A KITCHEN CABINET FULL OF SLOW FOOD:
REDEFINING LOCALITY

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Content

List of Figures, Tables or Illustrations

List of Abbreviations and some Italian terms

Convivium: name for the entire unit of a Slow Food group
(convivia is the plural and Italian convivia are called Condota)
Firenze: Italian for Florence
Orti in Condota: Gardens in the Convivium SF: Slow Food
SFF: Slow Food Firenze
SFM: Slow Food Movement

Introduction

It is a cold late-January evening as I sit myself at the shiny white designer table of my friend Francesco for my first in a series of research dinners: Slow Food dinners. My host cannot stop welcoming me back in Florence and promising he will teach me a lot during my stay. When his introductions are finished he mimics drum rolls and walks up to his colorful designer kitchen. With a particularly broad grin he swings open the right-upper cabinet and points to the endless collection of stacked jars, cans and packages. I am invited closer to behold his extensive collection of Slow Food products, all of strict presidium status, "real local" origins, and of course of extraordinary gastronomic quality. My curiosity feeds his eagerness to tell me details about the various products and their origin, tradition, preparation and use. (Excerpt from my fieldwork diary, 17th of January)

During this encounter and the many ones that followed I could not help but admire this kitchen cabinet and its varied content of "local products" from all over Italy. I begin in Francesco's kitchen cabinet as it represents perfectly the nature of my exposition. Every single jar, packet and can in that cabinet comes from a different spatial territory, none of which is located in Florence itself, yet all of them are called "local products". This seemingly contradictory use of "locality" seems to be quite different from the traditional use of the term. Usually locality is used to signify a vertical position of territory; as such "local Florentine products" ought to be strictly produced in and originate from Florence. But somehow Francesco does not use this vertical approach to locality and is able to identify dried figs from Carmignano or almonds from Toritto as local while both are produced far away from Florence. How does he do so? Easily enough, it is all a matter of perspective. He seems to rescale his perception of locality to become horizontal rather than vertical. This scale revision allows for the drawing of a map of simultaneous localities rather than a singular "local".

Francesco is a great cook, excellent organizer and a big fan of small-scale traditional agriculture (and its results). He is also one of the most active members of Slow Food

Firenze[1]. The international Slow Food movement[2] started in 1989 in Bra, Italy, and is concerned with the advance of small-scale sustainable quality agriculture. Or to put it in their own words: to make "Good, Clean and Fair" food available to all. Members feel the need to defend this cause as large-scale industrial agriculture has driven it to the brink of disappearance. The SFM's plea becomes important in a rapid global world of fastness, a conflict symbolized by the differentiation between "fast", "global", "industrial" food and "slow" "local" "traditional" food.

The significations of food have been changing rapidly over recent decades, a trend concurring with globalization. It seems that under globalization there have been several (global/national) changes that created the context in which the SFM could emerge. If we look through the theoretical lens of Arjun Appadurai's (1996) classical theorization of globalization (defining globalization as an increased global flow of ethno-, media-, finance-, techno-, and ideoscapes) we can discover the implications of globalization on food production. The increased flowing of financial investments, technological knowledge, cheap migrant labour and ideology has provided the conditions for industrial farming to emerge. Industrial farming in its turn has effectively deterritorialized the production and consumption of food. (Weiss, 2011) It no longer matters to farmers where their food goes to and neither does it matter to consumers where it comes from. However, at the same time as rapid globalization caused alienation between producers and consumer it also aided the dispersion of information and social movements that spread environmental awareness. Combined with an emerging risk discourse (risks of genetically modified food, pesticides, antibiotics, animal diseases etc.) environmentalism helps to increase the appeal of local food as an alternative to industrial global food production. (Leitch, 2010)

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[1] Henceforth referred to with the acronym: SFF
[2] Henceforth referred to with the acronym: SFM

While reading on globalization I have noticed that many renowned globalization scholars like Appadurai were not only pointing out the homogenizations and connections that globalization is creating within and between cultures but that at the same time they also point to the places where it is causing difference and disjuncture. (Appadurai, 2000) A good example of such differentiation is Melissa Caldwell's (2004) description of how McDonald's was domesticated in Moscow: how local Muscovites consume the food, service and space of the global food chain in a hybrid manner that goes beyond the simple adoption of the homogenization associated with such food by others. A good explanation of disjuncture is outlined by Inda and Rosaldo (2008) when they explain how disjunctures occur where global connections are not made equally and that there are places that remain unconnected and less affected by globalization; that remain "black holes" on the map of a globalized world.

Interestingly scholars have first tried to create a homogenous picture of globalization, and afterwards add details and heterogeneous touches. In the current discourse on localism there has been little attention paid to drawing more details. It seems like a *contradiction in terminis* to argue that the "local" can be diverse as the very idea of the "local" is tied to its uniqueness and diversity. Locality is often interpreted through the logic of territory in a vertical manner as a patchwork of adjoining localities, making localization a term equally homogenous as globalization. In this thesis I will draw the finer details and sketch the heterogeneity between various definitions of locality. To do so I will analyze the various definitions of locality in the SFM in general and in SF Firenze in particular. I chose this particular social movement as it is a very dynamic and diverse movement that has been going through constant change since its inception. It has also managed to absorb many

members of other social movements and ideologies, making it essential to constantly redefine its position towards the local and the global.

Moreover, using the SFM as an example is interesting because in recent literature on globalization the development of this movement is often identified as an countertrend to Americanization, McDonaldization and globalization; a countertrend "which has been spurred by experiences of 'loss of distinctiveness and variety' that could be felt more acutely by Europeans not yet accustomed, like Americans, to standardized, centrally-controlled forms." (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010 ; 206) As such there is not only a generalized vision of the "local" produced by the SFM within the literature on localism alone, but the recent literature on globalization also used the example of this movement to sketch locality in a generalized manner. The contribution of this thesis to the field is the drawing of a multifaceted understanding of "locality" that can be used to enliven the arguments within studies of both localism and globalization with more complexity and detail.

How do the members of SF Firenze create a horizontal sense of locality and in doing so redefine the local in a continuous and dynamic manner? I will answer this research question by drawing a hypothetical connection between the continuous and dynamic nature of the SFM and their equally dynamic redefinition of locality.

After this short introduction this thesis will continue with a methodological section describing the ethnographic research I have conducted. The core of my exposition is divided into three parts. The first part will describe the diversity of the Slow Food membership using an overview of the development of the SFM. The second part will focus on the various definitions of locality by first discussing some general remarks on the cultural politics of food and then going into the different ideological and social legacies that overlap within the SF membership and describe their individual definitions of locality. In the end of this part I will wrap up the comparison by showing how they contributed to the dynamic definition of

locality within the SFM. The third part of this exposition will focus on adding ethnographic detail to my argument and will discuss the particularities of how locality is defined within SFF by describing its projects, members and the conflicts and disconnections within the local convivium. I will close with a summarizing conclusion and some recommendations for further research.

Methodology

In this thesis I will be elaborating on the main topics of locality formation, composite ideology and the imaginary geography of "local food" production and consumption. In discussing these topics I hope to come to a more multifaceted and dynamic understanding of locality as a heterogeneous definition of spatial territory. I chose to research these topics anthropologically, as the holistic methodological approach of anthropology seemed rather appropriate when trying to argue in favor of a holistic approach to defining locality. To discuss these topics I use the example of the Slow Food movement. I chose this movement in particular as it is a very dynamic and diverse movement that has absorbed many members of other social movements and ideologies and in the process had to renegotiate its position constantly. Studying the headquarters of the SFM would me more of an exercise in politics and rhetoric and would mainly tell me what the SFM ideology says about locality. I therefore chose to focus on a local part of the SFM. Because Florence is the official capital of Tuscany and Tuscany being a region with a long and documented history of food politics, I selected Florence as an exemplary case. Researching the SFM here was also more interesting because it is an urban convivium with little agricultural land included in its locality. It seemed to me that this would add to the complexity of defining "local food" as there is technically little food produced in the close vicinity of Florence. I found a local convivium existed: Slow Food Firenze.

I will use the research question -How do the members of SF Firenze create a horizontal sense of locality and in doing so redefine the local in a continuous and dynamic manner?- to draw a multifaceted understanding of "locality" that can be used to enliven the arguments within studies of both localism and globalization with more complexity and detail.

The fieldwork:

I started my fieldwork preparations in the spring of 2012 as I needed some extra skills and knowledge before I could do proper fieldwork. Because SFF is organized completely in Italian I have spent the summer of 2012 living in Florence, making friends and meeting them on a daily basis as to learn the Italian language in a conversational manner and immerse myself in the Italian culture. Nonetheless, I chose to only make my introduction and attend a few events, as to prepare the research field but not to enter it yet. I felt it was difficult for me to start the research already that summer as my Italian skills were not advanced enough to make a professional impression and good interpretations. After the summer I enrolled in a grammar course and improved the structure of my Italian. Only several months later my Italian would reach the proper level to comprehend the written discourse and conversations. Thus in the beginning much of the particular language was too difficult for me to comprehend and my informants explained the words I did not know. I think this actually worked to my advantage as in doing so they provided me with a clear description not only of the word or project they explained but also how they thought about it.

An important part of ethnographic fieldwork is finding the right position in the field. When I introduced myself to SFF in summer 2012 I originally positioned myself as a young anthropologist interested in researching local identity. At the time I tried to keep my research focus slightly vague as I needed this initial period to orientate myself towards the organization, its members and their dynamic relationship before making a more specific focus. In the preliminary part of my research I was mostly a participant observer and I tried to ask as many naïve questions as I (most naturally) could. From the beginning of my engagement with them these members did not seem keen to understand my role as an anthropologist. I have explained my role in the beginning and had to continue reminding them throughout. They did not like the idea of being interviewed formally and became rather

shy when I showed up with a recorder. I tried recording formal interviews on four occasions during the summer preliminary fieldwork and noticed I would get really formalistic and general answers as long as I recorded and used the questions I prepared, but as soon as the recorder went off they ordered another coffee and started talking more frankly about what they "really thought". I thus decided to keep my interviews informal from then onwards and to make notes during or after the conversations.

After my introduction over the summer my first fieldwork trip was a six-day trip to a SF conference/fair called "Salone del Gusto" which took place on 24-29 October in Turin. This conference gave me a much better idea of the general ideology of SlowFood, the kind of people who are interested in SlowFood (the visitors), helped me to maintain and strengthen the bond with my research subjects (some of whom were present), and gave me the opportunity to attend a dozen lectures on various topics. On this occasion I did participant observation, formal and informal interviews and other data collection (like folders, booklets and also lecture notes). This particular conference/fair was especially interesting as it enabled me to come into contact with various SF producers and local organizers. I have spend the full six days circling the fair, asking questions about products and why people like to produce them, observing marketing strategies; and because I made return visits to a (limited) amount of stalls I could also observe the networks and relationships between the producers themselves. This provided me with valuable clues on the various meanings different producers and visitors attached to what Slow Food actually represents and what it means to produce and consume SF products. It was here where I noticed the different meanings people attach to SF products.

In January 2013 I returned to Florence and I remained there to do active fieldwork till April 2013. I was involved in every official project, event and meeting (accept for two or three meetings which were restricted to only the most active members) as either a volunteer

or a participant. SFF counts an official membership of around 400 members, of which about 15-20 are very active members. Every member pays an annual membership fee of 25 euros, after which SFF finds additional resources in some of the activities it organizes. The functioning of the organization relies entirely on the voluntary labor of its members and nobody is compensated for his involvement. My main informants within SFF were its most active members, while I also did participant observation and had informal conversations with many other SFF members. When I got to know these active members better I moved on to meeting them outside SFF. They invited me for dinners, lunches, grocery shopping at farmers markets and day trips in which they went to buy SF products directly at the producer. Some of them worked in public spaces and I would drop by now and then for an informal conversation or interview if I had some questions.

Several weeks within my research I started to notice patterns and misconceptions I had about the field. My original focus was on finding out how consuming SF products helped the members of SFF to create a local identity to alleviate the pressures of globalization. The literature study I had conducted beforehand suggested such a hypothesis probable. The more I observed the members the more I believed that they were indeed trying to mediate certain globalization pressures but not by establishing a "local identity". Their use of locality was rather confusing and it took me some days to realize that this might actually be the interesting focus I was searching for. I had been trying to observe a local identity that I could not recognize; so I decided to focus on the reason why it was unrecognizable. The word "local" was used everywhere and it seemed every time it had a different meaning. Thus I reoriented my research to disentangling their sense of locality; I revised the questions I asked during informal interviews and added this new dimension as a focus for when I did participant observation.

During my fieldwork I relied on ethnographic research methods mainly as I did participant observation, informal interviews, and visualizations. I chose to do ethnographic research as I thought it would provide me with access to information I would not have been able to obtain with the same success using different methods. First of all, my participation in their organization earned me the trust I needed to ask questions about thoughts, emotions, attachments and local family histories and receive honest answers. My constant presence made me a constant member and reduced the problem of reactivity. This constant presence also made it possible for me to observe these members within different localities and witness their interaction with these different spatial territories. Shopping trips and dinner preparations were always very important moments as this was the occasion in which my research subject talked about and interacted with the actual SF products. On the one hand they treated me as an integrated member because of my constant participation but on the other hand I remained a "naïve observer" that needed to be taught. It was very easy for me to coax them into talking to me and my questions were fluently incorporated into their discourse and responded seriously.

Nevertheless, there were several limitations and problems I encountered during my fieldwork. First of all, there were the language limitations as I mentioned above. My foreignness was difficult to hide and made me stand out as there were few other foreigners present at the events, and those who were had been living in Italy for years. Furthermore, I was the youngest member in the organization which made everybody act "older and wiser" then me. I received fatherly/motherly advice on almost everything and was envied for my "youth" and "the bright future" ahead of me. Moreover, being a young blonde woman I was approached with romantic intentions by several members. The word got out that the "naïve blonde" likes to be invited for dinner and this reputation preceded me. It did not help that I

seemed very open and interested, which was often mistaken for romantic interest. This sometimes put me in an uncomfortable position and which I had to correct elegantly as not to offend anybody. Unfortunately the effect of my physical appearance and foreignness did not fade easily as the events were held in different locations and networks all the time. It proved to be quite a distraction and sometimes it was impossible to have serious conversations. But we have to keep in mind that in some of these occasions significant amounts of alcohol were enjoyed (on their part) and conviviality was high. My positioning as the "young", "blonde", "foreigner" was working in both my advantage and disadvantage; they were willing to teach me, answer all my questions and take me to dinner/events but in doing so they might have oversimplified or distorted their discourse and activity somewhat.

Chapter 1: The History Of The Slow Food Movement

In this chapter I present a short historical sketch of the emergence of the SFM. By exposing the roots and explaining the expansions of the movement I will draw a coherent picture of its complexity, its ideology and its membership. A multifaceted comprehension of the SFM is required for a better understanding of the reasons why the members of the SFF/SFF come to certain definitions of "locality".

Good Food : The Birth of a Gastronomic Movement

Slow Food was born out of the hard labour and dedication of three young men who started organizing cultural activities in the 1970's in and around their hometown of Bra, Italy: Carlo Petrini, Piero Sardo, and Albero Capatti. Their region was once famous for its leather tanning industry and also sported a longstanding tradition of local wine and cheese production, though all of which were starting to wane a bit by that time. (van der Meulen, 2008) To revive and preserve local wine traditions in 1980 the three young men set up the first association of wine sociality in the region, Friends of Barolo, after which they started organizing the first wine tastings, tours, courses and other social gatherings.

Born in a region with a large civil society, cooperative agriculture and a well-established left-wing political party, they were able to capitalize on the already existing social-civil traditions.[3] At the same time they were also active members of the ARCI, the cultural and recreational association of the Italian Left, within which they established the forerunner of Slow Food: Arcigola. The 1980's had seen an overall growing trend of individualism, together with a decline in idealism. Together with extensive economic growth and the swift increase of commercially organized leisure the way was cleared for a new social paradigm, one in which the right to pleasure was very well received. Arcigola did not

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[3] In general Italy had known a large scale alienation from political parties and the formation of social movements, in the shape of new grassroots structures that tried to mobilize more direct forms of action. (van der Meulen, 2008)

find immediate friends, as the world of gastronomy was still rather conservative and disapproving of the young grassroots organization that was much part of the young counter culture of the time. (Simonetti, 2012)

In early 1986 several (inter)national food scandals and the opening of the first McDonalds, next to the famous Spanish Steps in Rome, ended in a large protest at the latter. During this protest the leaders started to circulate a plea for a culture of "slow food", as a counter pole to "fast food" and an anti-dote to the fast modern life it represents. Three years later, in 1989, a Slow Food Manifesto was launched in Paris under the eye of the international media. (Weiss,2011) "Slow Food" turned out to be such a media friendly term that in 1991 Arcigola renamed itself Arcigola Slow Food and in 2001 they changed it to Slow Food Italia altogether (though it was terribly unconventional in Italy to use English terms like this). The first Slow Food World Congress in 1990 established the task of improving food culture and defending food heritage. In the same year Arcigola established its own press: Slow Food Editore. (van der Meulen, 2008). From 1992 onwards internationalization took place when "Slow Food" groups started to form in other countries, starting with Germany and Switzerland.

The above described history clearly demonstrates a development from a mildly political ideology to an organization with a strong gastronomic one. Up until the mid-1990's the movement had attracted (and later lost some) members who were connected to ARCI, the left counter culture of the 1970's-80's during its initial period and a large number of members interested in gastronomy and the right to pleasure. (Mirosa et all, 2011)

Clean Food: Internationalizing The Movement On The Wings Of Eco-Gastronomy

From the mid-1990's till the mid-2000's the ideology of the SFM shifted from gastronomy and the right to good (tasty) food to eco-gastronomy and the right to eat clean

(healthy) foods; the term "eco-gastronomy" was coined in this period by Carlo Petrini in his efforts to consolidate the interests of gastronomes and environmentalists. As the discourse of environmentalism was increasing the perceived risk of environmental degradation and the actual production of local varieties was heading to a near extinction, the members of the SFM felt it was important to protect the environment in which their good food was produced. (Mirosa et all, 2011)

The increased homogeneity of monoculture cash crops, the further spread of industrial hybrid seeds and artificial fertilizers and pesticides under industrial agriculture has made the cultivation of local flora and fauna variations adapted to local micro-climates during decades and centuries of cultivation rather unprofitable and difficult. The eminence of the problem of declining biodiversity was perceived as rather high in Italy, as the peninsula counts a high number of micro-climates and is especially dense in biodiversity; it houses a third of all the flora and fauna varieties of the entire European continent. (Petrini, 2007) With great resources comes great responsibility (according to Petrini) and in 1996 the SFM designed an "Ark of Taste" to save traditional and rare varieties of food from a flood of industrial foods. It was this new emphasis on safeguarding biodiversity that marked the definitive shift from gastronomy to eco-gastronomy. (Mirosa et all, 2011) Here I want to note that the explicit emphasis is still on *taste* and *food* varieties, marking the initiative as clearly eco-gastronomic because environmentalism would have seen ALL flora and fauna varieties protected (not only the edible and tasty ones).

The "Ark of Taste" project started to catalogue hundreds of products at risk of extinction, but to take the effort a step further the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity was created in 1999 (as an independent foundation from Slow Food International). This new foundation was established to engage more concretely with the world of production and thus marked another shift from the former emphasis on knowing what is good food to knowing

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how good food is produced. Within the foundation the "Ark of Taste" project continues to catalogue, describe, rediscover and publicize products that are threatened by "industrial standardization, hygiene laws, the regulation of largescale distribution and environmental damage." (Lotti, 2010) If a flora or fauna variety within the "Ark of Taste" is particularly endangered it is awarded "presidium" (*protection* in Latin) status and a project is started to bring together the local farmers/artisans who produce it and help them to "make their cultivation more economically viable through promotion efforts, stabilization of production methods, and establishment of stringent production standards" (van der Meulen, 2008).

The mid-1990's also saw an important internationalization of the SFM. In many countries citizens started forming their own national and local convivia, and today the SFM counts more than 100,000 members in over 150 countries and grouped in 1,500 local convivia. The biggest Slow Food community is still found in Italy. Before 1994 Slow Food was mostly seen to promote the "Italian way of life"; the internationalization was mostly accomplished when the emphasis on (Italian) food was shifted to local foods in general. Another change that made the SFM more appealing was the shift from opposing the general culinary aspects of fast food to opposing global trans-national food corporations and agricultural monocropping (Mirosa et all, 2011).

As the international profile of the organization increased it began to attract celebrities which contributed their names to the organization but also initiated important projects and researches to raise its profile further. Active members such as Alice Waters (founder and chef of Chez Panise, a famous restaurant in Berkeley, California) who combined her experience as a Montessori teacher and a chef in "The Edible Schoolyard": a project with school vegetable gardens. Also respected scholars started to join such as Vadana Shiva and Miguel Altieri. (Schneider, 2008) Two important international Slow Food events are the

"Salone del Gusto" (a large fair dedicated to tasting and education on Slow Food products, open to the general public) and the "Terra Madre" (an assembly of all national convivia representatives in which information, know-how and networks are shared). Both were initiated to take place every 2-4 years in the late 1990's, but as the movement grew exponentially their importance did as well. In October 2012 the first "Salone del Gusto" and "Terra Madre" were combined in two large complexes in Turin, and it is projected to repeat this combination bi-annually now.

Fair Food: Expanding The Movement In the Name Of Social Justice[4]

A last and more recent shift occurred in the mid-2000's, when the new focus of the SFM was defined towards "fair" food as well. At the 2004 "Terra Madre" event the Slow Food leadership officially introduce the "Good, Clean, Fair" campaign, arguing that tasty food ought to be enjoyed in a healthy environment and be accessible to all. The fairness emphasised here is multiple. First of all, the producer ought to get a fair price for the good and clean product he produces; a price that would allow him to also be a consumer of the same good and clean food. Secondly, the product ought to be priced fairly to the sustainability of knowledge and the environment. The producer ought to be paid sufficiently to have the time and resources to dedicate to sharing and enhancing his environmentally friendly agricultural expertise. Farmers involved with industrial agriculture often have the advantage of producing easily manageable mono-crops and the extensive educational programs offered by the large corporations from which they buy their seeds and fertilizers. Small-scale organic and traditional farmers and artisans are reliant on a very limited number of educational institutions and heavily dedicated but sparse apprentices. Thirdly, the

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[4] Unless otherwise noted the information from this section comes from (Petrini, 2007) and my field notes of the "Salone del Gusto".

consumers of sustainable and local products should receive them at a fair price. By coordinating small-scale producers in farmer's markets, cooperations and organizing other large events these producers have the advantage of sharing certain risks and costs. As such they can offer their products at a lower cost. A project that the SFM is still busy with is trying to negotiate subsidies, as small scale producers often lack the resources, knowledge and negotiation power to tap into the extensive body of European agricultural subsidies.
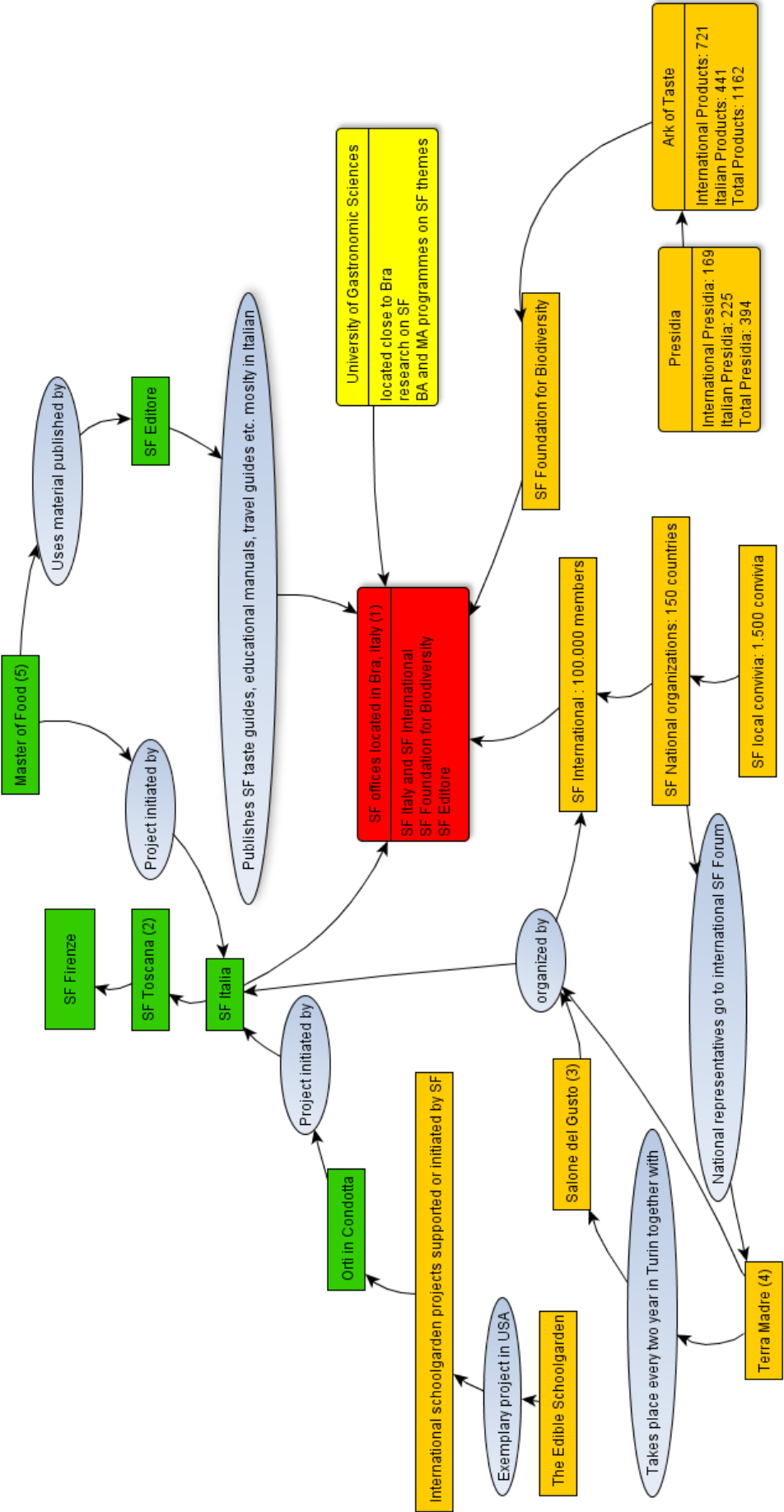
With this appeal for fair food to producers and consumers the SFM also became appealing to potential members who are interested in social justice and development. This is a point where the SFM started to team up with organizations concerning Fair Trade and agricultural development. You can also clearly see their new focus within the rhetoric and publications produced after this shift. Van Bommel and Spicer (2008) have noticed such a shift and mention that where the focus used to be on Italian, European products and producers, the new focus lies with African and Latin-American producers. Interestingly a few of my key informants also commented on this and mentioned that they believed the publications to have become graphically and rhetorically more similar to the publications they are used to receive from the Fair Trade movement.

As eco-gastronomy became an inaccurate description of the movement after the addition of social justice, a new term was devised: neo-gastronomy. This new term tried to maintain the movement's link to gastronomy but also contrast it to "the old regime" in this discursive field. The neo adjective was added to explain the commitment to a multi-faceted approach to food that includes a consideration of the production, consumption and sustainability of food rather than the traditional consumer related interests of regular gastronomy. To consolidate their new found three pillars and to transform gastronomy into a multidisciplinary science the SFM opened a university in 2004: the University of Gastronomic Sciences. (Mirosa et all, 2011) Located in Polenzo close the headquarters of

Slow Food in Bra, Italy, the university has developed as one of the main hubs of Slow Food research, publications and activism. This research and teaching centre forms an important part of the educational programs initiated by the SFM since the early wine tasting courses of the "Friends of Barolo". Currently, other educational efforts initiated by Slow Food include the "Master of Food" programme (membership education on the origin and taste of Slow Food products), "The Edible Schoolyard" or its Italian version "Orti in Condotta" (translated as "Gardens in the Convivium"), "The Week of Taste" (in which education on taste is spread in different venues from the workplace, to the market, to schools etc.), the "Salone del Gusto" and many more. The educational role taken on by the SFM is essential for its legitimation and also ensures for the further dispersion of its ideology and membership.

To summarize: if in the first gastronomic period important signifiers were: taste, slowness, artisanal production, and traditional/local foods; the eco-gastronomic period added sustainability and biodiversity (van Bommel and Spicer, 2011) and the fair trade period added social justice. To abridge the current situation and some of the official projects and developments mentioned above I have made a clarifying flowchart:

Figure 1: Flowchart of the official structure of the SFM (sources: field notes and the various official websites of the SFM)

University of Gastronomic Sciences
located close to Bra
research on SF
BA and MA programmes on SF themes

SF offices located in Bra, Italy (1)
SF Italy and SF International
SF Foundation for Biodiversity
SF Editore

SF Foundation for Biodiversity

Ark of Taste
International Products: 721
Italian Products: 441
Total Products: 1162

Presidia
International Presidia: 169
Italian Presidia: 225
Total Presidia: 394

SF International : 100.000 members

SF National organizations: 150 countries

SF local convivia: 1.500 convivia

Uses material published by

SF Editore

Master of Food (5)

Publishes SF taste guides, educational manuals, travel guides etc. mostly in Italian

Project initiated by

SF Firenze

SF Toscana (2)

SF Italia

Project initiated by

Orti in Condotta

International schoolgarden projects supported or initiated by SF

Exemplary project in USA

The Edible Schoolgarden

organized by

Salone del Gusto (3)

Takes place every two year in Turin together with

National representatives go to international SF Forum

Terra Madre (4)

Chapter 2:

"Same But Different": The Definitions Of Locality Are Various

After this general overview of what the SFM stands for and how during its development it attracted and embedded a diverse range of other groups and movements, I will move on to explain how these different actors have contributed to the formation of various definitions of locality. Firstly, some comments need to be made on the cultural politics of "local food" to explain why food can be an important factor in defining the local. A short overview of the multiple significations of local food will help us understand the contours and reasoning behind defining the local in a certain manner.

In the second part of this chapter I will sketch a map of the different groups/movements from which the SFM has attracted its members and their respective definitions of locality. I will explain the overlap between some of the arguments and ideas on locality shared by these groups/movements and the SFM. As such the first part of this chapter will explain why these groups/movements draw their own definitions of the local, and in the second part I will sketch how they do so. The overall aim of this chapter is to generate a picture of the multifacetedness of locality in general and within the dynamic SFM in particular. This picture will also make it easier to interpret the ethnographic descriptions of SFF in the next chapter of this thesis.

2.1 The Cultural Politics Of Local Food

As one of the most basic elements of our everyday life, we spend much of our day either producing/earning food or eating it. Food has such a major role in our lives that it pretty much shapes our entire ontological perception of the world and our place in it. It is our most primal engagement with the outside world, as most of the external elements we put inside our bodily selves come in the shape of food. Food is even the most intimate outsider

we will ever allow inside; when we eat foods they even become a part of our bodies. (Fischler, 1988) While technically humans are omnivores and can eat a large variety of flora and fauna, our attitude towards food today no longer treats food as a means to an end, but rather the end in itself. (Anderson, 2005) The intimacy of food and the selectivity of choosing which foods to eat or not thus become important ways of defining and maintaining an ontological relationship with the outside world. (Douglas and Isherwood, 1980) It is interesting that there are few categories as productive as food in the production of locality. As Clare Hinrichs (2003) points out, "local food" should be seen as a crucial marker of localization, both as physical matter and as symbolic representations of "the local". Yet, as she points to the importance of food in locality formation, she also warns us about the problem of its multi-faceted and contradictory meanings. To avoid using a vague understanding of "local food" in my further discussion, it is important to unpack its multiple significations, as the different definitions of locality I am sketching are based on exactly those different perceptions of what is "local food".

Firstly, it should be noted that "local food" is a social constructed category. The notion that humans attach a social meaning to space is a very widely discussed topic within social science discourses. (Brenner, 2001) The term "local" deceivingly suggest a very clear demarcation: namely 'originating from here, right where we stand' or within the city or the village where we are now; or the region; or the country. The longer you think about it the vaguer it gets and the more exceptions you find to the rule that the local is simply "here". The social construction of locality is most clear when we think about the borders, disconnections and contestations of space (Brenner, 2001); here we get into a question of scale. For my research I have talked with people of different national and regional origins and all applied a rather different scale to the local.

For example, when I asked some American visitors of the Salone del Gusto until how many miles from their house food could be produced to count as local in their opinion, they answered that they did not count the distance in miles but in minutes to drive there by car. And even then their emphasis in buying "local food" was still on the unprocessed "fresh" quality of the "local food" and they seemed to care less about the fact that they drove one hour to a farmers market. A few Dutch visitors I asked the same question answered with a rather precise radius: "local food" is produced within 10 km from their house. Upon further questioning the difference between their definitions of the borders of the local were much related to their overall life style; the American visitors were used to commuting by car for an hour for many daily activities while the Dutch visitors commuted by bicycle within the cities they live in and most of their commutes were within a 10 km radius from their house.

These are mere examples of the scaling one could apply to the idea of "local food", but they show clearly how the idea of the "local" remains a rather subjective and socially constructed concept. As Henrichs (2003; 35) points out, we are all working with the same "technological and scientific appraisals thus require normative input and political deliberation to specify when and why particular distances are no longer acceptably 'local' or 'regional'."

Another interesting indication to the social construction of "local food" is the physical variance of the food it actually signifies. Van Der Meulen (2008) makes a brief comparison between the foods actually referred to as local foods and notices that they are different types of food within different context: In Anglo-Saxon countries local food refers to unprocessed, organically grown, often fresh foods, that are sold to restaurants, in farmers markets and sometimes directly on the farm. Contrastingly, in Latin-European countries "local food" refers more to "regionally typical" products that have been linked to tradition and a well-defined area of origin. And in so called "developing countries" the foods

identified as "local foods" are indigenous crops that are raised and consumed in a traditional manner. This definition has the same emphasis on tradition as done in Latin-European countries but lack the latter's degree of reputation and organization in a protective system. (Van der Meulen, 2008)

Moreover, it should be noted that "local food" is a politically constructed category. It plays an important role in a broader set of dichotomies and serves as an argument in both discourses on "the global-local" and "the urban-rural". It seems to have become a particular antithesis to globalization and a vector for resistance against "the global". In this dichotomization "the global" represents an alienating and capricious interdependent global food system that depends on fossil fuels and other ecologically unsustainable methods to allow for large global flows of homogenous low-quality products produced by socially and economically disadvantaged farmers. And contrastingly, "the local" represents a cozy place of "embeddedness", where everything is reproduced according to an optimal local balance of social, economic, cultural and ecological resources. (Trubek, 2008; Henrichs, 2003; Winter, 2003; DuPuis & Goodman, 2005) However, such a dichotomization clearly overgeneralizes both globalization and localization. This dichotomization works as an anti-politics machine that masks the heterogeneous politics of the local and the competition between different localities. (DuPuis & Goodman, 2005) The term "local" is often used in activist and academic discourse as if defining a group of localities with homogenous political interests and aspirations. By connecting "the local" to emotionally appealing concepts (such as quality, embeddedness, trust and care) and heralding it as a "new rural development paradigm" to combat the injustices of global industrial agriculture, this discourse basically ignores the dangers of defensive localism. This political phenomenon (often compared to nationalism) emphasizes the construction, relational positioning and protection of the local, by imposing rigid boundaries around a spatially defined "local" and

eliminating the internal differences in the name of the common good. (Henrichs, 2003) Hence, "local food" is an apparent anti-political term, but nonetheless wealds great political significance in discourses on globalization and localization.

Finally, it should be noted that "local food" is an identity strategy. Identity formation takes place in our social interaction with the outside world. A currently rather important factor in identity formation is consumption. Mary Douglas describes how the consumption of goods –such as food– is important not only for subsistence and competitive display but also to make "visible and stable categories of culture" (Douglas and Isherwood, 1980). But not every act of consumption should be seen as equally efficient. Roland Barthes (1961) tries to explain the psychosociological meaning of contemporary food consumption as a linguistic system through which the structure of a culture is unconsciously translated; in this system food is an important sign as eating is a behavior that develops beyond its own ends when it sums up, replaces, signalizes and energizes all other behaviors. Food is at the same time a marker of individuality as well as the individual's place in society (Anderson, 2008).

While eating selectively has been done within practically every culture over the course of human history, we have reached a stage in human development in which the variety of foods we can safely eat (that is according to scientific probability) has increased many times (also through increased global connections and the spread of global culinary knowledge and products). Choosing to eat only "local food" can be seen as a way of part of an individual consumer choice for ethical, protest or counter-cuisine eating. One tries to reach self-actualization through considerate consumption. Choosing to eat very selective food is more than an individual self-conception; it is a choice that needs to be incorporated in the entire lifestyle. (Wrye, 2007) Because local food is not always available in generic supermarkets one often needs to visit various alternative venues at certain times, or arrange for personal distribution networks and farmers markets. Thus the conscious consumer choice

to eat local food shows an identity politics that includes not only a political choice in favor of certain foodways but it also entails an entire range of practical realities and implications. This individual choice touches closest upon the practical engagement of people with both the spatial and imaginative locality; and concurrently a nice bridge between the more theoretical and more ethnographical parts of this thesis.
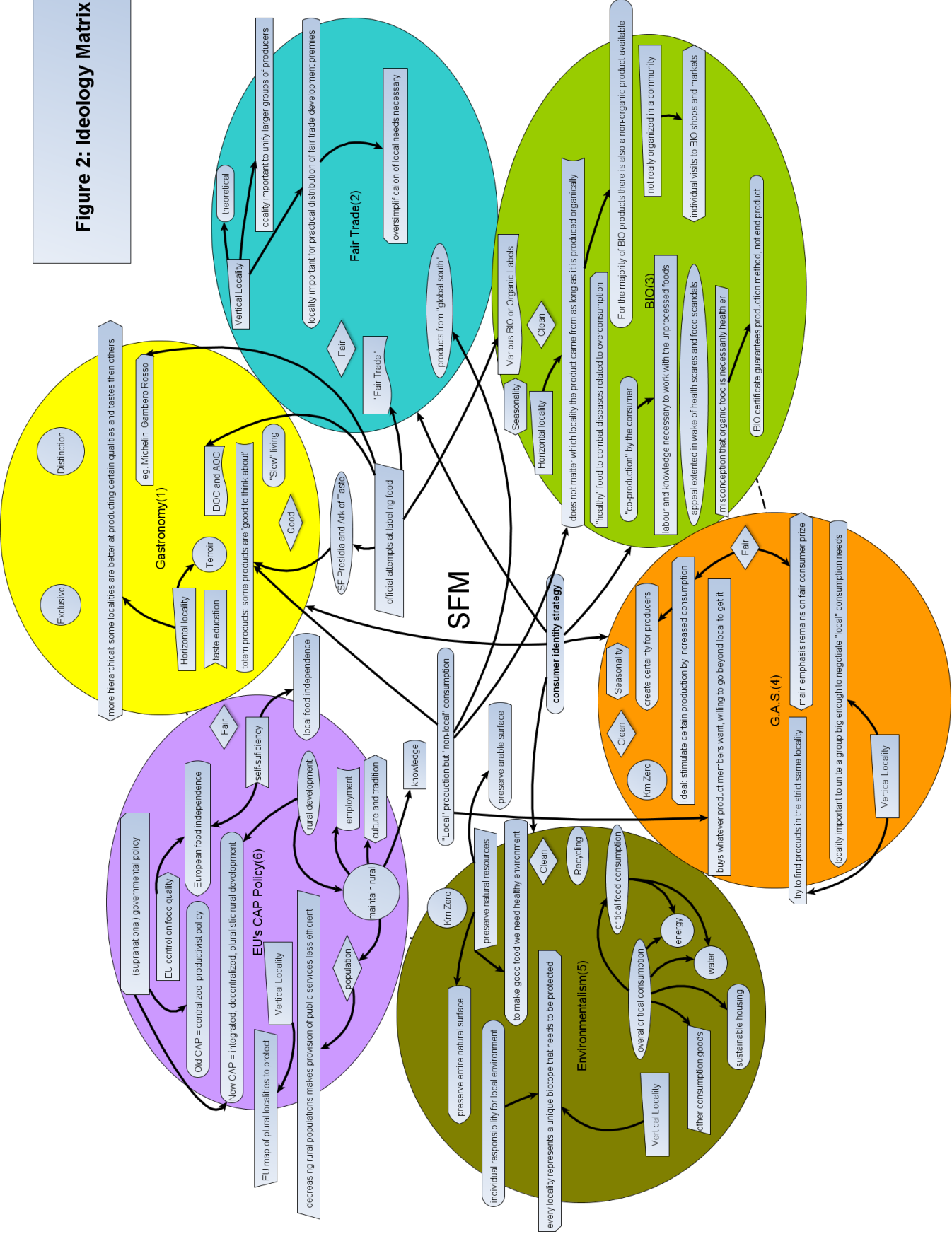
2.2 Different Actors, Different Interests, Different Definitions Of Locality

An important argument made in this thesis concerns the composite ideology of the SFM. During its development the movement aimed at absorbing members and make coalitions with many other social movements, ideological groups and governmental organizations. Sometimes the leadership of the SFM actively changed its ideology to attract new members/collaborators, but sometimes something changed in the ideology/situation of the potential members/collaborators that attracted them to the SFM. The addition of new members/collaborators influences the SFM on several levels: as the international SFM, as the national SF organization and on the level of the local SF convivium. It is thus important to note how the backgrounds of these new members/collaborators are integrated, assimilated and contrasted into different discourses and practical realities.

Figure 2 displays some of the overlaps and distinct differences between some important actors who have contributed to the composite ideology of the SFM. This figure is not exhaustive and the arguments and actors displayed are selected upon relevance to the argumentation for this thesis; hence all arguments are largely related to drawing how these actors have contributed to the dynamic composite definition of locality within the SF. This figure is mostly valid for the macro-dynamics within the international SFM and the national SF organizations, but also holds important background information to the micro-level of local SF convivia. Some of its elements have already been sufficiently explained in the

former chapters, and other elements will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter of this thesis. Therefore, I shall restrict the discussion here to the most important elements only. The information in this figure is based on my own analysis and summary of: my fieldwork diary, my conference notes of the Salone del Gusto, the official SF websites, and some books and articles that I will specifically cite within my discussion.

Figure 2: Ideology Matrix

Fair Trade(2)
- theoretical
- Vertical Locality
- locality important to unify larger groups of producers
- locality important for practical distribution of fair trade development premies
- oversimplification of local needs necessary
- Fair
- "Fair Trade"
- products from "global south"

BIO(3)
- Various BIO or Organic Labels
- Clean
- Seasonality
- Horizontal locality
- does not matter which locality the product came from as long as it is produced organically
- "healthy" food to combat diseases related to overconsumption
- "co-production" by the consumer
- labour and knowledge necessary to work with the unprocessed foods
- appeal extented in wake of health scares and food scandals
- For the majority of BIO products there is also a non-organic product available
- not really organized in a community
- individual visits to BIO shops and markets
- misconception that organic food is necessarily healthier
- BIO certificate guarantees production method, not end product

Gastronomy(1)
- Distinction
- Exclusive
- eg. Michelin, Gambero Rosso
- 'more hierarchical: some localities are better at producting certain qualities and tastes then others'
- Terror
- DOC and AOC
- "Slow" living
- Good
- Horizontal locality
- taste education
- totem products: some products are 'good to think about'
- SF Presidia and Ark of Taste
- official attempts at labeling food

G.A.S.(4)
- Fair
- Seasonality
- Clean
- Km Zero
- Vertical Locality
- create certainty for producers
- ideal: stimulate certain production by increased consumption
- buys whatever product members want, willing to go beyond local to get it
- main emphasis remains on fair consumer prize
- locality important to unite a group big enough to negotiate "local" consumption needs
- try to find products in the strict same locality

EU's CAP Policy(6)
- Fair
- self-sufficiency
- local food independence
- rural development
- (supranational) governmental policy
- EU control on food quality
- Old CAP = centralized, productivist policy
- European food independence
- New CAP = integrated, decentralized, pluralistic rural development
- Vertical Locality
- employment
- culture and tradition
- knowledge
- maintain rural
- population
- EU map of plural localities to protect
- decreasing rural populations makes provision of public services less efficient

Environmentalism(5)
- Km Zero
- preserve natural resources
- Clean
- Recycling
- critical food consumption
- overal critical consumption
- energy
- water
- sustainable housing
- other consumption goods
- Vertical Locality
- preserve entire natural surface
- individual responsibility for local environment
- to make good food we need healthy environment
- every locality represents a unique biotope that needs to be protected

consumer identity strategy

SFM

- "Local" production but "non-local" consumption
- preserve arable surface

(1) Gastronomy

As the ideology that gave birth to the SFM, gastronomy has an important ideological influence on almost every aspect of the SFM. Its focus on "Good" food, taste education and "slow" living are parts of the basic principles of the SFM today. Gastronomists were the ones who started the discourse on "terroir"[5] and the subsequent labelling initiatives such as the French Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée (AOC) and the Italian Denominazione di Origine Controllata (DOC). (Trubek, 2008) The latter are still much used in SF discourse and many SF members use them as indicators of "local" products that fit within the SF ideology. Both the SFM and gastronomists define locality in a horizontal manner: as "local" when produced in a certain territory, preferably one where it has been produced traditionally. In a way these products become 'totems' for locality, being what Mary Douglas describes as representations of the locality and products that are "good to think about". (Douglas and Isherwood, 1980) main difference between them is the emphasis the SFM places on the traditional origin, to which the gastronomists agree but they have a more hierarchical understanding of which localities are better at producing a certain quality and taste then others; which touches immediately upon the issue of exclusivity and distinction.[6] Whereas gastronomy is mainly about exclusivity and distinction, the SFM sees it as a mission to make "good, clean and fair" food available to ALL. Where gastronomists seek to find limited editions, the SFM strives for inclusivity and equality. They do so by trying to increase the production of SF products and to find ways to spread the risks of small-scale organic farming to ultimately make the prizes of these products go down. SF Italia also tries

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[5] "Terroir" is a French term that has been recently borrowed by anthropologists from oenology and is used to describe how wine has a "local taste" as different geological, topographical, climatological circumstances influence the taste of the grapes. (Trubek, 2008)

[6] "Distinction" is theorized in Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1979), as the way in which one's social class tends to determine one's personal likes and interests. One of his important observations is that despite the fact that subordinate classes have their own "taste", they are also much influenced by the "aesthetic" values of the "taste" of dominant classes. These elites set the standards for what counts as 'social' and 'cultural' capital.

to stimulate popular use of SF products by encouraging "Osterie" (traditionally workers restaurants with simple traditional cuisine for low prizes) to use SF products and assembling them in a guide for their members (and in practice lots of tourists) to find.

However, the organization still has received lots of criticism for being too exclusive and only for the upper classes. From my research I can also conclude that in the practical reality most of the SF members are from higher classes. They are the ones that can afford the higher prizes and the free time to dedicate to educating themselves and participating in SF events.

(2) Fair Trade

As one of the more current ideological shifts of the SFM, the link between Fair Trade and the SFM is less well developed. The biggest difference between the SFM and Fair Trade is that the latter is mostly focused on production in the "global south" whereas the former has only been using SF production as a development tool since a few years; for decades it was only taking into account the fair remuneration of local farmers in the "global north". Both Fair Trade products and SF products are produced "locally", but not always consumed in the same locality. They also differ considerably in their definitions of locality, as Fair Trade defines locality vertically as "local" Fair Trade cooperations representing "local needs". Here "the local" becomes an important unit in increasing the production unit for bulk export (many Fair Trade products are mono-crops, transported in bulk) as well to unify the local community for the practical distribution of the fair trade development premiums. Another major difference between them is the actual 'local product' you buy; the Fair Trade "local product" claims to come from specific cooperation in specific locality but is only theoretically from there. With Fair Trade (part of) a harvest is bought up for a fair prize and then gets shipped in bulk with the generically produced and priced harvests of other farmers.

As such the product you buy is not local, only your consumer choice to support a certain local community economically is.

(3) BIO

The figure gets a bit crowded when we start to compare BIO and the SFM. First of all, the preferred production method for SF products is organic. The SFM does not have a strictly controlled labelling system (which does exist in the BIO movement), but rather catalogues products (in the Ark of Taste) that are on the brink of extinction, have an unique local traditional origin or artisanal production method and are produced on a small-scale environmentally friendly manner. The environmentally friendly manner in which this production is to take place is partially codified but not nearly as strictly as does BIO. While the SFM cannot guarantee organic production, both the member of the SFM and the consumers of BIO are prone to the same misconception: that organic food is necessarily healthier. Even then a BIO certificate can only guarantee the organic production method; it does not guarantee the end product to be healthy. Both SF and BIO products are most definitely healthy for our planet's environment but for humans not necessarily so, which is interesting as the appeal for both was extended significantly in the wake of a number of health scares and food scandals in the late 1980's and around the beginning of the millennium. Both SF products and BIO products rely on the "co-production" of the consumer, as they are often unprocessed and seasonal foods that need culinary knowledge and labour to prepare/present and knowledge of seasonality to procure at the right time. BIO also uses a horizontal definition of locality, but they do so in a contrasting rationale to the SFM; it does not matter which locality the product come from as long as it is produced organically.

(4) G.A.S.

The Italian "Gruppo d'Acquisto Solidale" (G.A.S.) is a network of local consumers that tries to unify its consumer demand to get negotiation power on specific product the group members desire to purchase. These groups have popped up all over Italy and are also present in other countries. There are all kinds of different G.A.S. with different ideals and consumer targets. They are an example of vertical locality in the sense that they seek to unify a unique "local" group and their interests in one single consumer demand with which they go out to negotiate with producers. The main emphasis of these groups lies in reaching a fair consumer prize, but many of them are actually formed to combine their consumption power for social purposes: create a stable demand for small-scale, local, ethical and seasonal products. Many of them try to find products in the strict same locality, but some of them are also willing to go beyond the local when consumer wishes cannot be met locally (for the right prize). The logic of combining demand to stimulate a certain type of production is also well integrated within the SFM; there are small groups of acquisition within SF convivia (such as in SFF) and SF Italy purchases the SF products used in the Master of Food program in large quantities for all the courses.

(5) Environmentalism

One of the largest contributors to ideological change within the SF was environmentalism. In the mid-1990's the leadership of the SFM noticed that striving for good quality food for everybody was difficult in a natural environment that is damaged and exploited. While the environmentalists strive to preserve the entire natural surface of our planet, the SFM is mostly concerned with preserving the natural fertility of its arable surfaces. After the environmentalist shift, the SFM started to focus on specific environmentalist projects such as reducing energy and water consumption within the

production and consumption of SF products. They also started projects on the recycling of food (how to cook with left-over food based on the traditional Italian cuisine that is famous for its efficient use of food resources) and projects on reducing the packaging of food and stimulating environmentally-friendly packaging. Consequently, the SFM attracts many people who are interested in environmentalism as they can use it to develop a critical food consumption strategy to complement the other critical consumer strategies they use to reduce the environmental costs of their consumption. Environmentalism uses a vertical approach to locality; one that values every locality as a unique biotope that needs to be protected. As such the world becomes a precious patchwork of local environments that are all under the threat of general environmental damage, but every locality is damaged in its own way. With local inhabitants being the first to suffer, environmentalism puts the ethic responsibility on local individuals to protect their own local environment.

(6) EU's CAP Policy

I added the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Union as an interesting supranational governmental policy that has important implications for the European members of the SFM. It is even more possible to see the importance the EU and its policy making if one compares the old and the new CAP. The old CAP was a centralized productivist policy devised to create the maximum of food independency, and was infamous for its highly subsidized surpluses and for boosting large scale industrial agriculture. Under the threat of US agricultural hegemony of industrial agriculture, the EU started to reorient its attention to protecting the plurality and tradition of its rural culture. The new CAP searches to stimulate an integrated, decentralized, pluralistic rural development that is not necessarily as productivist as the old CAP, but because of its decentralized pluralistic nature it can adapt agricultural production more easily to local demand, instead of creating surpluses of certain

goods. The EU's new CAP defines locality in a vertical manner as an EU map of plural localities to protect. After the refocusing of the CAP's emphasis to a re-traditionalization of agriculture, it started to have several ideas about rural development in common with the SFM. One of the reasons why the SFM was initiated was in fact to re-develop economically the region around Bra, Italy. As the rural population and rural employment were slipping, the initiators of the SFM thought rural development necessary to preserve the local traditions and culture. Though the new CAP has many elements that are favourable to the type of agriculture the SFM is promoting, unfortunately this new policy is still much of a change in discourse rather than a real opening for practical support.

This chapter was meant to first show the importance of food for locality formation and then show the different ways in which such politics are used by the different ideologies that contributed to composite ideology of the SFM. The first chapter of this thesis described the dynamic history that brought these ideological backgrounds together in one movement, and the next chapter will show the empirical realities of these cultural politics of food and the composite SF ideology.

Chapter 3:

Adding Ethnographic Touches: Defining Locality In Slow Food Firenze

In this chapter I will discuss the ethnographic results of my research and couple them back to some of the theories laid out in earlier chapters. The first part will focus on the most active members of SFF: their involvement, their background and the way they define "local" food. I selected these particular members of SFF as they are the people I have observed and interviewed most frequently. There are also some other active members with whom I have not had enough contact to gather a complete picture, and therefore the list below is not exhaustive. The descriptions below are interesting because they portray ethnographically how these members have backgrounds in the other ideologies and movements from which the SFM was formed.

In the second part of this chapter I will discuss my observations of the projects which members of SFF organized themselves or participated in. I will only discuss a selection of events that are relevant to the argument of this thesis. Here I also included a discussion of my observations at the "Salone del Gusto", which is not directly organized by SFF but some of its members were present as visitors and as volunteers at the stand of SF Toscana. While the members of SFF had little influence on this event, it remains interesting to discuss their reactions to it; as this event was an important interaction with the international and national parts of the SFM.

The final part of this chapter will try to add some more detail by showing the conflicts, disconnections and inconsistencies within SFF and its definitions of locality. The overall geographical imaginary of locality as defined within SFF will be sketched in the first

two sections of this chapter, upon which the third section will add some important comments on the irregularities and scales within this map. Together these three sections will show how the dynamic SFM can serve as an example to help us discover the multifaceted nature of locality.

3.1 The People

Leonardo: the Fiduciary

Leonardo is the official leader of SFF, and maintains the contact between SFF and SF Toscana and SF Italia. He is the main node in the SFF network and knows more or less what all the other members are doing. His involvement with the SFM goes back many years and he was appointed fiduciary in 2010 by the SFF committee after the old fiduciary was asked to leave (by the committee and SF Italia) for having too many conflicts of interests. Leonardo has a very interesting profession: he is a "trippaio", that means he owns a kiosk in which he cooks traditional Florentine tripe recipes like "Trippa alla Fiorentina" and "Lampredotto".

Leonardo was born in Florence and has many local attachments, but sometimes he dreams of moving to another country; as he gets tired of the Italian bureaucracy and politics that make it difficult for him to initiate and realize SF projects. Leonardo has a very pragmatic definition of "local food": being food that is produced on a small-scale, in an environmentally friendly manner and that is preferably of a local variety (as to maintain local biodiversity). This particular definition is shared by most of the members of SFF though some members apply it differently or stricter then Leonardo does. It seems Leonardo is one of the most balanced members of SFF, as he has some background in many different ideologies but seems to be attached very specifically to exactly the arguments in which the SFM overlaps with the other ideologies. Being the most SF oriented in his ideology, his definition is also the closest to the general SF ideology. Interestingly enough most of the

members of his convivium seem to agree with him and therefore in the following descriptions I will refer back to his definition and describe its individual uses and variations.

Stefano: the Secretary

In his role as secretary, Stefano helps the fiduciary in maintaining relationships with SF Toscana and SF Italy and is a second point of reference for questions and problems within SFF. He is also an active member of SF Toscana. Stefano has an interesting profession: he is responsible for organizing social events in a public library in Florence. He chose to orient the type of events he organizes towards SF projects, school gardens, local agriculture and local traditions and culture. Due to his professional as well as personal involvements in many networks on these topics he is one of the most well-connected members of SFF. The overlap between his professional and SF projects also allow him to dedicate more time to SFF than most other members. He is the primary responsible for the project "BiblioSlow" (SFF has donated an entire collection of SF Editore books to create a public collection) and together with Chiara he organizes the "Orti in Condotta" project. Stefano is a very experienced gardener and cook and educates others in his projects.

Stefano shares Leonardo's definition of "local food", but is one of the SF members who plays with their use: for the local assembly he made Mexican-style guacamole from organic avocados (neither local nor seasonal) with adding some "local" ingredients. (this was the only non-Tuscan/Italian dish on the table) Stefano is also one of the members who has traveled most and in his (inter-)national travels he has involved himself with quality, organic and small-scale agriculture (and its fruits) in many different localities. He has also been active within the Fair Trade movement and shares its ideological search for social justice to local producers. Where he used to search for the just remuneration of farmers in the "global south"; he is now an active advocate for farmers in the "global north" and uses

his extensive network to for instance: connect SF/organic producers with consumers willing to pay a fair prize or help producers to find available land with the right qualities for organic production.

Francesco: the Educator

Francesco is responsible for the Master of Food project and other educative initiatives on taste. He for instance organizes dinners and field trips to create educative encounters between producers and members. Francesco is one of the most active members and is involved with or present at almost every other event/project in SFF. He is very passionate about cooking and has his own opinions on the best way to do it. He is also a self-taught (with the help of manuals from SF Editore and other books) expert of artisanal beers (many of which would be considered SF products) and actually teaches the beer course of the Master of Food program in several other SF convivia. Francesco is originally from a city close to Milan and his father is the fiduciary of a SF convivium in his hometown. Due to his father's involvement with SF and his mother's efforts at teaching him the secrets of cooking and gastronomy, Francesco is one of the most experienced gastronomic and culinary members in SF. He is also the SFF member who tends most towards the gastronomic spectrum of the SFM. Gastronomists tend to be more critical and hierarchical in their selection of "good food". Francesco typically thinks in totem products (Douglas and Isherwood, 1980) and puts great effort in educating himself on their taste and culinary preparation. He defines many foods as simply "inedible" and even bluntly refuses to eat them if they were offered. He seems attracted to the SFM due to its principles of equality and inclusivity. He does not strive for the exclusivity of the foods he finds gastronomically superior (as gastronomists do), but seeks to educate others to appreciate them and to make the choice to consume smaller quantities of higher quality foods as to make SF products affordable and inclusive. "Local food" is very important to Francesco and sees its role much

like Roland Barthes (1961) argued: as the essential language through which the structure of culture is translated. To him the act of eating is more than a mere means of survival; it sums up, replaces, signalizes and energizes all other aspects of his life.

From all the active members I have noticed his definition of "local food" in general and of SF products in particular to be the most critical. Most active SF members defined SF products to be in a range between "local food" as defined by Leonardo and the stricter selection present in the Ark of Taste. However, Francesco believes that SF products are only strictly SF Presidia or his own selection from the products in the Ark of Taste. He therefore has a definition that is closer to the gastronomic one. His kitchen cabinet is filled with the different local products he assembled on trips, farmers markets, on the Salone del Gusto, ordered directly from producers or bought on one of his bi-weekly shopping trips to the "Mercato della Terra" at Montecatini Terme (discussed below). The SFM in general (and Francesco is doing this in a more clear and pronounced manner) is redefining these products that originate from various localities to be equally "local". And by doing so they uncouple the usual link made between a vertical locality and local production-consumption relationships. A scale revision from a vertical to a horizontal locality allows for the drawing of a map of simultaneous localities rather than a singular "local".

Gian Marco: the Treasurer and Coordinator for Tuscan "Osterie d'Italia"

Gian Marco takes care of the financial books, affairs and relations of SFF. He is also the coordinator of the Tuscan team that reviews and audits potential and current "Osterie" who deserve to be recognized as being compliant to SF ideology by appearing in the yearly "Osterie d'Italia" guide. Active SF members send suggestions for potential Osterie (or complaints about current ones) to Gian Marco who first assembles some background information and may decide to include the suggestion in the schedule of his group of 8-10 auditors with extensive gastronomic experience. To appear in the guide the restaurants must

use products that are "good, clean and fair", seasonal and "Km 0" (a.k.a. "kilometro zero", signifying short supply lines). They must use as little additives as possible and the average price of a three-course meal may not be higher than 35 euros.

Gian Marco has been involved with the SFM for a long time, has been researching traditional Tuscan cuisine and products for years, and even wrote a well-sold recipe book on them. He knows a lot of SF producers within Tuscany and uses his knowledge to (together with Alessandro) organize unofficial SF shopping and tasting tours in the weekend for friends, colleagues and family. He is often accompanied by his wife, who also has extensive knowledge of traditional Tuscan cuisine. These little shopping tours are very similar to the G.A.S. types of organizations as Gian Marco organizes a group of consumers interested in the same products to either join on the visit or order a quantity with him. He then negotiates a group discount on the products and redistributes them. These little G.A.S.'s he organizes are comprised of varied members and not all of them share the SFM's ideology, many of them are arguably mainly interested in the gastronomic value of the products. Gian Marco is thus the connecting agent who decides to buy a product produced according to SF ideology. He is also one of the more "gastronomic" members, which is visible in his pursuits at labeling and framing "good restaurants" for the "Osterie d'Italia" guide. This particular guide is a clear example of the SFM's gastronomic past, as making guides is a very common practice within gastronomy and an important tool in creating the "distinction" described by Bourdieu. (1979) Moreover, Gian Marco is very adept at using the distinguishing language of terroir and other oenological terminology that shows his high level of cultural capital. And he seems to implement these skills rather politically when they are most served to gain him status or when he prefers to stay on the background of an event.

Gian Marco uses a definition of "local" food and SF products that is less strict then most other member of SFF and he seems more attracted to gastronomic totem products then to the SF totem products (those represented in the Ark of Taste).

Chiara: Responsible for "Orti in Condotta"

Chiara is responsible for the school garden project started by SF Italia which SFF joined last year. This is an official nation-wide SF project thus she is responsible for both the local implication of it and the coordination with the national project managers. Chiara has a background in journalism and marketing and works freelance for environmentalist initiatives and NGO's. She is currently working for an online community for people who like to start (urban) gardens called growtheplanet.com/it . Via this network and her past engagements in similar networks Chiara is well-informed on gardening initiatives. Being the mother of two young children made her also interested to initiate the "Orti in Condotta" project in SFF.

Chiara defines "local food" much in the same way as Leonardo does, but seems to put more emphasis on the health part of the definition. She is a SF member with a background in BIO and environmentalism and is most concerned with feeding her and our children with healthy food and passing on a healthy planet to them. She thinks it is good to grow "local" food varieties because they are most adapt to a local biotope and will thus thrive without much help. She uses her contacts to obtain the seeds of these "local" varieties both for the "Orti in Condotta" project and her personal garden. She is also a big fan of recycling and helps the participating schoolteachers in finding ingenuous ways to use recycled materials to build and maintain their gardens. Chiara also talks a lot about environmental degradation and the responsibility of individuals to protect their local environments.

Antonio: Bringing Slow Food to Schools

Antonio is the chief cook at a big school in Florence and cooks for its school cafeteria. He tries to use healthy "local" ingredients and to educate the children on how healthy food is grown and cooked. As a big consumer he tries to find bigger quantities of produce and is a welcome client for many SF producers. He also tries to grow some of the ingredients himself in the school garden. He was one of the organizers of a recently launched project called *"Più vicino è più buono, ora vendiamo a Km 0"* (translated: Closer is tastier, let's go to Km 0). This project is basically a small "shop-on-wheels" (small delivery truck adapted to look like a shop counter) with local products from the close vicinity of Florence. You order your goods online and the truck is delivering them according to a special schedule to a number of schools in the region. So you can pick up your child and your "local" products at the same time. This project is accompanied by frequent farmer's markets at the schools and educational projects concerning small-scale local organic agriculture and gardening.

This project was initiated by Antonio and some other individuals and organizations, and SFF became a collaborator later. Their role is to: act as a contact node between the project and SF producers, consult on the "Slow Food" value of the products, use the SF network to recommend non-local SF producers for products (temporarily) not available locally and audit the project to check its good practice. The project has been initiated rather recently and it is not yet possible to see its results and how SFF has been able to contribute. The project clearly adds to the accessibility and appeal of 'local' foods, though at the same time it also makes buying them a more mundane act. This indirect purchase might weaken the association between food and locality and the emphasis might come on health issues and eating 'organic' food instead; though the addition of frequent farmer´s markets might compensate here.

Franco: the Venue Manager and Expert on Wild Herbs

Franco is an active member of SFF who until very recently was the manager of the "Antico Spedale di Bigallo" an old centuries old pilgrim hostel with several big dining halls, a charismatic old kitchen and a modern one for preparing big dinners. It is equipped to receive big groups of visitors and mostly hosts groups of schoolchildren (from many different countries). This is the venue that SFF got to use for most of its events at the cost of the utilities they used only and with Franco's voluntary guidance in and around the kitchen. (They still do but I think the conditions have changed some.) Franco has been involved in the SFM for many years as an active member. He is the active member with the most developed language skills in various languages and has extensive knowledge on wild herbs which he shares in the SFF newsletter. His herbal knowledge stems from his environmentalist background and he has been active in local movements that sought to preserve local nature reserves and protest the environmental pollution of natural sites. He organizes SF events in which he leads a group on a wild herb picking walk and then the herbs get cleaned and cooked in a restaurant that combines it with "local" products compliant with SF ideology. He is more interested than most other members in uncultivated natural environments, most probably as he is able to see the "local food" it produces in the shape of wild herbs.

He also likes to organize trips outside of Italy with other active SF members to visit producers abroad who work in a way that is good according to SF ideology. His definition of locality is horizontal as he values equally the "local" products from other regions and countries and likes to visit them to taste them and learn more about them.

3.2 The Projects

(Inter)National events: Salone del Gusto

It is end October 2013 as thousands of visitors flock into the extensive fair complex in Turin, Italy, to taste and experience the SFM up-close on its biannual fair: the Salone del Gusto. The first three big halls are reserved for SF Italy and are divided into regions; each region has one big stand from the regional SF representative (eg. SF Toscana) and approximately 15-20 market stands for the representatives of 'local' SF producers. There are also a few big stands that are either from national producers (such as Lavazza) or from the provincial government (such as one for a national park in Val d´Aosta). On the outer edges of the halls are located various-sized conference halls with scheduled lectures, presentations and discussions. Annexed to this main building by wooden walkways and tents is a covered food court with mostly Italian SF snacks leading up to `the Oval': a big glass building half of which dedicated to stands and expositions of SF educational programs and the other half is reserved for the representatives of various national SF convivia; each of them have between 2-5 stands, most of which are occupied by volunteers that represent several national SF producers. A third building is destined for educational purposes and houses a series of taste labs and show kitchens for practical tastings and cooking courses.

The spatial structure of the "Salone del Gusto" is quite revealing when it comes to the spatial structure within the SFM. The 'Italian' part of the fair occupied about 2/3 of the entire space. Moreover, most organized events were in Italian with a live translation via special headphones or personal translators. When I asked Leonardo, Francesco and Stefano why they thought Italy was so overrepresented they reasoned that that the event is hosted and sponsored heavily by SF Italy and the city of Turin. Moreover, they thought it was natural as SF is about 'local food' and the Italian representatives just had the shortest supply

lines. Many of the visitors were ordinary Italians (interested in gastronomy, environmentalism or Fair Trade), or Italian SF members; a smaller quantity of the visitors were actually foreigners, and most of them were already members of the SFM. Thus a large part of the interactions on the fair were between Italians and Italians. As far as I observed and enquired about the behavior of the SFF members present at the fair, I noticed they spent very little time in the international part of the fair. When I talked to them a few months later about the event they were not very enthusiastic about the international stands, and had bought few products from there to take home. As I started to inquire into their reasons, I established they actually added another dimension to their definition of locality, as they seem to believe products bought in the different regional Italian markets were equally 'local' but the products in the international stands were somehow 'less local'. As such it seems they do not only define locality horizontally but also selectively and hierarchically. Or as Francesco told me: "Some local foods are more local than others".

Regional events: Opening Mercato della Terra and Master of Food

An interesting regional event that was not directly related to SFF, but heavily discussed about and visited by many SFF members, was the opening of the Mercato della Terra ('Market of the soil') at Montecatini Terme on the 2nd of February 2013. SF Italia has a national project that tries to establish local markets for SF producers to sell their produce and several ones have been opened so far in Italy. The opening of this new one in Montecatini Terme (60 km from Florence) was much anticipated by the members of SFF as it would make it easier for them to buy fresh SF products. Besides these Mercati della Terra there are few places where SF products are actually sold together on a regular basis. There are some organized organic/SF markets (one of which organized by Stefano in front of the library he works in), but most other SF products need to be ordered (directly or online) or

picked up at the farm. The practical difficulty SFF members experience in obtaining SF products shows clear parallels to the Wrye's (2007) discussion of vegetarism, as both imply substantial identity strategies as they need to be incorporated in the entire lifestyle and demands a lot of extra time.

Van der Meulen (2008) also notices that the 'local' products consumed in Latin-European countries like Italy are mainly traditional foods that have been preserved or processed (while in Anglosaxon countries they would be mainly fresh products). Conversely to her theorization, it should be noted that while SFF members seemed to still mainly prefer preserved and processed traditional foods, they also sought to buy fresh SF products. This has not been a very recent consumer demand, but one that seems to have been largely unfulfilled due to the low production of these fresh SF products.

Having a 'Mercato della Terra' closer to Florence was mentioned as very relieving as the active SFF members would normally either eat the preserved foods, buy fresh foods at organic stores or content themselves with the highest quality fresh foods available in the regular supermarket. All members preferred the taste, structure and nutritional value of organic foods above foods produced in industrial agriculture, but they still prefer to buy SF products as they have the same qualities as organic food but the added value of maintaining local employment, culture and biodiversity. It is interesting how this market can still be called "local" while being 60 km's away and selling produce from that locality (an hour drive from Florence, though this was exactly what the American visitors of the Salone del Gusto had no problem with either). This example shows clearly how the term 'local food' can be disconnected from the actual spatial territory it is produced it.

A second regional event is not organized by SFF per se but only by Francesco. I think it interesting to mention that Francesco and other SF certified instructors are conducting the educational program 'Master of Food' on various subjects (Francesco

teaches the one on artisanal beer). The overall structure of these courses includes the technologies behind making the product (eg. cheese, procured meat, olive oil), its gustatory differences and a discussion of its local varieties. Though some of the features of these courses clearly stem from the gastronomic background of the SFM, one can see clear deviations from regular gastronomic tasting courses, such as the parts on the production (in a SF manner) and local varieties.

These courses are requested by local convivia to SF Italia who sends one of their certified instructors in that region – SF volunteers who are experts on the topic, working for their own pleasure and a small reimbursement fee– to teach the official course (designed by SF Italia) with 'local products' centrally bought in Bra and sent to the instructors. The 'local products' represented in this course are thus heavily mediated firstly by the selection of local foods of the SF Foundation for biodiversity in the Ark of Taste, then the makers of the 'Master of Food' course select from these particular products, and then the instructor gets some freedom in choosing what to teach. Very often you end up with products that might be more 'regional' then 'local' and the discourse on them is done by somebody who has read up on the topic but is not an expert on that particular locality. These courses thus add a certain twist to 'locality', one which contributes to the complex definition of locality within the SFM.

Local events

The biggest running project in SFF currently is "Orti in Condotta". In this project small school gardens are planted and maintained by local schoolteachers who get educational materials, seeds and gardening lessons from a professional agronomist. (member of SF Toscana) There are about eight SFF members involved who maintain personal contact with the teachers and come to help out once in a while. The project is a very effective way of spreading SF ideology as the educational material and lessons are all designed according

to SF principles. While the project is officially run from the upside down (via the educative materials) it is also given local touches by the volunteers and the 'local' seeds they plant. Stefano also invites the schoolteachers to other forums on gardening, nature, health and the environment which he organizes in the library. As such the project also functions as a network. Additionally it often involves parents and thus widens the appeal of Slow Food and even adds to the membership of SFF. By the 'local' activities, using 'local' seed varieties and by emphasizing the importance of 'local gardening', this project aids at creating a stronger sense of locality, but as the program talks little on the merit of the particular 'local' produce of other localities the locality it advocates is one more vertical than in the other projects within the SFM.

Another local project regards the establishment of restaurants that serve SF products as Gian Marco organizes frequent dinners to make members aware where to find the 'Osterie d´Italia' around/in Florence and to celebrate the highly regarded SF 'conviviality'. It must be mentioned that this is one of the most recurrent projects within SFF and also one of its most popular ones. Depending on the type and location there are about 10-25 participants at these dinners. Part of their appeal is the fact that due to the larger size and their affiliation with the SFM the dinners get a large variation of small courses and several types of wine. The abundance and the chance to taste, talk about and learn the origins of so many different small SF products is the reason for its popularity. This project is instrumental at creating a horizontal sense of locality as it combines products from all over Tuscany and discusses them as equally local and important. At the same time they are also some of the most gastronomic events in SFF, and there the language used in the discussions is often high in gastronomic terms and can only be understood by those who have a certain amount of cultural capital as theorized by Bourdieu (1979).

Another dinner opportunity that is very popular with SFF members are producer- or theme-related dinners. The ones I attended involved "pesce poveri" (types of fish that are not sold commercially as they are difficult to prepare or have a particular taste) and "Bianca Modenese" (all courses made with the dairy and meat products of a single cow, a local SF presidium race from Modena). These dinners are prime encounters between either real producers or enthusiastic SF volunteers who narrate rich stories on the production and preparation of the SF products they used. They were often the most theatrical and diverting dinners in which both the conviviality and discussion rose to high levels. I have talked during and after such dinners to the visitors and they often mentioned that they felt as if the pictures and anecdotes transformed the terrace/hall we were in at the 'Antico Spedale di Bigallo' into the locality where that product was from. Although this sense of being in that locality was mostly imagined, I would say it is as imagined as most of the associations these members have when they hold a jar of SF tomatoes or a bag of SF onions; most likely even more vivid. I think these dinners show very well how locality is most of all an imagined reality rather than a spatial territory. Much as Amy Trubek (2008) describes in her introduction to a reader in the study of terroir, the "taste of place" seems added by the florid descriptions of "terroir" and the imaginary territories it invokes. After which they become "embodied" into the convivial atmosphere at the dinner table and later associations are made not only between the food and this particular locality, but also between these particular "local foods" and the pleasant experience of the evening. (Anderson, 2005)

3.3 Conflicts And Disconnections

If locality is mostly an imagined reality then it should be noted that this reality is neither homogenous nor uncontested. There are lots of conflicts and disconnections within the image of locality. In an organization that combines members of such various backgrounds as the SFM such complexity becomes easily visible. First of all we should keep

in mind that while the active SFF members described above, and their colleagues at the head offices in Bra, have all kinds of ideas about Slow Food and its place in the world, they are not necessarily shared by the larger membership of the SFM. While all the SFF members receive regular emails and newsletters informing them of all the projects, many choose to appear only at some of these events. It can even be said that the majority like to 'only show up for dinner'. Certain educational events that were aimed at educating taste or put the meaning of Slow Food up for discussion, failed to launch due to low subscriptions. Thus the influence of the active core of the SFM on its broader membership should be measured rather carefully. On the other hand, the SFM is cooperating with so many different actors and active in so many networks that its influence is not restricted to its direct membership; for instance this is very visible in local projects such as 'Orti in Condotta' and 'Più vicino è più buono'.

There are situational circumstances that have changed the participation behavior of the members, such as the economic crisis (that has been restricting their budgets much harder over the past six months or so), political unrest and general uncertainty. The lessened participation of a large part of the SFF membership is also a clear indication of what Hinrich (2003) identified as the consumer dimension of "local foods" which become a consumer choice depended on its priorization above other consumer choices. During my conversations with less active SFF members they actually mentioned this economic priorization as the main reason for their lessened participation in a time when they had less money to spend.

Within the SFM, and locally within SFF, there always remains the tension between those who volunteer and those who profit. Within the movement there is a mixed membership between producers and consumers of SF products and they sometimes work side by side. Sometimes consumers actually start to get so interested in a certain product that

they even start to produce it, as happened to one of the members of SFF who became a part-time artisanal beer brewer. Whether they started producing before or after being a member, in both cases they clearly benefit from their membership in a network of consumers interested in their products. They thus have interests in defining "Slow Food" and "local" food products in a certain way that is favorable to their products. They offer their products against discounts and spend time educating the other members on their products. During this process they actually influence the sense of locality that is produced within the SFM. The most active SF producers within the movement produce the "local food" that will be more well-known and thus this creates a map with a certain geography where active farms and artisanal workshops light up. Therefore, the definition of locality does not only depend on the actual spatial territorial presence of SF producers, but also of their active engagement in the SFM itself. The social-political intervention of these active SF producers in the production of locality shows very clearly why there has been much theorization of the space as a socially constructed category within the social sciences. (Brenner, 2001) The actual territory of their farms can be quite neutrally perceived (as equal to its neighboring plots), but these producers have actively activated the SFM's ideology to construct a social meaning to their "local farms".

The SFM itself neither forms a unified and uncontested map over Italy. There are groups that work together frequently (some convivia even choose to align themselves with another one) and there are conflicts and rivalries between SF convivia as well. SFF has such a conflict with a neighboring convivium: SF Scandicci. The latter is a convivium located in the town of Scandicci, 6 km west of Florence. Interestingly they sport one of the highest membership counts in the entire country, while being a small town and located so close to Florence. The content of this conflict between them is rather complicated and not important

to my argument, but it is safe to summarize that SF Scandicci has managed to absorb a lot of members who would technically be falling in the area of Florence and thus under SFF. Inside the SFM there is no such thing as a jurisdiction and people can join any convivium they want. However, it is interesting how they managed people from another city to join their "local" group. Somehow these new members were able to redefine locality as an imaginary reality; a mental-map they could apply to any space where the right practices (production according to SF principles) are upheld and with which they can convert different localities to become equally "local". As the conflict started to develop, there is still official cooperation between the two convivia but within SFF there was a lot of apprehension expressed about SF Scandicci. The experts appointed by SF Scandicci are distrusted, as is their choice in local SF producers and restaurants to work with etc. Hence, if SFF would have to draw a Slow Food geography of Italy it would not be a clear map of a network of local convivia. There would be more or less different judgments given to the localities these convivial represent and all the producers and products in them. It is a little bit like Francesco's attitude towards SF products in general: he systematically scrutinizes the Ark of Taste and the "Osterie d'Italia" according to his own criteria. So do the members of SFF do in general; some locals become more local then others.

Interestingly this hopping from locality to locality and the blank spots on the map that nobody is interested in are also features ascribed to globalization by theorists such as Inda and Rosaldo (2008), who explain how disjunctures occur where global connections are not made equally and that there are places that remain unconnected and less affected by globalization; that remain "black holes" on the map of a globalized world. This thesis thus wants to argue in favor of a same attention to details and disjunctures as is made in studies of globalization.

Another remarkable scale revision is presented in the attitude towards the "Orti in Condotta" in Africa. A part of every local "Orti in Condotta" project is the adoption and financing of one or more school gardens in an African country. Interestingly, these African school gardens remain a rather brushed-aside subject within the local project reality. It seems they appear most frequently in the official sources from SF Italia, but are only briefly mentioned within SFF meetings. Mostly they are mentioned when during a theme dinner it is explained that a part of the dinner fee will be donated to 'Orti in Condota'. But then the conversation quickly turns towards the local school gardens where children from 2-12 years old get to learn important things about nature, health and nutrition. If you combine this observation with the already mentioned lack of interest in the international SF Products at the Salone del Gusto, it appears there is a certain scaling within the priority of the local again. If SFF were to draw a Slow Food geography of 'local foods' you would see they mostly value Italian "local" SF product. They barely consider the international "localities" that are so important in the SFM's rhetoric, in their daily experience within SFF. This observation clearly adds to the "scalability" of locality.

I will now move on to the concluding chapter in which I briefly summarize my thesis and give some recommendations for future research.

Conclusion:

In this thesis I have argued that the study of localism and locality should receive the same elaboration and complexity as has recently been added in the social scientific literature on globalization. While renowned globalization scholars like Appadurai have identified the differences and disjunctures in the global cultural flows of ethnoscapes ,mediascapes ,technoscapes ,financescapes and ideoscapes (Appadurai, 2000), very few of such extensions have been made in the consideration of localism. In the general literature locality is often interpreted through the logic of territory, in a more vertical manner ; much like a patchwork of adjoining localities. The idea that the "local" can be diverse seems contradictory as the very idea of the "local" is tied to its uniqueness and diversity. Therefore, this thesis was aimed as sketching an example of how such elaboration of the theories on localism could look like. It has added heterogeneity to various possible definitions of locality, by using the SFM in general and in SF Firenze in particular as examples. My choice fell on this organization, as it is has a very dynamic membership and composite ideology. Therefore I chose to answer the following research question: How do the members of SF Firenze create a horizontal sense of locality and in doing so redefine the local in a continuous and dynamic manner? A this question serves well as an analytical tool to draw a hypothetical connection between the continuous and dynamic nature of the SFM and their equally dynamic redefinition of locality.

I have first described the diversity of the Slow Food membership through the use of an overview of its development and how it has managed to attract members of other ideologies and movements. Then I moved on to discussing some general remarks on the cultural politics of food and the reasons why "local foods" lend themselves perfectly in the political mobilization of localism, as tools in identity formation and as a lens through which most of our daily activities are coloured. I proceeded by drawing an analytical figure of the

overlapping ideological actors that have contributed to the composite ideology within the SFM. Which I then referred back to in the following ethnographic chapter. This larger chapter contained the results of my fieldwork and tied ethnographic descriptions to the theoretical understandings mentioned in previous chapters. It described some of the most important members of SFF, a relevant selection of the projects participated in and initiated by SFF and eventually drew some of the within this local convivium.

Making an ethnographic description of SFF was rather essential as it created depth and foundation in the theoretical literature on localism. These were the real people who volunteered their free time (often most of it) to spread, live and enjoy the values of the SFM. And it was at this level that the picture got most complicated: that the similarities, contradictions and overlaps became visible. It showed the imaginary maps of locality these members drew on a daily basis. Interestingly was especially the discussion of the disconnections and conflicts within SFF as it is exactly in the little holes, stretched patches of spaces, vector fields and blanks of the map of locality created by the members of SFF – that we discover the multifaceted nature of locality. By unraveling the complexities of SF consumption we have shown how "local food" can be seen as a crucial marker of localization, a connection which was also made by Hinrichs (2003). She equally describes the importance of "local food" as both physical goods and symbolic representations of the "local". Where she merely alludes to the danger of its contradictory meanings, the ethnographic evidence I have gathered add to the credibility of her warning. And that was exactly the warning I also tried to make in this thesis. A call in favor of creating a multifaceted understanding of locality in general and of "local food" in particular.

As the SFM remains a rather dynamic organization that is constantly changing its rhetoric, membership appeal and cultural/political strategies, I suggest it is a movement that lends itself to the future study for other researchers who seek to unravel the condensed

meaning of locality and local foods. Particularly interesting for research in the near future will be the effects of the most recent shift the SFM made when redefining itself as a movement of "neo-gastronomists". Their new interpretation of gastronomy could be a rather appealing subject for those interested not only in elaborating on the still small field of the anthropology of food but could also invite sociologists to add new dimensions and elaborations on sociological classics like Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction.* Which was an interesting avenue I did not manage to take in the scope of this thesis, but one that I would have loved to pursue. Another interesting suggestion for future research would be the effects of the current economic and political unrest within Italy (or another country) on the consumption of "local foods", as to add more ethnographic foundation to the study of local food consumption as a strategic tool in consumer politics and identity formation. It might even be attractive to combine this topic with a consideration of how these changing circumstances are translated into the ontological meaning "local" foods have for individuals and the way their role in making sense of the world and our individual place in it.

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Official Slow Food websites:

http://www.slowfood.com/
http://www.slowfoodfirenze.it/
http://www.slowfoodfoundation.com/
http://editore.slowfood.it/editore/welcome.lasso
http://www.slowfood.it/