafel in Israel in relation to McDonald's and its hamburgers, he claims homogeneity is happening on the structural level, along with heterogeneity on the symbolic level. Structurally the

falafel is produced and consumed the same way as any McDonald product, but symbolically the falafel as the local product is distinctly opposing McDonald's. In his case McDonald's represents the global while the falafel is a representation of the local and Ram notes that in this case the global contributed to the revival of the local. During this process the global transformed the nature and meaning of the local. These processes, he suggests, can be viewed as "one-way" in which the global only transforms, converts or alters the local, or "two-way" in which the effect is an interchange between the global and the local. Ram points out that on the structural level, globalization is a one-way street; but on the symbolic level, it is a two-way street. While falafel production and consumption has been globalized, symbolically the local prevails. He concludes

[F]rom the end-user's or individual consumer's perspective, the particular explicit symbolic 'difference' may be a source of great emotional gratification; but from the perspective of the social structure, the system of production and consumption, what matters is the exact opposite – namely, the implicit structural homogenization" (Ram, 2004: 26).

Hannerz agrees when he notes, "the world system, rather than creating massive cultural homogeneity on a global scale, is replacing one diversity with another" resulting in a world in which "we are all being creolized" (1987: 555, 557). These observations are based on his fieldwork in Kafanchan, a multi-ethnic town in the center of Nigeria. He notes that while American TV shows such as Dallas and Charlie's Angels and popular American Pop stars such as Michael Jackson may be well liked on Nigerian televisions, local shows and the local music market enjoy much wider popularity. The author concludes,

“We must be aware that openness to foreign cultural influences need not involve only an impoverishment of local and national culture. It may give people access to technological and symbolic resources for dealing with their own ideas, managing their own culture, in new ways” (Hannerz 1987: 555).

The globalization literature refers to this idea as *glocalization* where the global does invade the local, but the local is able to resist or adapt only the beneficial aspects of the global. Various studies have demonstrated that this is a possible outcome of globalization. For example, findings in studies on McDonald’s in China, Japan and Taiwan have demonstrated how East Asian consumers have “transformed their neighborhood McDonald’s into local institutions” and “McDonald’s does not always call the shots” (Watson 1997: 6, 7). Bak confirms that in Korea “the perceived seriousness of eating foreign-based foods” for example McDonald’s hamburgers “is related to a general ambivalence towards achieving a globalized lifestyle,” however these “consumers are creatively transforming the restaurants into “local” institutions (Bak 1997: 160). Offering the wine market as an example, Vaseth confirms that globalization can actually accentuate differences, especially if the differences have value in the market place (2005: 163). Sassen asserts that “the scale of the struggle remains the locality and the object is to engage local actors...but with the knowledge and explicit or tacit invocation of multiple other localities around the world engaged in similar localized struggles with similar local actors,” it is possible for the local to reshape the concept of globalization (2003: 11). Creating a new addition to this argument, Stichweh puts forward the notion of *Eigenstructures*. He claims that globalization does not replace old structures with new structures, but instead “Eigenstructures reproduce pre-existent cultural diversity and push it back at the same time, creating new social and cultural patterns of their own” (2008:

135). In this view, globalization will lead to the availability of new (local and national) structures in addition to the old ones, offering the possibility of new sources of diversity (Stichweh 2008).

This debate demonstrates that globalization offers contradictory possibilities. While, as McMichael pointed out in the examination of the corporate food regime, globalization processes can lead to a loss of “land, livelihood, and knowledge,” the same processes can contribute to the emergence of global food sovereignty movements. In addition, Hendrickson demonstrated that globalization aided in the creation of large food chain clusters and large food retailers and thereby exposed certain weaknesses, which enabled social movements to move in. Furthermore, various studies on globalization have highlighted the outcome of *glocalization* and demonstrated that the processes of globalization offer the possibility to resist or transform the globalization forces within societies and for local contexts. For these reasons, some critical questions emerge within this debate. If the processes of globalization aid in the establishment of large global (powerful) entities, while simultaneously aid in the emergence of social movements in response to these entities, then how are these local groups whose power decreases able to emerge or resist? Do they use the same tools offered by the globalization processes to resist, or transform these processes, or do they invent new ones? Do the processes of globalization offer new, previously unavailable opportunities for groups or social movements? What possibilities or obstacles do the globalization processes create for people on the local ground?

Furthermore, this debate highlights the relevance of globalization in connection with social movements. Not only do social movements emerge in response to the globalization threats (as was shown in multiple studies), but they are also able to grow globally due to possible newly created opportunities and tools provided by the same processes they might try to resist. Indeed, since globalization can be conceived as a new opportunity structure for social movements, this provides the possibility to utilize well developed social movement frameworks to explore the questions raised (Guidry et al. 2000: 2).

IV. Social Movement Theory

The classical approach to social movements viewed participants as irrational people who were working outside the norms of society. In this view, social movements were marginalized and people in these movements were considered deviant and were labeled as such. However, during the early 1960s young scholars saw and experienced social movements in the form of the Civil Rights Movement, the protests against the Vietnam War, and student protests on university campuses around the United States. During this time, the approach to study movements changed to one studying these movements from the inside out, and to the view of participants as rational actors. Moreover, social scientists began to view social movements as part of politics of inclusion.

The resource mobilization theory that emerged during the 1970s initially countered the classical theory viewing social movements as a rational approach of

disadvantaged groups or people who were seeking access and voice, but who only had limited resources to do so. This approach focused mainly on the mobilizing structures and organization, in general exploring how movements were able to form and organize, since participants were viewed as disadvantaged with limited resources available. This theory offered the assumption that groups in society differ in the amount of political power they possess, and movements were not viewed as a form of irrational behavior, but rather a tactical response to the realities of a closed and coercive political system. The focus was mainly on powerful groups external to the movements' mass base. McAdam acknowledged that the strength of this theory was to describe social movements as "collections of political actors dedicated to the advancement of their stated substantive goals," however, he noted, something else was needed.

That segment of society may very well submit to oppressive conditions unless the oppression is collectively defined as both unjust and *subject to change*. In the absence of these necessary attributes, oppressive conditions are likely, even in the face of increased resources, to go unchallenged (McAdam 1999: 34)

He proposed an alternative to both the classical and the resource mobilization perspective, the political process model. This model converges expanding political opportunities, indigenous organizational strength, and the presence of certain shared cognitions within the minority community as necessary conditions to facilitate movement emergence.

During the 1980s, social movement theories took on another new direction by focusing on groups seeking identity and recognition. Here participants were viewed not as wanting to change the outside, but joining a movement as a motive for participation,

such as ethnicity. New theoretical approaches included framing, how a movement was able to build collective identity, the exploration of links between various groups, and as part of resource mobilization, the professionalization of social movements. Contemporary social movement theories synthesize these various theories of political opportunity, mobilizing structures (or constraints and threats), and cultural framing (framing processes).

The following discussion will highlight the important concepts, perspectives, and findings of these theories that emerged predominantly in the context of local and national movements based in the United States. Each discussion will also point out if the concepts and perspectives have been theoretically or empirically employed to evaluate transnational movements and the corresponding findings will be presented.

i. Political Opportunity, Constraint, and Threat

Political opportunity, political constraint, and threats are important aspects in understanding social movements. The concept of political opportunity refers to “the importance of the broader political system in structuring the opportunities for collective action” (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996), while political constraint such as state repressiveness refers to the constraining role the political environment or political institutions can have on the emergence or development of a movement. Hence, the political system, made up of institutions, political parties and the political environment (the political culture) can either aid or hinder the emergence of a social movement insofar that it provides (political) opportunity by encouraging collective action or by deterring

collective action by constraining it. In some research, the concept of political system is further expanded to consider additional structures such as the media, pressure groups, interest groups, religious intuitions and other movements then referred to as the political field (Raka 1998).

The importance of the political system is highlighted in a comparison of case studies of two farm worker movements between 1946 and 1972. While the goals, tactics and actions of these movements were similar, the key element of the success of the later movement (during the 1970s) was the changes that occurred in the political system and the official support by political organizations for the movement (Jenkins and Perrow 1997). Della Porta and Diani confirm that an open political system, made up of supportive political institutions and political culture favor the emergence and development of a social movement and its goals (1999). More specifically to see if political opportunity was involved in the emergence of a social movement one might look at the movements opportunities of access to the decision-making system within political institutions, the political culture, or *Zeitgeist*, and the behavior of opponents and allies of the movement (Della Porta and Diani 1999).

The notion of threat refers to the actual threat to the values, interests or even survival of specific groups or individuals (Tarrow 1998). In order to see if this concept applies to the emergence of a social movement it is necessary to evaluate not only those who have the most to lose by the direct threat, for example gays and anti-gay policies, but also those who increase their own risk by participating even though they are not directly influenced by the threat, such as whites in the Civil Rights Movement. McCarthy and

Zald put the concept of conscience constituents forward, to refer to people who contribute directly to the movement by providing resources, such as writing checks, without directly benefiting from the success of the goals of the movement (1977: 23). It is mostly due to this second group that social movement theories shifted away from the notion that shared grievances are important preconditions for the emergence of a social movement (McCarthy and Zald 1977) since even “distant issues” can mobilize conscience constituents (Rucht 1998).

Political opportunity through the structural components of the political system is also considered highly relevant for the emergence of new social movements. In a comparison study of movements in Germany, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland, the national level political system, more specifically the national political institutions and the political climate of each of these countries, were found to be the main contributor and the critical factor for the development and emergence of social movements (Kristi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni, 1997). Contrary to the argument of the loss of importance of the nation state made in globalization debates, this research demonstrates the continuing importance of the nation state at least in relation to social movements.

The international political environment reflects the neo-liberal character of the global economy. As in the case of national political environments, political opportunity developing in a global, political environment will impact the transnational mobilization structures by shaping the protests, coalitions and transnational contentions (Ayres 2001: 55). While movements still have to emerge from, or are located within some local contexts, it is the “nested political opportunity structure” defined as “local political

opportunity structures which are embedded in the national political opportunity structures, which are in turn embedded in the international political opportunity structures" which presents a complex relationship highly significant for the success or failure of a movement (Rothman and Oliver 1999: 3). It may therefore be advantageous for transnational movements to act locally since this may constitute the foundation of a global movement. Due to increased interconnectedness, even action on the local level often disrupts the status quo and can put "pressure on national governments" (Rootes 2005). Furthermore, a focus on the local level, even by a transnational movement concerned with global issues, can increase the chances of local people joining the global cause by making a change on the local level where the organizations are better understood and the effect may be more apparent.

Moreover, movement mobilization and corresponding success or failure might depend on a country's position in the hierarchy of the world system (Maney 2001). The economic and political seat of a country determines the transnational sources of political opportunity in connection to institutional access. More specifically, research shows that a country's position in the world economy is positively related to wider access to its political institution. Additionally, the same research demonstrates that increasing economic dependency promotes political exclusion, political dependency contributes to institutional closure, and hegemony gives rise to institutional openings in less powerful states (Maney 2001: 95).

All of these discussed factors may influence the emergence and development of social movements. More specifically, by the appearance or disappearance of any of these

political opportunities and constraints or threats, groups of people may become aware of their access to authority or the decision making process, or they might feel that repression is increasing or declining, or that the political culture offers support for their goal where none existed previously. All these factors impact how political opportunity operates on social movements.

ii. Framing Processes

Political opportunity is highly relevant for a movement's emergence and also its success or failure. However, a prerequisite for the emergence of a movement is that members and future participants acknowledge that in fact the situation presents an opportunity. Framing has to be successfully applied in the initial stage of the presented (political) opportunity or threat, since it only becomes an "opportunity" once it is "defined as such by a group of actors" who "by setting in motion framing processes that further undermine the legitimacy of the system or its perceived mutability" are able to encourage mobilization (McAdam et al 1996: 8). While framing processes are also highly relevant after a movement has emerged in order to further develop it, it is needed for the emergence of the movement by establishing the necessary link between the opportunity and the movement (Snow and Benford 1992).

Framing and frame alignment is the active process of meaning construction and the alignment of frames between potential members and existing social movements. By applying three core framing processes, diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing, a movement is able to attract people or ensure their commitment by

resonating with the beliefs or needs of current or potential participants (Snow and Benford 1988). The first two core framing tasks, comprised of diagnostic framing through which a problem and its source are identified, and prognostic framing which proposes a solution to the problem, are needed for consensus mobilization. If successful, these two framing tasks ensure that people agree with the movements' issues and goals. However, at this point they might not be motivated to take any action. The third core framing task, motivational framing, calls for specific action to solve the problem. This is needed to switch people from consensus mobilization to action mobilization in which they actively participate in the movement (Benford and Snow 2000).

During each of these tasks, the movement can employ additional strategic concepts of framing to increase the chance of success. These additional framing processes, which are often very specific to achieve a specific purpose, are: frame bridging the linking of seemingly unconnected frames together; frame amplification referring to an amplifying of values and beliefs; frame extension, the stretching of an issue to fit the goal of the movement, and frame transformation, the reformulating of an issue to appeal to a broader audience (Snow, Zurcher Jr., and Ekland-Olson 1997). Framing processes, in various forms and applications are necessary for the initial establishment that an opportunity or threat is in fact a possible opportunity to mobilize and furthermore, framing processes are essential in establishing a link between potential movement participants and the goal of the movement.

Framing processes in transnational movements have to be very general and broad in order to include a wide range of potential members differing in background, religion,

tradition, ethnicity and nationality. This challenge to successfully frame issues transnationally, unlike the case in domestic social movements, needs to “appeal to belief systems, life worlds, and stories, myths, and folk tales in many different countries and cultures” (Keck and Sicking 1998). Contrasting to the case of the classic labor movements which were often narrowly focused on local issues and framed their issues in local terms, such as locally exploited factory workers, transnational movements, for example human rights or environmental movements, may employ frames in relation to fundamental rights of all people, the disappearance of natural resources, air pollution and global warming. The concerns and issues raised with these frames impact everyone on the planet.

Moreover, through images and information, the global media, specifically the Internet and television, can be utilized to illustrate very abstract events and happenings bridging seemingly unrelated issues. By repetition in the media, it is possible to emphasize the importance of a problem and to establish a connection between the global and the local (Urry 1999). Global events, publicized by the global media, such as Live Aid concerts, World Cups, Olympic games highlight the idea' of a global citizenship and speeches by public figures broadcasted in the global media emphasizing *we* and *us* may cross international borders referring to "imagined communities stretching beyond borders" (Urry 1999: 321) It is these images, depicting global connectedness, that can then be utilized for frame construction regarding "global citizenship" (Urry 1999).

iii. Mobilization Structures

Once a political opportunity or threat arises and the movement is able to effectively present this opportunity as such (through successful framing) movement mobilization does not automatically follow. In fact, various factors can still affect the success or failure of the movement during this phase. An important element discussed in the social movement literature is resource mobilization, which stresses the ability for social movements to acquire and utilize necessary resources and mobilize people towards the movements' goals. Resource mobilization is the infrastructure available to social movements and includes aspects such as organizational- and personal ties, networks, structural conditions, collective identity and repertoires of contention (strategies and tactics).

The variety, types and sources of resources matter for mobilization and the success of the movement. Accommodating organizations and ties to these organizations can present resources facilitating mobilization by providing the needed infrastructure and shaping the framework for action. Moreover, personal ties can provide resources in the form of networks that sustain even 'droughts' of movement activity. Social movement literature highlights the advantages of a well-developed social infrastructure in the form of interrelationships between people and organizations for the success of a social movement. For example, social movement research on the Women's movement, the Civil Rights movement and the Pro-life/Pro-choice movement have supported the notion that existing organizations such as religious groups and churches provide the necessary social networks and network linkages for recruitment and success of these social movements

(Diani and Lodi 1988; Gould 1991; McCarthy 1987; Morris 1997; Snow, Jr. and Eklund-Olson 1997). Furthermore, research on these earlier movements has revealed the strong reliance on strong personal ties and social networks to friends and family members for movements to expand their social network infrastructure (Della Porta 1988). Networks as necessary resources additionally play a major role in the maintaining and eventual re-emergence of movements in abeyance. Movements do not just emerge out of thin air, nor do they ever completely disappear. Often submerged networks are able to maintain and develop a structure on which a later movement can build (Mueller 1997; Taylor 1989).

While personal ties and social networks play a major role in national movements, the idea of advocacy networks becomes relevant in relation to transnational movements. While advocacy networks are not new, it is the number, size, professionalism, speed, density, and complexity of international linkages that have grown (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Advocacy networks may include international and domestic nongovernmental organizations, local social movements, foundations, intellectuals, parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations and parts of the executive and/or parliamentary branches of governments, generally any form of advocate that “pleads the cause of others or defends a cause or proposition” (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 8, 9). It has to be noted that even if an advocacy network entails international linkages, it does not automatically qualify as a transnational movement. Indeed, even a transnational network might just be that – a transnational network with its dominant modality of information exchange between transnational actors. Compared to this, transnational collective action in the form of a transnational coalition might coordinate tactics and campaigns, but only

by joint mobilization does a movement with transnational networks represent the form of a truly transnational movement (Khagram et al. 2002). However, Keck and Sikkink raise the point that the key resource of networks is information and it may not be mobilization these networks are truly after. The authors note

Not mobilization, perhaps, but “events” serve as points of references for networks. This has been especially true for women’s networks, where international conferences punctuate the standard chronologies of their development. The relationships between such “events,” the directionality of information flows in networks, the kind of strategies imagined, and the type of shared understandings (or misunderstandings) generated by network practices are all areas in which we need further research. (1998: 236-237)

McCarthy and Zald shift their focus beyond the notion of networks and membership by examining the trends of social movements in America, focusing mainly on the structural conditions for resource mobilization. They argue that there is a growing institutionalization of dissent in the form of the professionalization of movements. These professional social movements

...are characterized by 1) a leadership that devotes full time to the movement, with a) a large proportion of resources originating outside the aggrieved group that the movement claims to represent; 2) a very small or nonexistent membership base or a paper membership (membership implies little more than allowing name to be used upon membership rolls); 3) attempts to impart the image of “speaking for a potential constituency”; and 4) attempts to influence policy toward the same constituency. (375: 2009)

These movements differ from classical social movements in that they do not purely rely on their membership base for survival, and insofar that the organization takes on the fight of a potential constituency, which may or may not belong to its membership base (McCarty and Zald 1987). In this view, professionalism is a way to mobilize certain kind of constituencies and as Gamson notes:

What is important about people is not their sentiments or the meaning they give the world, but whether they have discretionary time and money to spend on social movements. College students at elite schools have a lot of both, and hence, form a central constituency for a number of different movement industries. So do middle-class professionals of various sorts, making them a “conscience constituency” for a larger number of causes (Zald and McCarthy 2009: 7)

What is mobilized then are conscience constituents and not the potential beneficiaries of the movement’s missions and goals. While these professional movements have a chance to sustain without a large membership base, they also lose some of their original character. For example, for the leadership the position in a professional movement may resemble a career as in any other professional settings and personnel may not be as dedicated if the position is viewed as “just another job.” These findings conclude that professional movements have increased due to an increase in funding of personal income (less dependent on large membership base), the increase of communication devices (while this study refers mainly to the TV, this does include the Internet), and in the alternative that professional movement participation, at least a position in leadership, can become a career. The implications of these findings are that while professional social movements have always existed, for example in the form of the Progressive Movement, “modern conditions bring them to the fore” (Zald and McCarthy 2009: 374). Regarding globalization and transnational movements, this is highly relevant since globalization may provide potential (new) tools for the development of such a movement.

A transnational movement may be able to appear as one virtual social movement via computer-mediated communication, particularly websites. Different virtual social systems can be mediated for example “virtual (social movement) communities or virtual

extensions” (Diani 2000: 397). An extension to this theory of generating virtual communities via computer-mediated communication is the notion of successful branding. Branding is a skilled advertising technique which, if correctly applied, can attract attention, arouse interest, create desire and carry conviction (Wilcox 1934). Computer mediated communications provides the possibility to attract a specific group of people and to spread a collective identity among them. Muniz and O’Guinn further extend this notion to the establishment of a *brand community* which is a specialized, non-geographically bound community, based on a structured set of social relationships (2001: 412). According to the authors, this type of community is primarily united by their common interest in a brand with a strong image, a rich and lengthy history, and threatening competition.

Additionally, in the case of transnational social movements, studies have found that formal ties played a weaker role compared to their role in the national context (Diani and Lodi 1988; Gould 1991; Snow, Jr. and Eklund-Olson 1997; Caniglia 2001), however as in the case of national movements, informal ties were found to be highly significant for the success of a movement (Caniglia 2001, Keck and Sikkink 2000). Anheiner argues that the importance of the individual, personal relations by some members of a social movement lies in their ability to “establish and anchor” locally (2003: 71). Once the anchor sets, the network can build out from this origin by establishing desired connections. However, after these initial networks are created, they often do not reflect a tight set of relationships; instead these initial networks are mostly scattered or loosely knit. Indeed Kriesi claims that at the beginning of a social movement “organizational

networks...tend to be weak and informally structured,” but by centralizing the decision making process various subunits can be integrated (1996: 154) and the movement can be extended.

Tarrow emphasizes that personal relations or “trust networks” aid in the transferring of the movement’s ideas and information between “established lines of interaction”, or what he refers to as “relational diffusion” (2005: 103). Via a *scale* shift, the shifting beyond the local, and bridging the claims between the local and the global a wider range of actors can be evoked (Tarrow and McAdam 2005). In this case, localized action can spread either via diffusion, or via a broker to bridge various levels. However, the literature point out that not just anyone has the ability to establish essential connections. Movement brokers take on this special role to transfer ideas and it is these movement brokers who are able to connect “...people who might otherwise have remained ignorant of one another’s claim” (Tarrow 2005: 106). Only due to these brokers is it possible to establish necessary links between people and organizations who may have similar ideas and concerns, but without the aid of the brokers, would stay unaware of their comparable goals (Tarrow 2005). Regarding transnational coalition, Bandy and Smith argue that it takes the leadership of a skilled movement broker. More specifically, they claim that brokers need to be great communicators, educators and may use common documents such as manifestos or mission statements (Bandy and Smith 2005: 241). These manifestos or mission statements often embody the movements framing.

Adding to the structural conditions for transnational movements, studies suggest that contemporary, transnational social movements have an advantage compared to previous movements in that the new groups are connected to each other, as well as to the world audiences, in networks that rely on the Internet (Fox-Piven 2007). In this argument, the internet provides the possibility to support and expand the social network infrastructure especially for global movements by providing members potential interdependent power. Interdependent power, unlike the usual type of power based on “resources, things, or attributes,” is “rooted in the social and cooperative relations in which people are enmeshed by virtues of group life” (Fox-Piven 2007: 5). Moreover, global communication devices such as the Internet have increased and accelerated the diffusion of information and the connection between people (Tarrow 2005). This “inseparable mix of virtual and face-to-face communication defines many activist networks, and contacts in these networks may range far from activists’ immediate social circles” (Bennett 2003: 150). In addition to face-to-face interaction, the Internet can be viewed as a powerful mobilization resource tool for social movements, since via the internet it is possible to reach mass audiences.

Sequentially, everyone in this potential mass audience is a possible member of the movement or at least might become a conscience adherent and constituent living in agreement with the objectives of the movement or actively supporting the goals of the movement. While it is assumed that like-minded people will attend events sponsored and arranged by particular movements and organization, websites are accessed either directly (knowing the web site address and typing it in), linkage through some other website

(indirect connecting), or by searching for specific keywords which then guide to the website. In either way, the possible audience ending up on a specific social movement website is in some way predisposed, displaying some initial receptiveness to certain aspects of the social movement. Especially in new social movements in which, “social networks are simultaneously becoming more global and more local as worldwide connectivity and domestic matters intersect” local, national, and global social movements are able to build relationships with like-minded people anywhere around the globe “based more on shared interests and less on shared social characteristics” (Wellman et al. 1996:231). Referring to the Lilliput network project, an Italian based social network that aided the successful mobilization in the Seattle anti-globalization protest, della Porta et al support the importance of “uniting the strength of many tiny groups” in order to “immobilize the giant” (2006: 37).

Castells notes that “because of the flexibility and communication power of the Internet, online social interaction plays an increasing role in social organization as a whole” (Castells 2001:131). A social movement is able to tap into this resource for social network building, by not simply offering an audience a static website, but instead providing, for example, a lively, interactive blog. Through this the members of the movement are able to keep the audience up to date on pertinent topics by providing information that the social movements holds dear. Lively blog refers to “online diaries wherein information is electronically posted, updated, and presented in reverse chronological order” on a daily basis (Bichard 2006). These blogs allow the members of the social movement to see how effective they are in delivering their message, since

blogs can be posted by anyone or comments can be made on existing blog posts (Lopresti 2007). Moreover, by providing links to other organizations and associations, a social movement is able to guide the reader to specific sites chosen by the social movement, hence expanding its and the readers' social network. It is for these reasons that in addition to face-to-face interaction via meetings, events and projects, a movement's website (with its blogs and corresponding hyperlinks posted by a social movement, its members and other blog posters) can be viewed as a powerful resource for building, expanding and maintaining a social network infrastructure.

Another resource for mobilization utilized by a movement in order to ensure the "continuity and permanence of the movement" is the establishment of a collective identity (Melucci 1995). Movements are able attempt to deliberately try to influence the collective identity and belief by persuasive communication in order to change the view of the individual to the view of the movement (Klandermans 1992). Establishing collective identity as a resource in transnational social movements does not seem to be an easy task. Indeed, Habermas claims that evoking a collective identity is not possible in the current formation of a global community; instead, he claims that this identity formation could only be established in a world state. He suggests that even if we could establish the commonality of the world citizen and these were to organize themselves on a global level, and even if they created a form of democratically elected political representation, they would not be able to generate any normative cohesion from an ethical-political self-understanding that drew on other traditions and values orientations, but only from a legal-moral form of self-understanding (Habermas 2003: 544). Contrary to this outlook of

collective identity for transnational movements, Held and McGrew suggest, "generations brought up with Yahoo, MTV and CNN ... are more likely to have some sense of global identification (Held and McGrew 2002: 121)

Another resource influencing the success or failure of a social movement is presented by the choice of strategies and tactics. As illustrated in an example of the civil rights movement, it was the choice of non-violent, yet direct action of the sit-ins, boycotts, freedom rides and marches that "robbed the white power structure of its ability to openly crush the movement violently," eventually leading to the success of the movement (Morris 1999). Additional tactics highly relevant for social movement emergence and development are for example strikes (Jenkins and Perrow 2003), community organizing techniques (Ganz 2003), or public protest. Successful repertoires are handed down and reproduced over time, while new forms of strategies and tactics evolve according to the cultural and material resources available (Tilly 1995). For example, while the pro-choice movement lacked the previous established social networks and organizational ties, it changed its tactics to the utilization of new technologies, such as appealing through advertising in newspapers, radio and television (McCarthy 1987).

The strategies and tactics of transnational movements take on many of these old forms, in addition to new ones. Another example of a new strategy is the utilization of the internet and direct e-mails. Through these 'high-speed' technologies potential members (and members) are able to ignore (delete) the message, or participate by clicking on a provided link in order to directly support an organization, either through a money

donation or by supplying a signature, or by directly establishing a link to the larger issue in order to support or oppose a specific legislature . As Tilly proposes

People in a given place and time learn to carry out a limited number of alternative collective action routines, adapting each one to the immediate circumstances and to the reactions of antagonists, authorities, allies, observers, objects of the action, and other people somehow involved in the struggle (1995: 27).

Another example comes from a case study of the *Battle of Seattle* where strategies and tactics of this transnational movement took on old and new forms. Many activists of this movement had been interacting with each other over a number of years and this shaped the leadership and the utilized strategies, since these activists were familiar with the political environment and conditions in other parts of the world (Smith 2001).

Moreover, the same transnational movement was found to employ a split approach to the division of labor. The split was in the form of transnational-national division of labor between the groups with formalized transnational ties and the groups with weak ties. While "groups with no ties or diffused transnational ties and groups with informal and decentralized organizations were principally involved with mobilization and education, as well as in efforts to "shut down the meetings", the groups with formalized transnational ties were also involved in education and mobilization, however their main role was in issue framing, facilitating information, informing protesters about the critiques of the global trading system and lobbying to the government delegations (Smith 2001). Hence, new movement tactics were adapted according to the global political processes, but additionally in the case of education and mobilization efforts older forms of protest tactics, such as 'teach-ins' similar to the ones used during the anti-Vietnam war

movement, training in first aid and non-violence protest, workshops on banner hanging, disruption tactics such as shutting down streets, human chains and barricades were employed (Smith 2001: 10). Additionally, new tactics were applied in the form of "global witnessing" with indigenous speakers from various countries expressing their experiences of the direct consequences on their countries due to the WTO agreements and corporate globalization. Innovative repertoires were further established in terms of mobilization organization by the creation of transnational associations and presenting the movement's perspective in a legitimized way through the media and NGO newspaper sources which transcended national boundaries (Smith 2001: 14). Furthermore, the most significant innovation in electronic activism, made possible through the internet via list serves, allows organizers to rapidly transmit any news and information, images of the protest, and tactics.

V. Research Problem and Focus

The globalization debate highlights important aspects of globalization and social movements, by demonstrating the potential of contradictory possibilities for the emergence and maintenance of social movements. As McMichael pointed out globalization processes can lead to a loss of "land, livelihood, and knowledge," yet these same processes can contribute to the emergence of global food sovereignty movements. Likewise, Hendrickson demonstrated that globalization which aided in the creation of large food chain clusters and large food retailers exposed certain weaknesses, which enabled social movements to move in. Moreover, various studies on globalization have highlighted the outcome of *glocalization* and demonstrated that the processes of

globalization offer the possibility to resist or transform the globalization forces within societies and for local contexts. For these reasons, some critical questions emerged within the globalization debate. If the processes of globalization aid in the establishment of large global (powerful) entities, while simultaneously aid in the emergence of social movements in response to these entities, then how do these local groups whose power decreases emerge or resist? Do they use the same tools offered by the globalization processes to resist, or transform these processes, or do they invent new one? How are these tools used? Do the processes of globalization offer new, previously unavailable opportunities for groups or social movements? How are these opportunities realized? What possibilities or obstacles do the globalization processes create for people on the (local) ground, and how are these possibilities or obstacles dealt with?

Furthermore, this debate demonstrated its relevance to social movements as discussed in sociology. Not only do social movements emerge in response to the globalization threats (as was shown in multiple studies), but they are also able to grow globally due to possible newly created opportunities and tools provided by the same processes they might try to resist. Indeed, since globalization can be conceived as a new opportunity structure for social movements, this provides the possibility to utilize well developed social movement frameworks to explore the questions raised.

The social movement literature demonstrates the importance of political opportunity, framing processes and mobilization structures, mainly in the national and local context. While some of the existing theories and concepts have been employed to transnational movements on a theoretical level, the review of social movement literature

illustrates the important shortcoming of empirical research in the currently available literature. Case studies on social movements such as Greenpeace and the Battle of Seattle focus on transnational movements that emerged mainly within the context of the United States, and which have very specific strategic targets, such as the occupation of oil platforms, or institutional targets such as the World Trade Organization. Some of the discussions show how local mobilization is linked to national and global economics and politics (Ayres 2001; Rothman and Oliver 1999) and the centrality of formal and informal ties in transnational movement organizations (Caniglia 2001). Others discuss the cross-national diffusion processes, mainly focusing on the exchanges among Western European and United States activists (Snow and Benford 2002, Koopmans 2002), or the mobilization beyond the nation-state with a focus on European countries (Imig and Tarrow 2002, Klandermans et al 2002). Some studies cite movements such as Amnesty International, Friends of the Earth and the World Wildlife Federation (WWF) as examples of transnational movements, but in-depth case studies on the inter-connectedness of their individual local, national, and international levels have not been conducted. Indeed, none of the studies currently available focus on how a movement that emerged in a European local context, in direct response to the forces of globalization, transformed into a transnational movement that is truly globally active.

Since both globalization research and social movement research agree that transnational activism is on the rise, it is surprising that research on the emergence, expansion and inter-connectedness of transnational movements is very limited. This research will contribute by trying to fill this gap, with a theoretical focus that is explicitly

on the evaluation of how a movement that begun with a local concern and that emerged as a direct response to the forces of globalization transformed as it expanded to become a transnational movement.

Since many of the social movement concepts and theories arose out of research conducted on national and local movements, this study will further contribute by evaluating whether these concepts and theories continue to hold relevance for transnational movements. The argument was made that transnational movements may benefit by acting locally since the local is nested within the political opportunity structure of the national and the international. This would give support to the idea of “think global, act local,” the slogan of many contemporary global movements. While the emergence and scale shift is discussed in terms of brokerage and diffusion of information, missing is an examination of how a movement is able to emerge and shift beyond the local. Does globalization provide new opportunity structures for mobilization? Does a movement have to make specific choices or give up certain characteristics in order to make this shift? Social movement literature on national movements provides detailed information on how collective identities can be established, but the limited number of transnational studies acknowledge the challenges to establish this on a global scale. Hence, the question arises of how a movement deals with the issue of appearing all-inclusive to a diverse number of people after it has made the shift from local to global. Moreover, does this type of movement have to make certain tradeoffs in order to accomplish this?

This case study of the Slow Food Movement, which is a transnational movement that espouses anti-globalization as its core mission, will contribute by adding to the

limited number of studies on transnational, anti-globalization movements that emerged in a European context and expanded globally. At the same time, this study will add to the discussion of whether the factors found as highly relevant for the emergence, development, success and failure of national movements continue to play important roles in transnational movements, and the part that globalization plays in their emergence and development.

VI. Slow Food Movement Literature

The Slow Food Movement has been the topic of various books and articles. While none of the existing studies has addressed this movement as a social movement using the tools of social movement theory, the literature does raise some critical questions about the nature of the Slow Food Movement.

Andrews traces the origin of the Slow Food Movement to Italy's left wing politics of the 1960s and 1970s (2008). His narrative describes how these decades shaped not only the Italian side of the movement, but also other Slow Food Movement levels which developed during later years. A case in point is Alice Waters who is a member of Slow Food USA and is presently Slow Food's International Vice President. Waters was politically active in Berkeley's counter-culture in the 1960s. Andrew discusses how the ideas, goals and the mission of the Slow Food Movement were of much concern to now President of the Slow Food Movement, Carlo Petrini long before this became an official movement in 1987.

Carlo Petrini confirms that “a century of industrial production had left its mark” on his hometown (Bra, Italy) and during the late 1960s he and a group of friends were determined “to create awareness of local products and awaken people’s attention to food and wine and the right way to enjoy them” (Petrini, 2001:4). Petrini points out that his friends and many members of previously established social networks began to form into more organized groups, such as the Association of the Friends of Barolo, which later became the nucleus of Arcigola, the forerunner of The Slow Food Movement (2001). An important goal from the beginning was to re-establish a connection between the consumer and the producer. As Petrini notes

...the changed relationship between contemporary man and food derives from the slashing of the umbilical cord that once bound the world of the peasant farmer to the world of consumption, the producer of food to the diner. In today’s society, almost no one procures their daily wine directly from a trusted vine maker anymore, or goes to a farmstead to pick up a week’s supply of eggs, a chicken, or a rabbit (2001: 67-68)

This connection, he believes, can be reestablished via information, education and the making of an alert consumer who questions where the product came from and how it was produced in order “to rescue eating establishments, dishes, and products from the flood of standardization.” The Slow Food Movement sets out to educate consumers about their own regions and promote “active contacts leading to a better knowledge of, and appreciation for, the cultures of other regions” (Petrini 2001: 16, 28).

In *Food, Culture and Society* Labelle identifies three important factors for a linkage between production and consumption i.e. knowledge, networks and alternative projects (2004). After applying these themes to the Slow Food Movement the author

concludes that the movement is only moderately successful in established the wanted links between producers and consumers. She acknowledges that indeed the movement is able to expand knowledge about individual products; however, who has access to this knowledge remains limited. She points out that “many people without disposable income, like single parents, students and even farmers, may be unable to view Slow Food Web Sites, purchase the movement’s books or attend meetings” (Labelle 2004: 93). Moreover, Labelle claims networks and projects do not necessarily lead to collaboration due to regional differences and conflicts.

A different type of concern is emphasized in relation to the structure, more specifically the hierarchical approach of the movement, by Chrzan. The national and international part of the organization makes decisions without consulting local convivia or members regarding their needs and concerns. Chrzan provide the example of the first *Terra Madre* project which has become a yearly event. This “enormously expensive endeavor designed to transport thousands of farmers and food products from all over the world to Italy for a three day conference” diverts attention and donations away from local projects. This idea does not coincide with the mission of the movement which is to buy and eat local, and furthermore, top-down decisions such as these will not result in real changes since members are not part of the power structure. This top-down approach can also be seen at the local level since the convivium chair is the “only person who legitimately organizes activities and educational endeavors for the local membership” (Chrzan: 129).

Another criticism comes from Rachel Laudan who claims that Slow Food's strategies are "superb" in reference to marketing, however "as the foundation of a program of reform it is deeply suspect" (2004: 140). Taste education, highlighted by the Slow Food Movement as an important element to produce informed consumers, is according to Laurant an "ambiguous concept" that evokes the notion of "gastronomic elites" (141). Moreover, the main projects of the movement to protect biodiversity, the *Ark of Taste* and *Presidia*, are mainly concerned with listing and identifying products at risk, while issues such as world hunger are not addressed.

The question then becomes whether the conclusions made by Labelle such as the elitist nature of the Slow Food Movement, Chrzan regarding Slow Food's top-down decision making process, and Laudan regarding the inability of Slow Food to implement real change, are all related to some of the trade-offs a movement has to make in order to accomplish a shift from the local to the transnational. Indeed, is a social movement with an anti-globalization core mission able to grow transnationally without surrendering to the globalization forces it is resisting?

VII. Research Questions

The previous debates, literature reviews and discussions lead to the main question that is guiding this research:

How has the Slow Food Movement transformed as it expanded to become a transnational social movement?

Specific questions, expected to provide the necessary insight to the guiding question are:

- 1) How did the Slow Food Movement emerge and shift beyond the local level? Did this movement have to make specific choices or give up certain characteristics in order to make this shift?**
- 2) How does the Slow Food Movement deal with the issue of appearing all-inclusive to a diverse number of people after it made the shift from local to global? What kind of tradeoffs did, or does this movement have to make in order to accomplish this?**
- 3) How does the Slow Food Movement deal with its anti-globalization core mission and its current position as a global movement, without surrendering to the very thing it is resisting?**
- 4) How does the Slow Food Movement stay interconnected through the various levels? What tools are used and did the tools change during the shift from a local to a transnational movement?**

Findings to these questions are expected to add to the social movement theory insofar if concepts that emerged mainly in the study on local and national movements can be applied to the study of global social movements. Moreover, findings may provide new insights if and what kind of new resources, tools, obstacles or challenges are offered by the processes of globalization in relation to social movements.

Chapter 2

Methods

I. Introduction

When I first began this research, I proposed to explore and analyze the various levels of the Slow Food Movement independently, in order to see how they are connected. Structurally there are clear differences and I was going to divide them into three separate levels for analysis. The three levels are the international level, called Slow Food International with its headquarters in Bra, Italy and its own website at www.slowfood.com. The national levels I wanted to explore are of the United States and Germany, where the United States has its headquarters in New York City and its website reads as www.slowfoodusa.org and the German national branch with its headquarters in Sulingen and its website at www.slowfood.de. The local level for my analysis is Slow Food Tucson with its website titled www.slowfoodtucson.org.

I proposed to explore each level and see what they had in common and how they were connected. Moreover, I assumed since each level had its distinct events it would be easy to separate the data and then evaluate the connections later. For example, Slow Food International hosts a biannual event called Salone del Gusto (Hall of Taste), Slow Food USA hosted its largest event to date in San Francisco with the title Slow Food Nation, and Slow Food Germany hosted its annual Slow Food Germany event in Stuttgart, Germany. The events arranged by Slow Food Tucson are held at local Tucson restaurants or farms.

After a preliminary study, exploring the information in flyers, brochures, e-mail correspondence, participant observation notes, and the information provided on the various Slow Food websites, I noticed that I was not able to keep my writings, drawings and mind maps separated according to the theoretical levels I had constructed i.e. local, national, and international. Even small notes about observations or conversations crossed the various levels of the Slow Food Movement right from the beginning. For example, during my very first local participant observation I met a Slow Food Tucson member who was going to attend the Slow Food International event *Terra Madre* in Italy in a few weeks. The same member also mentioned how she had already attended the same international event two years prior and that she was collaborating with other local, national, and international educators for curriculum development about sustainability (AliBaba Tucson event, my field notes). Moreover, during my investigation of the social networks that were emerging during events and internet blogs, local, national and international levels were connected constantly. It seemed impossible to autonomously collect the data for each level and evaluate one level independently of the others. The levels are all connected by networks within networks.

With this original finding in mind I explored and evaluated the data presented and collected on the various levels (local, national, and international), but analyzed the data according to the main themes that emerged within all the levels. The findings will be presented in accordance with these themes.

II. Joining the Slow Food Movement

Since the Slow Food Movement is an open movement, which everyone is welcome to join, entering the field as a member was unproblematic. I officially joined the Slow Food Movement in January 31, 2008 via the internet. I joined via the local website of Slow Food Tucson (www.slowfoodtucson.org) knowing that I would move there in May of the same year and that this was the chapter I wanted to join. The link “be a member” on this local website connects directly to the “join us” membership information for Slow Food USA on the www.slowfoodusa.org website. By comparing this with other local websites I noticed that it seems standard if a country has a national Slow Food office every new member joins the national movement and then chooses which local convivium he or she wants to belong to. After I signed up via the internet, I received a confirmation e-mail the same day from Slow Food USA thanking me for supporting Slow Food USA and confirming that I was to receive my welcome letter and membership card in about four week. In the letter I received a few weeks later it was noted that my e-mail address was sent to the convivium leader of my chosen convivium (in my case Tucson). I began to receive e-mails and newsletters from the national level (Slow Food USA) in February and from the local level (Slow Food Tucson) in May of 2008.

III. Data Source

Collection of the data varied depending on the level of the movement. Since I was unable to attend an event provided by the international level (this event is held in Italy), the data for analysis on the international level comes mainly from the website slowfood.com and brochures produced by the Slow Food Association. This is the main

website of the Slow Food Movement displaying the mission statement, philosophy, history, manifesto, news, publications, events, and links to all national and local convivia. All information provided on the website was converted into downloadable documents and saved. This method of data collection resulted in an initial collection of more than fifty documents directly accessible from the main website. After following the links of the various projects an additional seventeen documents were collected for the Foundation of Biodiversity, the *Ark of Taste* and *Terra Madre*. Furthermore, the Slow Food Companion 2008 (http://www.slowfood.com/about_us/eng/companion.lasso) a fifty-page brochure describing the Slow Food Movement from its philosophy to each of its projects was downloaded and saved.

During my research I was able to attend two national Slow Food Movement events i.e. Slow Food USA's *Slow Food Nation* in San Francisco, and Slow Food Germany's *Markt des guten Geschmacks* in Stuttgart, Germany. During these events I was a participant observer, took pictures, and collected all the print material that was available. Additional data was collected in form of documents and blog postings saved from the main website of Slow Food USA at www.slowfoodusa.org and documents from Slow Food Germany at www.slowfood.de. This data collection resulted in 237 brochures, 95 documents, and 559 Slow Food USA blog postings.

There were five local events during my fieldwork, each lasting an average of five hours, and I attended all of them. I followed up questions that arose during my initial exploration and observations with e-mails to members of the local Slow Food Movement I had met during the events. During the period of my fieldwork I formally and informally

interviewed members as well as the former and current president of Slow Food Tucson. Additionally, I corresponded with both via e-mail with follow up questions during my writing process.

Moreover, all documents (accessible via links) provided on the Slow Food Tucson website (www.slowfoodtucson.org) and the corresponding information within each link was downloaded and saved. This data collection resulted in twenty-eight documents. Additionally, I utilized three movie segments that aired locally in relation to the Slow Food Movement. Two of these videos entailed interviews with Barry Infuso the, at that time, president of Slow Food Tucson, which aired on Arizona Public Media in a television show titled “Arizona Illustrated” (2007 and 2008) and one segment included Barry Infuso and Slow Food, aired by Desert Living (Channel 13 – Arizona TV).

IV. Content Analysis

The documents collected during the events and via the websites were imported into and explored via the Atlas.ti software and qualitatively coded. By qualitative coding I refer to the notion by which I identified words, phrases, sentences, or segments of the documents as “relating to, or being an example of, a more general idea, instance, theme or category” (Lewins and Silver 2007:81). Without any specific theory or hypothesis in mind, but with my main question guiding me, I approached the coding process inductively, by which I created “open codes.” For instance, “created a dense network of collaborators” mentioned in the document “Who We Work With”, was coded as *Networks* and “in vivo” codes, such as *Sustainable* were based on the language used in

the documents. After the initial coding, I grouped similar codes and was then able to explore and analyze the emerging patterns and themes. For example, after my initial coding procedure the importance of networks and brokers was clearly emerging; taking the literature about network brokers into account I returned to the data and reevaluated my original codes and established additional codes keeping the existing theoretical ideas about social movement network brokers in mind.

Through the collection of this diverse set of data, ranging from participant observation, brochures and flyers to blogs and websites for the various levels of the Slow Food Movement, and by applying qualitative methods it is possible to explore the dynamic relationship that exists within in this movement. Exploring this wide set of data sheds light on how the Slow Food Movement transformed and expanded to become a transnational movement and furthermore how it deals with the irony of holding on to an anti-globalization core mission and its current condition as a global social movement.

Chapter 3

Emergence and Shift - From Local to Global:

The History of the Slow Food Movement

I. From Brokerage to Hierarchy

This chapter examines how the Slow Food Movement emerged and shifted beyond the local. The contemporary Slow Food Movement emerged from Italy's new left and the characteristics of this political environment were reflected during the emergence and the development of this social movement. Specifically, the post-1960s activism emphasis on the local which "resulted in part from the limited resources available – most particularly the absence of any central organizational authority that could have directed national strategy," but also from the "ideological perspective that dominated the New Left: the emphasis on participatory democracy, on decentralization, on human scale" (Flacks 1994: 342) were echoed by the forerunners of this movement. During the emergence of this movement it entailed the characteristics of a typical new social movement i.e. the friendship circles and additional loose networks were centered in a fluid non-rigid style (Pichardo 1997), were segmented and diffused (Laraña 1994), characterized by an informal structure (Della Porta et al 2001), and encouraged "individual citizens to participate in the definition of collective goods and identities" (Kitschelt 1993).

Yet, in order to make the shift beyond the local that is the expansion of the movement globally, the movement chose a hierarchical structure and top-down

organizational style that does not coincide with its original characteristics and those normally applied to new social movements.

i. Movement Emergence and Evolution: The Importance of Political Environment and Brokers

The origin of the official Slow Food Movement is often credited to one event in 1986, when Italian journalist, Carlo Petrini protested the building of a McDonald's near the Piazza die Spagna in Rome. While analyses of social movements often take on a "volcanic" approach i.e. the analysis starts when the movement erupts through the surface of social life", it is necessary to focus on non-visible networks that frequently function as pre-mobilization structures (Gusfield 1994: 25). Indeed, the beginnings of the Slow Food Movement reach back to the 1960s and 1970s, even though it did not work under the name *Slow Food* until after this event in 1986. The Zeitgeist of these decades, reflected in countercultures and idealism influenced not only the emergence in Italy, but also directed the spread of the movement to other countries receptive to the ideas and missions of Slow Food.

According to Andrews in *The Slow Food Story* "a group of young leftwing activists, including Carlo Petrini, Azio Citi and Giovanni Ravinale...launched a monthly leftwing newspaper *In Campo Rosso* (In red domain)" in 1974 (2008:5). In addition to this publication Petrini and his group of friends were very active in 1975 running a pirate radio station with communist affiliations (*Radio Bra OndeRosse* – Radio Bra Red Waves), they opened a bookstore (the *Cooperativa Libreria La Torre* – Tower Books Co-op) and a grocery store in which they only sold local products (the *Spaccio di*

unità popolare– Store of Popular Unity). Furthermore this group of friends were simultaneously members of the PDUP (the Democratic Party of Proletarian Unity) and *Arci* (*Arci* is also a prefix in Italian meaning arch-) the cultural and recreational federation of the Italian left (Andrews 2008). It is important to note that while the PDUP was a group with ties to the communist party it was criticized for its “intellectual positions” and its “distance from the struggle of the *real* worker” (Parasecoli 2003: 32). Similar to contemporary critiques about the Slow Food Movement members who are often accused of elitism, members of the various forerunners of the movement “were accused of being “radical chic.””

While *Arci* had various sections and locations focusing on issues ranging from football to film, *Arci Langhe* the federation to which Petrini and his friends belonged focused increasingly on local culture especially pushing local issues such as the preservation and development of local wines. During this time the group *Il Manifesto* split from the Communist Party and started a newspaper of the same name, which later would become part of Petrini’s network and communication media. In 1982 Petrini and some other members of *Arci Langhe* went to visit Montalcino in Tuscany to celebrate the *SagradelTordo*, the festival of the thrush.” While this yearly festival today is a place of celebration of foods, local wines, and traditions, such as archery tournaments, things were different in 1982. As Andrew notes “after a horrible lunch at a worker’s social club, Petrini wrote a letter of complaint to the secretary of the Tuscany *Arci* group when he returned, asserting that the meal had not been an accurate reflection of the beautiful place and its producers” (Andrews 2008: 8).

It is at this point that the political debate of Slow Food started. In response to his letter “the President of the federation noted there are “more important things that deserve the attention of the left than eating in a certain style”” (Andrews 2008: 7). The notion was that the left did not see a priority in enjoyment or food issues, at least not “when Vietnam and Cambodia were being ravaged and nuclear weapons were proliferated” (Kummer 2002: 18). While many on the left agreed with the political priorities, Petrini and his generation of activists believed that “the quality of cultural life, including access to, and appreciation of, foods and wine, was a democratic question. The pursuit of pleasure was everybody’s concern, and was not to be left to hedonists and elitists” (Andrews 2008: 9).

The members of *Arci Langhe* and other activists noticed that the old tradition of *Osteria* was disappearing and instead food establishments were opening with the title *Restaurante* all around Italy. *Osteria* is the Italian word for a traditional tavern or inn. The observation of the disappearance of *Osteria*, in combination with the new fast food phenomenon that was obviously settling all over Italy, led the members of *Arci Langhe* to purchase an old building with a courtyard in downtown Bra, Italy. They designed this *Osteria* according to old tradition and opened *Osteria Boccondivino* in 1984 (see appendix picture 21, 22 and 23). This idea turned out to be a huge success and many more *Osteria* opened around Italy. Numerous activists opened “co-operatives, osteria, and trattorias” which were considered the “traditional eating establishments of ordinary people” during this “osteria movement” (e.g. the *Osteria dell’Unione* in Treviso in 1981) (Andrews 2008: 9, 133).

Several members within this original network also had connections to the magazine *La Gola* (*La Gola* means appetite for, enjoyment of, food; gluttony) that attempted to “approach the culture of food and wine through disciplines like philosophy, sociology, literature, and anthropology” (Petrini 2001: 6). This connection had a major influence on why *Arci* later became *Arcigola*. Petrini describes it as a play with words in that *Arci-Gola* (the original spelling) suggests “archappetite” or “archgluttony” (2001: 6). In 1986, sixty-two founding members met in Bra and Barolo, Italy to inaugurate the association *Arcigola*, which is considered the official forerunner of the Slow Food Movement. By the 1990s there was a rebirth of the *Osteria* and Slow Food published the first guide to *Osteria d’Italia*, a guidebook “to eating places that offer good regional cuisine at moderate prices” (Petrini 2001: 15).

These three developments in Italy i.e. the foundation of *Arcigola*, the restaurant *Osteria Boccondivino*, and the food and wine guide *Osteria d’Italia* are highly relevant in the creation of Slow Food Germany, especially in connection with Petrini’s passion, dedication and broker capability. First, Italy was and still is a favorite vacation spot for many Germans and the guidebook *Osteria Boccondivino* soon became a favorite among German travelers to Italy. During 1992 two important things happened: first, a Munich wine dealer and publisher named Eberhard Spangenberg discussed and agreed upon the rights for a German translation of the guide with Carlo Petrini. When the first German issue was published, it included a postcard for interested parties in a German Slow Food chapter. According to Slow Food Germany, the response was enormous and Slow Food Germany was established in Königstein, Germany in 1992. Second, Otto Geisel (the

future Slow Food Germany president) met Petrini during a Bordeaux wine fair where they ended up having dinner together. According to Andrews, Petrini won Geisel over with his passion for food and optimism and as a result, Geisel returned to Germany and opened a convivium in his hometown (2008: 108). Otto Geisel continues to play an important role in the Slow Food Movement as he was elected as chairperson of Slow Food Germany in 2006.

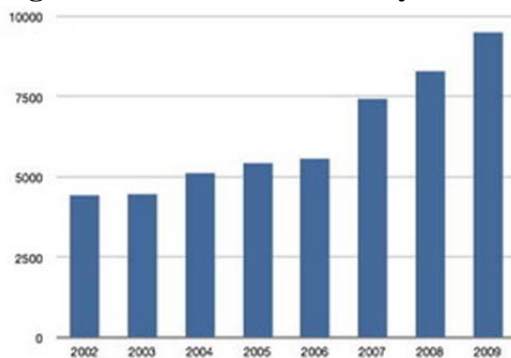
In both of these events, Petrini was directly involved in shaping the further development and it demonstrates the importance of Petrini at the beginning of the Slow Food Movement and for laying the roots in other countries. As is the case in many new social movements, the mechanism of brokerage i.e. the linking of two or more unconnected social actors facilitated the transmission and adaption of ideas (Tarrow 2005). Furthermore, Petrini's passion and ability to inspire led people to take immediate action. While transnational coalition building relies heavily on brokerage, it also relies on special coalition leaders (Bandy and Smith 2005). It is charismatic leadership and the ability of a leader to "embody the movement as a whole that contributes to the creation of a collective identity" (Della Porta and Diani 1999: 142).

However, the emergence of Slow Food Germany was not entirely smooth, and its rocky beginning is acknowledged in the historical narrative of the movement (slowfood.de/wirueberuns/entstehung/). After the first few convivia were established, it was exposed that one of the original German members had copyrighted the name "Slow Food" and the headquarters in Bra, Italy had to take legal action against this decision. The Italian branch was able to protect the name and corresponding logo; this event could

have been a precursor for the centralized organizational structure that constitutes the movement.

Regarding the development of Slow Food Germany, Andrew notes that “regional differences are more important than political differences” and while there was a strong left (green) influence, conservative influence was also present depending on the region (2008: 23). For example in cities to the South, such as Munich, there was a large Italian influence due to its proximity, while in eastern Germany, for example Rostock, the effects of communism still lingered and much emphasis was on rebuilding lost agricultural tradition, reviving areas polluted by heavy chemical factories” (Andrews 2008: 23). Slow Food Germany has been growing rapidly since its beginning in 1992. In fact, Slow Food Germany and Slow Food USA are the two largest national associations outside Italy. By the year 2002 Slow Food Germany had almost 4,500 members, and only seven years later, by the summer 2009, membership increased to 9,300 (figure 1; <http://www.slowfood.de/>)

Figure 1: Slow Food Germany: Member development



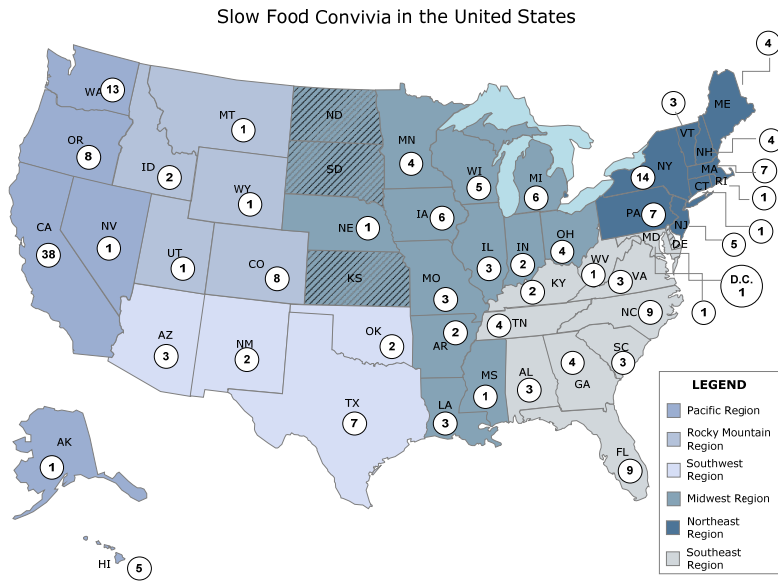
As was the case of the original members on the Italian side of the movement, the 1960s and 1970s were also important in shaping Slow Food USA. Main members of the Slow Food Movement USA were part of the counterculture of that time, namely Erika Lesser and Alice Waters. Waters, who later would become Slow Food's International Vice-President, moved to Berkeley in 1964 and met many activists when she joined the Free Speech Movement. In 1965 she went to visit France and was impressed by local shopping, local ingredients and the French food culture that included people sitting down to eat and taking their time during meals. This observation, in addition to spending a year in London where she learned the Montessori teaching method, led her to integrate nutrition and education upon her return. In 1971 she opened the restaurant *Chez Panisse* in Berkeley and her clientele at the beginning included professors and students. Artists such as Led Zeppelin and David Bowie played in the restaurant kitchen (Andrews 2008). According to Andrews her message was to use "simple, fresh ingredients, be uncompromising on quality and promote the convivial atmosphere of a neighborhood restaurant" (2008: 15). Basically she was delivering the same message as *Arcigola* and the future Slow Food Movement. Waters awareness of Petrini reaches back to the *Arcigola* time period since she notes "I remember when in 1986 Carlo Petrini organized a protest against the building of a McDonald's at the Spanish Steps in Rome" (Petrini 2001: ix). Hence, even though the national branch of Slow Food USA was not created until the year 2000, many future members were already aware of Petrini and involved in food related issues. The first local Slow Food convivia were established in the United States as early as the 1980s. According to the Slow Food San Francisco convivium,

“Slow Food San Francisco started in the late '80s after Lorenzo Scarpone, a native Italian and SF resident first **met Carlo Petrini**. It began with the Slow Food office in New York that helped gather about 20 people from restaurants that shared the Slow Food philosophy. The initial membership consisted of just 18-20 people who received a printed newsletter about every two-three months...[u]nder the guidance of Scarpone and other members, Slow Food San Francisco evolved to include over 800 members.” (<http://www.slowfoodsancisco.com/>) (My emphasis)

Again, these original chapters were all based on direct interaction with Carlo Petrini. Even the official establishment of the national office in 2000 in New York by Patrick Martins can be traced back to personal contact between Martins and Petrini. Martins interviewed Carlo Petrini for his thesis on medieval food sculptures at the Tisch School of the Arts at New York University, and afterwards Petrini invited him to work in his office in Bra, Italy. After working for Slow Food in Italy for one year, Martins returned to open the national office of Slow Food USA (http://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2008/10/07/magazine/20081012-STYLE_6.html).

Slow Food USA has since grown to two hundred and twenty local chapters in forty-six states and Washington D.C. The only states without official chapters are Kansas, Delaware and North and South Dakota (see map 2). The Pacific Region has the majority of active convivia (66), followed by forty-seven in the Northeast Region. There are forty convivia in the Southeast and in the Midwest. The Southwest region has fourteen convivia and the Rocky Mountain region the smallest representation with thirteen.

Map 2: Slow Food Convivia in the United States



*map created with smartdraw

This look at the emergence or specifically the forerunners of the Slow Food Movement has revealed the importance of political opportunity and brokers during the very early beginning of the movement. Moreover, it demonstrated how important movement brokers were to bring the fundamental ideas of the movement to take hold outside of Italy.

It is now time to return to the official creation of the Slow Food Movement. As was mentioned before, the protest against the building of a McDonald's is often credited as the official beginning. After the protest at the Piazza die Spagna, which was organized by the members of *Arcigola*, the International Slow Food Movement was officially created in Paris in 1989 by establishing a manifesto which responded to the "fast food, fast life, nonsustainable farming and the eroding of local economies" (New York Times, 26. July 2003 Interview Amanda Hesser with Carlo Petrini). One of the main responsibility of Slow Food International (now International refers to the original strand

of the Slow Food Movement based in Italy, as compared to Slow Food USA, Slow Food Germany etc.) was and is to “plan, coordinate and promote the movement’s development worldwide and the activities of the various national offices” (Companion 2008).

Therefore, while the movement was indeed very ideological in nature, reflecting many characteristics of new social movements at the beginning of its emergence, global growth and development are now some of the main concerns. Since the goal is to expand and develop the movement further and the organizational form of a social movement can be, “considered as a strategic choice made by leaders on the basis of the organization’s goals” (Della Porta and Diani 1999: 151) an examination of the shift beyond the local of the Slow Food Movement is necessary. The examination of the emergence has shown how some of the original connections had taken root in Germany and the United States, but this movement has more than 100,000 members today and a detailed examination of how this movement shifted from the local to the global is needed. Additionally, this analysis will reveal if the movement had to make specific choices or give up certain characteristics in order to make this shift.

In simplest terms, the Slow Food Movement *grows* by the establishment of local and national chapters since these purely depend on the amount of membership. Indeed, while the officially recognized headquarter of the Slow Food Movement remains in Italy, national Slow Food Movements have emerged in Germany (1992), Switzerland (1993), the United States (2000), France (2003), Japan (2004), Great Britain (2005), and in the Netherlands and Australia (2008). Today the Slow Food Movement has over 100,000

members in more than 132 countries ranging from Algeria to Zambia (see map 1 in the Introduction and appendix table 10).

The emergence and evolution of the Slow Food Movement demonstrates how this movement began with committed and enthusiastic (idealistic) leaders, especially Petrini who seemed to be personally involved in every connection at the beginning, and who seemed to have a certain set of traits and skills that fostered coalitions needed to facilitate movement growths. Via the mechanism of brokerage, various previously unconnected social sites were linked and the movement was able to expand far beyond its localized origin (McAdam et al. 2001, Tarrow and McAdam 2005). While the evolution of the Slow Food Movement has shown its informal structure based mainly on networks set up by personal dedication and involvement of a charismatic leader, the next section will show that the Slow Food Movement ended up with a very hierarchical structure.

ii. Movement Shift: Hierarchical Internal Organizational Structure

Against the background of this loose set of friendships and networks, the current internal organizational structure of the Slow Food Movement resembles a pyramid with the “power” of the movement in the decision-making committee sitting in the top tier of this pyramid. Internal organization refers to the overall movement organization in addition to the organization on each level, in this case local and national. The Slow Food Movement is a rigidly organized social movement with a very detailed and exhaustive configuration. Figure 2 shows an overview of the basic building blocks of the Slow Food Movement. However, each of these tiers is further subdivided into extensive configurations.

Figure 2: The Basic Building Blocks of the Slow Food Movement



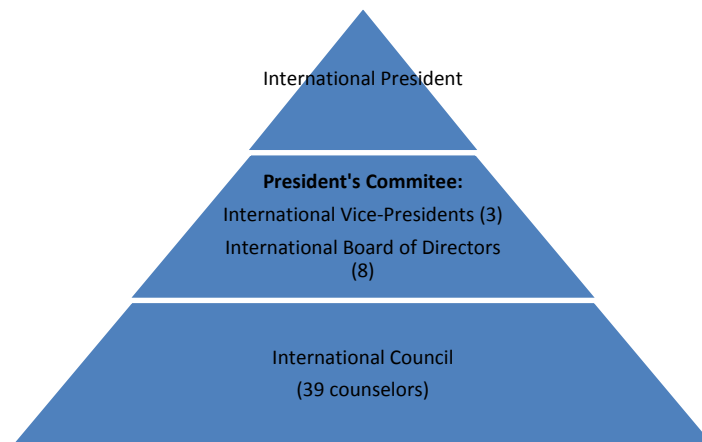
The highest level of the Slow Food Movement is the International Executive Committee. Below this tier is the National Executive Committee followed by local convivia. A closer look at each of these building blocks demonstrates the hierarchical internal structure of the Slow Food Movement. Since the previous section has shown the importance of Carlo Petrini as the leader, it is interesting to note that he remains on the top of the structure of the Slow Food Movement.

a. International Executive Committee

The highest “governing body” of the Slow Food Movement is the International Executive Committee, which is made up of three parts: the international president, the president’s committee, and the international council. It is at this level that the International Statutes, the Manifesto, and various other governing documents are created. Nine articles in the International Statute refer in detail to the local level, while two articles (article 6 and article 24) refer to the national level. This demonstrates that the International level of the Slow Food Movement places more emphasis on the local levels in general (the Convivia) than the national levels. One reason could be that, while over

one hundred and ten countries have at least one active Convivium, only about twenty-eight nations have more than five active Convivia and even qualify for a “national level” of a Slow Food Movement. In fact, only nine national levels are mentioned on the Slow Food International website: Brazil, Australia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, United Kingdom, and the United States, suggesting that there are only a few established national Slow Food movements worldwide.

Figure 3: International Executive Committee



Since this movements’ official beginning, Carlo Petrini has been and remains the international president, while Alice Waters (Slow Food USA), Vandana Shiva (Slow Food India) and John Kariuki Mwangi (Slow Food Kenya) are the international vice presidents (part of the president’s committee). Also part of the president’s committee is the International Board of Directors. It is this board of directors who elect the president and vice presidents. Eight members, one from each of the following countries, represent the International Board of Directors: Italy, Germany, the United States, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Japan, France, and Australia. Furthermore, the “lowest” part of the

International Executive Committee, which “defines Slow Food’s political and development strategies” (Companion, 2008) is the international council. It is made up of thirty-nine counselors: eight from Italy, five from the United States, four from Germany, three from Switzerland, two each from the United Kingdom, Japan, France and the Netherlands, and one each from Australia, Canada, Spain, Austria, Sweden, Ireland, Kenya, Mexico, Brazil, India, and Bulgaria.

The significance of the structure in this top tier of the Slow Food Movement lies in the creation of governing documents, which determine the entire structure and direction top-down from the international to the local convivium and the voting power. This is clearly a hierarchical internal structure since only thirty-nine people have a vote in electing eight directors onto the international board, who in turn are then the only voters to decide who will become president and vice president. The Slow Food Movement has over 100,000 members, yet the election process for the president and the highest level of committee members is done by a mere 47 votes which does not seem to reflect a democratic representation of the larger movement.

b. National Executive Committee

The middle tier of the Slow Food Movement is the National Executive Committee. A prerequisite to establish this committee is that a country has at least five active convivia with at least one thousand members overall. Once the convivia in a country have grown to this extent, they may launch a National Executive Committee

representing all convivia of their country, by requesting authority to do so from the International Executive Committee.

As mentioned, two articles in the International Statute refer to the national level i.e. article 6 which mentions a “ National Board of Directors, to be founded wherever a National Association (or similar non-profit structure) has been established, and necessarily regulated by the relative Statutes **in compliance** with this [International Statute]”, while article 20 details the individual national regulations in that it stresses the **“conformity of the national Statute with the international Statute and its attachments”** (Slow Food Manifesto, Code of Use of the Slow Food Logos and Regulations; my emphasis). Both *National Statutes* for Slow Food USA and Slow Food Germany acknowledge that their national movement is an integral element of Slow Food International. For example Slow Food USA notes it “[is] as a full partner... of Slow Food International...guided by values, principles, structures, and processes as embodied in the Slow Food USA Vision [and the] International Statute.” It is ensured by articles in the *International Statute* that the national levels not only comply, but also conform to the international. Clearly, centralization of governing politics is determined on the top and “running down” the structure. The national level is not able to autonomously decide if another structure may be more appropriate for its purpose.

The National Executive Committee is made up of representatives of regional convivia (figure 4). These representatives vote the international counselors onto the International Council (bottom tier figure 3). Again, only a very small representation of the total movement votes for members of the upper tiers. One of the main responsibilities

of the National Executive Committee is to develop the mentioned *National Statute*.

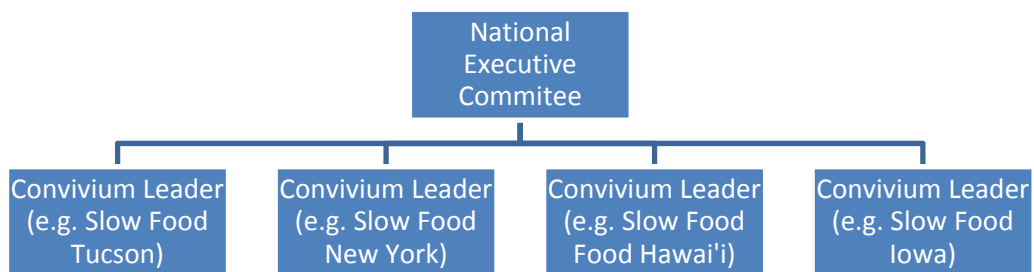
While this document covers all national members of the Slow Food Movement it is also expected to describe the relationship between the National Executive Committee and the convivia.

Indeed, Article 1 (A through E) provides the guidelines set by the national statute for the local Convivia, ranging from how to establish a local chapter to the duties and expectations of such chapters. Article two and three discuss the national committee and regional governors, while article four through eight discuss the executive director, president, national board of directors, national congress, and international councilors respectively. These articles are almost identical to the articles put forward in the International Statute and variations were only found in relation to the local Convivia. While the described duties of Convivia are identical to the guidelines set by the international level, stipulations are made in the national statute regarding board members' ability to hold multiple roles (in case of small chapters), the extension of the length of time board members can hold the same positions (a maximum of eight consecutive years), and the dissolving of a local chapter (which was not discussed in the international statute). Overall, both national statutes conformed as expected (and put forward) by the *International Statute* of Slow Food.

Additional, responsibilities on the national level are the oversight of the regional convivia in that they abide by the regulations and rules of the Slow Food Movement (for example the correct use of the official logo etc.) While the responsibilities are similar to the ones in a convivium (see below) there are some additional expectations i.e. this

committee is supposed to acts as a mediator, or middleman between the convivia of the country and the International Executive Committee. More specifically the National Executive Committee is responsible to keep the convivia informed of the movements' strategic aims, main initiatives and campaigns.

Figure 4: National Executive Committee



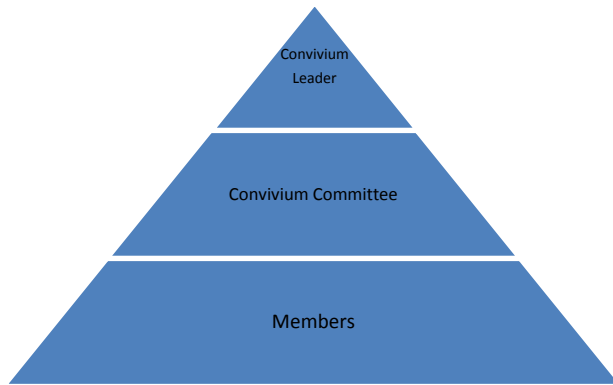
It was mentioned that a large membership is required in order to establish a national committee, and furthermore that this national committee than votes the international councils into office. Again, representation in the movement's top tier is somewhat skewed. Since countries with large memberships such as Slow Food USA and Slow Food Germany hold more voting power on who gets into the top tier, issues concerning these (mostly western) countries might have a better chance of getting represented. While this committee is located in the middle and could act as a mediator between the upper and lower tier, it seems that a top-down approach is reflected since the responsibility of the National Executive Committee is to keep the convivia informed of the movements' strategic aims, main initiatives and campaigns. Clearly again, this is a downwards process

from decisions about strategies made on the top which are then transmitted via the National Executive Committees to the local level i.e. convivia.

c. Convivium

The “lowest” tier of the Slow Food Movement is the local convivium. Any person can become a Slow Food member provided he or she pays the membership fee. After payment, the new member receives a membership card. Once a founding committee has established at least twenty members, it can make a formal request to the national executive committee to be recognized officially as a convivium. Each convivium has a convivium committee, led by a convivium leader (figure 5). Once officially recognized a convivium is required to organize at least three events a year through which they will promote the philosophy of the movement and try to enroll more members. It is on the convivium level where the movement organizes events such as food talks, tasting sessions, cooking and tasting courses, in order to increase cultural and social awareness of food related issues, and to “cultivate common cultural interest in the field of food” (Slow Food flyer). Usually a convivium represents a single region within a country such as the Slow Food Tucson convivium in Tucson, Arizona and Slow Food Honolulu in Honolulu, Hawai’i.

Figure 5: Convivium



As was mentioned the *International Statute* has nine articles that refer (in detail) to the local level. These articles address various issues ranging from Definitions and Aims to Accounting Periods and Trademarks. Again, the structure of the local movement i.e. Slow Food Tucson matches the organizational structure pre-determined by the top tier and my field observation confirm that the local movement attempts to fulfill any requirement stated in the articles. One of these expected tasks is that the convivium is to collaborate with other public bodies. However, this is often easier said than done. Many local organizations are wary of the Slow Food Movement, because they want to keep their identity and while they enjoy the (financial) help of the movement they do not want to be too closely associated with Slow Food in order not to lose their autonomy. A case in point is the local food bank, which resisted overture from Slow Food Tucson (field notes, June 12, 2009). In addition, while the Slow Food Tucson president had tried to work with the Phoenix Convivium on a project, they “wanted to do their own thing” and the project never materialized (field notes, June 20, 2009). Additionally, the Tucson Convivium made an effort to work with the Santa Fe Convivium, and while the presidents and main members know each other well, collaboration between the Convivia

did not occur under the former Slow Food Tucson president. During my fieldwork it seemed that the new convivium leaders for Slow Food Tucson were working on collaborative projects with other local convivia. During a Slow Food event that I attended many committee members were missing. I found out that the (at this time relatively new) president and the committee members went to a Slow Food Movement retreat near Flagstaff to meet with other committee members of Slow Food Santa Fee, Albuquerque, Flagstaff, and Phoenix. At this point, I assumed that the previous committee might have been the problem why collaboration did not work. Yet, during a later event (*Bread Class*), I discussed this regional meeting with the president and she told me that it addressed mainly new presidents of local convivia on how to “run” their individual convivium. She noted that some possible collaboration projects were discussed during the meeting, but no one had followed up on any of them with information that is more detailed yet. She mentioned with some annoyance in her voice that regional and national put all their focus on the School Lunch Program. Therefore, while the articles require collaboration projects, attempts are made but nothing has solidified into a working project yet. While grants have been provided to local organizations, collaboration projects were not established.

The exploration of the various building blocks or tiers demonstrate the highly formalized and hierarchical organizational structure of the Slow Food Movement. Della Porta characterizes a formal organization as

[an] association [that] has a constitution conferring legal personality on it, defining a set of rules and procedures and clarifying the organizational structure. Membership is tied to payment of a fee and proviso of a membership card. The association is marked by a high

degree of specialization;’ the various organizational elements are assigned as precise series of functions with a clear division of labor (2006: 50).

Through the National and International Statutes, the Manifesto, and various other governing documents the top tiers of the Slow Food Movement define the rules and regulations, and detail the expected organizational structure, while yearly membership in the organization is based on payment of dues and resulting receipt of a membership card. Unlike other “new” movements in which internal organization is often more horizontal, the pyramidal structure of the Slow Food Movement reminds more of the organizational style of past movements such as the labor movement utilizing a top-down decision-making process.

II. Chapter Summary

In this chapter it was examined how the Slow Food Movement emerged and how it shifted beyond the local. Moreover, the question if this movement had to make specific choices or give up certain characteristics in order to accomplish this shift was addressed.

The theoretical framework was political opportunity and mobilization structures within social movement theory. Brochures, flyers, and documents collected during Slow Food events were utilized to examine the emergence, development, and shift from a local to a global movement. Since these official brochures and flyers often reflected only the official origin of the Slow Food Movement, the analysis was supplemented with secondary sources i.e. various books written about the Slow Food Movement and Carlo Petrini the founder and president of the Slow Food Movement. By complementing the official data with these secondary sources, it was possible to find out about the

involvement of various actors and social networks before there was an official movement.

While almost every account of the Slow Food Movement refers to the protest against the McDonalds in Rome in 1986 as the beginning of the movement, it is important to highlight that this movement had its beginning as early as the 1960s. The political climate during the 1960s, reflected in countercultures and idealism influenced the emergence of the Slow Food Movement in Italy. Officially recognized as the founder of the movement, Carlo Petrini was the central broker during the emergence in establishing linkages to pertinent outside members who identified with the message Petrini was conveying. Indeed, two of his original connections created one of the first *convivia* in Germany and the United States. Moreover, both of these connections became major players in their respective national Slow Food Movements in later years. As Tarrow and McAdam point out,

Information alone will not lead someone to adopt a new idea, cultural object, or practice. ***Adoption depends on at least a minimal identification between innovator and adopter. Such identification...develops through a process of emergent social construction set in motion by the brokered transfer of information*** (2005:129). (My emphasis).

Petrini was successful on an individual level to informally spread his ideas beyond the local, because the people he met during these early years identified with his ideas and goals, and many of them shared similar political ideologies. By linking to these international actors, Petrini was able to spread his message to other countries and in turn, the movement began to set roots elsewhere. However, in order to bring the message of the Slow Food Movement to a wider range of people i.e. to grow and develop globally, a *scale shift* was needed. While the movement successfully shifted beyond the local, as is

evident in its continuous growth, it is here where we find that the movement actually had to give up something of its original character.

By setting up a hierarchical structure through which every tier would be connected, but in which centralized leadership would determine the mission and goals of the movement (flowing down of information) the Slow Food Movement build a structure that does not coincide with its earlier informal characteristics. In fact, by choosing this structure the Slow Food Movement represents a professional movement. While on the convivium level volunteers hold all positions, all positions in the other tiers are full time “jobs” (with benefit packages according to a job announcement on the website on the national level). Carlo Petrini devotes full time to the mission of the Slow Food Movement traveling the globe for speeches, lectures, workshops and book signings. These professional movement characteristics are also reflected in its organizational structure and overall bureaucratic posture exemplified by the National and International Statutes and other governing documents. Since “centralized decision making speeds up the process of collaboration” and the demand for effectiveness “encourages organizations to centralize structures and processes” (Wood 2005: 100, 110), this can be viewed as a specific choice this movement made in order to expand transnationally.

Moreover, in order to grow and share a mission with members from diverse nations and cultures without risking factionalism, this centralization of power was a way to manage internal division. The shortcomings of these decisions are clearly emerging in the various levels of the movement’s hierarchical structure. The movement sacrificed being a democratic movement in which the members have equal input. In fact, as Chrzan

points out and the president of the local Slow Food Tucson confirmed during my fieldwork, the local level on which the majority of action is happening has the least input into the decisions made in and for the direction of the movement.

This chapter has highlighted that the movement's main concern, and in fact the foundation of the entire movement, are the various local levels. However, it is the top tier of the organizational structure that is in charge and determines the needs and requirements of the local levels without consulting the local in any of the decisions. Since the movement's mission is anti-globalization in nature, meaning it is against the notion of imposing universal principles to the diversity of the local, the shift to the global accomplished by implementing an anti-democratic organizational structure goes against the very principles the movement claims to uphold. This raises a couple of interesting questions. Since this movement has its origin in Italy, the headquarters remains in Italy, and the highest tiers of the movement are represented overwhelmingly by European nations, in what ways is this European dominated, hierarchical set-up an attack on the idea of a US generated globalization? From the perspective of the Slow Food Movement, does *globalization* only have resonance in the context of a US involvement, but not in the context of a European dominated Slow Food Movement? The organizational structure of this global movement does suggest just that. Even Slow Food USA, the largest national branch of the movement, has only very limited autonomy. They are required to closely follow the international statute, the Slow Food Manifesto, and send monthly data (and membership fees) of all new members and Convivia to the International Executive

Committee. In summary, it is the European headquarters, at the top of the hierarchy, that is determining the directions and development of the entire movement.

This chapter, about the history of the Slow Food Movement has shown how it emerged, developed and shifted beyond the local level. The next chapter will evaluate how this movement deals with the issue of appearing all-inclusive to a diverse number of people after it made this shift.

Chapter 4

The Appearance of a Global Movement: Mission Statements and Websites

I. Framing in Global Terms

Members in a global movement come from a diverse set of political, cultural, economic, and religious backgrounds. The question this chapter attempts to address is how the Slow Food Movement deals with the issue of appearing all-inclusive to this diverse set of people after it made the shift to the global. Moreover, it addresses the question what tradeoffs the movement possibly had to make to accomplish this.

As highlighted in social movement literature, global movements may employ very broad frames in order to raise concerns that affect everyone on the planet. Through this type of global framing, specifically by “the use of external symbols to orient local or national claims” in order to “energize activists whose claims are predominantly local, linking them symbolically to people they have never met and to causes that are distantly related to their own” (Tarrow 2005: 60) it may be possible to, at least symbolically, connect a diverse set of people. Since, social movements, global or otherwise, do not constitute of preconfigured ideas, or established and shared beliefs, movement leadership must actively engage in the construction of frames in order to inform and maintain existing, and recruit new potential members. To give the impression that it is one entity, it is important that a global movement establish a consistent master frame, while it simultaneously needs to be able to address the audiences on the local and national level. Through effective framing social movements provide an “interpretive schemata that

simplifies and condenses the “world out there” by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment” (Snow and Benford 1992: 137). “Like picture frames,” frames guide constituents and observers by focusing attention and “by punctuating or specifying what in our sensual field is relevant and what is irrelevant, what is “in frame” and what is “out of frame,” in relation to the object of orientation” (Snow 2007: 384). So frames function “as articulation mechanisms in the sense of tying together the various punctuated elements of the scene so that one set of meaning rather than another is conveyed” (Snow 2007: 384). Successfully established frames represent the interests, beliefs, and meanings of the social movement to its members, constituents, bystanders, antagonists, and observers.

The following sections will demonstrate how the mission statements on the individual levels of the Slow Food Movement are utilized as collective action frames. It is noted that there needs to be “fit” between the collective action frame and the “audiences’ previous beliefs, worldviews, and life experiences” (Williams 2007). Moreover, successful frames are “embedded in and bounded by aspects of the broader culture” (Snow 2007: 385). The analysis of the mission statements show how each of them addresses the audience of the corresponding movement level i.e. Slow Food USA addresses *Americans*, Slow Food Tucson addresses the *local* producers, in order to produce this link between frame and audience while working within the culture for which it is intended. Indeed, collective action frames must resonate with the experiences and cultural backgrounds of participants and possible supporters of the movement (Snow and

Benford 1992). Hence, the various mission statements of the Slow Food Movement “talk to” the corresponding audiences, but share similar concerns displaying overall movement unity, while working under one overarching master frame of opposition to neoliberal-globalization. This in turn is essential to ensure that a wide variety of people and a number of aggrieved groups, no matter from which locality, is able to join the movement under an umbrella of unity.

i. Mission Statements as Frames

A mission statement represents the vision of the social movement. It displays the meaning and operation of the specific movement and via the mission statement, members and potential members are presented with a summarizing paragraph of what the movement is all about. Since frames “assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists” mission statements can be viewed as a collective action frame. Snow et al cite studies such as the analysis of frame disputes (Benford 1993), and the discussion on collective action (Ellingson 1995) to emphasize that frames are not necessarily only “mental schemata,” but that they can “also be properties of organizations, and thus [can be] located in their records, brochures, fliers, and placards rather than merely in the heads of the individuals” (Snow, Soule and Kriesi 2007: 387). The mission statement of a social movement is a reflection of a frame in that it provides the “interpretive medium” through which the movement can summarize “the problem they are attempting to ameliorate” (Snow and Benford 1992).

Collective action frames hold specific characteristic features insofar as they are concerned with core framing tasks i.e. diagnostic, prognostics and motivational framing

(Benford and Snow 2000: 615). The established frame allows the movement and its members not only to express their vision, but also to align the problem, solution and suggested action. The following analysis of the mission statements of the local, national, and international Slow Food Movement demonstrates how this movement attempts to display an overall unity as one global movement by amplifying fundamental values, and opposing globalization.

ii. Local, National, and International Mission Statements

Diagnostic framing refers to the identification of the problem and the placing of blame, while the purpose of prognostic framing is to suggest solutions to these problems (Snow and D.Benford 1988). Similar to the findings in other case studies, the mission statements of the Slow Food Movement provide “a direct correspondence between diagnostic and prognostic framing efforts” (Snow and D.Benford 1988: 201).

Table 1 displays the mission statements of Slow Food Tucson, Slow Food Germany, Slow Food USA and Slow Food International. All four mission statements identify the neglect of biodiversity in the current food system and propose solutions by “work[ing] to defend and preserve the biodiversity in our food supply” (Slow Food International and Slow Food Germany), “seek[ing] to create dramatic and lasting change in the food system” (Slow Food USA), and “support[ing] a biodiverse, sustainable food supply” (Slow Food Tucson).

Table 1: Slow Food Mission Statements

Slow Food Tucson	Slow Food is a non-profit, eco-gastronomic organization that supports a biodiverse, sustainable food supply, local producers, heritage foodways, and rediscovery of the pleasures of the table. Our growing local members have many reasons to believe in and participate in our events: We support sustainable agriculture and farming. We appreciate the expertise of our local chefs. We support our local businesses and would like other people to do the same. Most of us enjoy experimenting with various foods and learning to prepare them (http://www.slowfoodtucson.org/)
Slow Food Germany	Die Aktivitäten des Vereins zielen darauf ab, die biologische Vielfalt in unserem Lebensmittelangebot zu bewahren, die Geschmackserziehung zu verbreiten und die Erzeuger exzellenter Lebensmittel durch Veranstaltungen und Initiativen mit dem Verbraucher zusammen zu führen [my translation: The goals of the activities of the organization are to preserve the biological diversity in our food supply, spread taste education and to connect the producer of excellent foods to the consumer, through events and initiatives]
Slow Food USA	Slow Food USA seeks to create dramatic and lasting change in the food system. We reconnect Americans with the people, traditions, plants, animals, fertile soils and waters that produce our food. We inspire a transformation in food policy, production practices and market forces so that they ensure equity, sustainability and pleasure in the food we eat
Slow Food International	Slow Food works to defend biodiversity in our food supply, spread taste education and connect producers of excellent foods with co-producers through events and initiatives

Motivational framing suggests concrete action to the identified problem. The mission statements affirm that the Slow Food Movement proposes to take action to “spread taste education and connect the producers of foods with co-producers through events and initiatives” (Slow Food International and Slow Food Germany), to “reconnect Americans with the people, traditions, plants, animals, fertile soils and waters that produce our food” (Slow Food USA), and to “support sustainable agriculture and farming...appreciate the expertise of (our) local chefs...[and] support our local businesses” (Slow Food Tucson).

In addition, the mission statement of Slow Food International talks to the “co-producer” by which they refer to the consumers or customers. According to the *Slow Food Philosophy*, the members “consider [them]selves **co-producers**, not consumers,

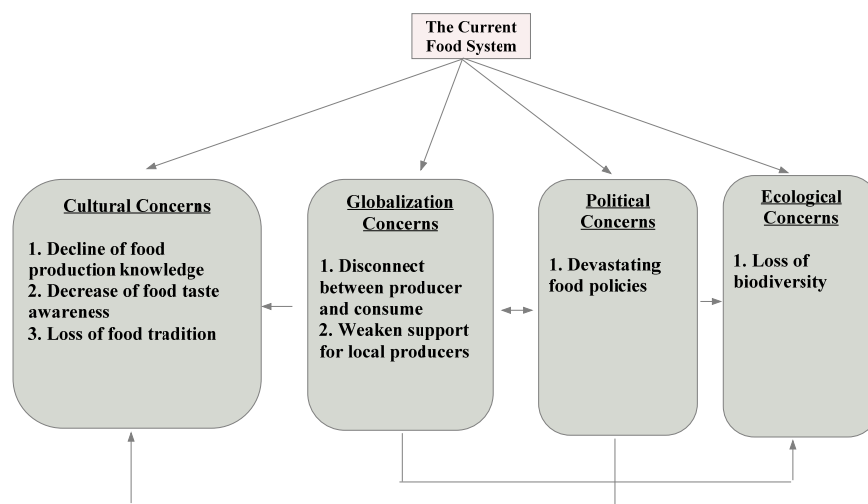
because by being informed about how our food is produced and actively supporting those who produce it, we become a part of and a partner in the production process.” Slow Food Germany’s mission statement addresses the “consumer”, while Slow Food USA talks to all “Americans.” The mission statement of Slow Food Tucson talks to the “local producers” and the “local members.” Each of the mission statements refers to the level specific audience and can be considered a domain –specific interpretive frame (Snow et al 1997), because it frames the issue of the food system in relation to the local or national level.

This identification of the current food system as the antagonist in all four mission statements and the direct acknowledgement of the level specific potential member i.e. international - co-producers, Germany - consumers, USA - Americans, and Tucson – local, apply to anyone who reads the mission statement, since we are all consumers in one form or another on each level of the movement. This shows that indeed framing in all four mission statements is utilized so members (and readers of the mission statements) understand what the problems are, the source of the problems, and how this movement addresses the identified problems. This overarching frame opposing globalization in the current food system applies to every consumer and is therefore all-inclusive. In fact, the way framing is used in the mission statements implies the use of a much broader master frame: anti-globalization.

Master frames entail the same functions as movement-specific collective action frames, however they do so on a larger scale. Master frames are generic, while specific collective action frames are described as derivatives (Snow and Benford 1992: 138). The

proclamation of the mission statements for support of local producers, the insistence on a change in production practices, the demand for change in food policy, the necessity for preservation of food related tradition, the emphasis on education in areas of taste and food knowledge, the call for a re-connection between producers and co-producers (consumers), and the urgency to defend and protect biodiversity are all elements of an anti-globalization master frame representing cultural, global, political, and ecological concerns. In this overarching frame the devastating food policies implemented and fostered by globalization (political concerns) are blamed for the loss of biodiversity (ecological concerns), the decline of food production, the decrease of food awareness and the loss of tradition (cultural concerns) and the disconnect between the producer and consumer (globalization concerns) (Figure 6). By implementing this master frame of anti-globalization regarding the issue of the fundamental right to food, the issues of the current food system are highlighted that affect everyone in a globalized world.

Figure 6: Master frame of the Slow Food Movement: Anti-Globalization



II. Slow Food Movement Websites or Global Movement Display

While McDonalds and its Golden Arches, physically located on every continent on the globe, signifies standardization and cultural homogenization (Ritzer 2006, 2004), the Slow Food Movement and its little snail symbol wants to preserve the diversity of the world's foods. Clearly, the missions of these two organizations are polar opposites. However, when the chairman of McDonald's claims that he wants "McDonalds to dominate the quick service restaurant industry worldwide..." (Cited in Ritzer 2008: 9) and Petrini's vision entails a global growth and development of the Slow Food Movement, their ultimate goals seem very similar. In fact Petrini acknowledges that "in taking a stand against McDonald's and Pizza Hut, multinationals that flatten our flavors like steamrollers we know that we have to fight our battle on their ground, using their weapons: globalization and worldwide reach" (Petrini 2001: 17).

One way to attempt this is by utilizing a globalization technique such as the Internet to "advertise" this movement. Comparable to cafés, pubs, meeting halls, and similar places in the public sphere, the internet can be used as a "communication medium"(Castells 2001: 139). More specifically, the website of a social movement is similar to a banner, or a poster that summarizes the main objectives, and displays to the viewer or member what the movement holds most important. Since this movement has a separate website for each movement level, more specifically Slow Food International, Slow Food USA, Slow Food Tucson etc., it is important to present a "united front" in order to appear as one large movement. This approach is similar to marketing or branding and can be achieved by presenting one vision in brochures, flyers and most notable on the

various websites. The main website of a social movement is no different than the poster that hung outside, or the banner that was displayed above the meeting places of previous earlier social movements. Of course, a lot more information fits on a website than on a banner, and hence the additional information displayed either directly on the website, or accessible via links, is more comparable to the brochures and flyers that are handed out to participating members during movement meetings and get-togethers. Well-known global movements, such as PETA and the Red Cross show visual similarities across various national websites. For instance, PETA displays information in blue and white and the various national Red Cross websites display information in red and white. Similarly to these global movements, an examination of the Slow Food Movement also showed a unity in display in a variety of criteria such as color, the display of the name of the organization, and use of the logo.


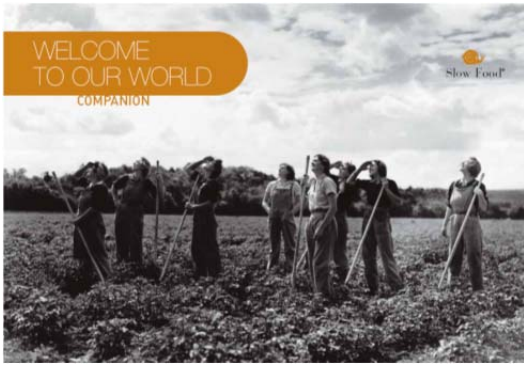
i. Visual Unity

The color orange is predominant on the websites of Slow Food International, Slow Food Germany, and Slow Food USA. The logo, headlines, backgrounds and ads on the pages are overwhelmingly displayed in orange (table 2). This color display of orange is compatible with the “overhead” banners that were observed at the *Slow Food Nation* event in San Francisco (see picture 20 in Chapter 5), and flyers collected at the Slow Food Germany event in Stuttgart (see pictures 12-14 in Chapter 5), but also with posters displayed at the main entrance of Slow Food Nation, and the Slow Food Companion published by Slow Food International (table 3).

Table 2: Color Display of the Slow Food Movement Websites

Slow Food International	Slow Food Germany	Slow Food USA
		

Table 3: Color Display of a Slow Food Poster and a Brochure

Slow Food Nation Poster	Slow Food International Companion
	

The Slow Food Tucson website is mainly a large scenery picture, however all the links on the top of the site are displayed in the familiar orange. A random sampling of various other local Slow Food Movements in the United States revealed identical findings. For example, Slow Food New Orleans has some writing in orange, but the main color is white and black, while Slow Food Boston is mainly blue and white.

Table 4: Color Display Slow Food Tucson



A snail is the logo of the Slow Food Movement and according to the movement’s official manifesto the little snail is the symbol that represents Slow Food as “an idea that needs plenty of qualified supporters who can help turn this (slow) motion into an international movement” (Petrini 2001: xxiv). All international, national and local websites display the main symbol of the Slow Food Movement on the top of the screen (table 4 and 5).

Table 5: Websites Displaying the Snail

Slow Food International	Slow Food Germany	Slow Food USA
		

III. Chapter Summary

This chapter examines how the Slow Food Movement deals with the issue of appearing all-inclusive to a diverse number of people after it made the shift from a local movement to a global movement.

Content analysis of the content on the websites of the International Slow Food Movement, Slow Food USA, Slow Food Germany, and Slow Food Tucson and the corresponding visual display provided valuable information about the image the Slow Food Movement tries to portray to its members. Since successful framing is assumed to connect the diverse members of the various levels, and by drawing upon shared symbols the appearance of a unified movement can be reflected, the theoretical framework was framing and branding.

The Slow Food Movement uses the mission statements of the various websites to market this movement as one coherent global movement. Via these statements it attempts to provoke the notion of a “global community,” by employing one overarching master frame. The individual mission statements are utilized as collective action frames, since the contents of each mission statement addresses the audience on the corresponding level. However, all the mission statements share similar concerns revealing overall movement unity, while evoking one overarching master frame of anti-globalization. Via the physical layouts of the various Slow Food Movement websites the movement attempts to market itself as one coherent movement by displaying the color orange (which represents the movement also in brochures and during events) and by utilizing the logo of the symbolic snail.

These findings demonstrate that the transformation to a global frame in order to speak to a wide range of members differing significantly in background characteristics, such as national or cultural, is one attempt to unite the various levels of the Slow Food Movement. By attempting to generalize the problem of the current food system to address everyone, without abandoning local importance, a movement may be able to expand globally and display global unity by using old techniques, more specifically framing techniques, in addition to new (globalization) techniques i.e. the Internet to build an imagined community.

These findings raise several questions, especially when reviewed in connection with the findings of the previous chapter. Since structurally this is one movement and information and decisions concerning the movement are flowing from the International level downwards to the local level (as Chapter 3 has demonstrated) then why is it even necessary to appear as one global movement? Since movement participants act mainly on the local level, which in turn aids the overall mission of the Slow Food Movement, then what is the importance of a display of unity? I suspect that since the issues of globalization on the current food system are taken on by various food related movements, for instance the Organic Movements, Sustainability Movements, and World Hunger Movements, the Slow Food Movement is making an effort to establish, or market itself as yet another brand. Other food related movements, even if these movements reflect similar missions and goals, are literally competition and the Slow Food Movement attempts to create its own brand represented by the logo of the orange Snail, to distinguish itself from other food movements.

The analyses of this and the previous chapter demonstrated how the Slow Food Movement emerged and shifted beyond the local, via their organizational structure and attempt to appear as one coherent global movement. Since activities of this global movement occur mainly on the local and national level, it is necessary to examine how the Slow Food Movement deals with its anti-globalization core mission and its current position as a global movement.

Chapter 5

Promoting Anti-globalization: Level Appropriate Messages

I. Slow Food Movement Events: Considering Local and National Concerns

As discussed in the organizational structure in Chapter 3, the governing documents of the Slow Food Movement, the *National Statute* of each country has to conform to the *International Statute* set forth by the International level of the Slow Food Movement. It is for this reason that the *governing* documents of the various nations are almost identical. Yet, while the documents are identical, the messages conveyed during national and local events are diverse and actually level specific. A comparison of the national exhibitions of Slow Food Germany *Markt des guten Geschmacks* and Slow Food USA *Slow Food Nation* highlight the vast differences in these two national events emphasizing national level appropriate messages, while an examination of events on the local level i.e. Slow Food Tucson, further establishes the relevance this movement places on level specific messages.

II. Markt des guten Geschmacks and Slow Food Nation

The event *Markt des guten Geschmacks*, in Stuttgart Germany, was the third annual exhibition created by Slow Food Germany. Three-hundred and eighty vendors were present during the four day convention between April 2 and April 5, 2009. This event included not only the display of various products, local vendors and Slow Food Convivia, but also podium discussions, cooking competitions for children and young adults, and tastings ranging from bread to wines. One could also take part in a variety of

Slow Food Tours throughout Germany visiting diverse farms and local producers, however, these tours were not included in the entrance fee of twelve Euros.

After entering the *Neue Messe Stuttgart* building, an escalator had to be taken in order to get to the second floor convention halls in which the Slow Food Movement event was taking place (picture 1). It was no coincidence that in addition to the Slow Food exhibition the Fair Trade Show was running simultaneously at the same venue. In fact, in order to get to the Slow Food event one had to pass the booths and displays of the Fair Trade show (picture 2) and the entrance fee automatically covered both events.

Picture 1 and 2: Escalator to the Slow Food Event and Passing the Fair Trade Show



Since the Fair Trade Show utilized the entire first floor, one had to be aware of the connection between the mission of the Slow Food Movement and the messages displayed in the Fair Trade Show. The downstairs booths not only displayed vendors of various sorts (picture 3 and 4), but also had a public education forum (picture 5 and 6) and various experts who provided detailed information about the organization, problems, and issues regarding Fair Trade.

Picture 3 and 4: Fair Trade Vendors and Displays



Each display, educational forum and expert emphasized the importance of connections between nations and people in a globalized world. Moreover, the social responsibility of consumers and corporations in regards to products and foods were highlighted in many of the posters and other displays.

Picture 5 and 6: Public Education Forum



After passing these vendors, a variety of signs, banners and posters displayed various types of reminders concerning the Slow Food Movement event upstairs. The main banner hanging below the ceiling at the top of the escalator (picture 7) displayed the main symbol of the Slow Food Movement - the snail, while it also utilized the main color -orange, on the majority of the Slow Food Movement brochures and websites.

Picture 7: Main Slow Food Banner



Moreover, large posters located to the left and the right of the hallways advertised Slow Food and again, displayed (Slow Food) familiar symbols and colors (picture 8 and 9).

Pictures 8 and 9: Displays and Posters: Markt des Guten Geschmacks



During this event, I collected over one-hundred and twenty flyers and brochures and almost all of the flyers make some connection to the Slow Food Movement. For example flyers, advertising regional festivals displayed their connections by providing the name and logo of the Slow Food Movement (see picture 10) and local Slow Food Convivia reciprocated this connection by advertising their attendance at the festival (picture 11).

Picture 10 and 11: Event flyers



Moreover, many of these brochures demonstrated collaboration between Slow Food, producers and restaurants. One example comes from the brochure of Slow Food Germany about *Das Glanrind* (a German beef which is part of the *Ark of Taste*; detailed information on Slow Food Movement’s *Ark of Taste* project in the next chapter). The brochure advertising this ‘project’ shows a picture of an ox in addition to providing information about the home region and its traditional raising of the beef, while also detailing an explanation about the *Ark of Taste* (Picture 12). The symbol of the snail is on every page of this brochure.

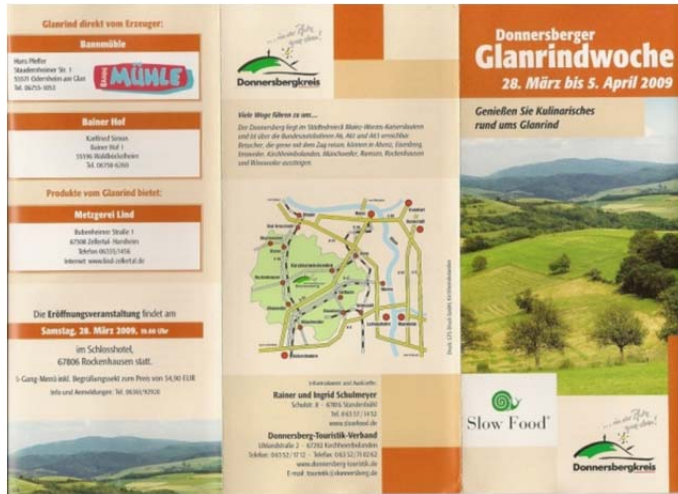
Picture 12: Slow Food Germany - *Das Glanrind* brochure



Another brochure calls for a “Donnersberger Glanrindwoche” referring to a German region that dedicates an entire week to the celebration of the beef (Glanrind). As picture

13 and 14 illustrate nine producers, butcher shops, restaurants and hotels collaborated in the region around Donnersberg to celebrate the culinary event around the special beef. In addition, the front of the brochure of this collaboration project unmistakably connects to the Slow Food by providing the name and the logo.

Picture 13 and 14: Donnersberger Glanrindwoche brochure



In addition, there were many local Slow Food convivia present during this event. Participants were able to see the name and region of the Convivium, in addition to tasting

or buying the advertised product. Large banners often marked the name and symbol of Slow Food (in addition to the specific region – see picture 15 and 16).

Picture 15 and 16: Slow Food Freiburg and Slow Food Thüringen



In addition, various other Slow Food Nations were represented at the event either via vendors, via brochures and flyers, or sometimes via both. For example, Slow Food Czech Republic had a ten-page brochure and a booth that provided special bakery products and various other products that were mentioned in the brochure (picture 17 and 18).

Picture 17 and 18: Slow Food Czech Republic – brochure and booth



Not only did the flyers and brochures advertise Slow Food, many booths also displayed their Slow Food connection. For example, a bison meat vendor had a poster with the snail symbol noting “as good as in the past” (picture 19).

Picture 19: Bison Vendor with Snail Symbol



Throughout the entire Slow Food Germany event, one was consistently reminded via displays how these vendors, products, and regions were part of the larger Slow Food Movement.

These observations stand in sharp contrast to the observations made at the *Slow Food Nation* event in San Francisco. *Slow Food Nation* was the largest event created by Slow Food USA to date. It took place between August 29 and September 1, 2008 in San Francisco, California. According to the Slow Food Nation Program this event was to “serve as a stage for the food movement in America” by “bringing together thousands of people” with the hope that this will lead to lasting projects and partnerships. In fact, the program notes on its first page,

The legacy of these few days in San Francisco is that the conversations begun here will bloom into projects, changes, new passions, and careers. The seeds of Slow Food Nation will grow into new communities and new partnerships built around the kitchen table. More people will discuss food politics, vote with their forks, and dig into policy issues linked to food production (SFN 08, Program Inaugural Edition)

Three days of this event were filled with markets, presentations, special displays, taste workshops, “food for thought” films, and a “Slow Food Rocks” concert. The last day (Monday) was officially labeled as the “Slow Food Nation Labor Day Picnic” which called for picnics across America. The Market showcased almost sixty farmers and producers from California who were “approved by Slow Food Nation staff and curators for their commitment to using good (delicious), clean (environmentally friendly) and fair (socially just) production practices” (slowfoodnation.org), while the Taste Pavilions showcased over four hundred breweries, meat-curers, cheese, ice-cream and chocolate makers, distillers, pickles and producers.

The main attraction on the first day was the marketplace at the Civic Center Plaza, which had been converted into an urban garden (called Victory Garden) starting back in July 2008 (planning, groundbreaking and planting). In addition to the garden display, the plaza was set up as a farmers market with fruit, vegetable, cheese, bread, olive oil, and other bazaar type vendors. In regards to the Victory garden, according to Slow Food Nation this event was successful in “uniting and promoting Bay Area urban gardening organizations and producing fresh, healthy food for those in need.” After the garden was dismantled (in November 08) over 1,000 pounds of harvest was donated, with the cooperation of the San Francisco Food Bank, to people with “limited access to healthy organic produce.” At the same time, the materials used in the gardens “were donated to

Project Homeless Connect to help the organization start a productive skills-training and healing garden in San Francisco” in order to serve “the city’s homeless population” (slowfoodnation.org).

Clearly, the garden was a success in demonstrating that even the center of a city can be used for healthy food production if planned appropriately and executed cooperatively. Moreover, the donations to and cooperation with the local organizations was a demonstration of successful execution of the Victory Garden Project. The question is what role does the garden and the marketplace play in relation to the Slow Food movement? Yes, Slow Food USA put the event in place, but once one attended the marketplace or even the Taste Pavilions, Slow Food’s involvement was easy to forget.

The Garden event was set up like a large farmers market and while banners marked this as a Slow Food Nation event, it was easy to forget that this was part of Slow Food USA once one started walking by the booths. There were no signs of the Slow Food Movement displayed on any of the booths, nor did the majority of the flyers and brochures that I collected have a symbol, sign or name of the Slow Food Movement. In fact, from over sixty-seven brochures and flyers I collected only two mentioned the Slow Food Movement. One was a flyer from Slow Food USA detailing the vision, mission and how to become a member, while the other was a pamphlet describing the Slow Food USA *Ark of Taste*. All the other brochures and flyers were directly from the vendors who while clearly attending this event did not seem to have any other connection to the Slow Food Movement according to their individual brochures. There were brochures ranging from California whole grain, organic, brown rice to business cards from Hope Creamery

Inc. in Hope Minnesota, yet none of these displayed any Slow Food symbols, more specifically the color or the snail, or mentioned any relationship to the Slow Food Movement.

Similar observations were made in the Taste Pavilions the following day. Once you entered the pavilions (warehouses at the pier) you had to “look up” in order to be reminded that this might be an event emerging from the Slow Food Movement (really only the color orange showed this connection since neither the symbol i.e. the snail, nor the name Slow Food Movement was displayed anywhere. See picture 20). Again, none of the brochures here connected the vendors or producers to the Slow Food Movement instead, they only provided individual vendor information.

Picture 20: Slow Food Nation: Taste Pavilions



Differences in regulations cannot be the reason for these noted discrepancies of Slow Food Movement logo displays, since the regulations note “convivia are authorized to use the Slow Food trademark as long as they specify the name of the Convivium” (as

was the case in the German event – see picture 15 and 16), and that “in extraordinary circumstances, for example a national event organized by one or more Convivia, it is possible to use the national (Slow Food USA) or international (Slow Food) trademark” (http://www.slowfood.com/about_us/eng/logo_use.lasso). Since Slow Food USA is the second largest Slow Food association (Andrews 2008) and *Slow Food Nation* was not only a national event, but the largest Slow Food USA event to date, it would have been possible to use and display the logo of Slow Food USA on banners, posters, and brochures throughout the entire event.

Since Slow Food Germany is eight years older than Slow Food USA maybe there are just more products under the “protection” of the Slow Food Movement namely via the project *Ark of Taste* (more on this project in Chapter 6 under Networking)? Hence, one would expect more representation of Slow Food product vendors at the national event in Germany. Again this cannot be the reason since only fifteen products from Germany are in the Ark of Taste (see table 9 appendix), while one hundred and twenty seven products from the United States (breeds, vegetables, wines, and fruits, see table 10 appendix) are under the protection of the Ark of Taste. In fact, the Bison vendor at the German Slow Food event (shown in picture 19) was selling the American Plains Bison from the United States. While this vendor displayed at the German nation event, it was absent at the United States national event.

It is possible that during this national event (*Slow Food Nation*), which some participants compared to a Food Woodstock (due to the concert “Slow Food Rocks”), Slow Food USA wanted to make a large impression, being mainly concerned with getting

the bigger messages out instead of worrying about “pushing” the individual products, or worrying about “advertising” this as a Slow Food event during the celebrations. While they displayed vendors who raised their animals and produced their products according to Slow Food approved standards, the main mission of this event was to raise the awareness of the people who attended in order to “mandate for political change that leaves people with more knowledge of the simple changes they can make *to build a sustainable food system for America*” (The Slow Food Nation Program Inaugural Edition, 2008; my emphasis)

i. Blogging for National Concern

That the main concern for the Slow Food Movement is to raise concern coincides with the findings of a detailed analysis of the Slow Food USA blog. The blog on the Slow Food USA website emphasizes foremost national and regional issues. An examination of the postings on the blog on the Slow Food Movement USA website demonstrates how the movement connects its readers to other *national* organizations and *national* issues that concern the movement.

First it had to be established that the blog on the Slow Food USA website was indeed conveying the message of Slow Food USA. Often postings on blogs are interactive meaning someone posts a thought, comment, question or issue and any other person is free to respond directly. This is not the case in the Slow Food USA blog. Indeed, 33% of all postings on this website were posted directly by a blogger named *Slow Food USA*, 29% were posted by Brian Sinderson who manages the branding, marketing and communication for Slow Food USA, 18% were posted by Jerusha Klemperer who

lives in New York City where she is a writer and the program manager for *Terra Madre* at Slow Food USA (before this she served as Assistant to the Executive Director and she is also the editor of the Slow Food Blog). Additional 10% were posted by the user *Slow Food Intern*, 4% by Kate Evanishyn who is communications manager of Slow Food USA and who is also involved in the quarterly newsletter *The Snail* (<https://commerce.earthlink.net/www.slowfoodusa.org/about/contact.html>), 3% by Kurt Michael Friese who is the convivium leader of Slow Food Iowa City and who serves as a Slow Food USA Regional Governor (www.grist.org/feature/2007/10/11/friese), 1% by Deena Goldman the program manager for Slow Food, who is developing a new program that includes training and professional development for Slow Food's national networks of leaders and 1% by a blogger named *admin*. One post each was posted by Jack Everitt who owns a winery with his wife in California. The Everitts host a website named "Fork and Bottle" on which they describe themselves as "treasure hunters; seeking out new foods, drinks, wines, cheeses..." Their website displays a logo with a link labeled Slow Food, which after selection, displays the mission statement of Slow Food USA and provides direct links to the national and international Slow Food Movement websites (www.forkandbottle.com). Less than one percent of postings overall but still active bloggers on the Slow Food USA website are, Patrick Keeler the development coordinator for Slow Food, Gordon Jenkins the advocacy program manager at Slow Food USA, and Cecilia Upton. The reason for this detail of the names of the bloggers is that all of the bloggers are *directly associated* with the Slow Food Movement. Hence, it can be said that the content of the blog of the Slow Food Movement USA website displays the issues

Slow Food USA holds of highest importance for the movement and wants to share with its readers.

Overall there were five hundred and fifty nine postings posted between August 23, 2007 and February 26, 2010. Consistent postings can show the reader that this is an active website and that the movement is ‘on top’ of every day issues and concerns. Since practically every day could be utilized to post at least once, there were 919 days available for the movement to post a daily comment. Since 559 postings were displayed in that time a little more than sixty percent (60.8%) of this availability was utilized. Examining the postings according to the months, September and October 2009 were the months with the highest percentage of postings (107% and 103% respectively). Exploring the topics of the posts for these months does not reveal any specific issues that might have been the reason for the increased number of postings; instead, it showed that during these months multiple bloggers posted on the website. Brian Sinderson posted nineteen times in September, a blogger identified as “Slow Food Intern” posted seven times, Jerusha Klemperer posted five time and Kurt Michael Friese posted once. Hence, some days were utilized to post multiple times however the issues were very diverse ranging from the Conservation Reserve Program to Young Food Activists.

During an exploration of the blog, a repetition of headlines, topics, and terms, which are closely related to the mission statement of the Slow Food USA, becomes apparent. Issues such as the School Lunch Program *Time for Lunch* requesting additional funding from congress for child nutrition was mentioned in multiple blogs. In fact the terms *school lunch* (or *school lunches*) was used 165 times throughout the blog, while

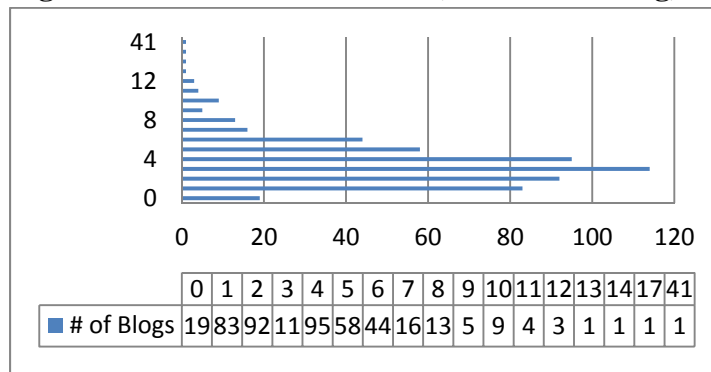
Time for Lunch was mentioned 47 times. Since the mission of Slow Food USA is the “transformation of food policy,” the stressing of child nutrition (mentioned 53 times), and school lunches on schools and campuses (mentioned 720 times) closely connects the blog to the official mission of the movement. Moreover, by referring to campaigns (mentioned 103 times), policies (207 times), congress (71 times), the White House (49 times), USDA (93 times), and Obama (67 times), the emphasis to actually create a change in the political sphere is directly connected to the movements mission to make “dramatic and lasting change in the food system.” The motivation to “transform market forces so that they ensure equity, sustainability and pleasure in the food we eat” is emphasized by issues of sustainability (mentioned 278 times) and organic practices (mentioned 153 times). By reiterating terms such as farms and farmers (used 1571 times) throughout the blog the movement is staying true to their mission to “reconnect *Americans* with the people, traditions, plants, animals, fertile soils and waters that produce our food” (emphasis added). Moreover, the issues discussed and terms disseminated throughout the blog demonstrate that the main focus of this blog is on issues that concern the local and the national. The terms *local* and *national* were used overwhelmingly (490 and 257 times respectively), while the term *international* was only used 81 times throughout the 559 postings (*global* was used 38 times).

As the internet emerged, the three-letter extension after the dot in website addresses (also called the Top Level Domain/TLD) used to clearly indicate the association of a link. For example, .com was usually used for commercial businesses, .org was traditionally used for professional and non-profit organizations, and .net was used for

technology-based companies, such as Internet administrative organizations (Parsons et al. 2010: 307). Even today the .org TLD's are still mostly associated with non-profit organization and since organizations play a crucial role for the Slow Food Movement (see next chapter) the .org links were explored separately (from the “other links”) in this analysis.

In total there were 2061 hyperlinks offered in the 559 postings (1066 “other links” and 995 .org links). While nineteen posts did not offer any links, the highest amount of links offered in one post was forty-one (Figure 7). Figure seven shows that the majority of posts (the mode) offered three links (114), followed by four links (95 posts), and one or two links (83 and 92 posts respectively). Clearly, the amount of links demonstrates that these are used to make the reader aware of specific issues (by directly linking to additional information).

Figure 7: Amount of All Links (“other” and .org) in the Slow Food USA Blog



The majority of the provided links in the “other link” category were unique links. Only eighty-three specific links were provided multiple times (between two and eleven times). The duplication of links is highly relevant when we look at what *type of link* is stressed by the movement (hence provided via multiple links either in various posts, or throughout

specific postings). For example, a link was provided three times to *Awesome Farm* a pasture-based farm in Tivoli, New York. This farms raises only grass-fed lambs and cattle and they are “committed to farming practices that care for our animals and for the land” (<http://www.awesomefarmny.com/>). The documentary *King Corn* featuring “two friends, one acre of corn, and the subsidized crop that drives our fast-food nation” could also be accessed via four separate posted links (<http://www.kingcorn.net/>). Clearly, these links provide information to producers and products that align with the core mission of the Slow Food Movement. Moreover, the links, which were posted the most, were www.schoolfoodpolicy.com (eleven times) and www.foodincmovie.com (eight times).

As was mentioned earlier it seems that Slow Food USA has a large mission in mind, i.e. it is mainly focusing on large, national issues. The multiple postings of links to the school food policy, which provides information about school lunches in public schools ranging from legislation to regulations, demonstrates that Slow Food USA holds the issue of school lunch in the United States as highly important.

The same prominence on larger issues was found during the analysis of the .org links. *Local Harvest* (www.localharvest.org) a website on which one can search for organic food, farmers markets, and other local food sources in a specific community or region (one can search by zip code or state) was offered multiple times throughout the blog, as was *Chefs Collaborative* a “non-profit networks of chefs that fosters a sustainable food system through advocacy, education, and collaboration with the broader food community” (www.chefscollaborative.org). Again, emphasis on organizations fostering large issues, such as organic food and sustainability are bestowed throughout

the blog by posting multiple links. One link that was posted thirty times was http://www.slowfoodusa.org/index.php/campaign/time_for_lunch. This link connects the reader to the Slow Food USA project *Time for Lunch*, “a national campaign to give kids the school food they deserve.” For this campaign Slow Food USA has partnered with fifteen other organizations i.e. 350, Better School Food, Center for Ecoliteracy, Food and Water Watch, Holistic Moms Network, Roots of Change, Small Planet Institute, Eat Well Guide, Sustainable Table, Community Alliance with Family Farmers, Food Inc., Healthy School Campaigns, Edible Communities Publications, ACE (Alliance for Climate Education), and Bauman College. The majorities of these partner organizations are mentioned in the blog and are accessible via direct links multiple times (350.org was posted three times, while *CAFF* (Community Alliance with Family Farmers) was posted five times).

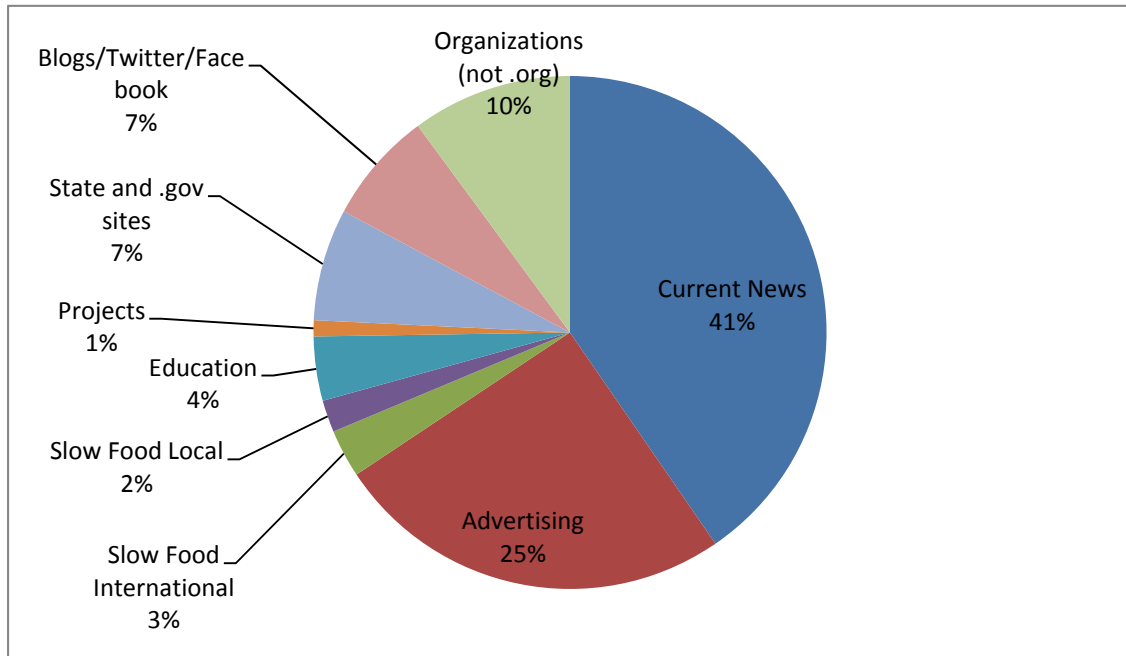
The analysis of the duplication of .org links reveals another interesting finding. Out of the many links that are provided multiple times, more than three hundred and eighty .org links connect directly to some information provided by the Slow Food Movement itself. These findings have interesting implications. While the blog and corresponding links are providing the reader with information and additional organizational links, this emphasis on Slow Food Movement links emphasize that, the movements’ main focus is to make the reader aware of the Slow Food Movement and its projects, initiatives, and convivia in the United States. Hence, instead of broadening the social network for the reader outside of the movement, the reader is connected into some part of the main web of the already established Slow Food Movement network. Instead of

utilizing the Slow Food Movement USA blog to expand the social network for the reader to an *outside* network, the duplication of .org link in the blog connects the reader to the *inside* network of the movement (by outside links I refer to links that connect to sources that lay outside of the Slow Food Movement network. A visual of this concept of *inside* versus *outside* network is provided in the appendix in Figure 19). This implies that the Slow Food Movement utilizes the blog to increase the awareness of what they as a movement have to offer, displaying their range of issues, projects and involvements, by linking for example to the *Ark of Taste* (forty five links), *Terra Madre* (twelve links) and the Slow Food on Campus Campaign (twelve links).

As mentioned, there were a total of one thousand sixty six “other links” offered in the blog. Seventy-five links were mentioned more than once, leaving nine hundred and forty eight unique “other links”. While it does not add much value to this research to list each of these links, it seems appropriate to cluster these links by common properties offering some insight on the type of information source the Slow Food Movement offers to its readers. Figure 8 provides a summary of the links, displaying that 41% of all links will connect the reader to a current food issue covered in the main media (18%, e.g. New York Times, Wall Street Journal; 9%, e.g. Fayetteville Free Weekly and Good Magazine; 9%, e.g. Google; 4%, e.g. PBS). One quarter of the websites (25%) link to some form of advertising for food products, farm and restaurant homepages (16%), food related movies (4%), and books and bookstores (5%). Other organizations (not .org) can be accessed via 10% of the links, while 14% of the links connect to other blogs and state websites (7% each, e.g. US environmental protection agency). The rest of the links will

connect the reader to educational websites (4%, e.g. University of Kentucky - College of Agriculture), specific projects (1%), Slow Food International 3%, and Slow Food Local websites (2%).

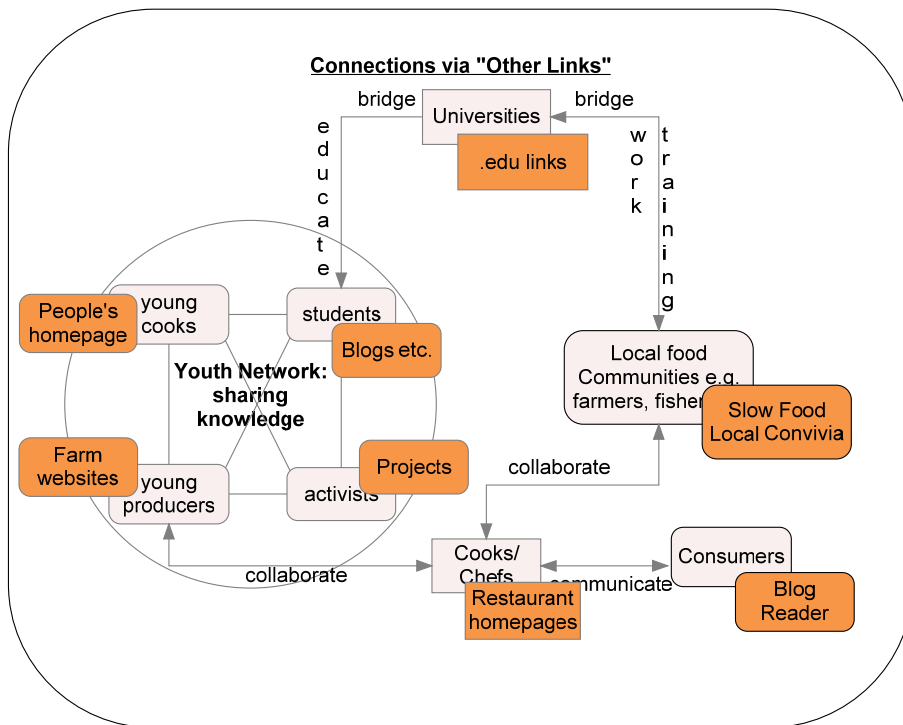
Figure 8: Information Source



Through this broad clustering it becomes apparent that information dissemination is the main goal of the Slow Food USA blog, fostered by providing numerous links to newspaper articles, web news, and other blogs informing about current food issues. The main purpose of the “other links” is to inform in more detail about issues that fall in line with the mission of the Slow Food Movement. If the reader chooses to follow these provided links, he or she will be offered a plethora of additional information from a diverse set of sources.

This clustering reveals another interesting finding. The “other links” to whom the Slow Food USA blog connect reflect the network project Terra Madre as envisioned by the Slow Food Movement (see more on *Terra Madre* and Figure 11 in the next chapter) in that it connects the reader (as the consumer) to educational information (via links to newspapers and web news), to Universities (.edu links) for educational, training and collaboration projects, and to restaurants (Restaurant homepages), to local food communities (Slow Food local convivia), and to producers and activists (via peoples and farm homepages and project sites; see figure 9)

Figure 9: Connections via “Other Links” resembling the *Terra Madre* Project

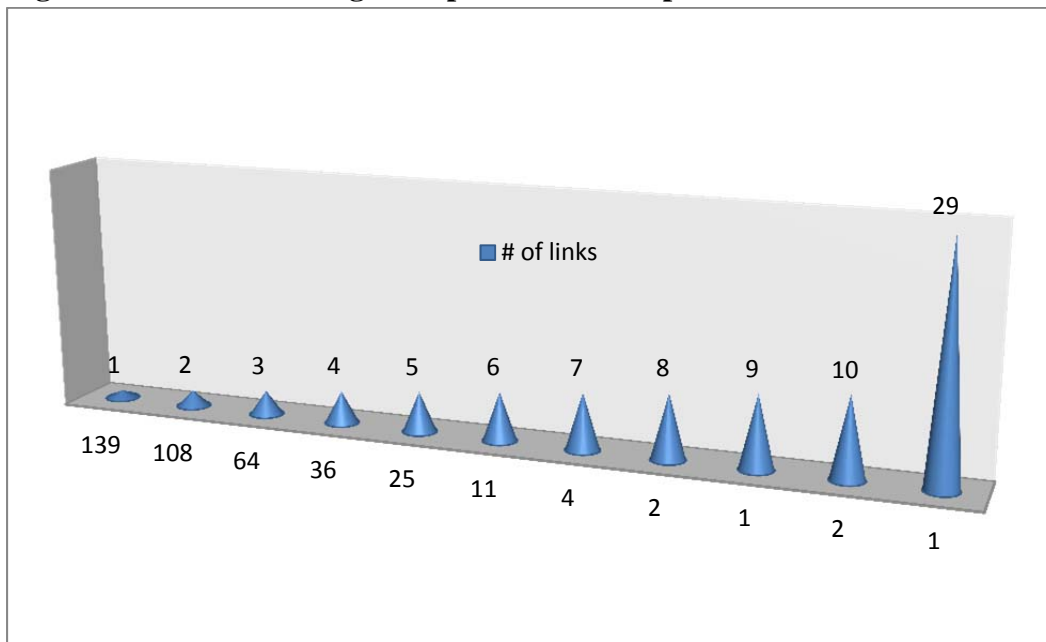


After this analysis on the characteristics of the postings in the blog and the corresponding links it is further necessary to explore the provided links through a more qualitative analysis, shedding light not only on the number of links and sources of the

links, but about the qualitative characteristics of these links and corresponding organizations.

One post was literally saturated with links to organizations in that it offered twenty-nine .org links (posting #41). In total over seventy percent of the posts offered at least one link to an .org website. Besides the one hundred and sixty six posts that did not offer any .org links, one hundred and thirty nine postings offered one .org link, and one hundred and eight offered at least two .org links (figure 10)

Figure 10: Amount of .org links provided in the posts



Examining the organizations qualitatively, that is, looking at the missions and goals of these organizations in addition to the quantitative features (i.e. how often were these links offered to the specific organizations) reveal a number of important patterns.

First, as was discovered previously, the majority of the .org links re-connect the reader to the *inside* network of Slow Food, but more specifically the links within this Slow Food Network link the reader to a previously posted comment 87 times, and to the Slow Food Ark 52 times. The RAFT project of Slow Food could be accessed via 31 links, while the website of Slow Food Nation was offered 30 times. Table 6 displays the links according to the amount of times they were offered in the blog.

Table 6: Name and Link of Organization Website, and Number of Links

Name	Web Link	Posted
Slow Food Blog	http://www.slowfoodusa.org/index.php/slow_food/blog_post/...	87x
Slow Food Ark of Taste	http://www.slowfoodusa.org/index.php/programs/details/ark_of_taste/	52x
Slow Food Raft	http://www.slowfoodusa.org/index.php/programs/details/raft/	31x
Slow Food Nation	http://slowfoodnation.org/	30x
Chefs Collaborative	http://chefscollaborative.org/	23x
SFood Time for Lunch	http://slowfoodusa.org/timeforlunch	20x
Slow Food Terra Madre	http://www.slowfoodusa.org/index.php/programs/terra_madre_detail/terra_madre_2008_conference/	19x
Local Harvest	http://www.localharvest.org/	15x
Coalition of Immokalee Workers	http://www.ciw-online.org/	15x
Slow Food on Campus	http://www.slowfoodusa.org/index.php/programs/details/slow_food_on_campus/	12x
American Livestock Breeds	http://www.albc-usa.org/	11x
Real Food Challenge	http://realfoodchallenge.org/	8x
Food Democracy Now	http://www.fooddemocracynow.org/	8x
Farm To School	http://www.farmtoschool.org/	8x
Eat-Ins	http://www.eat-ins.org/	7x
Stone Barns Center	http://www.stonebarnscenter.org/	6x
Community Alliance	http://www.caff.org/	5x
Feeding America	http://feedingamerica.org/	5x
Market Umbrella	http://www.marketumbrella.org/	5x
Eat the View	http://www.eattheview.org/	5x
Raft Alliance	http://www.raftalliance.org/	4x
US Food Crisis Group	http://www.usfoodcrisisgroup.org/	4x
PAN North America	http://action.panna.org/t/5185/petition.jsp?petition_KEY=2150	4x
American Grass Fed	http://www.americangrassfed.org/	3x
Native Seeds	http://nativeseeds.org/	2x
Seeds Savers Exch.	http://www.seedsavers.org/	2x

Again, these findings imply that the blog and corresponding .org links provide the reader with additional information about the Slow Food Movement itself. The blog is used mainly to inform and educate about the projects and issues of the Slow Food Movement. However, another pattern becomes obvious. By examining the organizations in more detail it becomes apparent that the majority of .org links (the duplicated ones, but also the ones posted only a single time) have their main mission and goal to change (or maintain) some aspect of the *American* food system. While the Ark is a project of Slow Food International, all the .org links to the Slow Food Ark of Taste posted in the blogs, connect the reader *only* to *American products* on the Ark list. For example, one link connects to the Cherokee Purple Tomato, which is more than 100 years old and has its origin with the Cherokee people (slowfoodusa.org/index.php/programs/ark_product_detail/cherokee_purple_tomato/), while two links connect to Carolina Gold Rice. This rice “was the basis of the colonial and antebellum economy of Carolina and Georgia. Considered the grandfather of long grain rice in the Americas, Carolina Gold (which emanated from Africa and Indonesia) became a commercial staple grain in the coastal lands of Charles Towne in the Carolina Territory in 1685”(slowfoodusa.org/index.php/programs/ark_product_detail/carolina_gold_rice/). Additional links to the Ark connect to Pineywoods Cattle, described as one of the earliest cattle in U.S. history, and Guajillo honey, derived from a “wild desert bush that is native

to Southwestern Texas and Northern Mexico”

(slowfoodusa.org/index.php/programs/ark_product_detail/guajillo_honey/).

Therefore, the main emphasis in the blog is to connect to *American products* that are in the Ark of Taste. Besides the Slow Food *inside* network links, the other organizations also have similar characteristics i.e. these are all national and regional (American) organizations. For example *Chefs Collaborative* is a “nonprofit network of chefs that fosters a sustainable food system through advocacy, education, and collaboration with the broader food community” that hopes as a result of their work “sustainable practices will be second nature for every chef in the **United States**”(my emphasis). *Local Harvest* provides information and search engines for farms, farmers markets, and organic food for the entire United States, while the Coalition of Immokalee Workers is a community based organization of low wage immigrants in the state of Florida. *Food Democracy Now* is a movement of farmers, writers, and chefs, based in Iowa, with the mission to create a new food system “that is capable of meeting the changing needs of **American society** as it relates to food, health, animal welfare and the environment” (my emphasis), while the organization *Market Umbrella* “brings vendors and shoppers together to preserve local culture, generate wealth and support the local economy” in **New Orleans** (my emphasis).

While these findings have demonstrated that the Slow Food USA blog emphasizes national and regional issues, instead of global or international issues, it has to be noted that via this blog there *is* a connection to the International movement. The American Livestock Breeds Association (which had 11 links to its website), Chefs

Collaborative (with 23 links), Local Harvest (with 15links), Community Alliance (with 5 links), Native Seeds and Seed Savers (with 2 links each) are all organizations that are mentioned in the Slow Food Foundation Network (see next Chapter – Figure 14). Hence, by providing these national links, access to the larger international network is also established. A reader who chooses to link to Chefs Collaborative can get involved with this national organization, but automatically becomes part of the Slow Food Foundation network.

ii. Pushing Local Products vs. Sending a Larger Message

The Slow Food USA national event conveyed messages such as “vote with your fork,” displayed on T-shirts and in brochures throughout the four day festival. Moreover, appeals were made to “work together to expand this movement of celebration, to build on the foundation of the broader food movement, and to create a food system for all Americans that is healthy, socially just, affordable, and delicious” (The Slow Food Nation Program Inaugural Edition, 2008). Similar to the blog, the national event was utilized by Slow Food USA to convey much larger messages i.e. sustainability, organic farming, policy change, an American food crisis, and fair trade while the emphasis on local and regional products is left to the local convivia.

Accordingly, via the national event and the blog on the website, Slow Food USA is attempting to do more than foster its movement membership, instead it is accentuating that larger social change for a new *American food* system is needed. The analysis of the Slow Food USA Blog has demonstrated that national food issues are the main priority of

the Slow Food USA movement. The bloggers of the Slow Food USA blog website are all affiliated with the movement directly and the posts reiteration of information related to the School Lunch Program *Time for Lunch*, Child nutrition, and School Food Policies highlights what this movement views as most important. Moreover, the tremendous reference to campaigns, policies, congress, USDA, and the White House emphasize that the movement's main priority is to elicit a change in the national political sphere, true to their official mission of dramatically changing (and lasting changes) in the food system. Large issues such as sustainability and organic practices, supported by farms and farmers are accentuated, however always with the emphasis on the *national* and the *local*. Global and international issues are rarely discussed in these blogs. Moreover, the majority of links (other and .org) connect to American products and organizations that focus mainly on *regional* or *national* issues.

Through this priority on the national level, the Slow Food Movement is able to maintain its global position while not sacrificing its core mission of being anti-globalization. There was no talk about globalization and global problems, instead the issues were "scaled back" to address purely *American issues*. The produce from Victory Garden was given to *local* Food Banks (in San Francisco), a call was put out for picnics across *America* on Monday, and only regional producers from the *United States* (ranging from California to New York) were displaying and selling their products. In accordance with Rootes findings, this focus on the national level represents a bias toward responsiveness of domestic concerns, which is one of several reasons "for [the] effort to highlight the national event to the extent of occluding the transnational" (2005:41).

As the next section shows, this notion that the level specific messages are meant to resonate with the level specific audience coincides with the findings on the local level. The observations on the local level confirm that the local convivium focuses only on *local* products and *local* producers. None of the local events directly or indirectly referred to any global connection.

III. A Local Convivium: Slow Food Tucson

The local Slow Food Tucson convivium was created in 1999, by Chef Barry Infuso, the local director of the Culinary Arts Program at Pima Community College in Tucson. According to Infuso, he first became aware of the Slow Food Movement in an airline magazine. Shortly after, he contacted the Slow Food Movement, which was during that time only active in Italy, and joined the movement “to support their cause” (e-mail, Barry Infuso, April 19, 2009). Prior to joining this movement Infuso had been involved with *Oldways*, a non-profit “food issues think tank” that “creates and organizes a wide variety of ...educational activities, conferences and material about healthy eating, drinking, lifestyle and the traditional pleasures for the table” (www.oldwayspt.org/mission.html) and Chef’s Collaborative, a “nonprofit network of chefs that fosters a sustainable food system through advocacy, education, and collaboration with the broader food community” (chefscollaborative.org/about/). Soon after he joined, he was “contacted by Italy to start the chapter in Arizona” (e-mail, Barry Infuso, April 19, 2009). As was the case in the creation of the Slow Food Movement Infuso was already predisposed to the Slow Food message through his earlier

participation in similar movements. Furthermore, he was already part of two similar networks.

Originally, he remembers, the entire state of Arizona had only about sixty members, who were all invited to attend a meeting in Tucson. The local chapter started with ten original members and grew to over one-hundred members in only a few years, with the average age of the members between forty to fifty years of age (Convivial Pursuits: A guide to organizing Slow Food activities, projects and events, retrieved online 4/19/2009). In general the majority of “the members are professionals who want to be a part of Slow Food philosophy: university professors, attorneys, public relations people, wine people and a lot of them come from college and work there. There are also a good number of retired people” (Convivial Pursuits: A guide to organizing Slow Food activities, projects and events, retrieved online 4/19/2009). Regarding membership Infuso notes, “[it] fluctuates but stays at about 100 members - people join and do not continue after a year and others take their place. We do not receive money from Slow Food for membership so there is no incentive to have the chapter grow” (e-mail Barry Infuso, April 19, 2009). When new members join the Slow Food Movement, they sign up directly with their national Slow Food Movement, such as Slow Food USA. While the new member is able to choose his or her preferred local convivium, the local chapter only receives a small monetary compensation for adding more members. In fact, the membership fee mainly supports the national association, which in turn supports Slow Food International. The local chapters primarily earn money via their local events and contributions from sponsors. These monies earned during the yearly events and donations

made to the local movement are returned to the community via grants. For example in 2008 Slow Food Tucson was able to provide three local organizations with grants. The Community Food Bank received \$5,000, Native Seeds Search \$2,000, and the Pima Foundation \$1,000 (Slow Food Tucson Form 990-EZ 2008). Tucson's Slow Food Convivium holds local events ranging from cooking demonstrations to food tastings at local restaurants, including information about the food and corresponding cultures, for instance a Persian feast at AliBaba Shish Kabobs & Grill, to explorations of local ranches on the raising, slaughtering and tasting of grass-fed cattle, such as a visit to the Double Check Ranch. The largest event however, was the annual Tucson Slow Food and Film Festival. The festival has been a huge success in Tucson since its first year in 2006. The first two years it was held from Friday to Sunday, but beginning in 2008 (the 3rd annual film festival) it had to be extended to include Thursday. This extended weekend in general includes the viewing of classic food films, documentaries, and short and animation films. The viewings are combined with guest and keynote speakers and "panel discussions about the cuisines and cultures shown on the screen, along with culinary events at participating restaurants" (www.visitucson.org). This event is covered by local and Arizona wide newspapers, such as the Tucson Citizen and the Arizona Daily Star, and by its corresponding websites Tucsoncitizen.com and azstarnet.com and also by local television stations such as Arizona Public Media KUAT 6. While this event was growing every year, and seemed to get the most media attention for the local Slow Food chapter, 2009 was the last film festival according to Infuso, who was the main organizer of this event. During our last meeting, he noted, "it was just not worth it" (*FioRito* field notes,

June 2009). According to Infuso, he organized this event almost entirely by himself and he said that the media and Tucson in general was not supporting it. Neither the film festival, nor any restaurant or happening that occurred during Infuso's presidency was ever a topic in any of the events that followed Slow Food Tucson under its new leadership. The new leadership of Slow Food Tucson is using their personal contacts and their own interests to set up the current local Slow Food events.

i. Promoting Local Products and Producers

The question how this anti-globalization maintains its position without surrendering to the very thing it is resisting was addressed during my fieldwork i.e. the movement uses small-scale local events to emphasize local producers and local products. In none of the local events I attended were global issues or global connections ever directly or indirectly mentioned.

a. Small-Scale Slow Food

All events were small-scale meaning on average only between ten to thirty people attended. All e-mails advertising the local events always entailed an attendance limit. For instance the *Bread Class* event had a limited availability of twelve people. Immediate registration was always encouraged while seats were still available and all events eventually sold out. As one would expect, events that were held outside had a higher number of participants, but even these never exceeded thirty as was the case in the *Ranch* event. The reason for the size of the events seemed deliberate, since all the events turned into family style lunches or dinners very quickly, making one feel as if one was part of a

family event. Sometimes the events were held in special rooms in the open restaurant, but for some events, the business was officially closed for business, as was the case in the *FioRito* event. Often a large table was set-up, in the style of a special event, set up with placemats, dishes and glasses, and for the larger events, multiple smaller tables with place-sets were provided. All events included sitting around a large table with people one just met, and eating an elaborate meal. All the events I attended lasted between three to five hours. Hence the notion of *Slow Food* was implemented as was officially noticed by one of my table neighbors when she noted “that it was truly a slow food event” since we had eaten for over three hours (*AliBaba* field notes, 09/2008).

Every event was opened with the president of Slow Food Tucson giving a short summary of the Slow Food Movement’s origin and the main ideas of the movement’s goals and missions and it was always mentioned that Slow Food Tucson sponsored the events. In every case this was followed by the president’s introduction of the owner of the restaurant (or ranch), who in turn would explain the mission and philosophy of their business. For example in the *FioRito* event the owner introduced his Brazilian mother who was preparing the national dish of Brazil *Feijoada* for this Slow Food occasion. *Feijoada* she informed us, was originally a slave dish that was prepared from the scraps of meat the master would throw out. In some of the other events the owner would additionally provide a tour of his business for the members as was the case during the *Ranch* event where the owner gave a tour starting with the cattle and ending at the slaughterhouses. Similarly the owner of the restaurant *Ali Baba* showed the participants the kitchen where the meals were created. This transparency is unlike “regular”

restaurants where the customer orders and receives the food while sitting and waiting at the table. Another interesting finding was that even though every guest and member who was attending the *Ranch* event was from Tucson none of them had heard about this ranch and what they do prior to this day. Hence, Slow Food Tucson was able to establish a connection between a local producer and consumer where none had existed before.

Since Slow Food wants to make the connection between the consumers and the producers, the missions and information provided during the tours of these restaurants or businesses tied in closely to the message of the Slow Food Movement. The owners provided detailed accounts about the ingredients used and established connections between the foods and specific cultures or histories and in general provided a lot of additional information that helped the consumer to understand where the food came from and why it was important. It is here on the local level where the mission of Slow Food is implemented. Via local events the movement establishes links between the consumer and the local producers one event at a time.

b. “Guests” vs. Members

During the events I noticed that most of the participants were not active members of the Slow Food Movement, but instead were “guests.” While some accompanied members to this event, many had heard about the event from someone at work, or someone they knew (*AliBaba* field notes, 2008; *Ranch* field notes, 2009). Many of the “guests” had heard it directly from the president of the Slow Food Movement (they were friends) while some others mentioned they had “just stumbled across it” (*Bread Class*

field notes, 2010). For example, a young woman sitting next to me told me she had never heard about the Slow Food Movement a week prior to this event, but after reading a book (*Omnivore*), she had researched “sustainability” on the Internet. This is how she found out about Slow Food Movement Tucson, and this current event. She said she became curious and signed up for the event but had no intentions yet to sign up as a member (*Bread* field notes, 2010). During another event guests noted that that they “just came for the food and drinks” and to meet new people (*World Cocktail* field notes, 2009).

Beginning with the second event I attended, I noticed that I did not know anyone. I had made a real effort during my first event to meet as many people as possible, since I assumed that I would interact with these same people on a regular base. For this reason I was astounded that when I attended any other event sponsored by the Slow Food Movement Tucson I did not see anyone I had met during a previous event (with the exception of the president and the committee members of Slow Food Tucson). Hence, even the members I had met during previous events did not show up during later events. During one event I spoke to one woman who had identified herself as a member and I asked her directly how many events she attended and why she was a member of Slow Food. She told me that she had been a member for over four years, but this was her first event. To why she was a member she replied, “just like I am a member of the Sierra Club – I believe in what they do” (*World Cocktails* field notes). A discussion with another women revealed that she used to be a Slow Food member when she lived in New York, however because she did not agree with the movement wasting money on sending out flyers and brochures she had not joined yet when she moved to Tucson. She did mention

that she might join again after I told her that Slow Food Tucson did not send out anything since I had joined (*Ranch* field notes).

Regarding the mission of the Slow Food Movement, the distinction between being an actual member of the movement versus a guest at the events is secondary. As long as members and non-members alike demonstrate the ideological conviction in line with the goals of the movement, the Slow Food Movement succeeds. For marketing purposes the amount of membership may be relevant. In other words for media purposes a statement such as “See how fast we are growing – we now have over 100,000 members may look good. However, the movement actually thrives in the everyday interactions of member and non-members alike. When these guests are attending the Slow Food events, they are contributing to the goal of the movement without being a full-fledged member. They are making a “self-conscious and deliberate choice against a background of awareness” of the movement (Gusfield 1994: 64), and this choice might change their attitude and behavior towards local foods. As Crossley notes so fittingly “part of the ‘movement’ in social movement is a transformation in the habits, including linguistic and basic domestic habits, that shape our everyday lives” (2002: 8).

Other observations that stood out regarding guests and members alike were the conversations about traveling and moving. During the events many people were talking about traveling. For example, three ‘travel buddies’ were going to Shanghai the following week to teach English as a second language and the conversation revolved around their previous travel to the same country (*FioRito* field notes, 2009). During the same event another couple was going to Berlin for a week and then planned to spend another week

somewhere else in Europe. Another couple was house swapping with a couple in Venice, and another couple mentioned that they had moved to Florida, but were staying here in the house they still owned (they bought a house in Florida without selling the one here in Tucson). The president and her husband were talking about a trip they took to France where she took cooking classes and he took a class on how to take pictures of food. He mentioned that the class had people from Gourmet Magazine who provided tips on how they were taken pictures for the magazine. I confirmed during these events that, as was the case in the beginning of the movement as Infuso had noted, even today most of the guests and members are retired teachers, professors, or in general professionals who have a deep connection to the Slow Food philosophy. This finding however raises the concerns brought up in the literature of the Slow Food Movement. Since the majority of Slow Food members and guests are *professionals*, then to whom is this movement really catering? The very steep prices to attend a local event (on average about \$40) only allow people with disposable income to participate and these are, arguably, not the people the movement is concerned about. Since this movement is mainly concerned with the survival of the local farmers and their products, the Slow Food events are nothing more than a way to establish or widen a consumer base for these local products and local restaurants.

Indeed, the events hosted by the local convivium emphasize the importance of the local and traditional. Statements such as “this is a family run restaurant” (*AliBaba*), “this ranch is a family operation with three generations” (*Ranch*), and this is the mother of the owner of the restaurant, who is Brazilian and who is cooking a home meal just for us

(*FioRito*) were the focus of the events. Moreover, the traditional way of running a family business was emphasized in almost every event. During the *Bread Class* event, the assistants of the “teacher” (the baker) were his daughter and granddaughter, while at the *Ranch* event the “assistants” were siblings and the parents of the rancher and his wife. During the *AliBaba* event, the owners’ daughters were the servers. In accordance with this family oriented attitude, all local events ended up with sitting around a large table and sharing a meal with people one has just met hours earlier. All these events turned into “family style lunches or dinners” very quickly, making one feel as if one was indeed part of a family event. While the events highlight other cultures, in this case Persian and Brazilian, and also highlight issues such as organic food and sustainability, as was emphasized in the *Ranch* event, they focus mainly on the local restaurant, or ranch, and the people (and animals) that are directly, locally involved.

The intention of this local convivium is not about getting larger and adding as many members as possible, but to widen the consumer base for local products. In fact, as the previous president of Slow Food Tucson noted, there are no incentives to add new members (*FioRito* field notes, 2009). While the local convivium used to receive \$2 from Slow Food USA for every new member that joined, this practice was put on hold since the new board of directors took over (e-mail, Slow Food Tucson President 7/12/2010). Spreading the local Slow Food message, to consume local, is attempted via members and guests, but full-fledged members are not necessary for this task. The local Slow Food Movement Tucson does not advertise these events, or the movement in general, which became obvious since the majority of all the guests during any event had just heard about

this event through word-of-mouth. The focus of the local events is on promoting local foods and local producers during small get-togethers, in which mostly *professional* participants are able to learn (more) about local producers and local products.

In the globalization debate, Ram differentiated between the structural and the symbolic forces of globalization (2004), and indeed these findings suggest a similar distinction. While structurally the local convivium and the national Slow Food levels are parts of a large, hierarchical entity i.e. the Slow Food Movement, these levels are able to *symbolically distance* themselves by “sending out” level appropriate messages. The forces of globalization might have fostered the structure of the Slow Food Movement, yet since the action is happening on the local level the concept of globalization is re-shaped. It is on the local level, through local activities, and on the national level, through the emphasis on national (US) issues, that this movement maintains its anti-globalization mission. Yet, it is not clear that they are able to accomplish this without surrendering to the very thing they are resisting. As was demonstrated in a previous chapter, the Slow Food Movement is a professional movement. The movement speaks on behalf of its constituencies and this chapter has established that this constituency is not the same as the membership base. In fact, while the local events are used to speak on the behalf of constituencies such as farmers and local producers, the members or participants of the events are mainly affluent professionals with a particular interest in food. This professional movement speaks on behalf of local producers, yet is made up mostly of members who are professionals that use local events to enjoy the fruit of the labor of these farmers and local producers. One can clearly see why the issue of elitist movement

continues to surround Slow Food. If this movement only aids food-obsessed *foodies* to continue to enjoy artisan breads and cheeses, then the issue of good, local food as a democratic question (as Petrini originally claimed) is not really addressed. It seems that somewhere on the way between the shift from local to global the Slow Food Movement lost interest in discussing the issue of who has access to and can afford to eat local food. If the Slow Food Movement is only perpetuating the gap between the have and have-nots (even if only symbolically), then by going global they indeed surrendered to the very thing they were resisting.

IV. Chapter Summary

This chapter addressed the question how this anti-globalization movement maintains its position without surrendering to the very thing it is resisting. The theoretical framework for this analysis was globalization.

After observing at various national and local events, in addition to an analysis of the Slow Food USA blog, the findings suggest that while structurally the local *convivia* and the national Slow Food levels are indeed parts of the large, hierarchical Slow Food Movement, these levels are able to symbolically distance themselves from the notion of the “global” by distributing level appropriate messages. More specifically, the blog on the Slow Food Movement USA website, and the national Slow Food USA event was utilized by Slow Food USA to convey specific messages concerning the *American* food system. The emphasis of Slow Food USA is on *American* products, consumers and producers. Observations made during the national Slow Food USA event resulted in identical

findings. There was no debate about globalization and global problems; instead, the issues of this global movement were nationalized to address purely *American* issues. This same approach of level specific messages that are supposed to resonate with level specific audience was also found on the local level. Participation in various local events confirmed that the local convivium focuses only on *local* products and *local* producers. It is on the local level, through local activities, and on the national level, through the emphasis on national issues, that the global Slow Food Movement is able to maintain its anti-globalization core mission.

By segmentation into various smaller parts (convivia) of the overall movement, each contributing to the whole, working as distinct division of labor, emphasizing the local or national respectively, each level is working autonomously while contributing to the overall movement. However, the findings suggest that by shifting to the global the Slow Food Movement may have neglected to focus on who has access to the local products the movement is pushing. Since local products, as do organic and “healthy” in general usually cost more and only a certain type of (professional) consumer is able to purchase these types of products on a regular basis, the stigma of the Slow Food Movement as an elitist movement may be perpetuated.

This next chapter provides insight into how the Slow Food Movement is able to stay interconnected throughout the various levels. Indeed, the next chapter demonstrates that the level specific approach as discussed in this chapter is no coincidence. The intentional creation of specific, smaller projects and organizations can be viewed as specific tools utilized to foster the overall mission of the Slow Food Movement.

Chapter 6

Coalition Building via Coordinated Network Projects

I. Networking as a Resource Tool

Many of the previous sections have already highlighted the importance of networks and networking in the Slow Food Movement. In fact, networking is a central element of this contemporary movement. It began with Carlo Petrini who was part of previously established networks more specifically *Arci*, *Arcigola*, and *Il Manifesto*, and who in turn by successful brokerage linked more and more people into his circle. While his domestic i.e. Italian network became larger, his connections to international actors, such as Otto Geisel from Germany and Patrick Martin from the United States, established additional international networks that grew larger in other nations. Indeed, research confirms that “network channels are the richest source of movement recruits” (Snow et al 1997: 124). Since the very beginning, the Slow Food Movement relied deeply on social networking and it therefore comes of no surprise that after the Slow Food Movement was officially established it intentionally created multiple projects with the main emphasis on building an international network of producers and consumers. For example, in 2003 Slow Food created the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity through which “Slow Food coordinates and promotes projects in support of small producers”, and in 2004 Slow Food launched its “most important initiative” in *Terra Madre* “a worldwide network to give a voice to small-scale farmers and food producers” (Slow Food Social Report 2009: 4, 6). These projects vary structurally and organizationally, yet the actors in the various

projects interact and network with each other. These social network projects are not independent entities, but instead each is a smaller, fully functioning element of the entire (larger) network. Moreover, these projects are not linked only by their relationship to the Slow Food Movement and the main goal, but through intersecting sets of relationships and linkages with actors on the local, national, and international level of the Slow Food Movement.

i. *Terra Madre*

Through the project of *Terra Madre* Slow Food envisions the establishment of elaborate networks of food producers, food communities, cooks, NGO's etc. all over the globe. Slow Food refers to *Terra Madre* as its "political vision" (Social Register 2009: 6). With *Terra Madre* Slow Food wants to provide a space where food producers meet, establish connections with other food representatives and foster successful networks and/or collaborations. *Terra Madre* is the largest project of Slow Food and Slow Food describes it as the

...project to build an international network of food producers and representatives of local communities, cooks, academics and young people to establish a system of good, clean and fair food production, respectful of planet earth, the people who live on it and the diversity of their tastes, foods and cultures.

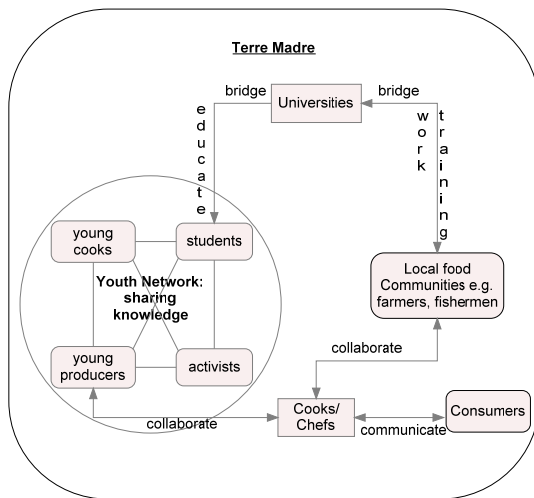
Terra Madre appeals to a common frame of meaning in accordance with the overall mission of Slow Food, more specifically a fair and sustainable food system for all when it further highlights "in a world dominated by industrial agriculture, *Terra Madre* actively supports a small scale, sustainable, local model" (Slow Food Companion 2008).

Terra Madre has turned into an international, five days event or conference held biennially in Turin, Italy where delegates from every continent come together, take part in workshops and discussion “structured around the central themes of sustainability, biodiversity, community and local development” (Slow Food Companion, 2008). *Terra Madre* is

made up of all those who wish to act to preserve, encourage, and support sustainable food production methods. These methods are based on attention to territory and those distinctive qualities that have permitted the land to retain its fertility over centuries of use. This vision is in direct opposition to pursuing a globalized marketplace, with the ongoing, systematic goal of increasing profit and productivity. Such methods have substantial externalities for which we, the guardians and inhabitants of this planet, pay the price. And the damage begins with small producers, lacking the means to create markets even within their own regions, who become crushed by subsidy systems that render their working conditions unfair (www.terramadre.info/pagine/rete/)

An exploration of *Terra Madre* demonstrates Slow Foods’ vision of an elaborate process of network building. In this vision, the *Terra Madre* network is made up of local food communities such as farmers and fishermen, chefs and cooks, Universities and students, activist, and producers. The idea of this network is that cooks and chefs collaborate with local producers and share their knowledge via communication with restaurant customers. In these networks, young cooks, students, activists and producers are envisioned to share knowledge with each other, while Universities are expected to establish connections between students and local food communities via education and (hands on) work training. Figure 11 provides a graphical representation of Slow Food’s vision of this network (compare also to Figure 9 in Chapter 5).

Figure11: The Network/Project of Terra Madre as envisioned by Slow Food



The first *Terra Madre* event in 2004, held in Turin (Italian: Torino) Italy, demonstrates how Slow Food International was trying to put their theoretical vision (or the above model) into practice. Over sixty workshops, ranging from topics of organic certification to the health benefits of honey in developing countries, were held to allow the over five thousand producers and food workers to “share flavors, experiences and solutions” (Terra Madre Program, 2004). According to the *Terra Madre* website “almost 5000 producers and other food workers, coming from 130 countries” attended the first conference (www.terramadre.info). Slow Food recognized the success of this event, in regards to the accomplishment of their vision, by noting on the *Terra Madre* website that the 2004 event “inspired many of the [delegates] to organize subsequent smaller meetings among themselves, thus giving rise to an international network.” Furthermore, they note, in 2006 “9,300 participants, including 5,000 small-scale artisan food producers from 1,600 food communities in 150 countries; 1,000 cooks (including chefs, restaurateurs and domestic cooks); more than 400 academics from 225 universities and 2,300 NGO and

institutional representatives...and 1,000 journalists” attended and two years later (in 2008) the event further expanded since the movement was focusing on the next generation, providing extra space to “young people.” This event in 2008 attracted “an estimated 1,000 students and young farmers from the north and south of the world who have joined together in a new Slow Food international Youth Network” (www.terramadre.info). According to these numbers Slow Food seems to have been successful in making their theoretical vision a reality via *Terra Madre*.

Carlo Petrini, the president of the Slow Food Movement, has a clear vision of how successful networks are created. Indeed, he writes that it does not mean writing “e-mails which communities send each other to exchange advice or information,” even though he acknowledges that “these are essential tools...(but)...something else is needed.” This something else, he notes in the newsletter, can be “found during Terra Madre meetings and can also emerge at other times and places. Having face-to-face contact and visiting the actual places where people work are the best ways of bringing a human element to the network, giving it real substance and making exchanges more beneficial” (Terra Madre Newsletter, 02/2008). For Petrini and the Slow Food Movement this direct personal contact is crucial because it allows producers, delegates and potential participants of the Slow Food Movement to align their frames. Via frame alignment i.e. the linkage of the movements’ believes, mission and goals with that of the individual it is possible to develop a common definition of the social problem and a common prescription for solving it (Goodwin and Jasper 2003; Snow et al. 1997). Once the frames are aligned, linkage is created and networks can be developed.

The strategies underlying the *Terra Madre* events seem to be successful when one examines some of the testimonies quoted in the newsletters provided by attendees of the event. For example, Steve Sando, known on his website as *Rancho Gordo* from Napa, California writes about his 2004 *Terra Madre* experience:

[it] was as a fascinating mix of one big assembly and various smaller workshops. Some of the speakers were inspiring and just sitting in the great hall and looking around at the international mix was overwhelming. I got to **meet "bean people" from Africa, Europe and all over Latin America. I discovered a Mexican seed saving project, met a cooperative of women who produce "honey" from the agave plant and a great couple with a large nursery over in Sebastopol that maybe working with me next year to get my herb seedlings started.** I got to see **Deborah Madison for the first time** since she was in St. Helena last year filming her TV pilot, and she in turn introduced me to **Rick Bayless. Connections like this continued throughout the event.** [Emphasis added] (www.ranchogordo.com/html/rg_news_terramadre.htm)

Julia from Mariquita Farm in Watsonville, CA writes about her *Terra Madre* 2004 experience

The next time you're counting sheep to go to sleep, you might consider counting a heritage breed of sheep. If you don't know about heritage sheep, **I know just the sheep farmer in Ireland you can talk with. I met him at Terra Madre in Turin, Italy**, a gathering that was an ambitious and visionary attempt that succeeded in gathering 5000 farmers, fisherpeople, cheesemakers, and ranchers from around the world to share ideas and trade notes about the future of local and sustainable food production in their own communities. I am honored to have been part of this remarkable conference. [Emphasis added] (www.mariquita.com/news/TerraMadre/TerraMadre2004.htm)

In the *Terra Madre* newsletter (02/2008) Benjamin Fahrer notes:

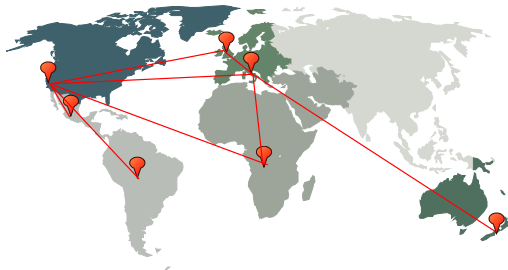
I attended the last edition of Terra Madre in Turin as a delegate. It was an amazing experience and **enabled us to meet many people sharing our passion for producing quality food. One of our most rewarding connections was with Alfredo Fasola, an Umbrian farmer with whom we established a valuable relationship. This led me to organize *For the Love of Food ~ Our Culture of Connection. From Umbria to California*, an exchange between Umbrian and Californian farmers, for the lovers of good food. A delegation of 12 Umbrian farmers came to California from January 21 to February 1, 2008. They attended the Eco-Farm Conference and we then accompanied them on a tour**

visiting farmers and celebrating the pleasures of the table. In exchange, our Umbrian friends are coordinating with their regional government and farmer networks to host a delegation of Californian farmers and chefs immediately following Terra Madre 2008, in a visit to the foremost Italian region for organic agriculture". [Emphasis added]

In the same newsletter, Jonette Chapman a delegate from New Zealand is quoted as saying “I will never forget the experience of Terra Madre 2006 in Turin. I met so many people from all over the world and now feel part of a vast network of men and women similar to me who showed interest in what I’m doing.”

Examining the links these four attendees made in only one *Terra Madre* event demonstrates the wide range of possible networks. By only connecting the networks of these four attendees (from over five thousand attendees in total) connections between Europe, North America, South America, Africa, and New Zealand were made in only this one Slow Food project (see Map 3). Moreover, some of the testimonies clearly imply that these are more than superficial networks or one-time communications, when Steve Sando emphasizes he “met a...great couple with a large nursery...in Sebastopol” with whom he will possible collaborate for his “herb seedlings” and Benjamin Fahrner notes how his connection led him to organize an exchange between Umbrian and Californian farmers (*For the love of food*).

Map 3: *Terra Madre* Connections – Example of Four Attendees



This information demonstrates that through the project of *Terra Madre*, the Slow Food Movement is able to cross national borders by connecting local, national and international attendees with each other, resulting in networks and projects. A follow up on these anticipated projects sheds some additional light on the length and success of these networks. After establishing contact with the people quoted above it was found that these original made connections and anticipated projects did not necessarily last or pan out. For example in an e-mail by Steve Saldo he mentions that for him “Slow Food and Terra Madre ended up being a bust” (June 12th, 2009). He further notes that while “the couple in Sebastapol are friends...everything else came up with nothing.” According to Mr. Saldo, Slow Food is great for people to start thinking about food, but in general he is “really disappointed with the groups” and he believes that there is a lot of “self-serving talk” and that the organization itself does not know “what they are talking about when it comes to agricultural policy.” He found it much more “successful to forge relationships (him)self” (e-mail June 12th, 2009).

Jonette Chapman, the delegate quoted from New Zealand, reflects very differently on her experience with Terra Madre. Emphasizing the great value of Terra Madre in relation to her work she notes “I stayed in touch with likeminded people here in NZ who I didn’t know until I got to Terra Madre” and “[I] have learned from other people, other cultures at Terra Madre and have been able to establish some great projects and Slow Food type activities here in NZ” (e-mail June 23, 2009). Benjamin Fahrer was also able to build on the connections made at *Terra Madre* in that he successfully launched the project *For the Love of Food: Our culture our connection – From Umbria to California*,

through which a California-Italian exchange in farmers was taking place. Umbrian farmers attended the Eco-farm conference in California, while after coordination with regional governments and farmer networks the Italian farmers hosted a delegation of the California famers in Italy (<http://www.wiserearth.org/>).

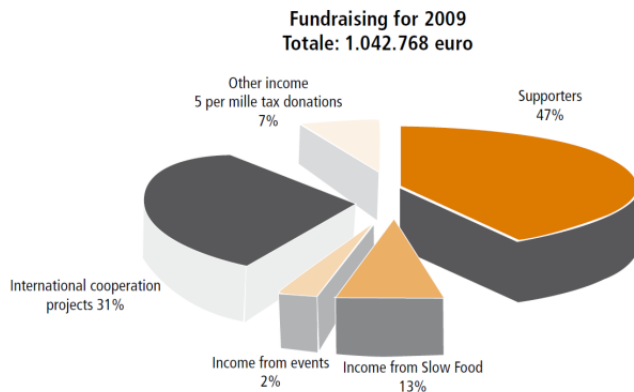
This exploration has revealed the possibilities of *Terra Madre* to establish elaborate networks all over the globe. However, it has also shown that even with this detailed vision and actual set-up, successful networks, relationships, and projects do not automatically follow. Through the project of *Terra Madre*, Slow Food provides a forum or meeting place where people can get to know each other; however, the maintenance of the established connections and upkeep of relationships in order to establish successful networks is, as both Mr. Saldo and Ms. Chapman mentioned, only successful if “forged” or followed up by the individual who is interested in creating these connections.

ii. Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity: Advocacy Networks

The Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity was created and is owned by Slow Food. It is utilized as the “technical instrument for implementing projects in support of *Terra Madre* food communities” (Social Register 2009: 6). Until 2003 Slow Food mainly focused on projects in Italy and projects in a few other developed countries such as France and Spain, but wanted to expand to protect food biodiversity in less developed countries. For this reason Slow Food created the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity on the 16th of September 2003 and registered it as an Italian ONLUS, non-profit organization of social utility (Social Register 2009: 7). The main funding for the

Foundation comes from supporters (47%), international corporation projects (31%), and Slow Food (13%; *Figure12)

Figure 12: Slow Food Foundation of Biodiversity - Fundraising for 2009

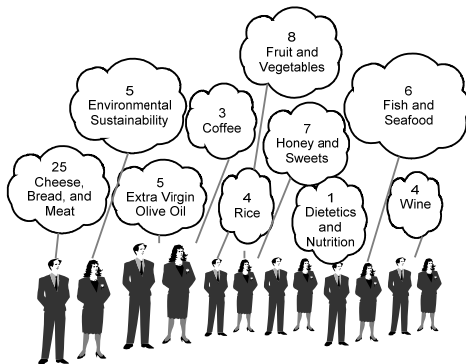


*from Social Register 2009, p. 15

The Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity “operates around the world with projects to defend local food traditions, protect local biodiversity and promote small-scale quality products, with an increasing focus on investments in countries of the Global South” (slowfoodfoundation.org). This foundation works as a network of experts and technical collaborators, fair trade institutions, foundations, international organizations, ministries and government bodies, nature parks, universities, producer associations, research centers, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The vision is that this international network of individuals and organizations collaborate within the Slow Food Foundation on a continual basis in order to help “producers to improve their production methods, develop their associations and find new market opportunities” (Social Register 2009: 13).

This advocacy network of collaborators is made up experts in the fields of *cheese, bread, and meat, environmental sustainability, fruit and vegetables, honey and sweets, rice, coffee, fish and seafood, dietetics and nutrition, wine, and extra virgin olive oil*. See figure 13 for the number of experts that are supporting the foundation for the various issues.

Figure13: Experts in the Slow Food Foundation Network



Experts range from lecturers working for the Department of Animal Pathology at the University of Turin and the Department of Animal Husbandry at the University of Florence, to veterinarians who are members of the Association for Cooperation with Developing Countries, to the Director of UPRS (Unité de sélection et de Promotion des Races Animales) of Rouge des Prés in France. Moreover, the foundation works with four Italian fair trade organizations (Commercio Alternativo, Consorzio Fairtrade Italia, Ctm Altromercato, Scambi Sostenibili), one French trade organization (Alter Eco), and nine foundations headquartered in India (Navdanya Foundation), Lebanon (the Hariri and the René Moawad Foundation), Romania (Adept Foundation), Switzerland (Avina Foundation, Pro Specie Rara), and the United States (Trace Foundation, The Iara Lee and Georg Gund Foundation, and The Christensen Fund). This network has links to two

international organizations (the International Labour Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization), sixteen non-governmental organizations located in countries from Italy to Uzbekistan (see figure 14), and eight ministries and governmental bodies ranging from Ethiopia to Brazil (see figure 15).

Figure 14: Non-Governmental Organizations in the Slow Food Foundation Network



Figure 15: Ministries and Governmental Bodies in the Slow Food Network



Additional elements of the Slow Food Foundation network are ten nature parks (eight in Italy, one in Mauritania and one in Madagascar), ten research centers and schools (nine from Italy and one from Brazil), seven Italian universities, and one university from Afghanistan, Guatemala, Morocco, and Lebanon (see figure 16).

Figure 16: Nature Parks, Research Centers, Schools and Universities in the Slow Food Foundation Network



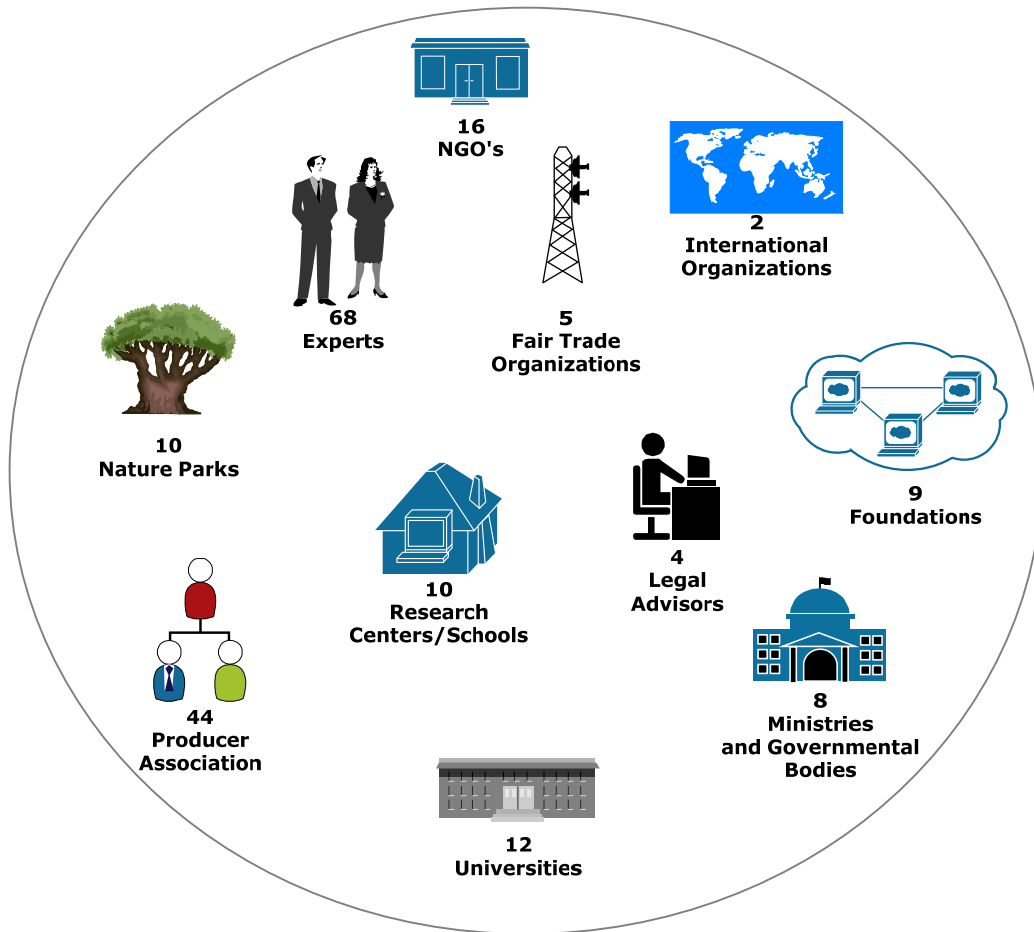
The largest group within the Slow Food Foundation is the group of producers, unions, agricultural development agencies and non-profit organizations. There are forty-three of these entities in fourteen countries in the Slow Food network (figure 17).

Figure 17: Producer associations, unions, agricultural development agencies, and nonprofit organizations in the Slow Food Foundation Network



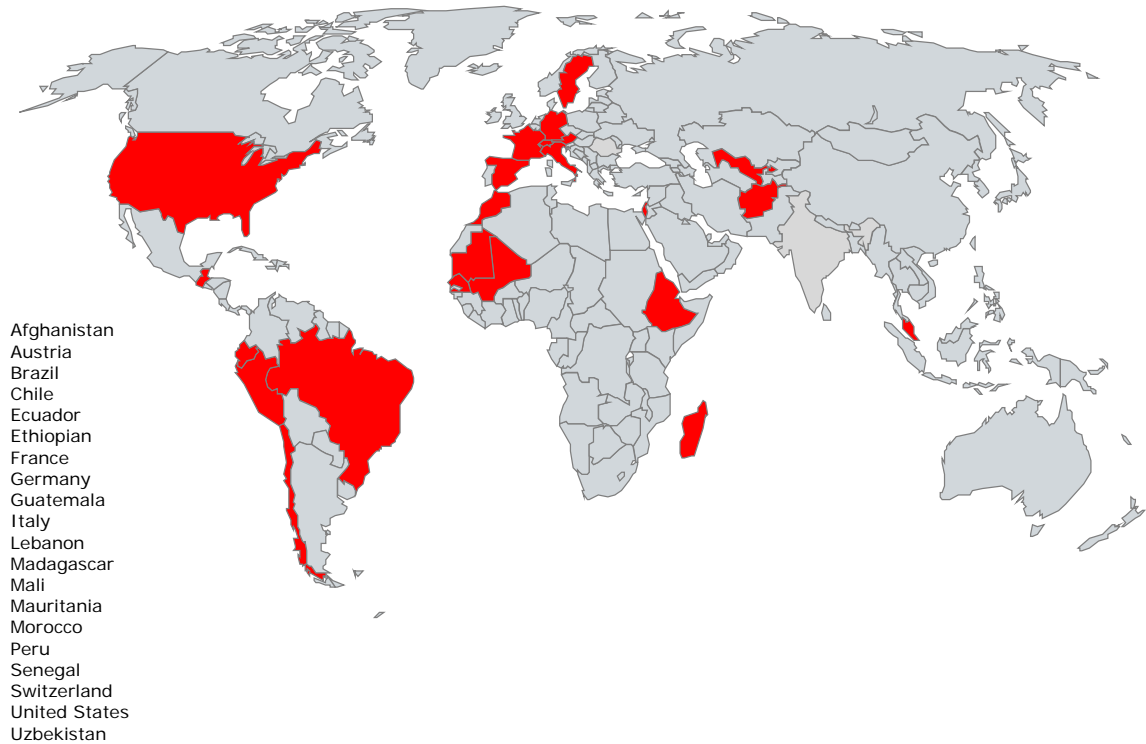
Figure 18 provides a summary, presented in an illustration, of the involved members and entities in the network of the Slow Food's Foundation for Biodiversity.

Figure 18: All Members of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity Network



The previous figures and illustrations have shown that the Foundation for Biodiversity displays an elaborate network with more than one hundred and eighty members and entities. Through the network of this foundation, the Slow Food Movement is theoretically able to connect twenty countries from North and South America, Africa, Europe, and Central and South Asia (see map 4)

Map 4: Countries within the Network of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity



The question is what the actual connections between the various actors and agencies are. For example when the Slow Food for Biodiversity notes that they “work with” ten nature parks, forty four producer associations and nine foundations, what do these connections look like? In order to address this question a closer examination of *The Slow Food Presidia*, which are promoted and coordinated by the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, is necessary.

a. *Presidia*: A project of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity

In 2009, the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity invested 35% of its funding into the *Presidia* project (40% each in 2007 and 2008). Besides staff remuneration, this is the largest percentage of investment made by the foundation. This coincides with the claim of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity that the “principal project of the

Foundation, from an economic and organizational point of view, is that of the *Presidia*.”

The word “*Presidium*” means “garrison fortress”, derived from the Italian verb *presidiare* meaning “to protect” (Petrini 2001). Through the Slow Food *Presidia* the movement vows to protect particular small producers who belong to a *Presidium* and who comply with production rules that respect tradition and environmental sustainability (Baldereschi et al. 2008). The *Presidia* in turn coordinate and promote these producers and their products, for instance Ages Artisan Gouda in the Netherlands, with the help of “initiatives of Slow Food’s network of members, leaders, researchers, writers, chefs and producers” and finds “local and international market” for the products (slowfoodfoundation.org). It is noted that “there are approximately 200 *Presidia* in Italy, protecting the most various products: from Burlina Cow to Garfagnana Potato Bread. With more than 120 International *Presidia*, Slow Food protects biodiversity in the whole world: from Rimas Black Pepper in Malaysia, to Mananara Vanille in Madagascar” (slowfoodfoundation.org).

A closer look at the project for Mananara Vanille in Madagascar provides some insight to the previous raised question of the relationship between “the work” of the Slow Food for Biodiversity with nature parks, producer associations, foundations etc.

According to the Slow Food Foundation the *presidium* in Madagascar

...has been created with the collaboration of the NGO Intercòoperation, Development Environmental Consultant (DEC) and the Association Nationale pour la Gestion des Aires Protégées Malgaches (ANGAP) and works with a group of 640 farmers in the Mananara-Nord Biosphere Reserve to improve cultivation and preparation techniques and to develop autonomy among farmers in the marketing of this valuable spice....By forming a cooperative and making the certification and direct purchase easier, the *presidium* aims to guarantee a higher

percentage of profits to farmer, to be reinvested in the community.
(<http://www.slowfoodfoundation.org/eng/presidi/dettaglio.lasso?cod=257>)

All the organizations mentioned in this paragraph can be found in the tables provided in Slow Food for Biodiversity network in the previous pages. Hence, when the organization notes that it “works with” these organizations they refer to collaborative projects such as the one in Madagascar, where they were successful in launching a project with the non-governmental organization Intercòoperation, the agricultural development agency Développement Environnement Conseil Sarl (DEC), the Association National Gestion des Aires Protégées, and the Mananara Nord National Park.

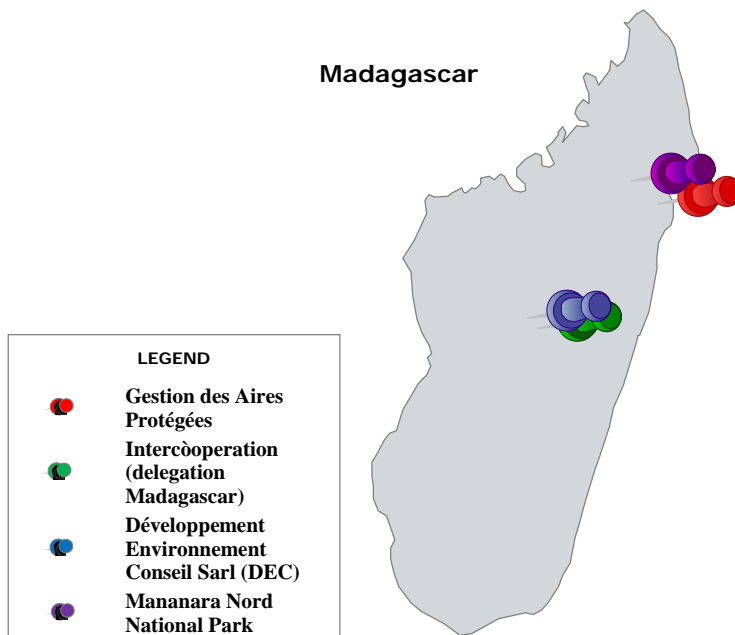
Another example of successful collaboration comes from the United States. The Presidium Navajo – Churro Sheep (a rare breed of sheep) was established in 2006 by the joining of the Navajo Churro-Sheep Association, Diné Be’iina (a non-profit, grassroots organization), the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy, the Center for Sustainable Environments, and Renewing America’s Food Tradition and Slow Food USA. Additional support for this project was provided by the Alta Arizona Slow Food Convivium, the Institute for Integrated Rural Development at DinéCollege, the Navajo Sheep Project, and Heifer International. Again, these are the same organizations provided in the previously presented tables as organizations the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity “works with” (Figure 14-17).

The third example comes from the only German Presidium i.e. the Champagner Bratbirne (Pear Spumante). This presidiums’ goal is to preserve, protect, and support the cultivation of the about eight hundred registered Champagne Bratbirne trees. This

presidium works with the growers of the pears, the association for the maintenance and support of ancient fruit varieties (Verein zur Erhaltung und Förderung alter Obstsorten), and wine producers. Again, the association for the maintenance and support of ancient fruit varieties was part of the published list in organizations that the Slow Food “works with” (see figure 17).

This exploration exposed another interesting finding. While these projects may have been successful, none of these collaboration projects seem to cross national borders. For example, the Madagascar project brought together four organizations all located in Madagascar in close proximity to each other (see map 3).

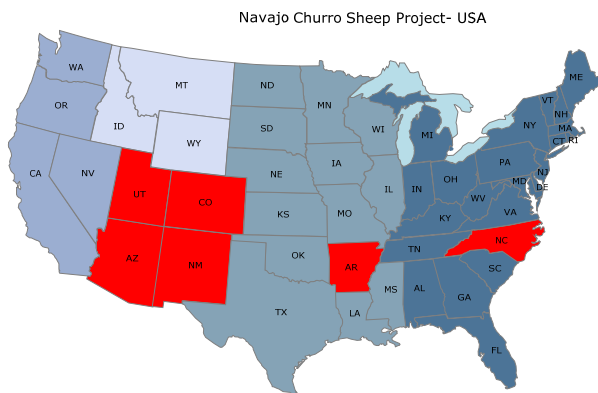
Map 5: Mananara Vanilla – Madagascar Presidium: NGO’s, Associations and a National Park



A similar picture emerges when the locations of the associations and organizations for the USA project are mapped out. The Navajo Churro-Sheep

Association, located in Colorado, the Diné Be'iina located in New Mexico, the Navajo Sheep Project located in Utah, and the Center for Sustainable Environments, the Alta Arizona Slow Food Convivium and the Institute for Integrated Rural Development at DinéCollege, all located in Arizona, are physically located within neighboring states in close proximity (see map 6). Only the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy and Heifer International who were also involved in this project are not physically located close, since they are headquartered in North Carolina and Arkansas respectively. However, both of *these* organizations are large entities who support multiple projects all over the United States and the world. Indeed the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy protects over one hundred and fifty breeds and poultry in the United States and Heifer International has over eight hundred active projects in over fifty countries www.heifer.org.

Map 6: Navajo Churro Sheep – USA Presidium: Associations, Projects, Centers and Colleges



Drawing a similar picture for the case of Germany is not necessary since the collaboration between the growers and producers of the Champagner Bratbirne (Pear Spumante) presumes close proximity. In fact, the Champagner Bratbirne grows in the area of Schlat by Stuttgart, which is the same town where the manufacturer Jörg Geiger is located who utilizes these fruits to produce wine and juices (he is part of the organizations mentioned by Slow Food). Moreover, the association for the maintenance and support of ancient fruit varieties (Verein zur Erhaltung und Förderung alter Obstsorten) is located in Stuttgart close to Schlat. This collaboration project, again, happened between associations located in one region, in very close proximity between the organizations.

While the Slow Food Movement helps to facilitate connections via the Slow Food Foundation of Biodiversity and its *Presidia* projects, these connections seem limited to associations and organizations in close proximity to each other and do not seem to cross national or international borders. Through the Slow Food Movement the initial contacts are made, but the collaboration projects between the associations are purely up to the individual organizations. Indeed, the websites of these organizations demonstrate that the Slow Food Movement is not mentioned in any of them. Besides facilitating original connections, it seems the Slow Food Movement does not provide any further support.

b. *Ark of Taste*: A Project of Support and Collaboration

The *Ark of Taste* is another project of the Slow Food Foundation. Its origin reaches back to 1996 with its official Manifesto created in 1997. The *Ark of Taste* “aims to rediscover, catalog, describe and publicize forgotten flavors” and it proposes

To protect the small purveyors of fine food from the deluge of industrial standardization; to ensure the survival of endangered animal breeds, cheeses, cold cuts, edible herbs- both spontaneous and cultivated – cereals and fruit; to promulgate taste education; to make a stand against obsessive worrying about hygienic matters, which kills the specific character of many kind of production; to protect the right to pleasure (*Ark of Taste* Manifesto).

While the Slow Food Movement started compiling products (unsystematically) as early as 1996, the official Scientific Ark Commission was formed in 1999, which “identified the criteria for selection and inclusion in the Slow Food Ark of Taste”

(slowfoodfoundation.org/eng/arca/storia.lasso). The Italian ark rapidly expanded to include over five hundred products, and commissions were additionally created in Germany, Switzerland, France and many other countries. This project officially became part of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity in 2003.

Nineteen countries have representatives on the International Ark Commission (see table 7). These members, in addition to the Slow Food President and the President of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity met in July 2008 in Florence Italy for the Ark of Taste Commission Meeting.

Table 7: International Ark Commission Members

International Ark Commission Members		
ARGENTINE	GERMANY	ROMANIA
AUSTRALIA	JAPAN	SPAIN
AUSTRIA	GREAT BRITAIN	SWEDEN
BRAZIL	IRELAND	SWITZERLAND
BULGARIA	ITALY	USA
CANADA	NORWAY	
FRANCE	HOLLAND	

Slowweb, an online news service of Slow Food, available through the Slow Food International website, noted in an article on July 1, 2008 that this meeting

Will be a time to look at the important job the International and National Commissions do not just in the technical, theoretical cataloging work, but also in practical field activities in support of Presidia and all the projects defending biodiversity promoted and backed by the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity. **Ark of Taste and Presidia are, in fact, two phases of a single process and must work together, collaborating and sharing knowledge and experience.** To **strengthen the bond between these projects**, the meeting in Scandicci will also comprise of a training seminar open to Italian and International Presidia coordinators...Altogether about 100 people from 30 countries will take part. From France to Peru, from the United States to Japan. While they come from very different places and situation, they all share the same commitment to safeguard extraordinary products. [emphasis added]

It is important to note that both presidents (of the Slow Food Movement and the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity) were attending this meeting. Even though the *Ark of Taste* is a project with its own commission members, the president of the “main” Slow Food movement and the president of the Foundation still audited the meeting always being aware of what is happening on all levels of the larger movement. Furthermore, the meeting is not only a place where the representatives of the various countries can mingle, share knowledge and experience, but instead training seminars are offered to “**strengthen the bond between**” members of the *Ark of Taste* and other projects such as *Presidia* as was discussed in the previous section. That these meetings are successful in strengthening the bonds through a feeling of camaraderie between members is supported by Sarah Freeman, a London-based food journalist and writer, who states in an article on Slowweb on January 26, 2006 regarding her 2006 International Ark meeting:

We travelled by bus, which contributed enormously to our spirit of camaraderie. When I arrived, I knew only John Fleming, also from the UK, Silvia Monasterolo, and Anya Fernald, who had returned from California for the occasion. By the time I sat down to the wine-tasting, I had met Ilaria, Sara, Luca, Eugenio, Ugo, and Winnie from Slow Food as well as lots of other people from various parts of the world: if I didn't remember all their names at the time, I was able to identify them at the meeting the following day.

Most importantly however is the idea, which was noted in the previous quote that the “Ark of Taste and Presidia are, in fact, two phases of a single process and must work together, collaborating and sharing knowledge and experience.” In theoretical framing and by attendance it becomes clear that all the various projects, meetings, and foundations are part of the larger Slow Food Movement. While structurally and organizational different, the actors in the various part interact and network constantly with each other. These are not independent entities, but all these small, fully functioning elements, are parts of the larger whole. *Presidia* and the *Ark of Taste* are both projects of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, which in turn constitutes one part of Slow Food International. Moreover, “the Slow Food *Presidia* form part of the networks of the *Terra Madre* food communities” (Baldereschi et al. 2008: 4) and since as it was previously mentioned the *Ark of Taste* and *Presidia* are connected, the connection of *Presidia* to the *Terra Madre* network establishes a connection between all the various sub-levels and projects of the Slow Food Movement.

II. Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the question how the Slow Food Movement stays interconnected throughout the various local, national, and international levels. Content

analysis was used for all documents available for the various Slow Food Movement projects i.e. Terra Madre, Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, Presidia and the Ark of Taste. Since an initial exploration revealed that these projects seemed intentionally created as social network projects, networking as part of resource mobilization was the theoretical framework employed.

Findings revealed the existence of Slow Food created projects in the form of advocacy networks as important kind of resources for this movement. All Slow Food Movement projects are built of advocates who act, communicate and exchange information on the behalf of a democratic food system for all. These advocacy networks including experts, NGO's, International organizations, foundations, ministries and governmental bodies, universities, producer associations, nature parks, research centers and schools, and fair trade organizations of more than twenty countries. It is envisioned that these networks will promote a global web of relationships to support the Slow Food Mission of a fair and sustainable food system. Via this envisioned transnational relationship web the Slow Food Movement indeed appears as an interconnected, global movement, however when the actual relationships are examined a different picture emerges.

The project of *Terra Madre* intended as an international network of food producers demonstrated that the initial event does connect people from various nations, but these initial contacts vary rarely resulted in lasting or successful relationships or collaboration projects. Promoted and coordinated by the advocacy network of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity the project *Presidia* promotes local producers and their

products in order to find local and international markets. However, while internationally reach is envisioned the findings reveal that this project only seems to be successful on the domestic level. The *Mananara Vanille* project in Madagascar, the *Churro Sheep Navajo* project in the United States, and the *Champagner Bratbirne* project in Germany all demonstrate that collaboration between producers, associations, parks, and non-profits never cross national borders. These collaboration projects were successful in linking national organizations, mostly in very close physical proximity, with each other. As the previous chapters have suggested the Slow Food Movement, while reflecting the structure of a global movement, mainly only appears as such. The actual behavior, networks, and collaboration projects do not cross national borders. So while a transnational network exists through which information is exchanged on a regular basis, there are no transnational coordinated tactics or joint mobilization. The actuality is that the various groups and projects, while sharing similar objectives, are small, segmented, and autonomous cells that work on very specific i.e. local, or national levels. Yet, the pure existence of this purposely created organizational infrastructure in the form of advocacy networks has the potential to be utilized as an important resource for information dissemination and mobilization for prospective supporters of the movement.

Chapter 7

“Thinking Local, Acting Local”

The Slow Food Movement and Global Activity

I. Conclusion

The globalization debate highlights that globalization offers contradictory possibilities: globalization processes might lead to the loss of traditional ways of life, create new challenges and obstacles for local groups, but also might offer new opportunities or tools to resist or transform the processes (e.g. *glocalize*). Moreover the debate demonstrates that social movements not only emerge in response to the globalization threats, but movements are also able to grow globally, possibly due to newly created opportunities provided by the same processes a movement is trying to resist. Based on this debate, globalization can be conceived as a new opportunity structure for social movements and it is in this context that the theoretical framework of social movement theory was employed in this study.

The Slow Food Movement, which appeared over twenty years ago in response to the negative consequences brought on by globalization to the traditional way of life regarding food traditions and consumption, was utilized as a case study. The Slow Food Movement, which originated in Italy, has expanded globally to boast more than 100,000 members in over 132 countries. This research explored how the Slow Food Movement transformed as it expanded to become a transnational social movement. Specifically four questions were raised which were expected to provide the necessary insight to this guiding question. How did this movement emerge and shift beyond the local, and did the

movement have to make specific choices or give up certain characteristics in order to make this shift? How does the Slow Food Movement deal with the issue of appearing all-inclusive to a diverse number of people after it made the shift from local to global, and what kind of tradeoffs did, or does this movement have to make in order to accomplish this? How does the Slow Food Movement deal with its anti-globalization core mission and its current position as a global movement without surrendering to the very thing it is resisting? Lastly, how does the Slow Food Movement stay interconnected throughout the various local, national and international levels?

In chapter 3, the emergence of the Slow Food Movement in Italy and its global shift was examined. Special consideration was given to the issue of whether this movement had to make specific choices or give up certain characteristics in order to accomplish this shift. Most literature credits the beginning of the Slow Food Movement to the protest against the McDonalds in Rome in 1986, yet findings reveal that the roots of this movement stretch back to informal networks and associations created in the early 1960s. The political climate during the 1960s reflected in countercultures and idealism provided a favorable political opportunity and influenced not only the emergence of the Slow Food Movement in Italy, but also aided in the facilitation of the ideas of the movement to other nations. The Zeitgeist of the 1960s supported the spread of Carlo Petrini's idea, the official founder of the Slow Food Movement, to individuals beyond his locality because these individuals identified with his ideas and goals, and many of them shared similar political ideologies. In relation to Petrini, the concept of brokerage is highly relevant since this officially recognized founder of the movement worked as the central broker

during the emergence in establishing pertinent linkages. Indeed, two of his original connections created one of the first Slow Food convivia in Germany and the United States. Moreover, both of these individuals became major players in their respective national Slow Food Movements in later years. By linking to these international actors, Petrini was able to spread his message to other countries and in turn, the movement began to set roots elsewhere.

However, while the beginning of the movement relied heavily on informal networks and brokerage, in order to bring the message of the Slow Food Movement to a wider range of people, to grow and develop globally, a *scale shift* was needed. The movement successfully shifted beyond the local, as is evident in its continuous growth, but in order to make this shift the movement actually had to give up something of its original character and its basic idealism. When the movement was officially created, it was set up in a hierarchical structure through which every tier would be connected, but in which centralized leadership would determine the mission and goals of the movement. Hence, the information about the mission and goals of the movement was expected to flow downwards from the International Executive Committee (the top tier of the movement) to the local convivia (the lowest tier of the movement). The resulting structure of the Slow Food Movement does not coincide with its earlier characteristics of informal networks and decentralized decision-making processes. Indeed, the structure reflects a European style with a top-down hierarchy similar to many UN organizations and the bureaucratic nature and positions represent a professional movement. Since this structure is assumed to encourage effectiveness and collaboration (Wood 2005) and

discourage internal division, it seems that this was a deliberate choice made by the movement in order to grow globally. These findings demonstrate that professional movement characteristics, which emerged in studies on national movements, are also highly significant in the development of transnational movements. Specifically these findings reveal that a movement with an anti-globalization core mission is able to implement an organizational structure that goes against the very principles it claims to uphold, yet this structure does not seem to hinder its global expansion.

However, making this specific choice of implementing a hierarchical structure reveals its shortcomings. The movement sacrificed being a democratic movement in which the members have equal input. In fact, findings highlight that while this movements main concern, and in fact the foundation of the entire movement, are the various local levels, it is the top tier of the organizational structure that calls the shots and determines the needs and requirements of the local levels without consulting the local in any of the decisions. Since this movements mission is anti-globalization in nature, meaning it is against the notion of imposing universal principles to the diversity of the local, the shift to the global accomplished by implementing an anti-democratic organizational structure goes against the very core mission of the movement.

These findings are relevant in connection to the globalization debate about the unequal representation of the interest of the powerful. Western nations make up the majority of the Slow Food Movement (see map 1 in Chapter 1), and the International Board of Directors and the International Council are also over-represented by representatives from mainly Western, or other “developed” nations, such as Japan.

Hence, by the shift from local to global via the imposition of universal principles that run down the chain, without a consideration of the political and cultural dimension of the individual local or national convivia this movement reflects the structure of one *McSlowFood*. Viewed in this light, Slow Food is just another trend that emerged in a Western nation that then globalized to the rest of the world (similar to Ritzer's argument in *McDonaldization* 2004b). In order to play on the global field the Slow Food Movement became, at least structurally, exactly what it was trying to resist. This raises a couple of interesting questions. Since this movement has its origin in Italy, the headquarters remains in Italy, and the highest tiers of the movement are represented overwhelmingly by European nations. In what ways is this European dominated, hierarchical set-up an attack on the idea of a U.S generated globalization? From the perspective of the Slow Food Movement, does *globalization* only have resonance in the context of a U.S involvement, but not in the context of a European dominated Slow Food Movement? The information discovered in chapter 3 suggests this is the case, since even the largest national branch of the movement, Slow Food USA, has very limited autonomy and is required to closely adhere to all international documents provided by the movement, and to report to international headquarters on a monthly basis. This European headquarters, at the top of the hierarchy, determines the directions and development of the entire movement.

In chapter 4, the question was examined how the Slow Food Movement deals with the issue of appearing all-inclusive to a diverse number of people after it made the shift from the local to the global. Findings reveal that the Slow Food Movement uses the

mission statements of the various websites to market this movement as one coherent global movement. Via these mission statements, it attempts to evoke the notion of a global community, by employing one overarching master frame. The individual mission statements are utilized as collective action frames, since the contents of each mission statement addresses the audience on the corresponding level. However, all the mission statements share similar concerns revealing overall movement unity by suggesting one overarching master frame of anti-globalization. Furthermore, through the physical layouts of the various Slow Food Movement websites the movement attempts to market itself as one coherent movement by displaying the color orange (which represents the movement also in brochures and during events) and by utilizing the logo of the symbolic snail.

The transformation to a global frame in order to speak to a wide range of members differing significantly in national and cultural characteristics can be considered a tool utilized in order to unite the various levels of the Slow Food Movement. By attempting to generalize the problem of the current food system to address everyone, without abandoning local importance, this movement is able to display global unity by using old techniques such as framing, in addition to new (globalization) tools such as the Internet to build an imagined community. Yet, these findings also propose several questions. Since it was established in chapter 3 that structurally this is indeed **one** movement, and information and decisions concerning the movement are flowing from the International level downwards to the local level, then why is it even necessary to appear as one global movement? Since movement participants act mainly on the local level, which in turn aids the overall mission of the Slow Food Movement, then what is the

importance of a display of unity? It is possible that the Slow Food Movement is making a conscious effort to establish and market itself as a *name brand*, since the issue of globalization and the current food system are taken on by various food related movements such as the Organic Movement, the Sustainability Movement, and various World Hunger Movements. Other food related movements, even if these movements reflect comparable missions and goals, are essentially competition and the Slow Food Movement may attempt to create its own brand represented by the logo of the orange Snail to distinguish itself from other food movements. These findings imply that indeed globalization does offer new possibilities of framing. More specifically it provides new concepts, such as framing in terms of a global community, global consciousness, or global citizenship; however, since it offers this possibility to everyone competition among social movements increases and movements have to actively pursue the branding of their movement in order to stand out. Hence, globalization offers new opportunities for social movements while at the same time provides new obstacles and challenges.

Chapter 5 addresses the question of how the Slow Food Movement deals with its anti-globalization core mission and its current position as a global movement without surrendering to the very thing it is resisting. Findings suggest that while structurally the local *convivia* and the national Slow Food levels are indeed parts of a large, hierarchical Slow Food Movement, the individual levels are able to symbolically distance themselves from the notion of the *global* by distributing level appropriate messages. More specifically, the blog on the Slow Food Movement USA website, and the national Slow Food USA event was utilized by Slow Food USA to convey specific messages

concerning the *American* food system. The emphasis of Slow Food USA is on *American* products, consumers and producers. Observations made during the national Slow Food USA event confirmed these findings. There was no debate about globalization and global problems; instead, the issues of this global movement were nationalized to address purely *American* issues. This same approach of level specific messages in order to resonate with level specific audience was also found on the local level. Participation in various local events confirmed that the local convivium focuses only on *local* products and *local* producers. It is on the local level, through local activities, and on the national level, through the emphasis on national issues, that the Slow Food Movement is able to maintain its anti-globalization core mission. The same process occurs at the global level through the way the projects of the international level of the movement support initiatives within local areas, by deploying the resources of the organization and the foundation's global networks.

By segmentation into various smaller parts (*convivia*) of the overall movement, each contributing to the whole, working as distinct division of labor, emphasizing the local or national respectively, each level is working autonomously while contributing to the overall movement. However, the findings in chapter 5 suggest that by shifting to the global the Slow Food Movement may have neglected to focus on who has access to the local products the movement is pushing. The participants and members in the Slow Food Movement and the attendees and guests at the local and national events are mainly professionals. This may contribute to the elitist aura of the Slow Food Movement, since only a certain type of professional consumer is able to attend the often costly events or

purchase the types of products marketed by the movement. Especially in connection with chapter 3 in which the findings raise the question of whether the Slow Food Movement is just another Western trend that globalized, the question emerges of whether the members and beneficiaries of the Slow Food Movement are just some elitists who want to ensure that they will have continuous access to certain food specialties. Noticeably they do not contribute by actual labor, instead they write checks and participate in (expensive) events in which they are able to enjoy the fruit of farmers' and artisans' labor as patrons.

Chapter 6 examined how the Slow Food Movement stays interconnected through the various local, national, and international levels. The findings to this question revealed additional information to the apparent conscious effort made by the Slow Food Movement to send out *level appropriate* messages. Indeed, this chapter demonstrates that the level specific approach is no coincidence. The intentional creation of specific, smaller projects and organizations such as *Terra Madre*, Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, *Presidia* and the *Ark of Taste* is a deliberate planned division of labor intended to foster the overall mission of the Slow Food Movement. Findings reveal the existence of Slow Food created projects in the form of advocacy networks as important kind of resources for interconnectedness for this movement. All Slow Food Movement projects are built of advocates who act, communicate and exchange information on the behalf of a democratic food system for all. These advocacy networks including experts, NGO's, International organizations, foundations, ministries and governmental bodies, universities, producer associations, nature parks, research centers and schools, and fair trade organizations of more than twenty countries. The movement envisions these networks to promote a global

web of relationships to support the Slow Food Mission of a fair and sustainable food system. Through this envisioned transnational relationship web the Slow Food Movement indeed appears as a global movement, however when the actual relationships are examined a different picture emerged.

The project of *Terra Madre* intended as an international network of food producers demonstrates that the initial event does connect people from various nations, but these initial contacts very rarely resulted in lasting or successful relationships or collaboration projects. Promoted and coordinated by the advocacy network of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity the project *Presidia* promotes local producers and their products in order to find local and international markets. However, while internationally reach is envisioned the findings reveal that this project only seems to be successful on the domestic level. The *Mananara Vanille* project in Madagascar, the *Churro Sheep Navajo* project in the United States, and the *Champagner Bratbirne* project in Germany all demonstrate that collaboration between producers, associations, parks, and non-profits never cross national borders. These collaboration projects were successful in linking national organizations, mostly in very close physical proximity, with each other, yet the envisioned international reach for collaboration is not accomplished.

Nevertheless, this organizational infrastructure appears to be successful for information dissemination and for potential membership involvement. These findings highlight the importance of *purposely-created advocacy networks* and how a transnational social network can be deliberately created, in which important players within the network can be chosen. However, these findings also show that transnational

mobilization or collaboration projects do not automatically follow. While the findings revealed the existence of advocacy networks and how these were important resources for the projects of the movement, future research should explore why and under what conditions networks with the mentioned organizations such as specific ministries, governmental bodies, and research centers and universities emerge. Who are these organizations and why do they “work with” the Slow Food Movement, more importantly why are others not part of the network?

As earlier chapters suggested, the Slow Food Movement reflects the structure of a transnational movement. The organizational infrastructure and social networks are truly global; however, collaboration projects do not cross national borders. So while a transnational network exists through which information is exchanged on a regular basis, there are no coordinated tactics or joint mobilization. Hence, the organizational infrastructure provides resource mobilization possibilities, yet these are not fully realized. The actuality is that the various groups and projects, while sharing similar objectives, are small, segmented, and autonomous cells that work on very specific local or national levels. Indeed, findings imply that this is a globally active social movement; however, besides the organizational set-up and the transnational network, no form of coordinated coalition or joint mobilization exists in actual projects. This globally active movement focuses solely on the local and the national level since it is here that the resources are available in local and national events; members join at the local level where domestic concerns overrule global concerns and where local products and producers are best understood (and action towards these producers and for these products are more

apparent). Hence, this analysis of the Slow Food Movement highlights the persistent importance of the local and the national levels in the case of transnational movements.

The main contributions of the findings of this case study on the Slow Food Movement highlight how professionalization occurs in a transnational social movement that arose and expanded outside of the U.S national culture that formed the assumptions of the original work on professional movements. As in the case of professional social movements that emerged in the culture of the United States, for example the Progressive movement (Zald and McCarthy 2009), the structure of this European based transnational movement reflects an elaborate top-down bureaucracy comparable to the structure of many UN organizations. The findings demonstrate how this movement was able to stretch this organizational structure beyond national borders. In addition, similar to the characteristics of U.S based professional social movements, the movement's core leadership, especially the top tier of the movement, devotes full time to the movement by traveling the globe for speeches, lectures, workshops and book signings, using resources created by the powerful aggregation of financial resources from nominal members who support the cause just by paying dues. By filling these core positions with thirty-nine international counselors, from nineteen different countries, a transnational organizational structure is achieved.

Moreover, the international representation of the professional members within the advocacy networks, in the form of Universities, experts and organizations, and the mostly professional participants at events and bloggers on the U.S website clearly originate outside the group the movement represents. The farmers and artisans of Slow Food

sponsored products are rarely members of the movement. It was found that during local events *guests* are equally as important as official *members*. Indeed, official membership seems mostly relevant for the overall appearance as one large, global movement, since members are only required to pay a small membership fee. Also comparable to the characteristics of a professional movement, as put forward by Zald and McCarthy, was the notion that this movement speaks for a potential constituency in the form of *food democracy for all*. Indeed, as was demonstrated in the case of the national USA Slow Food Movement, this professional movement tries to influence policy towards an entire population. One example was the School Lunch program, which emerged as a main topic in the Slow Food USA blog. It is important to note that coinciding with the conclusion of this writing the issue of school lunch is currently a main topic in the news. Indeed, in January 2011 the USDA announced the first new school lunch guidelines in fifteen years noting that all public schools, K through 12, must start serving the new selection in 2012. Did the USA Slow Food Movement have a hand in elevating this issue? This is a question for further study on the Slow Food Movement in relation to their involvement in policies and the consequences of their behavior and actions.

This study of the Slow Food Movement offers insight on how this social movement purposely shifted from local informal networks to a transnational organizational hierarchy, resulting in a professional movement that works through specifically created advocacy networks. This organizational structure leading to a professional social movement was a purposely-applied tactic to bring together a number

of conscience constituencies that would collaborate for the goal and mission of the movement.

Another important issue this study highlights is the importance of concepts such as global movement versus transnational movement. When I set out to examine what studies had been conducted on global movements I was astounded that I could not find much research where the term *global movement* was used. I assumed that this meant not much research had been done on global movements and originally I presumed that my study would contribute to filling this gap in the literature. However, after I conducted my research I realized why other researchers were reluctant to define movements in their study as *global* movements. Similar to the disagreement over the concept of globalization (Scholte 2000, Steger 2003, Ritzer 2004a, Keohane and Nye 2005) there seems to be no consensus on a definition of a *global movement*. Is a movement that connects at least three countries as defined by Khagram et al (2002) a global movement? Clearly this operational definition of a transnational movement (or global movement if we assume these are the same concepts) depend purely on the operational definition of the researcher. Why three countries and not four? To get a consensus about what constitutes a global movement seems hard to obtain. As a result most social movements research in this field refers to transnational movements and sidesteps the issue of whether they are “global” in scope.

Furthermore, the findings support the side of the globalization debate that argues that the national level remains of importance even in a globalized world. This research has shown that the local and the national levels are very important factors in the study of

social movements, even if these movements are globally active. I would argue that there cannot be a *global* or *transnational* without a local or national. Every action happens on some local level and it is always the local level that will provide the foundation for a national or global (larger) entity.

This research raises additional questions. Since, besides its structural configuration and its marketing approach, there is nothing *global* about this transnationally active Slow Food Movement, why the need to be considered a global movement at all? Since this case has shown that by acting locally, the overall mission of the Slow Food Movement is achieved, why the need to define global movements? Since every movement is active on some local level, it seems that the sheer number of these local groups (in this research *convivia*) is most important for the overall success of the movement. Connections to other levels seem secondary for this success. Since as is the case with most movements that are active transnationally, the Slow Food Movement needs to act locally and *by acting locally* it will promote the mission of the movement, why is the appearance of a global movement important? Since on the local and national level the concept of the global is never addressed, future research should examine what it means to the members of the movement to belong to a *global* movement. This is also a shortcoming of this research. Since global issues were never directly addressed during the local and national events, this research neglected to specifically address the question of what it meant to the actual members to be part of a *global* movement. Moreover, since Kidder proposes that “transnational meetings change participants’ expectations about collective action, about the behavior of other, previously unknown, individuals, and about the effectiveness of

one's own contribution" (2002: 280), an observation at a *global* event such as *Terra Madre* could shed light on whether participants at that event have a notion of some larger collective identity.

The strength of this research lies in its empirical focus, in the form of studying the literature, brochures, and flyers, interviewing the members and guests, and direct participant observations during local and national events. It is through this focus on the analysis and connections of the various parts and by an avoidance to view transnational social movements as "entities that can be understood in themselves" (Rucht 2002: 221) that it becomes apparent that global or transnational movements might only exist structurally or that they are only displayed and marketed as such.

Appendix

Picture 21, 22 and 23: Portal, entrance and courtyard of *Osteria Boccondivino*



* Pictures from <http://osteria-boccondivino.com/gallery/>

Table 8: Countries with a Slow Food Movement

Algeria	Andorra	Argentina	Armenia	Australia	Austria	Azerbaijan	Bahrain	Bangladesh	Belarus
Belgium	Benin	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Botswana	Brazil	Bulgaria	Burkina Faso	Cameroon	Canada	Cayman Islands
Chad	Chile	China	Colombia	Congo	Costa Rica	Cote D'Ivoire	Croatia	Cuba	Cyprus
Czech Republic	C.R. Congo	Denmark	Dominican Republic	Ecuador	Egypt	El Salvador	Estonia	Ethiopia	Faroe Islands
Finland	France	Gabon	Georgia	Germany	Ghana	Greece	Guadeloupe	Guatemala	Guinea
Honduras	Hungary	Iceland	India	Indonesia	Iran	Ireland	Israel	Italy	Jamaica
Japan	Jordan	Kazakhstan	Kenya	Latvia	Lebanon	Lithuania	Luxembourg	Macedonia	Malawi
Malaysia	Mali	Malta	Martinique	Mauritania	Mexico	Moldova	Morocco	Mozambique	Nepal
Netherland	Netherlands Antilles	New Caledonia	New Zealand	Nicaragua	Niger	Nigeria	Norway	Palestine	Panama
Paraguay	Peru	Philippines	Poland	Portugal	Puerto Rico	Qatar	Romania	Russia	Rwanda
Senegal	Serbia	Slovakia	Slovenia	South Africa	South Korea	Spain	Sri Lanka	Sweden	Switzerland
Taiwan	Tajikistan	Tanzania	Thailand	Trinidad and Tobago	Tunisia	Turkey	Turkmenistan	Uganda	Ukraine
United Arab Emirates	United Kingdom	United States	Uruguay	Uzbekistan	Venezuela	Vietnam	Zambia		

Table 9: Slow Food Germany: Ark of Taste Products

Product name	Typology	Nation
Bamberger Hörnla (potatoes)	Vegetables	<i>Germany</i>
Champagner Bratbirne Pear Spumante	Alcoholic drink	<i>Germany</i>
Diepholzer Moorschnucke	Breeds	<i>Germany</i>
Early Pinot Noir	Wines	<i>Germany</i>
Filder Pointed Cabbage	Vegetables	<i>Germany</i>
Höri peninsula Onion	Vegetables	<i>Germany</i>
Limpurg Pasture Oxen	Breeds	<i>Germany</i>
Murnau-Werdenfelser Cow	Breeds	<i>Germany</i>
Northern Assia Ahle Wurst	Cured meats	<i>Germany</i>
Ostheimer Baked Pork Terrina with Liver	Meat by-products	<i>Germany</i>
Piebald Bentheim Pig	Breeds	<i>Germany</i>
Rhön sheep	Breeds	<i>Germany</i>
Swabian Alb Snail	Breeds	<i>Germany</i>
Teltow turnip	Vegetables	<i>Germany</i>
Würchwitz mite cheese	Cheeses and dairy products	<i>Germany</i>

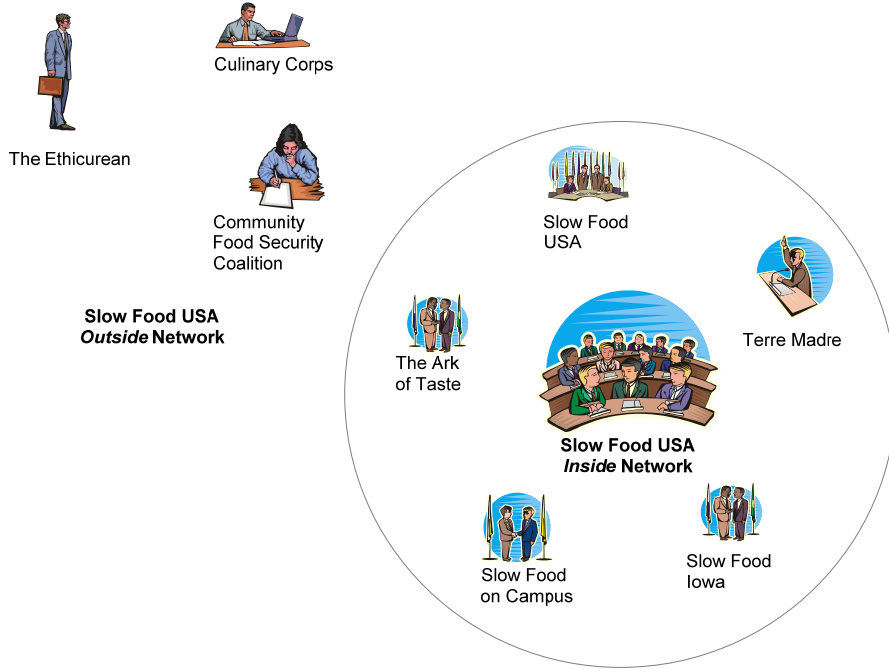
Table 10: Slow Food USA: Ark of Taste Products

Product name	Typology	State/Region
Tennessee Myotonic (Fainting) Goat	Breeds	
"Old-Type" Rhode Island Red chicken	Breeds	
Alaskan Birch Syrup		
American Artisanal Sauerkraut		
American Bronze Turkey	Breeds	
American Buff Goose	Breeds	
American Chinchilla Rabbit	Breeds	
American Milking Devon Cattle	Breeds	
American Milking Devon Cattle	Breeds	
American Plains Bison - Bison priscus latifrons	Breeds	
Amish Pie Squash	Fruit	
Anishinaabeg Manoomin	Cereals	
Bay Scallop	Fish	
Beaver Dam Pepper	Fruit	
Black Jersey Giant Chicken and White Jersey Giant Chicken	Breeds	New Jersey
Black Republican Cherry	Fruit	
Black Sphinx date	Fruit	
Blenheim Apricot	Fruit	
Boiled Cider and Cider Jelly	Must and wine-based	
Bourbon Red	Breeds	
Bronx Grapes	Fruit	
Brown and White Tepary Bean	Pulses	
Buckeye Chicken	Breeds	
California Mission Olive	Fruit	
Cape May oyster	Fish	New Jersey
Capitol Reef Apple	Fruit	
Carolina Gold rice	Cereals	
Cayuga duck	Breeds	
Chapalote Corn - Zea mays	Cereals	
Charbono Grape of California	Wines	

Cherokee Trail of Tears Bean	Pulses	
Chicos	Cereals	New Mexico
Chiltepin pepper	Fruit	
Christmas Lima Bean Phaseolus lunatus	Pulses	
Corriente Cattle	Breeds	
Cotton Patch Goose	Breeds	
Crane Melon	Fruit	California
Creole Cream Cheese	Cheeses and dairy	
Datil Pepper	Vegetables	
Delaware Bay Oyster	Fish	
Delaware Chicken	Breeds	Delaware
Desert Oregano	Herbs and aromas	
Dominique Chicken	Breeds	
Dry Monterey Jack Cheese	Cheeses and dairy	
Elephant Heart Plum	Fruit	California
Fish Pepper	Fruit	
Florida Cracker Cattle	Breeds	
Fuerte Avocado	Fruit	
Gallberry Honey	Honeys	
Geoduck	Fish	
Giant Chinchilla Rabbit	Breeds	
Gilfeather Turnip	Vegetables	Vermont
Gravenstein Apple	Fruit	California
Green-striped Cushaw (cucurbita mixta)	Vegetables	
Greenthread tea - Thelesperma spp.(T. megapotamicum)	Coffee, tea and cacao	
Guajillo Honey	Honeys	
Guinea Hog	Breeds	
Gulf Coast Sheep	Breeds	
Handmade Filé	Herbs and aromas	
Hatcher Mango	Fruit	
Hidatsa Shield Figure bean	Pulses	
I'toi Onion	Vegetables	
Inca Plum	Fruit	
Japanese Massaged Dried Persimmons	Fruit	California
Java Chicken	Breeds	
Jersey Buff or Buff	Breeds	
Kiawe Honey, from the Kiawe Tree, or Keawe (Prosopis pallida)	Honeys	
Louisiana Heritage Strawberries	Fruit	Louisiana
Louisiana Oyster	Fish	
Louisiana Satsuma "Brown Select" and "Owari" of Southern Louisiana	Fruit	
Mariposa Plum	Fruit	
Marrowfat Bean	Pulses	Pennsylvania
Mayflower Bean	Pulses	
Meech's Prolific Quince (Cydonia oblonga)	Fruit	
Mesquite Pod Flour	Pulses	
Meyer Lemon	Fruit	California
Midget White Turkey	Breeds	
Mulefoot Hog	Breeds	
Narragansett	Breeds	
Navajo-Churro Sheep	Breeds	New Mexico

New Hampshire chicken	Breeds	
New Mexico Native tomatillo (<i>Physalis philadelphica</i>)	Vegetables	
New Orleans Daube Glacé	Meat by-products	
New Orleans French Bread	Bread	
Norton Grape (<i>Vitis aestivalis</i>)	Wines	
O'odham Pink Bean	Pulses	
Oldmixon Free Peach - <i>Prunus persica</i>	Fruit	
Olympia Native Oyster	Fish	Washington
Ossabaw Island Hog	Breeds	
Ozette Potato (<i>Solanum tuberosum</i> subsp. <i>andigena</i>)	Vegetables	
Padre Plum	Fruit	
Piki Bread	Bread	
Pilgrim Goose	Breeds	
Pineywoods cattle (<i>Bos taurus primigenius</i>)	Breeds	
Pixie Tangerine of Ojai Valley	Fruit	California
Plymouth Rock chicken	Breeds	Massachusetts
Poi: Kalo		
Randall Cattle	Breeds	
Red Wattle Hog	Breeds	
Reefnet Caught Wild Pacific Salmon from Northern Puget Sound	Fish	
Rio Oso Gem Peach	Fruit	
Roman Taffy Candy	Cakes and biscuits	Louisiana
Sea Island Red Peas	Vegetables	
Shrub	Must and wine-based	
Sibley Squash	Fruit	
Sourwood Honey	Honeys	
Southern Field Peas	Pulses	
Southern Louisiana Hog's Head Cheese	Meat by-products	
Southern Louisiana Ponce	Meat by-products	
Southern Louisiana Traditional Tasso	Meat by-products	
Spanish Goat		
Sun Crest Peach	Fruit	
The American Rabbit	Breeds	
The Silver Fox Rabbit	Breeds	
Traditional Cane Syrup		
Traditional Sea Salt from Hawaii (<i>Alaea</i>)	Herbs and aromas	
Traditional Sorghum syrup		
True Red Cranberry Bean	Pulses	
Tunis Sheep	Breeds	
Tupelo Honey	Honeys	
Tuscarora White Corn	Cereals	
Washington Marbled Chinook salmon (<i>Oncorhynchus tshawytscha</i>)	Fish	
Wild Catfish	Fish	
Wild Gulf Coast Shrimp	Fish	
Wine Vinegar—Orleans Method	Must and wine-based	
Wyandotte chicken	Breeds	
Yellow-Meated Watermelon	Fruit	

Figure 19: Visual of the Concept of *Inside* and *Outside* Network



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