GOOD, CLEAN, AND FAIR FOOD FOR ALL: SLOW FOOD ROLE IN SAFEGUARDING FOOD HERITAGE IN BRAZIL AND GERMANY

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Doctoral Thesis

Thesis supervisor: **Prof. Dr. Mabel Gracia-Arnaiz**

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FAIG CONSTAR que aquest treball, titulat “Good, clean, and fair food for all: Slow Food role in safeguarding food heritage in Brazil and Germany”, que presenta Thalita Kalix Garcia per a l’obtenció del títol de Doctor, amb menció internacional, ha estat realitzat sota la meva direcció al Departament d'Antropologia, Filosofia i Treball Social d’aquesta universitat.

HAGO CONSTAR que el presente trabajo, titulado “Good, clean, and fair food for all: Slow Food role in safeguarding food heritage in Brazil and Germany”, que presenta Thalita Kalix Garcia para la obtención del título de Doctor, con mención internacional, ha sido realizado bajo mi dirección en el Departamento de Antropología, Filosofía y Trabajo Social de esta universidad.

I STATE that the present study, entitled “Good, clean, and fair food for all: Slow Food role in safeguarding food heritage in Brazil and Germany”, presented by Thalita Kalix Garcia for the award of the degree of Doctor, with international distinction, has been carried out under my supervision at the Department of Anthropology, Philosophy and Social Work of this university.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role played by civil society movements in safeguarding food heritage. For this, it starts from the Brazilian context, where the process of registering these heritages is difficult and slow. The object of this research is Slow Food, an international movement, present in more than 160 countries, which advocates *good, clean, and fair food for all*. The movement has diverse histories in each locality, with different social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. What is presented here is the result of a five-year ethnography, comparing Brazil and Germany, and allowing a broader perspective of the movement's actions and agendas. It has involved fieldwork in the two countries between 2019 and 2021, with participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentary analysis. The research relies on a postcolonial, feminist, and intersectional framework of analysis in order to delve into the debate of food patrimonialisation and its incongruities and relate it to the articulation of Slow Food in these two countries. By examining the movement in different localities and comparing how it is organized in these contexts, it is possible to see the difficulties and solutions, the internal disputes, and conflicts, and how it adapts in space and time. From this analysis, it is possible to point out the roles it plays, or not, in safeguarding the food heritage.

Resumen

Esta tesis examina el papel que desempeñan los movimientos de la sociedad civil en la salvaguardia del patrimonio alimentario. Para esto, departe del contexto brasileño, donde el proceso de registro de estos patrimonios es difícil y lento. El objeto de esta investigación es Slow Food, un movimiento internacional, presente en más de 160 países y que aboga por una *alimentación buena, limpia y justa para todos*. El movimiento tiene historias diversas en cada localidad, con contextos sociales, culturales, económicos y políticos diferentes. Lo que aquí se presenta es el resultado de una etnografía de cinco años, comparando Brasil y Alemania, y permitiendo una perspectiva más amplia de las acciones y agendas del movimiento. Ha supuesto trabajo de campo en los dos países entre 2019 y 2021, con observación participante, entrevistas en profundidad y análisis documental. La investigación se apoya en un marco de análisis poscolonial, feminista e interseccional para poder adentrarse en el debate de la patrimonialización alimentaria y

sus incongruencias, y relacionarlo con la articulación de Slow Food en estos dos países. Examinando el movimiento en diferentes localidades y comparando cómo se organiza en esos contextos, es posible ver las dificultades y las soluciones, las disputas internas y los conflictos, y cómo él se adapta en el espacio y en el tiempo. A partir de este análisis, es posible señalar las funciones que desempeña, o no, en la salvaguarda del patrimonio alimentario.

Resumo

Essa tese examina o papel desempenhado pelos movimentos da sociedade civil na salvaguarda do patrimônio alimentar. Para isso, ela parte do contexto brasileiro, onde o processo de registro desses patrimônios é difícil e lento. O assunto desta pesquisa é o Slow Food, um movimento internacional, presente em mais de 160 países, que defende uma alimentação boa, limpa e justa para todos. O movimento tem histórias diversas em cada localidade, com contextos sociais, culturais, econômicos e políticos diferentes. O que se apresenta aqui é o resultado de uma etnografia de cinco anos, comparando Brasil e Alemanha, permitindo assim uma perspectiva mais ampla sobre as ações e agendas do movimento. Esta envolveu trabalho de campo nos dois países entre 2019 e 2021, com observação dos participantes, entrevistas em profundidade e análise documental. A pesquisa se baseia num marco de análise pós-colonial, feminista e interseccional para adentrar o debate sobre a patrimonialização dos alimentos e suas incongruências, e relacioná-lo com a articulação do Slow Food nesses dois países. Examinando o movimento em diferentes localidades e comparando como ele está organizado nesses contextos, é possível ver as dificuldades e soluções, as disputas e conflitos internos, e como ele se adapta no espaço e no tempo. A partir dessa análise, é possível apontar os papéis que ele desempenha, ou não, na salvaguarda do patrimônio alimentar.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABL	- Association for Peasant Farming (Germany)
AFD	- French Development Agency
ASFB	- Slow Food Brazil Association
BUND	- Federation for the Environment and Nature Conservation (Germany)
CAR	- Company of Development and Regional Action (Brazil)
Cepagro	- Center for the Study and Promotion of Group Agriculture (Brazil)
Consea	- National, State, or Municipal Food Security Council (Brazil)
Coopes	- Production Cooperative of the Piemonte da Diamantina Region (Brazil)
CSA	- Community Supported Agriculture
DOCG	- Controlled and Guaranteed Designation of Origin (Italy)
Embrapa	- Brazilian Agricultural Research Company
EU	- European Union
FAO	- Food and Agriculture Organization (of the United Nations)
GI	- Geographical Indication
GIAHS	- Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems
GMO	- Genetically Modified Organism
ICH	- Intangible Cultural Heritage
IFAD	- International Fund for Agricultural Development
INCRA	- National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Brazil)
INPI	- Brazilian's Intellectual Property Institute
IPHAN	- Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage (Brazil)
MDA	- Agrarian Development Ministry (Brazil)
MST	- Landless Workers Movement (Brazil)
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organization
PoC	- People of Color
PT	- Workers' Party (Brazil)
SF	- Slow Food
SFD	- Slow Food Deutschland
SFI	- Slow Food International
SFY	- Slow Food Youth (Germany)
SFYN	- Slow Food Youth Network
Solawi	- Solidarity agriculture (Germany)
TM	- Terra Madre
UFSC	- Santa Catarina's Federal University
UN	- United Nations
UNESCO	- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNISG	- University of Gastronomic Sciences
WHES	- Wir Haben es Satt! (We are Fed Up!)
WHO	- World Health Organization
WTO	- World Trade Organization
WWF	- World Wide Fund for Nature

Contents

1 INTRODUCTION

Proust already recounted, in his essay on memory, how a simple *madeleine* with tea has the power to transport a person from the present time to the past (Proust, 2006 [1913]). A spoonful of tea with madeleine crumbs and he was back in the living room of his aunt's house, where he had spent so many Sundays of his childhood. What we eat not only marks us individually, and constitutes our memory, but is part of our identity and the collective memory of the groups to which we belong. This is why movements that propose that we revalue foods from the past, that we remember the foods of our grandmothers, find reverberation in societies that see themselves changing eating habits very quickly. This is one of the aims of the Slow Food movement. To counteract the fast pace of globalized life and value the diversity of foods that are being lost to industrial standardization. The international movement, which was born in Italy in the late 1980s and is present in more than 160 countries, preaches that consumers have to know who produces their food, opt for food from local socio-biodiversity, family farming and artisan food, and thus change the current food system. It was this speech that made me become an activist in 2013. It was my role as an activist, and the questions that arose from being part of the movement, that led me to choose Slow Food as my doctorate research scope.

It was not an easy choice. My biggest fear was that my work would not be recognized as serious because I was implicated as a subject of it[1]. At the same time, this choice made perfect sense. After all, being an activist cook in this social movement in Brasília was what awakened me to the issues I propose to discuss here: that is, food heritage and the role of civil society in safeguarding it. So, I ask your permission, dear reader, to make a little detour and let me explain why this has become a theme for me. After studying culinary arts in France and Italy, I returned to Brazil to work in the gastronomic field. However, something bothered me: Why have these two European countries, so much smaller than Brazil, value so much their food culture and have inventoried and protected so many foods and traditional knowledge related to them, and Brazil has not? I must say that my vision until then was still very much oriented to the idea of a tourist market to be exploited.

[1] As I have overcome the fear of partiality, I will go into more detail soon when dealing with methodological approaches (see Section 2.2).

This led me to my master's research (Santana, 2016), in which I analyzed the inventories of Brazilian food heritage and the public policies developed in the country in the mid-2010s concerning food and tourism. After examining the inventory process of IPHAN (the Brazilian Institute of Patrimony and Heritage), INPI (the Brazilian Intellectual Property Institute), and Slow Food and studying the policies developed by the Ministries of Tourism, Culture, and Agrarian Development, it was possible to identify the lack of coordination among the institutions in charge of the formulation and implementation of public policies and, among them, the other actors who play a role in the safeguarding of national food heritage. Analyzing the institutions in question, it could be seen that they were all, in one way or another, connected to the federal government, and that implied political changes having a significant impact on how any initiatives were or were not encouraged and/or sustained. But further than that, it became clear that there were different approaches to these cultural goods, and the ones that were focused on adding market value to them, as Geographical Indications (GIs), could end up reinforcing pre-existent inequalities, with the cultural goods being appropriated by more powerful actors, leaving the communities with restricted access to their own products.

So, I decided to look at how civil society has acted to safeguard its food heritage. This is how Slow Food enters the scene. This social movement originated in Italy in the late 1980s, advocating for good, clean, and fair food. In this way, it works to ensure that the products of the local socio-biodiversity are valued, and their survival is ensured. In Brazil, where I encountered the movement and became an activist in the early 2010s, much of the discourse was related to the empowering of communities. For that, chefs were important actors as they could introduce to the public products from the local socio-biodiversity that were disappearing because of lack of knowledge and, hence, a market. However, at the same time as valuing these products and increasing their market value could assure the producer a better living, it could also restrict access to them only to those with a higher income. This problem is also a concern with heritagization processes. And it is one of the starting points of this work. Slow Food's agenda is very broad, from food sovereignty to land grabbing to the valuing of artisanal local products, and to food waste, passing by advocacy. Along those lines, there are a diversity of actions and projects that make it difficult to understand its role in society. As a member, I had the feeling that it was a recognized movement, but I could not fully explain it. Thus, it made an interesting object of study.

The first question that arises is why such a movement to value these foods is necessary, or why it needs to be registered as national heritage. In fact, both the origins of Slow Food and these heritagization processes are part of a wider phenomenon created in reaction to the standardization and monotony of the current food system. In the last century, particularly in the second half, what we eat and how we eat have changed greatly. Industrialization and modernization processes have had a great impact on food production and consumption on a planetary scale (Goody, 1982; Mennell, 1985; Mintz, 1996). Friedmann & McMichael (1989) systematize what we know as an international food system into three food regimes. The first one, from 1870-1914, was a *Colonial-Diasporic Food Regime* (Friedmann, 2005). The second, from 1947-1973, so post-World War II, was a *Mercantile-Industrial Food Regime* (Friedmann, 2005). "[…] the current, or recent, 'corporate food regime' is a conjunctural form of the long-standing food regime through which historical capitalism has reorganized world agriculture" (McMichael, 2009, pp. 281-282). The biggest change in this regime is that it has the market and not the state as its organizing principle. Food becomes a commodity to be mass-produced to feed a global market. This results in the breaking of local links in favor of globalization. Thus, these food system changes are connected with social and environmental changes at the global level, involving all the differences in levels and timing of such changes. In numerous countries, the social dynamics changed not only through massive migration from a rural to an urban scenario but by life being structured by working outside the home, particularly in the case of women (Gracia Arnaiz, 1997; Mennell et al., 1992). Allied to the advance of technology, the proliferation of restaurants and other food services, and the growth of available fast and convenience food all transformed the public's alimentary practices (Beardsworth & Keil, 2002; Warde, 1997).

> In Western Europe, supermarkets proliferated in the 1960s at about the same time as automobiles, television, and leisure time; living standards and levels of education also rose. The mass distribution revolution had consequences at least as important as those of the industrialization of agriculture and food production, on which it exerted a considerable influence. The market for food became a mass consumer market. Food became a high-tech product. Designed, packaged, marketed, and advertised with the help of the latest techniques, food was distributed through increasingly complex and finely tuned commercial channels, which relied on elaborate logistical systems. [...]

> Within the space of two or three decades, a substantial portion of collective culinary effort was redirected from the kitchen to the factory. (Fischler, 1999, iBook)

The improvement of technology, demographic growth and urbanization are some of the basic features of mass production. These and the reduction in the varieties of vegetables and animals, boosted by the agrifood industry as only a few are selected for their ability to produce high yields in a monoculture format, are the responsible agents for the hyper-homogenization of contemporary food habits (Contreras & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2005a). The *McDonaldization* process (Ritzer, 1993), that is, the application of values such as rationalization, standardization and efficiency, has come to represent a model of this society. This model implies homogenization caused by globalization which threatens local cultures.

Slow Food is one of the *new social movements* (Castells, 2010a) that have arisen seeking to transform the agro-industrial food system because it is unsustainable, socially unfair, and produces nutritionally unsafe food[2]. At the same time, states, local administrations, local industries, and civil society organizations have responded to these changes in the form of protectionism or resistance, trying to secure their food cultures because they are linked to their popular identities and memories. This leads to a search for the traditional and the stimulation of a movement in which food culture is recognized as a heritage (Contreras & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2005b; Flandrin & Montanari, 1998a; Poulain, 2013). *Heritagization* and *localization* processes are reactions to the global massification and homogenization of food that started gaining momentum at the end of the 1980s. These are not harmonious processes; they do not occur in the same form in different contexts and there are many contradictions within them. And that is where this thesis intends to investigate. If the state-led *heritagization* process is not enough, **how can civil society**[3] **have a role in the safeguarding of national food heritage**?

1.1 Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured into nine chapters. Following this introduction, I will further develop the research problem, the questions and objectives that guide this work and the

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[2] How Slow Food got to this holistic agenda took time, and I will discuss it further in Chapter 4.

[3] The concept of civil society is here understood as the sphere that is not the state nor the market. The point of this broad definition is to differentiate the actions of citizens, social movements, and organizations from the ones developed by the institutions of the state or the market. It does not mean that these three spheres can always be separate. However, this differentiation is essential to allow the analyses of the diverse roles played by each of them.

theoretical framework (Chapter 2), as well as the methodological approach (2.3). To be able to look at Slow Food and analyze how it plays a role in safeguarding food heritage, I need first to get deeper into why food is considered a heritage, how this status appeared, what process this followed, how food heritage applies to the two countries I am studying, and what the implications are. All of these questions will be addressed in Chapter 3, moving from the historical process of and the current debates on the topic through to a bibliographical review.

When looking at the historical process and the current debates about the incongruities and risks associated with food heritage, the connection to alternative food movements, contemporary to much of this discussion, becomes clear. Thus, in Chapter 4, I trace the history of Slow Food, its beginnings in Italy, its global expansion, its adaptations, and its location among other social movements. I also present the structure of the movement, internationally, with a glimpse of its adaptation in Brazil and Germany. These two chapters form the context and introduce the debates in which this thesis is set. They provide the rationale for the objectives presented here.

Since I propose to analyze Slow Food's actors, action repertoires, agendas and strategies, conflicts, and dynamics in different realities, I have chosen to do this by country. Chapter 5 is, therefore, dedicated to understanding, in addition to these points, the history, structure and sources of funding in Brazil. The particularities of each locality, how alliances are forged and how groups move are analyzed first separately, to make, at the end of the chapter, an analysis of the movement in the country as a whole. The same structure is used for the chapter on Slow Food in Germany (see Chapter 6). Through these two sections, I can respond to objectives II and III (see Section 2.1) and have an analytical sketch of how the movement is established, adapted, and developed in these countries, who they are, how they are financed, and what the agendas and action repertoires of these activists are.

From there, I can, in Chapter 7, examine the similarities and particularities of Slow Food's performance in Brazil and Germany, analyzing the divergences between the discourse of the international organization and its realization in different contexts. Before connecting this discussion to the safeguarding of food heritage, I dedicate Chapter 8 to analyzing the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the movement, internationally and in Brazil and Germany, as well as outlining the prospects for the movement's future following this major crisis. In addition, to analyze how the movement adapts to crises, both locally and internationally, I also return to discuss Slow Food's role in civil society movements

around the world through local alliances, and how Slow Food's international events have influenced the global creation and development of the movement.

In the conclusion (see Chapter 9), I resume the discussions introduced in the initial chapters, allied to the data and analyses of the reality found in the field, to be able to answer the problem posed by this research: What is the role of Slow Food as a civil society movement in safeguarding national food heritage? Or rather, after analyzing the movement in these specific realities, does it succeed in safeguarding such heritage, even if it does not announce this intention? Do transnational discourses of healthy, sustainable, and local food influence local safeguarding actions? This thesis aims, from analyzing ethnographical local processes, to discuss global questions. As highlighted by Pujadas and Girona (2010), the local level works as a unity that allows a real comprehension of the problem: "One of the main goals of social anthropology, as a scientific-social discipline, is to be able to formulate intercultural generalizations with a maximum universal outreach possible" (Pujadas, 2010, p. 23)[4].

2 A SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL ISSUE

Discussing food heritage involves a wide range of factors, such as land distribution, agrarian policies and funds, seed protection, traditional population rights, food security and sovereignty[5], GMOs, biodiversity, culture, identity, and memory. Sociologists, anthropologists, historians, law and agrarian scholars, among other fields of knowledge, have focused on this theme. Even though this process started as a resistance against the homogenization imposed by globalization, it exhibits many incongruences. The idea of a

[4] All direct quotes presented here that were originally written in Portuguese, Spanish, French, German, or Italian have been translated by me.

[5] The Brazilian authorities had defined Food Security, following the FAO's concept, combining the idea that a population should not just be able to access enough food with all the nutritional values needed but it should also respect its food culture (C. N. de S. A. e N. Brasil, 2015). As an attempt to convey with the concept of food sovereignty, defined by the peasant movement Via Campesina: "First defined in 1996 by the international peasant federation La Vía Campesina as 'people's right to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems', food sovereignty proposes that people, rather than corporate monopolies, make the decisions regarding our food. Food sovereignty is a much deeper concept than food security because it proposes not just guaranteed access to food, but democratic control over the food system—from production and processing, to distribution, marketing, and consumption. Whether applied to countries in the Global South working to re-establish national food production, to farmers protecting their seed systems from GMOs, or to rural-urban communities setting up their own direct marketing systems, food sovereignty aims to democratize and transform our food systems" (Holt-Giménez, 2009). This topic will be further addressed in Chapter 5.

national memory is much more than the sum of all collective memories. In the process of defining such a memory, there is a selectivity: which memories will be preserved, and which will be ignored and forgotten. Usually, this kind of selection is done by those who have decision-making (and political) power. As with every social subject, these decision-makers have their intentions, conscious or unconscious. It is possible to affirm that the state's intention to develop a national memory is part of a self-representation movement. Homi Bhabha (2003) argues that national identity exists more like a discourse than an issue in ordinary life, once the official nationalist speech favors a vision of unity, ignoring the country's pluralities and particularities. The national (and international) heritage concept is no different. There are disputes of interest on what is worth recognizing as 'ours' and what is not. Furthermore, the idea that populations that have been historically excluded could now be included by having their food culture valued has created some distortions (García, 2013; Matta, 2010, 2012, 2015, 2019; Parasecoli, 2020). From this perspective, measures to guarantee food sovereignty, access to land and other basic human rights could be more effective in the food heritage safeguard (Santana, 2016).

Concomitantly, with these processes of recognition of food as heritage, it emerges, mainly in Europe, movements of struggle for a more local food system. These two phenomena have similar roots and temporalities and can, therefore, be analyzed together. They are reactions to homogenization resultant of the globalization, and they rely, at the same time, in the resistance of local specificities and the broad communication. Slow Food is one of the first of these *new social movements* (Castells, 2010a) that focused on food. "Thus, new social movements, in their diversity, react against globalization, and against its political agents, and act upon the continuing process of informationalization by changing the cultural codes at the root of new social institutions" (Castells, 2010a, p. 165). This thesis proposes, arising from socio-anthropology, to look at the social movements of food through the lens of food heritage. I do so because I understand, like Motta, that

> Social innovations and mobilizations around food form a privileged instance to observe social change because they are actively engaged in transforming food relations and the food system. In addition, they provide exceptional lenses to identify key dimensions and dynamics of social inequalities as they identify injustices related to food and construct solutions to overcome these. In this sense, following the agendas and struggles of social movements as well as collective action in food alternative initiatives offers valuable insight into social change through the prism of food. (2021, p. 604)

Studies on Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) and Movements (AFMs) have multiplied in the last decades. They have pointed to the critical contradictions within those

movements, as predominantly urban, middle-class, and white movements (Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2011; Slocum, 2007). At the same time, much of this work focuses on realities in the global north, i.e., European countries and the United States. For this reason, I opt in this thesis for a postcolonial, feminist, and intersectional analysis framework. This implies assuming that all knowledge is situated (Haraway, 1988) and so, too, is the one produced here, from the choices of theme and approach, to the limitations and advantages that my positionality allows me[6]. It implies also into the intersectional inequalities that the social phenomenon here studied encompasses. To that, I rely on Motta's concept of food inequality, which aims

> to make sense of different axes and dimensions of inequalities, in various scales, as well as their dynamics of reproduction and change in the food system. The concept suggested here draws on a global entangled inequalities framework (Jelin et al., 2017). Firstly, this means acknowledging the multidimensionality of food inequalities, given that the structural ordering of food relations combines the political economy of agriculture, the cultural politics of food, gendered macro-politics of the food system, the institutional racism and coloniality of power in the food system, and structural oppressive human nature orderings. Second, global entangled food inequalities must be understood following a multi-scalar and relational perspective, in the sense that inequalities were observed in the levels of bodies, households, in communities, in national social movement organizations, in transnational movements and alliances, and in their relationalities to global dynamics of the food system. Third, food inequalities are not only multidimensional and multi-scalar, they are intersectional, affecting different groups in different ways. […] Fourth, the discussion aimed to identify dynamics of change in food relations, including new activisms, new alliances between food movements and other movements, and how issues cross-fertilize between them. (Motta, 2021, p. 619)

As I propose here to analyse how Slow Food structure itself, adapt and develop in different contexts, the theories of anthropology of organizations will also be useful. Looking at the movement as a site for constructing meaning (Wright, 1994). In organizational studies the concept of culture can be used in generalist ways, as in 'the organization culture', where it is perceived like a stiff and homogeneous value.

> Now, to an anthropologist influenced by Geertz's ideas, 'sharedness' is more likely to imply a common repertoire of ideas which are reworked continually in imaginative ways that are systematic, explainable, but not predictable. Not only is ambiguity essential, as it provides the space for this reworking, but the process is political: meanings of concepts and symbols are not just not fixed, they are actively contested (Wright, 1994, p. 4).

[6] I will develop this further in the next section, when discussing my field research.

In this sense, organizations should be understood as multicultural spaces, where we find different subcultures "occupational, professional, class, gender... – that are interrelated and linked by various modes of adjustment with each other" (Girona, 2001, p. 94). These adjustments entail conflicts and negotiations. Culture is, then, a process, an ambiguous one. So, when looking at Slow Food in these different localities, its incongruences and internal conflicts are crucial to understand how the movement shape and identify itself. Culture as a process, "places emphasis on language and power, showing how the terms of discourses are constructed and contested and why, with what outcomes. Discourses are rarely made authoritative within one organization but are uttered and contested in several settings simultaneously" (Wright, 1994, p. 26). It is, then, political, "an ideological claim, rooted in historical conditions and subject to challenge" (Wright, 1994, p. 27).

The starting point of this research is, as mentioned earlier, the Brazilian reality. Thus, the choice of Slow Food as a field of research departs from this perception, allied with the comprehension of the complexity of the field of food heritage. Numerous NGOs and civil society agents support focusing on any or many questions that encompass the food heritage safeguard in Brazil, from MST to Via Campesina, from the national campaign against pesticides to Greenpeace. But Slow Food has a broader focus on food as its brief, covering land grabbing and seed rights to food quality and traditional knowledge safeguards[7], while other organizations have more restricted agendas. It envelops the whole food system, one could say.

In this perspective, Slow Food becomes a research universe that will allow an investigation into the complexity of the theme, especially because it is a European organization acting differently in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. It is not, however, an easily defined research object.

> Slow Food is a complex subject with several angles: it is an association with dues-paying members, but at the same time, it is a social and political movement supported by thousands all over the world. In some regards, if we consider some of its components, it is a private enterprise, particularly the department that organizes events and fairs. At the same time, it is similar to an NGO if we consider its projects in the southern countries of the world. Its functioning has remained militant in some respects: its modes of action are based largely on voluntary work, with relatively modest salary levels of employees and directors in comparison to the private sector. […] Finally, Slow Food is an actor in the national and international political field of decisions concerning

[7] Safeguard in this thesis debate is understood as measures that assure that a culture or knowledge can keep existing – not registering it as a folklore, or something frozen, but as living cultures, that are susceptible to be re-signified, reinvented and changed.

> food, but it is also a legitimate actor in spaces of political and social contestation […]. These diverse aspects must be considered together. […] [They] appear to signal deep contradictions but in reality, they are complementary and constitute the movement today. (Siniscalchi, 2013, p. 296)

Another option would be to analyze the collective's agents of civil society and the state, as the Conseas (National, State, or Municipal Food Security Council in Brazil), for example, and evaluate which agents are part of these councils and which are a regional capillarity. However, this kind of analysis would engage two factors that do not fit with this project's objectives. The first one is that these councils are integrated into the government structure and, consequently, are subject to political changes. The second factor concerns the replicability of the format in other countries, i.e., to compare the agents developed in Brazil and Germany[8]. In addition, there is already academic research in Brazil on the actions of the Conseas developed in many regions of the country. Regarding research on Slow Food, although it has increased in recent years, this proposal offers an original perspective. There are theses, such as the one by Chiara Gentile (2016), that present a comparison of Slow Food in Brazil and Italy, based on the Presidium project. Another is the one by Manuela Alvarenga do Nascimento (2014) which analyzes the movement's role in production practices and food consumption from a global perspective. However, no other research discusses the actions of the organization focusing on the safeguarding of national food heritage. And the aim here is to have a broader view of the role of this civil society organization in this field in an attempt to understand how it can act and participate in this process. If I were to restrict my research to one project only, choosing a Presidium, for example, regardless of its operation, I would be able to identify its effectiveness, but our perspective would be constrained.

It does not mean, however, that a Presidia's political meaning will be disregarded. This food project has an impact on the European power dynamics of geographical indications governance (Siniscalchi, 2013b, 2014a). In Brazil, it is not that different: in many cases; there are tensions between Slow Food and the federal institution in charge of food labeling (Santana, 2016). But the different agency power of food movements can be perceived in the different programs they develop. So, as this thesis proposes to analyze Slow Food in different realities, it needs to be open to the diversity of formats it operates in local adaptations.

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[8] When this project began, the Food Policy Councils (Ernährungsrat) were not yet well-established in Germany.

> Slow Food members around the world share a goal of *good, clean, and fair* food but differ in their commitment and strategies, with some emphasizing changed consumption and others valorizing local economies or promoting biodiversity by protecting local foods. [...] Finally, food activism is a fruitful term for examining together the diverse forms of dissent and resistance practiced by political activists, farmers, restaurateurs, producers, and consumers. Their common goal is to have control over or take charge of production, distribution, or food choice, but their discourses and practices may range from aiming for an overreaching political impact to simply seeking closer ties between producers and consumers on the local stage. (Siniscalchi & Counihan, 2014, p. 7)

As the choice of counterpoint, it is quite common, when discussing food heritage, to draw a comparison with countries like France, Italy, or even Spain. They are benchmarks in the debate of food culture as heritage. Nevertheless, it seems to me that a parallel between Brazil and these countries would be impaired by the departure point: the value of food in these populations' culture and identity. So, I chose to follow the anthropological strategy of comparing distinct realities to gather rich material that will allow me to understand the nuances of the concept of food heritage, what tools are used, and which of these are effective in their role as a safeguard.

The process to select the country with which to compare the Brazilian outlook was based on three factors[9]. First, the diverse context of these two countries in which the movement is based: Brazil as a Latin American country, with public policies favoring large-scale farming, monocultures and GMOs, and facing land grabbing issues and high levels of violence in the rurality in contrast to Germany, one of the leading countries of Europe, hosting environmental movements and their policies, as well as being home for agribusiness corporations, and being influential in the new European Common Agricultural Police. The second factor considered was the different relationship between food and food heritage in these two countries. The Brazilian culinary tradition began to be valued nationally through a movement similar to that which occurred in Peru. The famous worldwide gastronomy of the neighboring country inspired many Brazilians, even though there was no public policy in this area. On the other hand, although traditional

[9] Initially, a comparison between Brazil, Germany and Peru was considered. However, the time restriction on finishing a PhD would not allow me to undertake the required deep research. For this reason, I decided to limit the research to the ethnographies in Brazil and Germany.

German cuisine may be known abroad simply as sausage, potato, and beer, their food cultures have a higher number of formal registrations. The national commission of UNESCO has listed, since 2015, 16 practices linked to the German food system in the inventory of German National Intangible Cultural Heritage[10] and two in the German Register of Best Safeguarding Practices[11]. Finally, the Slow Food operation in these countries must be taken into account: in Brazil, the movement is still young, even though it has grown a lot in the last ten years, suggesting the country as a possible future leader in the Global South, while in Germany, the organization is strong and has been established for 30 years now, with a structure smaller only than the Italian one.

2.1 Objectives and hypotheses

Faced with these challenges, the purpose of this thesis is to answer the central question: How does civil society play a role in the safeguarding of national food heritage? This project proposes to study the Slow Food movement as one of civil society[12]. As the Slow Food movement covers over 160 countries[13], it was essential to narrow the scope of work, so the analyses were restricted to the actions developed by the movement in two countries: Brazil and Germany.

It is important to describe the context in which Slow Food starts and grows. How does it adapt its values and actions in diverse contexts? Slow Food is a European movement that spread to different countries. Once these trajectories have been outlined, other questions need to be answered: What is understood as heritage, both locally and globally? The history of a Latin American, ex-colonial, ethnic mixed country and its understanding of what heritage is probably differs from that of a European country, even though both subscribe to the same concept internationally. How is the idea of safeguarding constructed in these contexts? Then, to better understand the Slow Food movement in these two countries, the questions that are raised include: Who are the actors involved in this civil society movement? Slow Food is perceived as a middle-class, white movement

[10] UNESCO. German Commission. German Nationwide Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage. [Available at: http://www.unesco.de/en/kultur/immaterielles-kulturerbe/german-inventory.html. Consulted 22 April 2022]
[11] UNESCO. German Commission. German Register of Best Safeguarding Practices. [Available at: https://www.unesco.de/en/culture-and-nature/intangible-cultural-heritage/national-register-good-safeguarding-practices-2. Consulted 22 April 2022]
[12] The discussion on how to frame Slow Food, whether it can be considered to be a social movement, an NGO or a foundation. will be further developed in Chapter 4.
[13] Available at https://www.slowfood.com/about-us/. Consulted 07 December 2022.

(Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2008; Siniscalchi & Counihan, 2014). Does this apply to the cases studied here? As an international movement with a broad philosophy and a handful of tools, which actions and methods applied to different realities are prioritized? Do these actions affect the stakeholders in local heritage, or do they have no impact on or connection to them?

To answer these questions, I will do the following.

- I propose to analyze the role of civil society, notably the role of Slow Food as a civil society movement, in the safeguarding of national food heritage in Brazil and Germany. The goal is to understand how the movement acts to safeguard the food heritage in these two contexts, establishing the similarities and differences between them, to have a broader perspective of the organization's role in this topic. This aim includes identifying which projects have been developed in each country, even though they may not have been intended to safeguard food heritage, the involved activists' profiles, their perceptions and those of the stakeholders of what heritage is, and how they value it in their actions. It is also important to measure the effectiveness of the projects if they have an impact on safeguarding the food heritage, and how the organization finances itself in both countries.

This could be translated in specific objectives:

I. Investigate the role of Slow Food in civil society movements worldwide through its local alliances.
II. Through participant observation and interviews, draw a profile of the Slow Food activists in Brazil and Germany and how they integrate themselves into the movement.
III. Compile and analyze the projects developed by Slow Food in Brazil and Germany, evaluating the players involved, the funding partners and the outcomes.
IV. Compare the action repertoires and agendas of the movement in both countries to be able to evaluate how the food heritage field is constructed in these different realities and if it is in any way safeguarded.
V. Analyze the divergences between the international organization discourse and its realization in diverse countries.

VI. Ascertain how the international events of Slow Food have played a role in the global creation and development of the movement.
VII. Examine the similarities and particularities of Slow Food's performance in Brazil and Germany.
VIII. Determine if the transnational discourses of healthy, sustainable and local food influence local safeguarding actions.
IX. Analyze how the movement adapts to crises, both locally and internationally.

Based on these issues and the context in which this research is located, I offer these initial hypotheses:

i. National Slow Food movements have different structures and goals, depending on their context. A European country such as Germany, with a long-established structure, a more stable context, and a smaller area of action, will probably have different approaches and priorities than Brazil, a large South American country, with significant food and land issues, and an organization only recently formed. These differences would be the first more focused in environmental questions, for example, while the later more in social aspects of food production.
ii. In the same way, the concept of food heritage and the importance of its safeguarding varies. Even though integrated into a crescent global influence of debates over healthy, sustainable and local food, the historical context of each of these two countries makes the threats to their food culture different. Consequently, the activists that form their organizations have distinct ways of perceiving the need to safeguard their food heritage.
iii. There are diverse levels of integration among urban activists, food producers and farm workers in these countries. There is a predominance of an urban elite among the members, which hampers the necessary permeability and expansion of the safeguarding programs. Even though Slow Food focuses its mission on bringing consumers and producers closer, these last are a minority in the organization.

iv. Although Slow Food presents itself as austere anarchy, it still depends on a vertical hierarchical structure, one that restrains the autonomy of the movement in some situations, and influences local projects.

And finally,

v. Slow Food, as a civil society movement, can implement punctual projects that contribute to the safeguarding of national food heritage. It does so even in actions developed without this declared intention. However, its capacity for action is restrained by financial and outreach issues. Yet, as local and international alliances grow, so does the movement's representation in the field of food politics.

2.2 Methodological approach

To achieve the objectives, this work relies on a set of diverse tools that will be detailed in the following paragraphs. First, it is essential to reaffirm that this thesis is set in the field of food studies or, to be more specific, in the anthropology of food. Thus, any analyses in this field must consider the transdisciplinary character of food as an object (Contreras & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2005a; Fischler, 1979b; Poulain, 2013). With that in mind, this research bases itself mainly on a multi-sited ethnography, using direct and participant observations and in-depth interviews. The analytical framework also includes literature reviews, an analysis of documents about the movement and produced by it, and the communication tools it uses. Such a variety of methods is essential to achieve the objectives of this thesis.

The choice for an ethnography is based on the understanding of it as the method of excellence in the study of anthropology, which, with comparison and contextualization, forms the so-called anthropological triangle (Pujadas, 2010, p. 15). For this thesis, an ethnography would be an appropriate method to embrace the complexity of the objectives and the required transdisciplinary view of them. To be able to analyze the role that Slow Food, as a civil society movement, plays in the safeguarding of national food heritage, the historical, geographical, and sociological contextualization in which it acts is required. A broader view of the analyzed research universe is a *sine qua non* condition to avoid falling into a hyper-specialization or fractionation of the studied reality, something which could generate incomplete and, consequently, erroneous conclusions.

But it goes further. An anthropological ethnography is more than just a research practice; it is a lived theory, and it is a way of seeing and listening, interpreting and analyzing everyday facts (Peirano, 2008). It is a more profound counterpoint to a world where rushed judgments rule. In this sense, Peirano argues that anthropology, and ethnography as its exercise, becomes knowledge marked by constant attention to the context and comparison. "Empiricism, events, occurrences, words, texts, smells, flavors, everything that affects our senses, is the material that we analyze and that, to us, is not just collected data, but questionings, a source of renovation" (Peirano, 2014, p. 380). This is the kind of exercise that this thesis proposes to fulfill. To be able to draw such analyses, however, the researcher needs to maintain a high level of self-awareness.

> [...] anthropological self-knowledge is not simply a function of personal characteristics such as how much is shared with the people being studied (closeness and distance) or the degree of sensitivity to one's own scholarly constitution (self-consciousness). Such self-knowledge is also to be located in the social techniques of ethnographic/ anthropological production. (Strathern, 1987, p. 19)

As traditional ethnography was developed in countries far from the ethnographer's origins, this self-consciousness was demanded in different ways. The concept of alterity, the ability to practice self-recognition when perceiving the distinct culture of the other, was the departing point for a reflexive analysis. So, at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the end of colonial relations, many anthropologists turned their questions to issues at home (Pujadas, 2010). They then faced the problem of how they could keep their distance from the studied object. In a way, this issue also hit this project. As an ethnographer, I was 'at home' twice: part of the field research took place in Brazil, my country of origin, but also, the scope of the analysis was Slow Food, a movement of which I have been a member since 2013.

As Strathern (1987) highlights, two controversial assumptions are commonly made when an anthropologist does an ethnography on familiar terrain. The first is that, by being on familiar terrain, they will achieve a greater understanding than elsewhere. Second, by being used to the common sense of that culture, they will not be able to systemize the complexity of the society, revealing nothing new.

> Whether anthropologists are at home *qua* anthropologists is not to be decided by whether they call themselves Malay, belong to the Travelers or have been born in Essex; it is decided by the relationship between

> their techniques of organizing knowledge and how people organize knowledge about themselves. (Strathern, 1987, p. 31)

This discussion, however, has distinct contours in countries where the discipline has been only latterly established, like Brazil. Peirano (2005) remembers that anthropology and sociology were just institutionalized as social sciences in the country during the 1930s. It was part of a modernization process. "They [social scientists] should enlighten (or even help create) a modern political elite, and identify relevant topics for investigation" (Peirano, 2005, p. 7). Therefore, she points out, social scientists have identified themselves with an aspiration for quality and a political 'mission' ever since. Another issue is the 'anthropology at home' idea. In Brazil, this expression is not used, even though fieldwork has been regularly undertaken "at home" (Peirano, 1998, 2005). There, it is followed "a configuration of different projects among which we may distinguish, though not exclusively, attempts at a more 'radical' otherness, the study of 'contact' with otherness, 'nearby' otherness, and a radicalization of 'us'" (M. Peirano, 2005, p. 8).

As we turn to food activism and social movements studies, Siniscalchi and Counihan (2014) note that it is not unusual for the ethnographers to find themselves involved with a cause or feel forced to take a position. These perspectives demonstrate that it is not just possible, but often necessary for the researcher to deal with the "nearby otherness" or even "radicalization of us" defined by Peirano. In her work analyzing Slow Food, Siniscalchi found different approaches.

> Most of the research on Slow Food observes the movement from its periphery, often critically, but without understanding the complexity of the internal dynamics; or from internally and often apologetically. Other researchers analyze its philosophy, public image, and rhetoric; this perspective makes sense for a movement that dedicates a lot of energy to communication. In my analysis of Slow Food, I try to account for the complexity of the movement, its contradictions, and its tensions, but also the political issues, avoiding the two extremes of uncritical apology or excessive criticism based on clichés and limited knowledge. (Siniscalchi, 2013, p. 296)

This research intends to be in the same spectrum as Siniscalchi's: an analysis capable of encompassing the movement's complexity and contradictions in a critical way, but not apologetically. I do, nonetheless, rely on a slightly different approach to fieldwork than her. What is presented here is the result of a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995). As the objective of this thesis is to analyze and understand the role played by an international

movement in the safeguarding of national food heritage, it could not be fulfilled if there was a departure from the classic idea of ethnography. It should be considered that the focus of the research, Slow Food, organizes itself as a network, so it presents fragmented formats and localizations[14]. "For ethnographers interested in contemporary local changes in culture and society, single-sited research can no longer be easily located in a world system perspective. This perspective has become fragmented, indeed, 'local' at its very core" (Marcus, 1995, p. 98).

Notwithstanding this, there are some methodological anxieties faced by anthropologists when doing a multi-sited ethnography. The first of them is testing the limits of ethnography. "Although multi-sited ethnography is an exercise in mapping terrain, its goal is not holistic representation, an ethnographic portrayal of the world system as a totality" (Marcus, 1995, p. 99). In this sense, there is no local-global contrast, but in the multi-sited ethnography, the global is a dimension of argument about the connections between sites. The second anxiety faced by anthropologists when doing multi-sited ethnography is the concern of attenuating the power of fieldwork. Marcus reinforces that even fieldwork as traditionally perceived and practiced can be potentially multi-sited, once it demands a level of selection to tie the effective field to the disciplinary perceptions of what the object of study should be. Marcus acknowledges that "something of the mystique and reality of conventional fieldwork is lost in the move toward multi-sited ethnography" and that these "inevitably are the product of knowledge bases of varying intensities and qualities" (Marcus, 1995, p. 100). However, he states that the essential function of ethnography, the translation from one cultural idiom or language to another, is not lost in the multi-sited format. Furthermore, "it will soon have to become as multilingual as it is multi-sited. In this sense, it conforms to (and often exceeds) the most exacting and substantive demands of traditional fieldwork" (Marcus, 1995, p. 101). The third methodological anxiety raised by multi-sited ethnography, according to Marcus, is the loss of the subaltern or other. In this sense, the change of landscapes and fieldwork in a multi-sited ethnography obliges the anthropologists to renegotiate their position: "The

[14] Castells defines networks as open structures, "[…] able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as they are able to communicate within the network, namely as long as they share the same communication codes (for example, values or performance goals). A network-based social structure is a highly dynamic, open system, susceptible to innovating without threatening its balance" (Castells, 2010b, pp. 501-502). This format, as we will see throughout this thesis, can be applied to Slow Food, being a way of explaining its diversity of compositions.

ethnographer is bound to encounter discourses that overlap with his or her own" (Marcus, 1995, p. 112). This, maybe, could be considered a problem that is linked to the colonialist origins of anthropology. If we go back to Peirano's idea that in countries which have latterly entered the discipline, like Brazil, there was already a different approach to the other. Or, one could say, the subaltern was lost before.

All these anxieties were faced in this project, in a way. I encountered the challenge of testing the limits of ethnography or losing the power of fieldwork, in other words, the effort of renegotiating my role and presence as an ethnographer in different fields and communities and being able to translate not just these diverse languages but cultures. Also, there is the challenge of doing an ethnography of a movement of which I have been a food activist since 2013. Even though the group in which I acted during this time is not in the scope of this research, it was my involvement with this movement that opened doors for me to the groups I am analyzing here. Multi-sited ethnography becomes, in this case, a profound exercise of methods, self-perception, and reflection.

Comas d'Argemir et al. (2010) highlight that, nowadays, the presence of the researcher in the field does not need to be continuous. The reason is that they studie not necessarily one community, but different unities of observations integrated into an analysis unit.

> Detailed ethnographies, when put in a multi-site perspective, allow evidence to be selected based on the unique features of each fieldwork site in order to reconstruct processes and bring out analytic synergies. […]
>
> Simply increasing the number of site studies, and juxtaposing them, does not help to reveal these synergies. By contrast, multi-sited ethnography, with the type of structured comparison it induces, encourages us to explore them, through the perspective it offers and the different levels it allows us to consider. (de Suremain, 2019, p. 23)

This thesis, following this concept, proposes the social organization of Slow Food in Brazil and Germany as analysis units. The observation units were defined after some preliminary field research in Brazil and Germany. The choice of each one was based on its representability of the studied universe. As Pujadas (2010) reminds us, there is an essential distinction between the concept of the universe and the sample, a cohort frequently used by sociology. The observation units, as opposed to samples, are chosen by the ethnographer according to their qualitative significance to the comprehension of

the analysis unit. Neither the choice of the observation units nor the territorial coverage of the fieldwork is exhaustive, nor is it intended to be. "The aim is the creation of an ensemble of observatories that are sufficient to comprehend deeply the theme we are studying" (Pujadas, 2010, p. 281).

Also, as this project aims to analyze the role of civil society in the safeguarding of food heritage, the fieldwork should not be done in the international headquarters of the movement, but in its branches. The diverse realities and the way the organization works in the two countries require different ethnographical approaches. "This is not about working in the same way in every fieldwork site, but about deliberately provoking contradiction, changing perspective, and gaining generality by starting from common units of analysis—in this case, food heritage" (de Suremain, 2019, p. 23).

In the Brazilian Slow Food movement, I already had many inputs, due to my participation in the group for four years before my research started. At the same time, my action was mainly restricted to my city, Brasília, and I have been living far from it since June 2016. My research plan included a five months field trip around the country. As Brazil is very big and the short time frame of a PhD did not allow me too much time to research, I planned three observation's unities. The network in Florianópolis-SC was identified as one of the most active and most grass-rooted. It was also the main coordination point of a significant project developed by Slow Food Brazil in partnership with the federal government, called Alimentos Bons, Limpos e Justos[15]. Salvador-BA, on the other hand, was chosen because of its increasing importance at the national level with different institutional partnerships while, at the same time, having a new and not-so-active network. Finally, the Slow Food Youth Network Brazil was also chosen as an observation unit. It only meets online, but it develops many projects, Furthermore, interviews were held in São Paulo, home of the administration of the national association, where many of the movement's different actions take place. In this selection process, how representative each unit was of the national organization was considered. The same criteria were used to choose the observation units in Germany, as will be explained next. The Brazilian network has an effective communication system in the form of WhatsApp and e-mail groups. Even though messages and e-mails are not considered to be conventional documents, and they were not a primary focus of analysis, they are useful tools in an ethnographical context. As pointed out by Peirano,

[15] "Good, Clean and Fair Food" in a free translation.

> Anthropologists today, as our predecessors, always had/have to conceive new ways of researching; what some like to call 'new ethnographic methods'. Methods (ethnographic) can and always will be new, but their nature, derived from the researcher and what they want to examine, is old. We are all inventors, and innovators. Anthropology is the result of permanent intellectual recombination. (2014, p. 381)

In the German Slow Food movement, the structure works differently, and the process of inserting myself into the movement took longer, as I will further detail in the next section. In the first incursions and interviews, it became clear that there are different approaches to activism in Germany. It depends a lot on the group. In this sense, I selected three observation units. The first one was the convivium of Frankfurt am Main, the city I have lived in since 2016. This group is representative because it is one of the most active in the country and it has actions and meetings more centered on a gourmet way of dealing with food. It is less political. Also, its membership has an older profile. The second observation unit was the Berlin network. It is the biggest in the country and the most varied in member profiles. It is also one with many events and actions. Moreover, it is linked to the Slow Food national headquarters. The third selected observation unit was the Slow Food Youth Network (SFY) Deutschland. They are organized as a convivium within the national spectrum, but the group is dispersed across the country. And their dynamic is different: they meet twice a year, on a weekend, to discuss and cook together, and they do their actions locally.

As established earlier, these three observation units were chosen for their representativeness. The aim was to observe and analyze how these different groups, as parts of the Slow Food movement in Germany, dealt with food heritage and how they perceived it and worked on safeguarding it, if that was the case. The length of the field research in Germany was planned to be longer and more widely spread than the one in Brazil due to the difficulties in integrating myself into the groups. Therefore, there were two periods of fieldwork, one in the second half of 2019 and one in 2020[16]. The Brazilian field research took place from May to September 2019. As Slow Food Youth Network (SFYN) Brazil only meets online, the fieldwork on this observation unit was held between 2018 and 2020. Here, I would like to emphasize that work on this thesis started in 2017 and ended in 2022. This means that, even though I was not necessarily doing fieldwork

[16] The initial plan was to finish the German fieldwork in the first half of 2020, but, due to the Corona virus pandemic, it was extended till the end of the year.

outside the abovementioned dates, I was still taking part in many events and meetings with the studied groups, to bring more insights into the thesis.

It should be noted that there are international Slow Food policies that impact both countries and should not be ignored. Regarding this, I attended some Slow Food International events. The first was the Slow Food International Congress, which took place in September 2017. Since this event is held only once every four years and it defines the projects and planning, and the organizational action lines on a global level, it was crucial to be able to observe *in loco* the actors involved, and the dynamics applied. It was the first introduction to how the international organization worked, the discourses of change and the actors involved, i.e., the delegates of each country. I learned about the construction of the global network and it showed me some of the contradictions between the discourse and how the organization structured itself. The event also offered me my first contact with members of the German network.

The second planned field trip was to the Terra Madre Salone del Gusto in 2018. The event takes place every two years, in Turin, Italy, and it gathers together small producers, food communities, and activists from all around the world. It was an excellent opportunity to analyze how countries both present themselves and interact with one another in such an international event. It was also a favorable space to meet new members of both delegations, connect with the various groups and know more about their projects and perspectives. Even though I was still officially a member of Slow Food Brazil (until 2020), I stayed with a group of youths from the German delegation attending the event. This allowed me to integrate myself better into the group and to move between both countries' delegations.

The third event with a scheduled field trip was the Terra Madre 2020, which would also include that year's Slow Food International Congress. However, due to the pandemic, the Congress was postponed to 2022 and the Terra Madre went online[17]. Because of this, in 2022, I had two events to attend. The Slow Food International Congress was held in July, in Bra, Italy, and was restricted to 50 delegates. However, the main session was streamed live. In September, the Terra Madre was realized in Turin, Italy, once again, but with a slightly smaller structure. The goal of attending those events was not necessarily to gather more data but to add a perspective on the discourses shared and changes made in the

[17] More on this in Chapter 8.

international organization. These field research events were not observation units, but spaces to amplify the ethnography. As pointed out by Marcus,

> Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that defines the argument of the ethnography. (1995, p. 105)

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, certain research tools would add value to this work. Through participant observations and interviews, I was able to gather data that were essential to achieve the specific goals listed above, including knowledge of the local alliances present at each observation unit, the profiles of activists, the projects developed[18] and, above all, the activists' discourse on Slow Food, food heritage and food sovereignty. The interviews were semi-structured[19] and lasted around one hour each. They were recorded, and most of them were transcribed (some of them were codified without transcriptions, only numbered as an audio file, with some parts being transcribed later). In total, I conducted 50 interviews: 40 in Brazil and 10 in Germany. The difference between the numbers was because of the time I had to spend at each field research outing. I stayed around six weeks in Florianópolis and another six weeks in Salvador, so I had fewer opportunities to do participant observations in those localities. To be able to make sense of the groups in those localities, I had to rely on a larger number of interviews. In Germany, on the other hand, I had a much longer period of field research, which allowed me to be more selective in the interviews. This follows de Suremain's (2019) argument that we have to adapt the research to the different contexts we face.

The choice of the interviewees was based on their representativeness within their group or in relation to their group as a member of any allied institution. The first list of potential interviewees was drawn up with the help of local informants, and from that list, in loco, I was able to amplify or reduce it, accordingly. All the respondents were handed a participation agreement, and by signing it, they consented to the use of the interview for the research. They could also choose to be anonymous or not[20]. This is not usual in this kind of document. The standard in social science research is to anonymize all the

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[18] It is important to highlight that I did not go deeply into the comprehension of any specific project as this was not my aim.
[19] The interview guide questionnaire is appended at the end of the thesis.
[20] The document is appended in the end of the thesis.

contributors. However, as this thesis deals with actors in leadership positions that involve political roles, in some situations their identification could be essential. Thus, the agreement established that I could identify the interviewee when it is deemed necessary, while always being guided by the ethical commitment of not exposing any participant in this research to a situation that can be damaging to them.

The COVID-19 pandemic erupted at the beginning of my year of field research in Germany. It is important to clarify here that most of the participant observations and interviews were done online, mainly through Zoom meetings. However, some of the meetings were in person, which helped to counterbalance the losses that we, as researchers, incur when only interacting with people via the screen. The essential point here is that the scope, whether offline or online, remained the same, that scope being the groups I was following. As migrating to an online environment multiplies the sources of information, this choice is important for ethnography (Hine, 2017). The online groups that were studied exist in an offline situation. One could say that ethnography only moved to an online environment because of the pandemic, but it did mean different kinds of interactions were experienced. In the end, the interplays were always mixed, as was the data generated. In addition, the discourse produced by the different Slow Food groups' social media during the pandemic was analyzed. This was done by selecting representative posts for the discussions going on within the groups.

Before outlining the data analysis, I would like dedicate a few lines to report and reflect on my field experience. First, I would like to accentuate that this work subscribes to the idea that there is no objective science (Haraway, 1988). We researchers are social beings and this implies always having bias. What we should and could do is to make clear the lenses we are using to look at the world and the subject. What I present in the next paragraphs are some of those lenses and the limitations of this research.

As I have already debated here, one of the biggest challenges of this research was to do an ethnography of a movement in which I am an activist. But in my field research, I faced other questions that I think should be addressed and I will deal with them by country. In Brazil, as I already had a good knowledge of the network, I knew which actors to contact to have as key informants. Some of them gave me a list of people I could talk to when arriving in both cities in which I was doing my fieldwork (Florianópolis and Salvador). So, my first list was made up of those suggestions while trying to keep an interesting diversity of profiles among the interviewees. I also identified my priorities as they had the potential to give more insights into the movement locally. One of my first struggles

in loco was how to present myself within the Slow Food Network in Brazil as a researcher, and how to not cross the line of having access to some information as a member of the movement. I needed to make it clear, when in the field, that what was being discussed in the conversations could be used in this work; hence the formal agreement. It helped for this that my observation units were not in cities where I had worked before. So, I had to introduce myself, while stressing my researcher role there. Furthermore, the interviews were always recorded, which gave them a level of formality, even if the recordings were done on my cellphone (an object so integrated into our daily life that it may go unnoticed, unlike a recorder). Being in each city for six weeks added, on some occasions, to the time constraints concerning meeting some people. There was the case of one producer that I wanted to interview and could not do it due to schedule incompatibility. Despite these constraints, I occasionally used the snowball technique by always asking my interviewees for suggestions of other names. Slow Food events were also prime venues for identifying relevant actors.

The selection of the interviewees was based on the diversity of profiles. Thus, in each location, I sought to talk to leading activists, academics, cooks, producers, and local partners. As mentioned in the last section, one of the limitations of this research was its time and space restrictions. What I mean by this is, the result presented here is the capturing of a specific moment of movement in each context. Thus, the field research in Florianópolis and Salvador was done within the restricted time frame of six weeks in each location in 2019. I had access to the events that were taking place in that period. From the interviews and coexistence, I was able to follow the development of the groups from a distance, but this implies much more restricted information. Even though I was careful to contextualize and historicize the movement in these regions, these were groups that suffered instabilities, moments that were more and less active, with members that came and went. This is significant and must be taken into consideration.

Thus, in my fieldwork in Brazil, I had to use a large number of interviews in each location because of the limited time I had for the on-site research. I relied on the technique of exhaustion: when the speeches started to be repetitive, it was time to stop. This led to 18 interviews in Santa Catarina and 17 in Bahia. I mention the states here because, although I was based in and focused my Slow Food research on Florianópolis and Salvador, the capitals, I also made short trips to the interior to visit producers in both states. In the south, I was able to make two weekend-trips and one day-trip. In the northeast, I was only able to make one. This was due to the distances and safety concerns, while being a woman

researcher also brought some limitations. As I went by myself into the field, I restricted some trips to visiting producers in the countryside for safety reasons. To close the topic of time constraints, or rather the choices I made due to the time I had in each city, it should be mentioned that I tried to be in these cities at times when activities occurred. I took part in all the events, actions, and projects with which Slow Food was connected that were taking place during my stay. Thus, I was able to have intensive interaction with members of the local movement. This not only allowed me to observe the different dynamics and repertoires in play but also helped me to create bonds with the participants in this research.
Another constraint that I faced was the limitations of being myself could bring to the research, or how the actors I interacted with perceived me and how this made them more or less open to our exchanges. Even though I am Brazilian, and this certainly helped me to navigate many of the situations I encountered in the field, there was a web of other factors that also played a role. I am a cis woman, in my 30s and, in Brazil, perceived as white. Also, I have a cooking background; it was how I began in Slow Food. In an urban context, among academics and cooks, I could easily mix. But, it is interesting to note that because I do my PhD in Europe and live between two European countries (Spain and Germany), many times I was treated as a foreigner from the Global North. This would add barriers when accessing people; as if I would always be looking down on the local projects or struggles since I came from a 'developed' country.
With farmers, communicating also had its difficulties. First, there is a cultural distance between urban and rural settings, as well as regional differences to consider. Another aspect that sometimes made life harder was the fact that Slow Food used a name in English, something that is beyond the knowledge of most of the population in the country. Although the movement focuses on food production, often its vocabulary is urban or even academically based, making it less accessible. In other words, just because I spoke the same language and was from the same country, it did not mean that there were no translation problems when approaching people in the field. Having said this, presenting myself as an activist and a cook gave me entries and opportunities to be more critical than maybe would have been accepted from a different researcher.
In Germany, the first challenge was the language. My first contact with Slow Food Germany members was in Chengdu, China, in English. I was still learning German. Many of the movement's members there spoke English and felt comfortable in it. However, that was not reflected in the movement's reality in Germany. My struggles with the language did play a role in how some people welcomed me in their groups, or not. And it is to be

understood that not everyone will have the patience to deal with someone with conversational limitations. This was an expected difficulty to be faced; after all, learning German is not an easy task. That is why I had already chosen to do much more extensive fieldwork in this unit of analysis. This choice also entailed a change in methodology in the research regarding Brazil. With more participant observation time, I felt the need for far fewer interviews. More than that, I chose to leave the interviews for the final stage of the fieldwork, so I was clearer about which actors would be relevant to this research. Such a strategy, however, caused me one regret: I ended up missing the opportunity to talk more in-depth with Ursula Hudson, the president of SFD, who passed away in June 2020.

The field research in Germany also brought to light deeper issues of translation and cultural differences. As I explained earlier, this research was born out of restlessness regarding analyzing the Brazilian scenario. It was from this reality that I designed the project presented here. This implies that the concepts consolidated in Brazil were not necessarily understood in Germany. Thus, the first shock I had was the difficulty in translating the term food heritage. I kept explaining the concept, using the English expression, but even the German participants who were fluent in other languages had difficulty finding an equivalent in their own. It took me a while to understand that the idea of food as a heritage was unapproachable, beyond the reality even of the members of food movements. As I will explain later, this is also linked to the reticent relationship one has with any movement that might come close to nationalism. But how, then, to continue on a study that started from exactly this lens, of safeguarding food heritage, if such a concept was not understood by the activists in question? My justification is based on the argument presented at the beginning of this thesis: I aimed to understand Slow Food's role in safeguarding food heritage, even in projects and actions that had no such declared intentions. In other words, it was not because they were not so named that the movement's actions in Germany did not play a role in this sense. So, I kept the questions about food heritage in the interviews (as can be seen in the German version of the interview script) but I always explained the idea behind the concept, and even how it was used in Brazil.

My approach to the local groups was different from my approach in Brazil since I did not know any key informants. In Frankfurt, I signed up for one of the monthly convivium events on the Slow Food Germany website. I introduced myself there and have attended the monthly meetings ever since then. With the Berlin Convivium, I was able to talk to two members beforehand, and then I followed the same procedure: I wrote myself in for

one of their monthly dinners. However, the field research there was affected by the COVID-19 pandemic (more on this in section 6.2.2). Thus, my entry turned out to be a single event. As for SFY, I signed up for one of their semi-annual meetings; it was my first contact. From then on, I attended a few more meetings and integrated more easily.

Being a foreign researcher was always a theme during my fieldwork in Germany. As I became acquainted with those groups, I always introduced myself as a Slow Food activist and researcher and explained what my thesis was about. The fact that I was from Brazil and was investigating Germany surprised some people; it was as if this would not be the 'natural' order of things. At the same time, this Europe-Latin America colonialist relationship was a problem for me too. Many times, I found myself reproducing the idea of 'everything here works better', or at least there is a better structure, which can be historically explained. Nevertheless, having been a Slow Food activist for some years till then in another reality was almost always something that helped me integrate, or at least generate conversations, for example by asking: How does it work here? How do you deal with such a theme?

Another aspect that was factored in was my age. There is a difference between Slow Food in Brazil and Germany. In the first, there is a mix of people of every age working together. In the latter, the age groups are much more separated. This will be further discussed in Chapter 6. In my case, being in my 30s made it a little more difficult to integrate into some groups that comprised mainly people in their 50s and older. This was a topic that I discussed with many SFD (Slow Food Germany) members: how people of my age range (around 35) had no place in the movement, being too old for SFY, but too young for most of the convivia. In the end, it was much easier to mix in the SFY group, probably because of their working dynamics and agenda, which I found more accommodating.

To overcome these difficulties, I adopted certain strategies. Besides attending all meetings possible in my observational units, I subscribed to the SFY Akademie, an educational program developed to train food system changemakers. Intended for 25 young activists (from 18 to 35 years old) per year, it is an eight-month program: a monthly weekend-themed activity, each month held in a different part of the country. Each theme focused on one aspect of the food system. They were intensive weekends, with the theory presented by experts, and hands-on learning led by local producers. This was one way of integrating myself better with the youth, and those senior members who took part on specific weekends, as well as observing the agendas and projects that SFD was focused

on. What I did not anticipate was that most of my Akademie year would be conducted online due to the pandemic.

In the course of this research, I faced the same challenges as many other researchers have faced. One of these was how to carry out your fieldwork in a world going through a pandemic that resulted in lockdowns to varying degrees and under varying conditions. I could not avoid the COVID-19 pandemic becoming part of the thesis design. Thus, I have devoted an entire chapter (see Chapter 8) to analyzing the impacts it had on the Slow Food movement. Methodologically, as I discussed in the previous section, I also had to make some adaptations. But, what happened was a transfer of the ethnography to the virtual environment. This, of course, yielded losses and gains. The losses were mainly concerned with the limitation that the screen imposes on relationships with people. So, although I extended the research time there, two-thirds of my field research in Germany was mediated on screens. Since this was where I had experienced the most difficulty inserting myself already, this mediation added one more barrier. The advantage, on the other hand, was that I was able to follow different groups at the same time. So, even though I was in Frankfurt, I could attend meetings held by SFY Berlin, the SFY Akademie, the national SFY and some of the SFD, not to mention the Slow Food meetings in Brazil.

I ended up following the first strategy I had already planned: to spend a lot of time in participant observation, to take part in as many events as possible, to have the opportunity to get to know the actors, to understand their roles in the movement and the different lines of action, and then to select the interviewees. Once again, the main criterion of choice was interviewee relevance. I aimed to talk to leaders, highly active members with diverse profiles and with distinct foci, and producers. A total of 10 interviews were conducted. It is worth noting that because of its organization, SFD has a great number of spaces for member participation within its structure; it holds the annual assembly, for example, which greatly facilitated this type of approach. Despite not having a fluent level of German, the language did not become an impediment to integration. At most events, I communicated primarily in German, and I chose to use English only in cases when I could not express myself or when the other person was comfortable with the language. Even so, the interviews I conducted in German were transcribed and translated into English by a native German-speaking professional.

As I explained earlier, the fieldwork for this research was ethnographic. However, it developed very differently although it was based on basically the same techniques. A

range of factors corroborated this: the previous relations that I had already established with the movement allowed me to do less fieldwork in Brazil while, at the same time, it changed the dynamics of the field, while in Germany, the absence of this contact before the research, in addition to cultural differences, left me needing time to adapt and imposed a limit to integration. Added to this, there was the pandemic, which changed all the social dynamics for more than two years. In short, there are many elements, personal and contextual, methodological, and the involvement of moral choices, that ended up being part of the research I present here. I hope that I have made clear the reasons for the paths that I elected to follow, and that they can be taken into consideration when reading this thesis.

To make sense of and analyze all the data generated by the fieldwork, I relied on the MAXQDA software. This enabled me not only to transcribe the interviews, but also to codify all of them, and compare them with my field notes and with specific documents, such as reports or position papers. The codification was done in three phases. First, during the transcription phase, a first draft of the codes was drawn up. Then, in a second analysis, the whole data were codified based on the first codes. From that, a more specific codification emerged. The third phase was to re-analyze the whole data and refine the codification. Eventually, 23 main topics could be divided into subcodes. In order of occurrence, they were:

Code	Subcodes	Frequency
SF definition		538
	Movement identification	
	Personal meaning	
Activist profile		376
	History with SF	
	Occupation	
	Age	
	Activism	
Project		281
	Presidium	
	Ark of Taste	
	National	
	International	
	Local	
Political incidence		240
	Alliances	
	Local	
	National	

International	
Public policies	
SF Structure	217
National	
International	
Local	
Food Heritage	205
Incongruences	
Food Culture	
Actions	202
National	
International	
Local	
Good, clean, and fair	159
Fair	
Local	
Solidarity	
Sustainability	
Healthy	
SF Internal Conflicts	157
International	
National	
Local	
Class	149
Gastronomy	128
Ecogastronomy	
Sociobiodiversity	97
Agroecology	
Voluntary work x Activism	91
SF Incongruences	85
Implementation time	
Food Sovereignty and Security	79
Territory	77
Food System	72
SF history	69
National	
International	
Local	
Traditional Knowledge	65
Finance	58
Gender	26
Tourism	24
Covid	22
TOTAL	**3163**

Table 1. *Codes and subcodes used in the analysis of the field research data by order of frequency. Own work.*

It is possible to infer that some of the themes were more frequently discussed. However, it is crucial to remember that these interviews were semi-structured; that is, most of those subjects were included in my questions to them. Even so, some concepts appeared without stimulus, such as eco-gastronomy or tourism. Others, such as COVID, were added during the research process, not being a topic, for example, in the interviews conducted in 2019 in Brazil. With the codification process completed, I could compare the activists' profiles, projects, and, mainly, their perspectives, foci, and discourses.

The literature review is a big part of a thesis. It acts not only as a theoretical basis for the work but also as a way to understand the contexts and debates that arose from the field trips. Thus, my theoretical review had different phases and methodologies. The initial, systematic literature search was done using Slow Food as a base and various combinations, such as Slow Food + Movement, Slow Food + Heritage, Slow Food + food sovereignty, and so on. The platforms used were Scielo, Google Scholar, Web of Science, and Primo (Freie Universität Berlin). The searches were repeated with the terms in English, Portuguese, and German to have a wider range of sources related to the countries studied here. I made a compilation of the most relevant publications arising from these combinations, sorting through the abstracts to select those that would be relevant to this research. The same procedure was followed when there was a need to go deeper into a specific concept. Furthermore, the process of writing a thesis is long and involves many exchanges with professors and colleagues. Thus, there is a wide range of readings that came to me as recommendations by my peers. Finally, the chaining of texts is also inevitable, with new readings and authors arising from citations and references. Combining all these techniques, I sought to cover the debates in which I had inserted myself, respecting the work done so far, connecting discussions in separate fields, to bring about an original vision of food heritage and transnational food movements.

These analyses will be presented in the subsequent chapters.

3 WHY FOOD AS HERITAGE

Food is an essential part of human life. It is not only a biological necessity but it is intrinsically connected to our culture. As omnivores, human beings can (and need to) eat a wide variety of foods, including vegetables, animals, fungus and so on (Fischler, 1988). However, it does not mean that we must eat everything we can. Each culture has its rules regarding what is edible and what is not. So, something that may be considered food by

one culture may not necessarily be considered the same by another (Contreras & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2005a). In this sense, what one culture eats differentiates it from the others: it has its own **food culture**. That is,

> […] the set of inherited and/or learned representations, decrees, knowledge, and practices that are associated with food and that are shared by individuals of a given culture or of a given social group within a culture. By sharing a culture, we tend to act in a similar way, to be governed by orientations, preferences and sanctions authorized by it. (Contreras & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2005, p. 37)

Food is, then, part of an individual culture's identity. It will not only identify one as belonging to a particular group but also set boundaries inside the same group, and distinguish ones class, gender, and ethnicity for example (Belasco, 2002; Contreras & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2005a; Goody, 1982). If the identity was easier to define in early modern world, where an individual only belonged to one group, the late modernity's individual moves through distinct identities not sticking to only one (Hall, 2006). Bauman (2012) calls this time liquid modernity, Hall (2006) late modernity, and other thinkers have different definitions. The common point is that in it, identity is fluid, or fragmented, which means that people move among many different groups, and do not have only subscribe to one culture. There are many groups through which the person can transit, in a process where different identities can be summed. On the other hand, the excessive fragmentation and time acceleration mark the late modernity. These two factors could generate an insecurity feeling at the individual. The uncountable choices possibilities oppose to the certainty of identifying yourself with only one group. It is in this context that emerges the individual necessity of referencing himself in late traditions (Nora, 1993). It would be a way of finding the lost coherency of an identities' fragmented world. If for Geertz (1989) the individual's identity is born with alterity (otherness), Halbwachs (1990) and Ricoeur (2007) reinforce that idea once they consider that the identity depends on fundamentally the individual's identification with his group. So, a group's food culture is linked to the identity and memory of that population. Departing from there, it is possible to comprehend how the acceleration and identity fragmentation characteristics of the time when we live (Bauman, 2012; Giddens, 2012; Hall, 2006) lead to a search for the traditional and stimulate the movement of food culture's recognition as a heritage (Contreras & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2005a; Flandrin & Montanari, 1998b; Poulain, 2013).

Simultaneously, the globalization process, with its flows of people and products, has been identified as a cause of the homogenization process (Montanari, 2020). The

industrialization of the food system after the second world war has driven food toward standardization of products and the growth of monocultures, thus reducing the varieties of food products we consume (Friedmann & McMichael, 1989). Industrialized food is perceived as "unidentified edible object", with no identity (Fischler, 1988). People, then, face a greater struggle: there is, for the first time in human history an overabundance of food. Concurrently, the social controls are looser as one circulates in many social groups, and food has engendered a multiplicity of discourses and information. This creates, in modern societies, what Fischler (1979) called *gastro-anomie*, an anomy in the social regulation system that makes people insecure in their food decision-making space.

This sense of insecurity and the perception of homogenization arises when one needs to refer to one's traditions (Nora, 1993). In this context, food can be considered a place of remembrance (Halbwachs, 1990; Nora, 1993), that is, a trigger to some memory connected to a specific group or time, a sense of identity that is lost in its fragmentation. This nostalgia for the food of the past, the traditional meal, is one of the factors that explain the emergence of the notion of food as a heritage[21]. To understand better how food heritage has got to what it is today, it is important to draw on its semantic archeology and historical construction. What I present here is a literature review on the topic of food heritage, to reflect not only on how it has become what it is today, but also to discuss its complexity and some of its incongruences. This review and debate will serve as a basis for an analysis to follow of the role of civil society in safeguarding this heritage.

3.1 The heritagization process

The concept of heritage as we know it today was born in the late 18th century, during the French Revolution (Londres, 2004). The idea that palaces and churches were records of the nation-forming process and, therefore, had historical value, was used so that the revolutionaries would not destroy the buildings that reminded them of their oppressors. Heritagization processes were born, then, from the need of European countries to preserve parts of their histories at risk of being destroyed. The definition of heritage value is,

[21] Sutton (2001) refers in his work to many types of nostalgia when analyzing US cookbooks. "[…] nostalgia for an imaginary lost Eden, nostalgia for that which was destroyed as part of modernization, and nostalgia for the immigrant/ regional extended family at the table, at a time when everyday life seems increasingly fragmented and atomized. But the image of family, ethnic and regional identity mediated through cooking in an oral tradition comes out in all these cookbooks. The power of these symbols lies in their overwhelming association with the "real" and the "authentic" in US society. And overriding the different categories of nostalgia I have discussed is a "nostalgia for the real" in a society of increasingly massmediated experiences (see for example, Borgmann 1992)" (Sutton, 2001, p. 170).

therefore, not conflict-free. As will be seen in the following paragraphs, it is a process of negotiation between various actors at different levels and scales. It is essential here to reflect on the construction of national identity that lies behind the selection of heritage. That is, for something to be considered a heritage, it needs to be recognized as representative of a particular group, usually a city, a state, or a country. This implies a choice of what is worth this recognition and what is not, a choice that is made by specific groups. Thus, there is a dispute concerning what may be considered a part of an identity, and, concomitantly, what could be perceived as heritage, and what may not. Usually, those in charge of or with access to this kind of decision are those who are historically powerful (Bhabha, 2003; Di Fiore, 2020; García, 2013), and who could reinforce, if they wished, the exclusion of groups that are already marginalized. The problem with these kinds of selections is that they are not only part of the discourse of national identity, i.e., perceptions of the past that matter to the present, but also part of a discourse of the future (Matta, 2012).

Regarding the institutional global level, despite the idea of heritage having an early genesis, the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was only signed in November 1972, during the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Conference in Paris. The Convention is focused exclusively on preserving material goods, such as buildings and art. The countries represented in the Convention were also localized, lying mainly in the Global North, with a great concentration in Europe. At the 1994 Nara International Conference, the concept of authenticity, fundamental to a good's inclusion in the World Heritage List, was called into question by Japan,

> opening space for a series of claims and criticisms of the excessive Eurocentrism and monumentality of the international agency, by calling attention to the non-universality of the heritage concept (Fonseca, 2015). Japan defended that the value of a building was, precisely, the knowledge passed from generation to generation about the ways of building, its techniques, and materials. Would this be less heritage than any European monument? (Chuva, 2020, p. 27)

This more integrated approach, understanding that a tangible heritage had an intangible part, was only slowly adapted at this international institutional level. In 2000, UNESCO released the World Culture Report on cultural diversity, conflict and pluralism (UNESCO, 2000) discussing the implications of intangible heritage. In 2003, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was signed, shifting the understand of heritage.

> In contrast to this static dimension of products, to be conserved as authoritative relics of the past because of our modern obsession with deterioration, UNESCO's new idea of heritage proposes a dynamic approach focusing on processes to be safeguarded as devices for identity and cultural production. This attitude introduces a shift from an archival documentation paradigm based on philologically determined authenticity, to one that stresses the importance of reproduction and transmission of practices for elaboration and adaptation by future generations. In this perspective, culture is not identified with tangible expressions but with the human activity that underpins and allows their production. (Bortolotto, 2007, p. 27)

However, in this first moment, UNESCO did not include food among what was considered intangible heritage. There was a significant discussion on whether it should be added to the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) List or not, and, if it was accepted, how would food be recognized as a cultural good. One of the first nominations was the Gastronomic Meal of the French.

> Within UNESCO, the obstacles to this nomination were technical or political-institutional, i.e., on the one hand, the element was too large and, therefore, the community was difficult to identify and the safeguarding measures difficult to apply. On the other hand, the elitist aura of French gastronomy betrays the principles, unwritten but deeply rooted in the history of the Convention, which understand it as a tool intended primarily for southern countries 'rich in traditions', in contrast to the West, already benefiting from other devices such as World Heritage and implicitly considered as repositories of art and 'high culture'. (Bortolotto, 2017, p. 151)

It took some years, but in 2010, UNESCO registered Traditional Mexican Cuisine and the Gastronomic Meal of the French on the ICH List. The strategy, of focusing on processes rather than products, and establishing then a framework to represent food practices as expressions of ICH, meant the French not only got their place on the List, but made their nomination a model to be followed (Bortolotto, 2017). It is not the materiality of food that is recognized as heritage by the UNESCO ICH List and its signatory countries but it is the intangible aspect of food, i.e., the knowledge, culture and practices associated with it. Following this, inclusion has become easier. In 2013, it was the turn of the Mediterranean Diet, the first entry involving many countries: Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, Greece, Italy, Morocco, and Portugal. This inclusion is a milestone not only because it is multinational, but because it brings in the term diet and not cooking. This small change has a big impact when such a diet is recognized as heritage, and at the same time, in medical or health policy discourses, olive oil, for example, produced widely

in these countries, is pointed out as a health food. Since then, more than 45 food heritage entries have been registered[22].

Figure 1

The French Gastronomic Meal became a trademark.

Intangible heritage has its specificities. If a building or an artwork can be preserved, that is not the case of expertise or part of a celebration. Such items cannot be frozen in time, or they would become folklore. They are part of a living culture and, as such, are always changing and being reinvented. In this sense, the idea behind registering them is to safeguard them. That is, safeguarding is a means whereby a cultural group can continue to reproduce and resignify the meaning of such items in the context of their culture. In the Convention definition: "'Safeguarding' means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage" (UNESCO, 2022). When it comes to food heritage, the safeguarding measures depend on the context under analysis. The measures could apply

[22] Celebrations and rituals, which can involve food, are not included in this list. These numbers refer to situations where food or drink is the main focus. The complete list is available at https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists. Accessed 14 December 2022.

to protecting territory, allowing access to rivers and forests, or even changing a country's sanitary laws.

Territory is a crucial component of food heritage. The link between them dates back to the first discussions on the heritagization process. The regionalization movement of France and Italy can be traced back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The movement was concerned with the reinforcement of the notion of the nation, and the development of a sense of pride and knowledge of a country's traditions at a time when these two countries were undergoing departmentalization or unification processes. Highlighting the typical product of each region was seen as giving a sense of the gastronomic wealth of a nation. This wealth was presented by these two countries at universal expositions. It could also be seen in the Touring Club's Guida Gastronomica d'Italia or in France's Michelin Guides (Berrino, 2013; Capatti, 2006; Capuzzo, 2020; Csergo, 1998). These books put food as points of interest alongside buildings and places to visit and know in a locality, both valuing it and confining it to stereotypes (Csergo, 2006). The value is in the typicality of the product, its authenticity, or even how it is traditionally[23] linked to that specific territory (and population). However, this traditional culinary art is perceived as stable, and authentic in a folkloric way (Poulain, 2013). There is also the utopia of happy rurality linked to it, as opposed to the fast transformations and artificialities of urbanity[24]. There are two points worth discussing here: the first one is that a food culture is not always restricted to a specific territory; then, food cultures are forged and influenced by many contacts and exchanges (Montanari, 2020). So, restricting a food heritage to a nation could be artificial and create disputes between countries. One example is the hummus war (Avieli, 2016): should the dish be defined as Israeli, Lebanese or Palestinian? In the eyes of UNESCO, the Mediterranean diet is recognized as a multi-nation culture. On the other hand, kimchi, a fermented cabbage preparation traditional to

[23] These three concepts, i.e., typical, authentic and traditional, are recurrent in the discourse of heritage. They are hard to define and could have many different meanings depending on who uses them. One can find them in a heritage report, on a food product in the market or in a tourism guide. Even though "the current UNESCO approach has revised and, with regard to intangible cultural heritage, abolished the concept of authenticity, constructing heritage in dynamic and evolutionary terms as in the *mémoire* approach to the past" (Bortolotto, 2007, pp. 26-27). Because of this, I will avoid making use of typical and authentic, traditional, yes, sometimes, or I will go deeper into their meanings. I will discuss their use throughout this thesis. I will also tackle how the actors involved in Slow Food understand the concept of food heritage.

[24] This phenomenon, the origins of which could be explained by the feeling of risk of losing these food traditions, will also be observed in the localization shift later in the alternative food movements. I will go back to that in Chapter 4.

both Koreas, has two entries in the ICH List: Kimjang, the making and sharing of kimchi in the Republic of Korea, and the tradition of kimchi-making in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Here, once more, we can trace the idea of national identity construction and the interrogation of which actors are involved and which are excluded, which dishes and food cultures are selected to represent a region, and which are ignored. Those guides and inventories in Italy and Spain had a nationalist discourse behind them at the beginning of the 20th century. They were promoted by Mussolini and Franco, and the respective fascist parties even worked on them (Porciani, 2020). So, there is a thin line between valuing excluded cultures and reinforcing exclusions or xenophobic movements. This is not only seen in historical analyses, as has just been illustrated but can also be seen today as far-right movements in Germany, France and Italy campaign against couscous and kebab and support local wine as an attempt to exclude Islamic immigrants from mainstream society (Porciani, 2020). Aware of these risks, UNESCO has established rules to recognize a heritage, as " a living expression of the embodied experience of a community, with its shared sense of identity and continuity. However, it should not promote intolerance and discrimination against outsiders, but rather inspire intercultural communication" (Parasecoli, 2020, p. 61).

When examining the national institutional level of the two countries studied here, one finds different realities and approaches. The German definition of its Nationwide Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage is noticeable for sharing the UNESCO principal and avoiding a nationalist tone: "It is not a collection of 'German heritage' but rather a reflection of the diversity of cultural practices and expressions that are practiced in Germany by various communities"[25]. Although this discourse is in perfect alignment with the values we have discussed so far, it is unique when we analyze national heritage entries. The adoption of the ICH Convention in Germany took many years. The country only signed 10 years after the convention had been established.

> Germany, like various other European countries such as Ireland or Switzerland, has held back on this ratification for good geopolitical reasons. The ICH Convention came about not least because the list of monuments accepted into UNESCO's world cultural heritage has been hopelessly over-weighted by the Global North, and the (Western) industrial nations. Precisely because countries like Germany, France and Italy can look back on a considerable history of monument

[25] Available at https://www.unesco.de/en/culture-and-nature/intangible-cultural-heritage. Accessed 12 April 2022.

> preservation, it was easy for them to prepare monuments, building complexes and the like for the nomination process. (Bendix, 2016, p. 190)

Unlike countries of the Global South, which had been discussing a broader concept of cultural heritage for some time, these countries had to face new ideas and dynamics. Overcoming the political power of such traditional knowledge is not an easy task. A good example could be the mobilization of German bakers to have the German bread culture recognized as a national heritage. The *Zentralverband des deutschen Bäckerhandwerkes* (the German Federation of the Bakery Trade) started their campaign in 2011 to have the German bread culture recognized as a cultural heritage in UNESCO's List. Their bid included an inventory of the many hundreds of bread varieties traditionally produced around the country. Even though bread is consumed daily in Germany, the bakers' trade, they argued, was at risk, as more and more industrial bread is being sold at bakeries, ignoring the quality and craft of artisanal breads (Bendix, 2016). Their pressure, with other civil society actors in the same line, assured the inclusion of the *German Bread Culture* in the German Commission for UNESCO list in 2013.

Figure 1. *Celebration in 2022 of the 10th Day of the German Breads promoted by the Zentralverband des deutschen Bäckerhandwerkes.* Disclosure image.

In Germany, there are two lists: the Nationwide Inventory of Intangible Heritage and the National Register of Best Safeguarding Practices. The first is divided into five categories: Music, (Body) Language & Performing Arts; Customs and Festivals Throughout the

Year; Humanity and Nature; Craftsmanship; and Community Life. The German bread culture has been registered under Craftsmanship since 2014 (Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission, n.d.-b). Food and agricultural heritage are present in the last three categories and can be identified in 17 of the cultural practices and expressions included and in two examples of good safeguarding practices (Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission, n.d.-a).

In Brazil, the heritagization process started earlier but grew much more slowly. The right of all the different groups that form the Brazilian population to have their culture registered as national heritage was recognized in the Constitution of 1988 (Article 216). This could be considered a milestone as the listing recognizes the cultures of the populations that were historically excluded as part of the national identity. Before that, the buildings and arts recognized as heritage by IPHAN were mainly *Barroco* or Portuguese architecture (Chuva, 2020; Falcão, 1984). This concept had been based on the experts' capacity to identify artistically relevant work based on an ideal of universal art history that is European and Westernized (Chuva, 2020). Therefore, it meant that one part of the Brazilian population was overrepresented in the list while, at the same time, many other groups were underrepresented or not even represented at all.

Furthermore, the 1988 constitutional text hands over the power of heritage definition to society instead of to the government. "The paradigm shift, that cultural values are created by society and not by the government, only begins with the Federal Constitution of 1988. Before that, stating in preservation agencies that heritage was, before anything, a social fact caused scandal" (Meneses, 2009). The state has had, since then, the duty to recognize and register such cultural goods.

> Therefore, heritage is not a given, it is a conquest, and it is a right. As pointed out by Ulpiano Meneses, values are historical attributes, they transform and should be thought of as a field of struggles for rights conquered through heritage and/or a field of struggles for the right to heritage. In this conception, there are structural conceptual changes that, in my understanding, promote ruptures with the coloniality of knowledge and a decolonial turn. (Chuva, 2020, p. 29)

Despite this step forward, the 216 articles of the Brazilian Constitution were only regulated in 2000. IPHAN has registered in its inventory list, in the last 22 years, eight traditional know-hows directly related to food and another two indirectly (IPHAN, n.d.-b). As in the UNESCO Convention, Brazil does not register food but the social practices around it as heritage. IPHAN has four Intangible Heritage Registry Books: Knowledge, Celebrations, Forms of Expression, and Places. Regarding food heritage, they are all in the Knowledge Book (IPHAN, n.d.-a), and what is registered and safeguarded are the

social practices related to food production; the craft, or the expertise, associated with it. This number, when we consider the size of the country, is quite low. It should also be noted that in Brazil, public policies often contradict safeguarding plans (Santana, 2016; Santilli, 2015).

Here we come back to a central issue in the registration of intangible heritage: safeguarding. As has already been noted, depending on the context into which this heritage is inserted, the conditions for it to continue being reproduced can be significantly varied: from access to land to educational campaigns. The idea behind this approach is that it will ensure that the bearers of these heritages have the conditions to continue reproducing their culture, which would be a way of ensuring a more democratic food system, one that includes a diversity of cultures. However, although the UNESCO convention, and, therefore, the heritagization processes described here, does not foresee commercialization as a safeguarding tool, something we regularly observe in the speeches not only by the candidates for registration but also by the institutions involved in safeguarding (Bendix, 2016; Bortolotto, 2017; Bortolotto & Ubertazzi, 2018). In this sense, the process of heritagization starts approaching other forms of market differentiation, such as geographical indications. This is a certification process that is much more market- than safeguard-oriented. It is linked to intellectual property rules and, even though it could be part of a valuation process in a food culture, it relies on written documents, something which could exclude many groups (Parasecoli, 2017). Another way of safeguarding food heritage could be through civil society, and this is the approach analyzed in this thesis by studying Slow Food in Brazil and Germany. What these approaches have in common is the view that local food is diverse and resistant to global standardization. And beyond that, their tools are often a way of differentiating localities in a saturated market. “In fact, far from excluding it, modernity favors, in certain cases, the formation of local specialties." (FISCHLER, p. 859, 1998) That is the topic I would like to tackle next: when food is an identity marker or a niche product.

3.2 Food as an identity marker or a niche product

As mentioned in the previous section, at the beginning of the 20th century, the regionalism movement seen in countries such as France and Italy was directly linked to tourist guides (Capatti, 2006; Csergo, 1998). The establishment of those local cuisines, or, better to say, the stereotyped versions of them, raises an important point that should be discussed:

tourism as a way of strengthening national gastronomy (Espeitx, 2004). In other words, a way of differentiating regions and countries. Looking at it from the perspective of identity, one could say that tourism is the encounter with the other, the exercise of alterity, the moment when one realizes one's identity by comparing it with others (Halbwachs, 1990; Lévinas, 2004). Based on this idea, the construction of a national gastronomic discourse is valued in the tourist encounter. However, tourism is a much broader phenomenon, and one of its main aspects is its size. The expansion of tourism is intrinsically linked to its economic appeal, and food is one of its pillars, not only at the production and culinary level, as a focus of specialization, as in wine tourism, ethno-tourism, etc.

Over recent years, cuisines from different countries have become more acknowledged all over the world, and gastronomic tourism is increasingly an important source of income. In a scenario where cuisine becomes an opportunity to build national identities and new businesses, many countries that were not considered food references are trying to change this. In this context, it is possible to see new forms of the gastronationalism practiced by France and Italy at the beginning of the last century (Porciani, 2020) or by Peru in the last decade (Matta, 2012, 2015, 2016). The Peruvian case is a rich one and can offer plenty of material for discussion. So, even though it is not in the scope of this research, I would like to dedicate some lines to debate some contradictions concerning this neoliberal perspective of food heritagization as a local developmental tool (Suremain & Matta, 2013).

The Peruvian government did not only try to have its cuisine registered on the ICH List, like France and Mexico, but it developed a grand strategy of national branding through food (Canépa, 2013; García, 2013; Matta, 2014; Wilson, 2011). *Marca Perú* is an example of how food heritage discourse can be commoditized. The national campaign was led by Apega, an association linked to the famous chef Gaston Acurio. He was the main figure in the advertisement describing the richness of Peruvian food. The discourse used was allied to the *mestizaje* that made the country so special, the environmental value of the traditional varieties of food such as diverse potatoes and quinoa, and the potential the population had to conquer the world with their food (of becoming a country of chefs) (Matta, 2014, 2019). According to the rhetoric, peasants should be valued and their work recognized. Festivals, marketing campaigns and high-level restaurants in Lima and abroad would be the way to promote them. However, what often occurred was the requirement of standardization of the production, reducing the varieties of potatoes or

quinoa, for example, that were traditionally grown mixed, and even a 'civilization' of the peasant (Canépa, 2013; García, 2013).

Figure 2. *Marca Perú. Disclosure image.*

The Peruvian case serves as an example of how the heritagization process can be used for the commodification of the local food culture (Capuzzo, 2020; Matta, 2012; Montanari & Porciani, 2020). This has different implications in other Latin American countries. There are the ones that, looking from a neoliberal perspective, sees the neighboring country's case as an example, such as Brazil. But there are also neighbors who share food cultures and have seen their dishes appropriated by Peruvians, such as ceviche, which is recurrent in several countries in the region. The same nostalgic feeling that leads us to protect food as heritage, as it is threatened by the rapid changes in our diets, also stimulates its consumerism (Capuzzo, 2020). The trend in the West of consuming global food goes hand-in-hand with an interest in the food's history and origin (Gupta, 2012). And even if the UNESCO ICH List does not have this approach, it does not mean that candidates do not apply for it without such an intention. The French mission of heritage and food cultures, created to push their application for the Gastronomic Meal, registered the term *repas gastronomique des Français* as a trademark (Bortolotto, 2017).

> Csergo's analysis of the nomination files of food-related inscriptions on the UNESCO lists shows that economic objectives have been increasingly prioritized in the way safeguarding measures are conceived. In such cases, in order to recognize who benefits from the promotion of ICH elements, it becomes crucial to know who owns them.

> […] A shared opinion circulating the UNESCO corridors is that ICH lists should not turn into a menu of world cuisine and that this trend should be stopped or at least slowed. Indeed, culinary nostalgia is clearly not the only trigger in the booming market of food heritage; this category goes hand-in-hand with a broader, and much more controversial, shift linking ICH to the market in an unprecedented way.
>
> Such concerns are particularly relevant as commodification is regarded as a major risk of ICH promotion. Yet the market often intersects with, and is necessary for, the perpetuation of food-related cultural practices. (Bortolotto & Ubertazzi, 2018, p. 412)

The idea of a link between safeguarding and sustainable development is promoted by UNESCO's convention. And one way to guarantee the communities' rights to their culture is by adding economic value to it. Intellectual property rights, such as geographic indications (GIs), seem to be a complementary tool to protect the same communities. However, the premises of these certifications are very different from those of the process of registering a food heritage. GIs are based on territory and authenticity; they are restrictive and have rules to standardize products. Such prerogatives travel in the opposite direction of the proposal to safeguard food cultures. These should be able to be reproduced by the communities that hold them and modified and re-signified. Moreover, they do not necessarily have to be linked to a territory, but to a group. Allying both things is not only difficult (even though some bearers do it) it can be a great contradiction.

> The field of food brings to the surface with particular acuity one of the most complex aspects of the Convention. On the one hand, this tool has purely cultural objectives, condemns the commercial abuse of heritage and demonstrates great prudence in assessing the economic effects arising from inscriptions on international lists of intangible heritage. On the other hand, and ever more explicitly, the Convention promotes the idea of a link between safeguarding intangible heritage and so-called sustainable development, which also brings economic benefits to the communities involved, often closely linked to a territory. This tension is the source of great controversy during the committee meetings. (Bortolotto, 2017, p. 161)

A market niche is created, and those food heritage products become not only valued but also more expensive, being consumed by a global elite (Di Fiore, 2020; Matta, 2019). To recognize the local tensions and power struggles to not reinforce the inequalities already in place (Parasecoli, 2017) is one of the main contradictions, and even challenges, when valuing a food culture product. An important distinction to be made in this process is between products and knowledge. When it comes to food, as discussed earlier in this chapter, there is an intangible value to consider, not only the materiality of the product that we ingest. Is it this knowledge and these social practices that are recognized as heritage and that add value to the product once it gets to the market? What can often be

observed in the appreciation of a food product is the displacement of indigenous knowledge, or what Matta (2014) called **native food gentrification**. An example of this is when a native fruit is appropriated by famous chefs and used in high-level gastronomy, taking the fruit not only out of its cultural context but also making it inaccessible to the populations to which it belongs as the demand grows and the prices increase. Ultimately, although the process of heritagization has a discourse of intention to value the populations that are on the margins of the countries involved, what we observe is that it integrates a development model and ends up not being able to overcome pre-existing inequalities. In this sense, regularly the discourse of the reconnaissance of the different populations' food cultures could be considered naïve, or even colonialist, as it just reproduces the exploitation of the same groups by the same elites.

How, then, to avoid these contradictions? In the debate on food heritage, some paths have been discussed in this sense. One of the main problems highlighted by experts on the heritagization process is its top-down structure (Di Fiore, 2020; Matta, 2012, 2015). Usually, the institutions in charge, different instances of government, are the ones applying for inclusion in the register of the heritage and not the community that is the heritage holder. That means the community does not have the autonomy to choose the terms on which it wants to participate in the process, or whether it wants to participate at all (MacCarthy, 2020). This makes the safeguard process much more complex; there is a need to mobilize the actors to construct its project of safeguarding the cultural goods in question (Salama, 2016).

The answer to that would be then the inventories from below (Montanari & Porciani, 2020; Pieroni, 2018); that is, inventories proposed and developed by the community and then later presented to the institution. This idea goes with the concepts of inward-looking and outward-looking culinary heritage presented by Matta (2015). The first would be a heritage "of a local and cultural nature, focused on the preservation of knowledge, techniques and cultural practices", while the second "focuses on the selection of agricultural techniques and foods that can produce economic value and, as a consequence, a supposed level of well-being" (Matta, 2015, p. 212). Experiences with inventories from below show the potential of heritage to arouse pride in neglected groups and generate community engagement (Pieroni, 2018). Which leads us to reflect that perhaps the strategy of raising the commercial value of a food culture product is not the most effective way of safeguarding it. Other public policies aimed at guaranteeing these populations access to land, health care, and education, and ensuring their food sovereignty would have

a greater impact on the continuity of these cultures, allowing them to continue to resignify it for themselves and not focus on what the market demands.

Again, it is crucial to observe how the heritagization process is often seen as a development tool, mainly to be applied in the countries of the Global South. But all the inconsistencies highlighted here lead to the preoccupation of finding other ways of safeguarding food heritage by offering better living conditions to the bearer communities. Some of the current alternatives at the institutional international level include the Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems (GIAHS), a register administered by the FAO; the recognition of indigenous knowledge internationally, and social movements, such as Slow Food projects (Parasecoli, 2017). The role of Slow Food in safeguarding food heritage in Brazil and Germany will be the focus of analysis in this thesis, even when that is not the discourse. Before drawing such an analysis from the field research data, however, it is necessary to historicize the Slow Food movement and understand its place among other agrifood social movements.

4 SLOW FOOD WITHIN OTHER CIVIL SOCIETY MOVEMENTS

When we talk about social movements related to food or food movements, Slow Food is always one of the first to appear. There is a historic reason for this. It was one of the first alternative agrifood movements. It emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, mainly in Europe, calling for a re-localization of the food system (Allen, 2010; Goodman et al., 2012). It started in the north of Italy, in 1986, as a way of reaffirming local food culture, acting in opposition to the homogenization promoted by the changes to the food system that led to the *fast-foodization*[26] of life. Its appeal was not restricted to Italy, and it soon spread across the globe. Nowadays, the movement is present in more than 160 countries. Its origins and discourses are aligned with the safeguarding of food heritage, as we have been discussing here. Defining Slow Food is not simple. It can have an NGO aspect or appear to be a social movement, a foundation, or even a business at times (Siniscalchi, 2013b). I have chosen to perceive it as a social movement, something that can encompass all these other aspects within it, since it is an organization that seeks social change through mobilization (Touraine, 1985). In fact, Slow Food can be defined in Castells' terms (2010), as mentioned earlier (see Chapter 2), as a *new social movement*. As well as being

[26] Even though the concept of *Macdonization* (Ritzer, 1993) would fit here perfectly, I reproduce the one used in the Slow Food Manifesto, i.e., *fast-foodization* (1989).

part of the movements reacting to the globalization[27] of the 1980s and 1990s, Slow Food also organizes itself in networks, and has information/education as one of its main means of action. “Their media skills are fundamental fighting tools, while their manifestos and their weapons are means to create an event worth reporting” (Castells, 2010a, p. 164). But to be able to define Slow Food clearly, I will discuss in this chapter the history of the movement, how it established itself, its structure and its discourse, the projects it has implemented over the past 30 years, and how it fits with peasant movements, environmentalists, and food movements.

4.1 From Bra’s Arcigola to Slow Food International

Slow Food was born at the beginning of the 1980s in a little town in northern Italy called Bra. It originates from Arcigola, an oeno-gastronomical league, formed by a small group of young people (mainly men) in their 30s that had just discovered food and wine and had started to speak on the cause of conviviality and its pleasures within the left movement (Petrini & Padovani, 2006). There was a rich environment for this group, whose leader was Carlo Petrini, a journalist, politician, and entrepreneur at that time. They were part of ARCI, a national association supported by the socialist and communist parties. It was also in 1980 that the first DOCG wines of Italy were established: Barolo and Brunello. Arcigola arose from the contact of these young leftists with Barolo producers and wine experts.

Also, in 1986, as Arcigola became an independent association, there was a wine contamination scandal, the river Po was found to be contaminated, and the Chernobyl disaster occurred. Fear about food grew, and it became clear that food and the environment were inextricably linked (Petrini & Padovani, 2006). The public agenda became focused on environmental and consumer protection, as did the association's, combined with its founding commitment to conviviality (Petrini & Padovani, 2006). Arcigola became Slow Food, established as an international movement, in 1989, with the signing of the Slow Food Manifesto, in Paris (Slow Food International, n.d.).

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[27] I tend to agree with Schneider (2008), who claims that Slow Food is not an anti-globalization movement, but rather advocates for a diverse globalization, or, in Hinrichs' terms, for a “localization diversity-receptive” rather than a “defensive” one (in Counihan, 2016, p. 224), as it relies on global markets with some of their projects, as Presidia..

Slow Food started as a movement that claimed that everybody had the right to good food and wine, and that food culture was being threatened by the *fast-foodization* of life. Communication was its main tool at that moment: radio programs, magazines, and columns in newspapers. In its first years, SF focused more on wine; from 1990 to 1996, it mainly organized events around wine in the form of tastings and fairs (Petrini & Padovani, 2006). It is important to understand that the movement's beginning was inspired by gourmet clubs, with the aim of democratizing them. This image is still associated with Slow Food today.

The history of the movement also explains some of its current structure, something that is quite hard to define and grasp. It started as a cultural association that published a magazine, then columns in newspapers, and promoted wine tastings. They also invested in catering and restaurants. In 1990, the SF Editore was founded with the release of the *Osterie d'Italia* guide. In the beginning, the movement focused too strongly on defining itself as a movement promoting the Italian way of life, according to Petrini. This explains

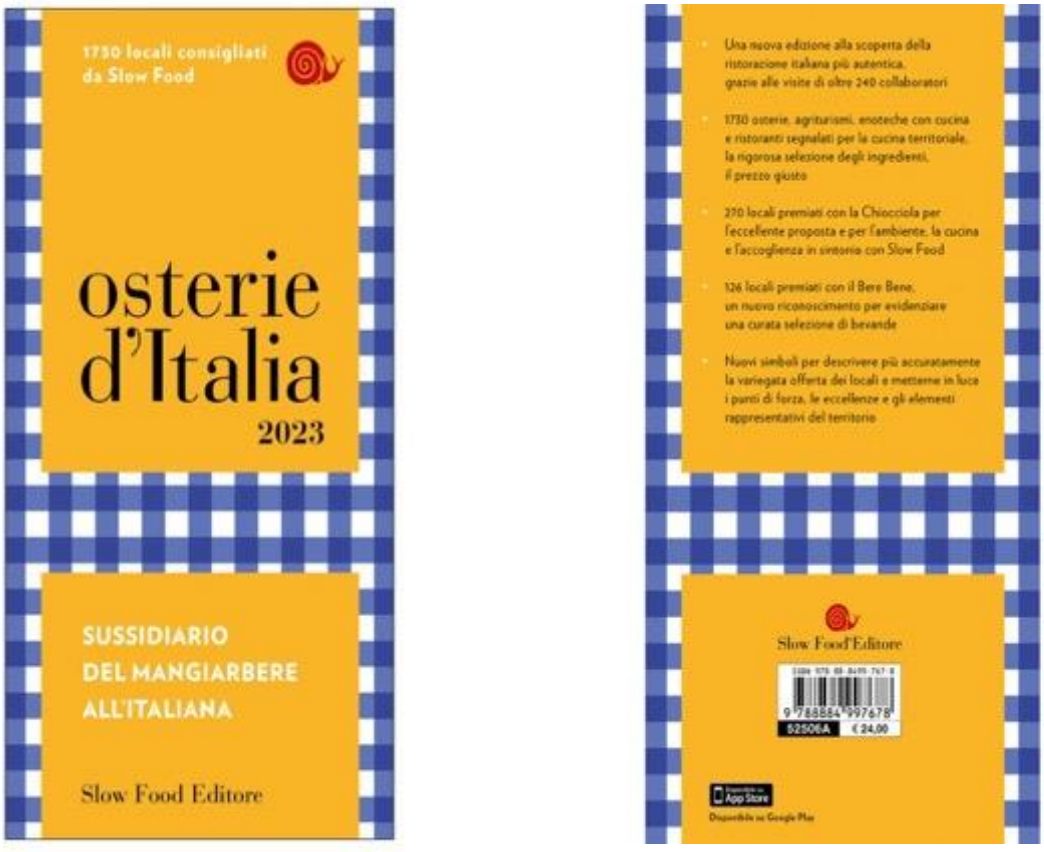

Figure 3. *Osterie d'Italia is still published annually by Slow Food Editore (Osterie d'Italia 2023, n.d.).*

the success in Germany and Switzerland, and the lack of a welcome in France (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 83).

The workshops of taste, the first of which was held at the wine fair Vinitaly, in 1994, became one of the movement's main tools for the Education of Taste. The workshops focused not only on the organoleptic characteristics of the wine or food, but they discussed who had produced it, the history and culture behind it, the existing struggles and threats to its continuity and, of course, what made it unique. This brought consumers and producers closer together. "The approach is both playful and pedagogical, for it makes its participants aware of the necessity to safeguard these rarities." (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 90) This is one of Slow Food's central ideas; that its activism is based on playfulness, not harshness.

Slow Food's main goal has been, from the beginning, to value the local food culture through the market. In other words, to give the producers the means to continue manufacturing their products. Two projects were born from this idea: the Ark of Taste and the Presidium. The first is an online list of endangered products from all around the world. It includes fruit, vegetables, animal species and artisanal traditional food products (Ark of Taste - What We Do, n.d.). The idea is to raise awareness of the value of those products and safeguard the socio-biodiversity. The name, with its biblical inspiration, refers to the idea of being a big bank of food diversity.

> We were aware that the concept of an ark might be interpreted as a form of conservatism. I immediately stated that it would have been reductive to value and support, in an absolute way, small-scale craftsmanship, without looking at industries, which do exist, that are honest and take an entrepreneurial approach that respects the environment. We could not possibly lock ourselves in a small, ancient world and not look beyond that.
>
> Since the flood was imminent, as I said at the meeting, our ark could be the only salvation. The incoming storms threatened to inflict genocide. Neither marketing, community politics, nor sharp intuitions would have been sufficient. We had to build an ark, I said, based on information and on knowing that anybody who worked in this sector was a cultural actor.
>
> I ended my talk by saying that, once the flood was over, we would come down from the ark, back to Earth, like Noah. That is what we did later with Terra Madre, in 2004. (Petrini & Padovani, 200', p. 93)

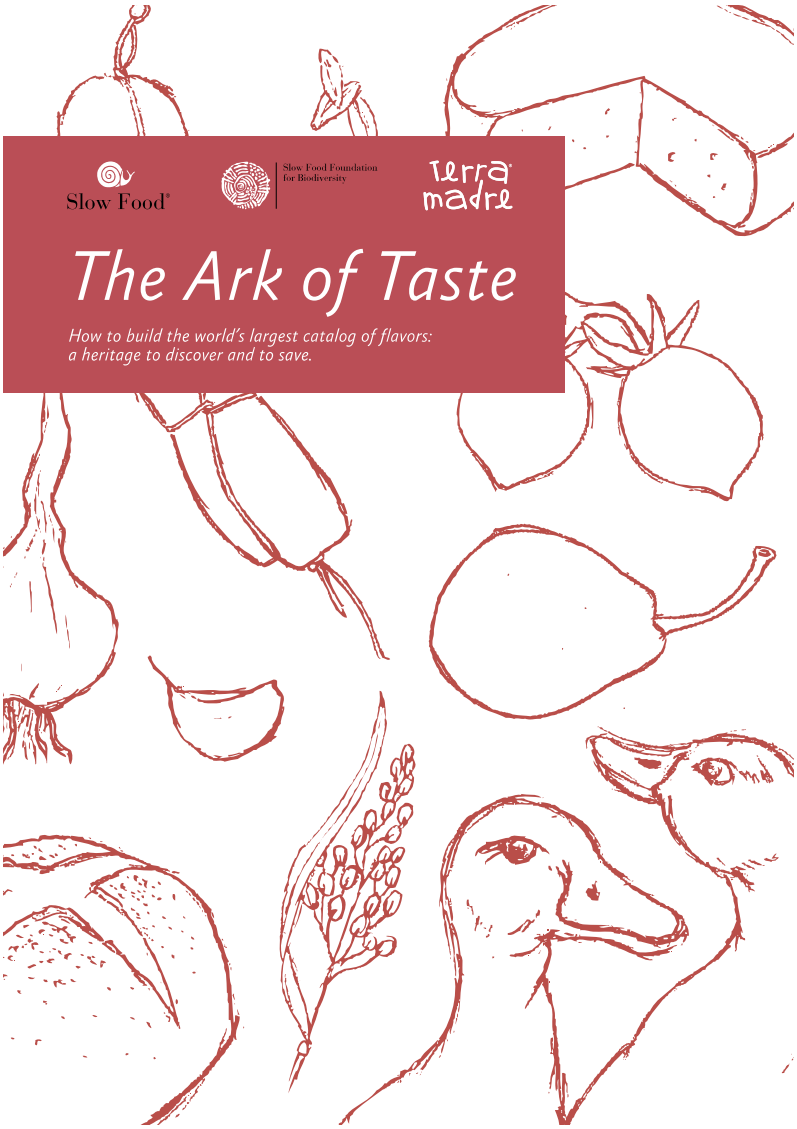

Figure 4. *Slow Food's Ark of Taste Catalog intends to be an inventory of food heritage (Milano et al., 2018).*

The Presidium is a step forward in the safeguarding of those projects. It involved the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity being partnered with other institutions and funding actors to ensure the continuity of those cultures through access to the market. The name Presidium has military roots and means garrison. I point out the origins of these project names because they also relate to the origins and discourses of the movement. But more than that, this could connect the movement to some conservative groups, the same problem faced by the heritagization process and discussed in Chapter 3.

The Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, another part of the Slow Food structure, was created in 2003 to coordinate the Ark of Taste and Presidium projects (Preserve Biodiversity - What We Do, n.d.). In both of these projects, food communities are organized and together they form the Terra Madre network. This network of food producers, chefs, academics, activists, and others have met biennially in Turin, Italy, since

2004, for the Terra Madre. The event is one of the highlights of Slow Food. It is an opportunity for its members to share their experiences and products with fellow members from all over the world. It is a five-day event, involving conferences, meetings, roundtable discussions, and, of course, shared meals. It is held simultaneously with the Salone del Gusto, a large festival celebrating the products of those food communities, alongside products from bigger partner companies.

Figure 5. *Slow Food educational space on bees and other insects at Terra Madre 2018. Own work.*

Figure 6. *Overview of the Presidia Pavilion, with representatives from all around the globe. Terra Madre 2018. Own work.*

Figure 7. *SFYN meet at Terra Madre 2018. Own work.*

These projects are pivotal to the movement's structure and linked to the concepts of safeguarding and food heritage, which have been, since its inception, part of the vocabulary of Slow Food. In the association's first statute, of 1996, "[…] it was established that the Slow Food movement had to fight to improve food culture, to teach children to have an awareness of tastes and smells, to 'safeguard and defend the food heritage of culinary practices of every country,' and finally, to 'promote the distribution

of quality products'" (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 85). It is interesting to note that at that time, UNESCO was still discussing the idea of intangible heritage. The challenge made by Japan had occurred only two years earlier, and the idea of food being included in this tool of international institutional recognition was still distant.

However, at the beginning of the 2000s, this approach focused on heritage and gourmet food was not interesting to many young people. So, what is now known as the Youth Network within the Slow Food movement was born as a reaction to the elderly and the gourmet movement, starting outside the network structures. The Youth Food Movement in the Netherlands was then incorporated into Slow Food at the 2007 International Congress in Mexico. Since then, the SFYN has expanded across the world, currently present in more than 80 countries (SFYN, n.d.). It is characterized by the high number of students who are members, and the concern with food waste, animal welfare, and other political agendas on food systems. SFYN's most successful action is the Disco Soup. The format was created in Berlin and uses a big party to draw attention to food waste. While a meal is prepared from food that would otherwise go to waste, be it because it is imperfect, not up to aesthetic standards, or no longer fresh, music is played, dances are performed, and there is debate about food waste and other problems in the current food system. Everything is carried out in a collective and fun way. This format is flexible and can be adapted to different realities and necessities, as we will see when comparing the movements in Brazil and Germany. Structure-wise, SFYN is not very complex. Until 2018, the SFYN had a president, who was also on SF's executive committee. Since 2019, along with the president, who has always been from the Netherlands, a steering committee has been elected, with representatives from each continent, to integrate SFYN International as an advisory body. However, as I will discuss in the next chapters, these formats and leadership were not established without some conflict.

In 2004, the University of Gastronomic Sciences (UNISG) was launched in cooperation with the Italian regions of Piedmont and Emilia-Romagna (History & Mission, n.d.). At the same time, the Terra Madre Foundation was established, its founders being the Italian Ministry for Agricultural, Food and Forestry Policies; the Development Cooperation of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Piedmont Regional Authority; the City of Turin; Slow Food; and Slow Food Italy. In addition to this, Slow Food has two other commercial sides: Slow Food Promozzione, the entity that organizes events such as the Salone del Gusto, and the I Tarocchi Cooperative, which manages hospitality and catering businesses: the restaurants called Osteria dell'Arco in Alba and Il Boccondivino in Bra;

the Albergo of the Agenzia di Pollenzo at the University of Gastronomic Sciences, and the Enoteca, or Wine Bank (Petrini & Padovani, 2006). As one can see, even though it is an international movement, Slow Food structures are still centralized in northern Italy.

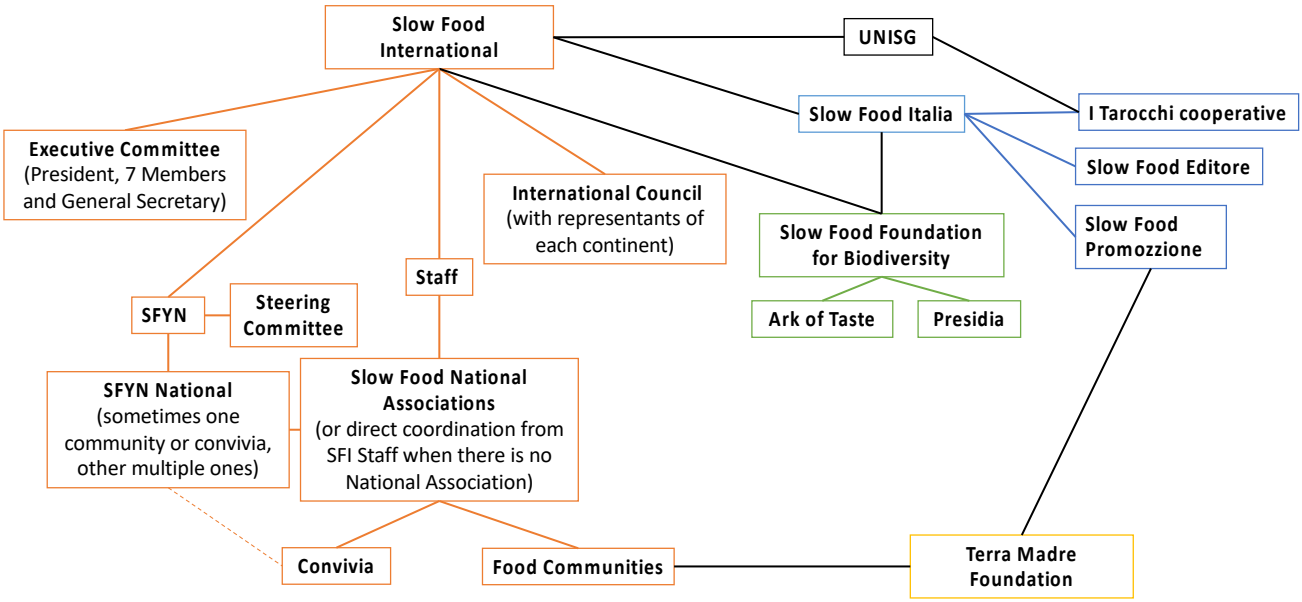

Figure 8. *Slow Food structure. Own work.*

4.2 Good, clean, and fair food for all

Slow Food's current philosophy, to ensure *good, clean, and fair food for all* emerged for the first time in 2005, in Petrini's book *Buono, pulito e giusto. Principi di nuova gastronomia*[28]. He summarized the movement's aims, from then on, to fight for good, clean, and fair food. The 'for all' has only been incorporated since the early 2020s. This motto could provide Isome insight into the trajectory of the movement in its first decades (Siniscalchi, 2013b). Its first phase was focused on the quality of products, i.e., good. It is concerned not only with the gourmet aspect of the movement, to enjoy the organoleptic

[28] Published in English in 2007 as *Slow Food Nation: Why Our Food Should be Good, Clean, and Fair*.

characteristics of the food and drink, but also with the localist aspect. That is, it concerns the valuing of local products that have been left behind, that are no longer being produced because the market is standardizing. So, the food should not only be good in taste but also culturally positive and it should value the local biodiversity.

The second stage saw the introduction of an environmental aspect: clean. The agenda then became not only one of valuing the small local producers and products but also of ensuring the preservation of the environment. This meant encouraging production without the use of agrochemicals, and the consumption of local products, those that would not need to travel far, avoiding contamination of the planet in a quest to feed people. This mode of production, then, cleaner and local, would allow the third phase: fairness. Knowing the producer by proximity, the consumer would also be willing to pay more, a fair price for the product, which would ensure a dignified income for the farmers. In this way, the consumer is called upon to be a co-producer; that is, to put themselves in the producers' shoes by visiting their farms, talking with them, and understanding their challenges. This suggested going beyond simply knowing about the food that ended up on their plates. "In this sense, the notion of co-producer is assumed in its performative value, but it also aims at establishing a sharing of responsibilities: the consumer becomes responsible for his choices that have an impact on the environment and on the fate of the production" (Siniscalchi, 2020, pp. 196-197).

Slow Food relies on education as a strategy to raise public awareness, linking it, simultaneously, to economic and cultural gains for the communities (Schneider, 2008). The projects with the communities focus on finding or reconstructing a market for those products that have lost their appeal. At first, it may sound somewhat contradictory when one looks at the origins of the movement, in an anarcho-socialist context. However, it is a part of a strategy quite common in alternative agrifood movements that, "frustrated with the ineffectiveness of global or national institutions in solving food system problems, have turned to localization as a remedy. […] The localist impulse gained ground in the 1990s, both as a reaction to and a product of neoliberal ideologies and practices" (Allen, 2010, p. 296). In this sense, the Slow Food philosophy of good, clean, and fair, Siniscalchi (2014) argues, has become the parameter of a moral economy as it aims to be an alternative to liberalism and, at the same time, tries to reform it. A similar perspective would be presented by Nascimento (2014), who defends that Slow Food's historical distinguishing feature would be its entrepreneurship attempting 'to achieve the common good', in addition to its capacity for a politicized commercial practice.

This economic approach to Slow Food is fundamental to the movement while, at the same time, it is one of its biggest contradictions. Localism is, however, not unique to Slow Food, but is part of a broader trend, common to many alternative agrifood movements. I started this discussion in the last chapter and would like to extend it now. As said earlier, there is a common point between the heritagization and the re-localization phenomena: both are reactions to the threat of standardization. Furthermore, they reflect "a perceived need to protect European rural economy and society from the damaging consequences of international agricultural trade liberalization and the global reach of standardized industrial food provision" (Goodman et al., 2012, p. 16). These movements, then, advocate for a more localized food system. In other words, family farming, or other solidary formats of small-scale farming, consumer and producer proximity, buying directly from those who produce the food, valuing the artisanal, traditional producer, and reducing the environmental impact of the transport of goods.

However, one could say that this ideal is also based on a European rural imaginary which embraces "a distinctive 'possessive investment' in national traditions, although it is expressed in an 'unmarked' discourse of small family farms, local markets where producers and consumers interact, regional food cultures, vibrant rural communities, and ecologically diverse rural environments" (Goodman et al., 2012, p. 16). In this sense, both phenomena share a certain agrarian romanticism, that is, this idealized idyllic life of traditional agriculture, that could be considered an elitist, urban, or white utopia because those who had experienced the harshness of agricultural work may not see it as such. "'Getting your hands dirty in the soil,' 'if they only knew,' and 'looking the farmer in the eye' all point to an agrarian past that is far more easily romanticized by whites than others" (Guthman, 2004, as cited in Guthman, 2011, p. 275).

This criticism of alternative food movements, and Slow Food as one of the first and now the most pre-eminent, is that it often fails to recognize that their understanding of good, healthy and fair food is a white or westernized concept (Guthman, 2011), one that could allow a certain blindness to the local inequalities, as if only by being locally produced the food would be fairer. Slocum (2007) uses the concept of whiteness to explain this phenomenon within alternative food movements and networks. Whiteness is a constructed space that not only excludes various actors but also creates cohesion among those actors who are similar in a space of privileges. This not only creates a certain blindness to other realities but also keeps the group largely homogenous since different people (such as those from lower social classes) may not feel comfortable in such an

environment. This can be observed in some alternative food movements in the US. Even when intending to be diverse, the space would not allow this to occur (Slocum, 2007). An example would be, in a European reality, the exclusion of immigrants who not only contribute to the formation of the local cuisines with their cultural influences but are also a considerable part of the labor force in the fields. "An important goal of the alternative food movement is to connect producers and consumers, but immigrants rarely appear in that connection because they are more likely to be laborers working in the fields than farm owners who meet consumers at farmers' markets or farm visits" (Counihan, 2016, p. 223).

In Latin American realities, for example, the exclusions can get more entangled and harder to identify when one looks at the coloniality of power, gender, and the urban-rural split (Motta, 2021c). The concept of food inequalities, "conceptualized from a pro-social justice, feminist, anti-racist, decolonial and posthuman epistemological stance" (Motta, 2021b, p. 620), can guide an analysis, and practice, more consistent with the discourse of diversity.

> Such a concept might inform analyses of social and political experimentations that address inequalities currently undermining food justice and food sovereignty in their potential to build fair and ecological food relations. For instance, a class-based peasant movement might protract decisions to take up gender issues more directly; feminist rural movements might not tackle racism; and local alternative food movements might be uncritically class-exclusive. There is a great heterogeneity also within these denominations, with peasant movements in different localities advancing more or less in non-class-based demands. (Motta, 2021b, p. 621)

Following this line, Goodman et al. propose the concept of *reflexive localism* as a solution for the food movements[29]. This involves taking into account the diversity of understandings of 'good food' or 'right eating' that cuts across differences of class, race,

[29] Lozano-Cabedo & Gómez-Benito (2017) propose a theorical model of *food citizenship*, that could also be applied in the study of Slow Food. It would be based on eight propositions: Food Citizenship is Based on the Recognition of the Social Right to Sufficient, Healthy and Quality Food; Food Citizenship is a Question of Justice, Equality and Fairness; Food Citizenship is Based on Autonomy and the Right to Truthful, Sufficient and Comprehensible Information; Food Citizenship is Also a Question of Responsibilities to: (a) Human Beings (Including Future Generations), (b) All Other Living Beings, (c) Other Actors of the Agri-Food System, (d) The Environment; Every Citizen is a Subject of Food Citizenship; Food Citizenship Manifests Itself in Both the Individual and Collective Spheres, As Well As in the Private and Public Spaces; Food Citizenship Means the Right and the Obligation to Participate in the Governance of the Food System; and, Food Citizenship Has a Cosmopolitan Character. Although I do not base this study on this model, some of its reflections will be useful for the analyses presented in subsequent chapters.

and gender, and thus relinquish the ideal of 'politics of perfection', that would give universalized solutions. They argue that,

> […] an inclusive and reflexive politics in a place that understands local food systems not as local "resistance" against a global capitalist "logic" but as the outcome of mutually constitutive, imperfect, political processes in which the local and the global make each other on an everyday basis. In this more "realist" open-ended story, actors are allowed to be reflexive about both their norms and the structural economic logic of production. (Goodman et al., 2012, p. 24)

This discussion goes with that on the food heritagization process, which was drawn upon in the last chapter, that the tools created to value these threatened goods can end up reinforcing the existing inequalities if they do not take into account the local power struggles (Goodman et al., 2012; Parasecoli, 2017). These criticisms will be taken up and discussed in more detail in the following chapters when I analyze the movement in its different realities. But first, I would like to continue exploring the trajectory of the movement and how this ideal of good, clean, and fair, which was European in its origins, was adapted as it became more and more international, and what brought it to what it is today. Crucially, over time and as it spread to other continents, Slow Food's agenda evolved. The movement is in different formats in each locality[30]. Even though one of its main discourses is to reduce the distance between producers and consumers, it has incorporated new modes of action and agenda topics, integrating environmental concerns in the idea of an *eco-gastronomy*, battling against pesticides, GMOs, intensive agro-industrial production, the privatization of water, and so on, and presenting itself as the only movement able to intervene in the whole food chain (Siniscalchi, 2013b).

The philosophy of good, clean, and fair food embraces, then, several topics. The specificities of Slow Food in Brazil and Germany will be laid out in the next chapters. In the meantime, I would like to examine some of the repertoires of action that are fundamental to the movement. In its *Call to Action*, the preparatory document to the 2022 Slow Food International Congress, three axes of mobilization were prioritized: defend biological and cultural diversity, influence policies in the public and private sectors, and educate, inspire, and mobilize the public (Slow Food International, 2021a).

Education of taste has been one of the movement's main foci since the early 90s; through product tasting or sensory pathways, people can better know some food and not only be

[30] Although it is present in more than 160 countries, only 12 have a Slow Food national association: Italy, Germany, Switzerland, United States, Japan, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Austria, Bulgaria, Brazil, Kenya and South Korea (Slow Food International, n.d.).

interested in the diversity. It could be also considered a political and economic instrument since it is a way of getting more members (Siniscalchi, 2013, p. 302) and presenting the Presidia products. Presidia is, as mentioned earlier, a project developed by Slow Food with a community of producers of one specific food preparation or vegetable or animal, they aim to ensure its continuity. It, therefore, involves increasing the market value, assuring environmental and social sustainability, and safeguarding food heritage. These groups are called food communities, a performative term used by Slow Food as co-producers, argues Siniscalchi, as it

> […] describes and aims at creating 'communities' of goals woven around productive activities and 'imagined' economies (Anderson 1996). [...] The more utopian dimension of Slow Food's message aims at bringing the poles of the food chain closer, connecting all the actors of local economies in different parts of the world to try and change the food system, which is difficult to achieve. The connection between producers and consumers does not take place everywhere in the same way or with the same intensity and the reality of the movement is not always coherent with its philosophy. (Siniscalchi, 2013, pp. 297-298)

The communities vary a lot, with some being the product of a top-down structure, and others being still dependent on external stimuli. They are, though, one of the main formats of Slow Food's presence worldwide, with 631 Presidia operating in 79 countries (Slow Food Foundation, n.d.). The network of these food communities is called Terra Madre and its highlight is the Terra Madre event, the big meeting that is held every two years in Turin, bringing together activists and producers from all around the world since 2004.

However, since 2017, Slow Food has started to migrate its structure format, finalizing this process in mid-July at the 2022 International Congress. There are several reasons for this big change. One of them is to have a more comprehensible structure, one that can be more easily identified, and not so strict and bureaucratic, so it can be adapted for different contexts. The change also has to do with the movement's goal of becoming the global reference for food movements. Up until this point, Slow Food groups would be divided into convivia and food communities, as shown in **Figure *8***; now, they are all Slow Food communities[31]. This implies that the groups are not only assembled by territory but they must have a common agenda. More than this, the fee becomes collective, self-determined, and no longer individual, and with a closed value.

> This change of look will allow us to embrace and promote the diversity of different ways of belonging to our network and being an activist.

[31] Slow Food Deutschland decided not to join the shift as this would mean having to change its national association structure and membership fee collection. I will explain this better in Chapter 6.

> This diversity will be the form and substance of how Slow Food is experienced so that the membership and functioning of our network are not limited to a rigid, typically Western association model but also includes the ancient, ancestral model of communities. After all, communities are the basic units with which nature has supported life on the planet for billions of years. (Petrini, 2022)

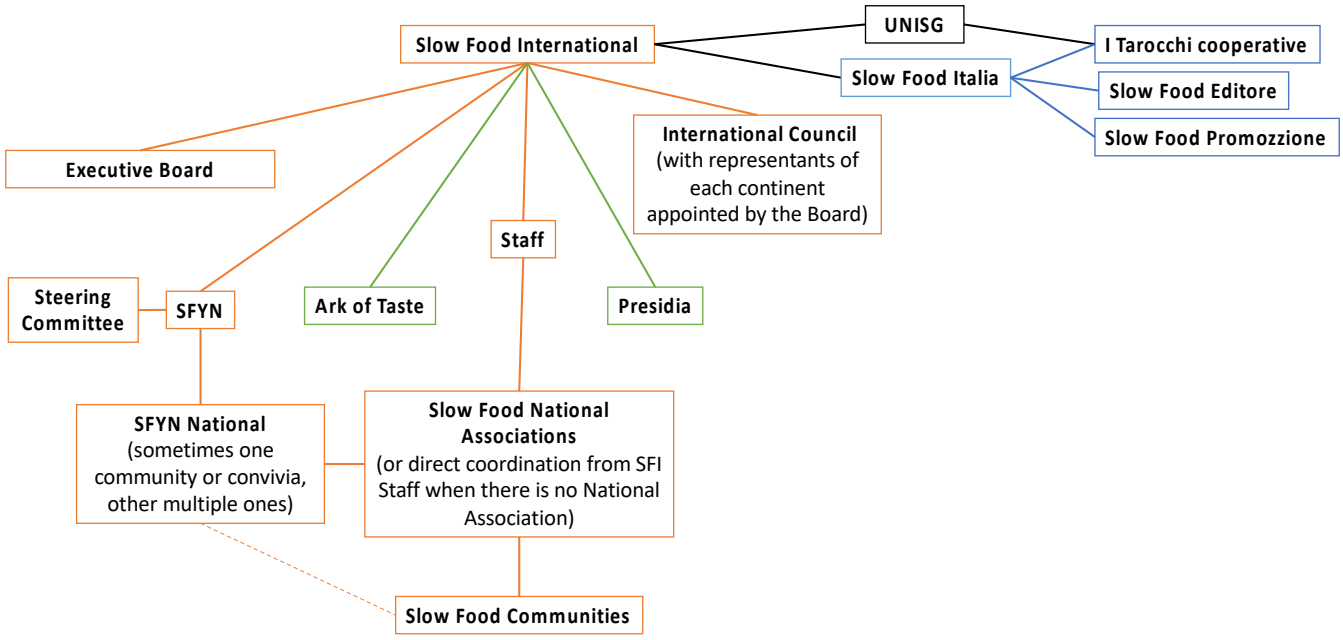

Figure 9. *Slow Food new structure aims to be simpler and more inclusive. Own work.*

Another significant change has been the transition of Slow Food International's juridical form from an association to a foundation, incorporating the two other foundations that had existed previously, Terra Madre and SF for Biodiversity. This coincided with the gradual departure of Carlo Petrini from the leadership of the movement. He is still part of the board but as an honorary member. This has been a fundamental transition. Petrini has been Slow Food's president since its creation. Although he has already delegated much of his management work, he has been, until now, the president. From July, he becomes the honorary president, and the administration will be carried out by a board of directors. There was only one group of candidates for the election, so it is not that there will be a radical change in the movement's leadership.

The leadership group is formed by eight people: Edward (Eddie) Mukiibi, from Uganda, is the president, and he has served as Slow Food's vice-president since 2014; Marta Messa, Italian, is the general secretary, and has worked in the Slow Food Brussel's office also since 2014. Then, there are the other six councillors: Jorrit Kiewik, from the Netherlands, has been the SFYN president since 2017; Nina Wolff, chairwoman of Slow Food Germany since 2020; Francesco Sottile, Italian, scientific adviser for the movement's biodiversity projects since 2000; Dali Nolasco Cruz, a young indigenous woman from Mexico, coordinator of the Terra Madre Indigenous Network for Latin America and the Caribbean since 2017; Richard McCarthy, from the US, has been on the executive committee of Slow Food International since 2013, and Megumi Watanabe, president of Slow Food Nippon (Japan) since 2019.

It is clear that efforts have been made to compose a diverse group[32]. This change in Slow Food's governing body acts to counterpoint the criticism we presented earlier, that it is still, in many aspects, a white, Western and elitist movement. The changes are also a step away from the personalism that has marked the movement for so long. Carlo Petrini is a charismatic figure and, certainly, his leadership was fundamental in getting the movement to where it is today. However, as Slow Food intends to reach a broader spectrum and be recognized as the main food movement globally (this intention was signaled by Petrini, at the Chengdu Congress and the *Cheese* 2021, at least), it needs to disconnect itself from this personalist perspective. Putting the focus on a group of people instead seems to go in this direction.

> In the 30 years since the signing of the Slow Food Manifesto, much has changed in the world. Our movement and message have migrated from the margins to the center of communities, as any farmer, winemaker, cheesemaker or fisher who has navigated the turbulent changes in our world since 1989 would attest. Public imagination about traditional foods, respect for those who work in the fields or sell food on the market and in small shops, and opportunities for people who want to become farmers or food artisans are all growing and becoming more prevalent. Altogether, we truly are changing the food system! In each of the three key areas where we find ourselves engaged, we can strengthen the strategic nature of our work and develop actions and alliances, keeping in mind a clear vision of what we hope to achieve.
>
> We are vast and diverse networks of individuals and communities who nourish heritage and local diversity to support emerging leaders and solutions for the future. We do not simply represent the many left behind by the forces of speed and scale. Rather, we are with the many.

[32] There could be up to 13 people, but they decided to leave these five places free so that they could incorporate new members throughout the term.

> In fact, we ARE the multitudes, and together, we are growing the food movement. (Slow Food International, 2021a)

The addition of the term "for all" in the philosophy of the movement took place in the 2020s and was confirmed in the documents of the International Congress of 2022. It can be read as an attempt by the movement to be more inclusive and democratic. It also reinforced the idea of food justice, which was becoming established among social movements. With the theme of regeneration, Slow Food has tried, after more than 30 years, to amplify its reach, recognizing other actors and proposing alliances. Slow Food's discourse reflects a more open and interactive movement in this time of change. But how are its relationships with other movements that are embraced in the agricultural, environmental and food questions? I will reflect on that in the next section.

4.3 Slow Food and peasant movements, environmentalists, and other food movements

The emergence of Slow Food was not an isolated phenomenon. In the 80s and 90s, many social movements connected to the agrifood system grew in the Global North and South, from environmental movements focusing on the loss of biodiversity and climate change to peasant movements building alliances, such as Via Campesina, against the corporate food regimes and for food sovereignty (McMichael, 2009). "These combined social forces call into question a development narrative that would define smallholders as historical relics, control nature, and corporatize food relations" (McMichael, 2009, p. 293). They criticized states for adapting to the commodification of agriculture instead of protecting it as a locus of social and ecological reproduction (McMichael, 2008). Even though there was a multitude of movements and agendas, these that fight for changing the agrifood system (Borghoff Maia & Teixeira, 2021) could be brought together under the umbrella term of **Food Movements**.

> In short, the diversity of peasant movements, food sovereignty movements, alternative food networks and initiatives, popular feminist rural movements, food justice movements, agroecological movements, and veganism will be brought together under the umbrella term 'food movements'. Needless to say, this denomination does not exhaust its agendas and histories, aiming instead to combine a variety of actors engaged in transforming food systems. Social innovations and mobilizations around food form a privileged instance to observe social change because they are actively engaged in transforming food politics and the food system. (Motta, 2021, p. 7)

These different movements, however, did not always get along or even move in the same direction. Even though they had the search for a more just food system in common, their understandings of what justice implied and what the foci of the injustices were varied widely. For Slow Food, food justice is good, clean food for all. For La Via Campesina, the interest is in food sovereignty. "Some movements emphasize gender, race, and class equality, while others ignore these social distinctions in favor of a concept of democracy based on market choice. Clearly, democracy is a strategic concept wielded according to the particular goals and contexts of specific activist efforts" (Siniscalchi & Counihan, 2014, pp. 9-10). As the Slow Food International trajectory shows (3.1), the movement started in many contexts, being more like a gourmet club. Not only the foci, but the strategies of these movements also differed. From the beginning, Slow Food has opted for a more positive approach. That is, instead of protests and confrontation, it has valued good practices and has proposed solutions, and always with joy, as its leaders often reaffirmed. This could often be read as uncritical, which does not always reflect reality, and sometimes made it difficult to build alliances with peasant and environmental movements.

One of the strategies of the movement in the early 2000s was to call consumers co-producers (3.2). In this way, Slow Food also tried to get closer to the countryside and the producers, to have also these voices within the movement (Siniscalchi, 2020). The concept of food sovereignty is key here. It was formulated by the peasant movements of Via Campesina in a political dispute with the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the commodification of food (Holt-Giménez, 2009; McMichael, 2009; Patel, 2012). It questioned the idea of food security then used by the FAO and other UN bodies:

> First defined in 1996 by the international peasant federation La Via Campesina (The Peasant Way) as the 'people's right to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems,' food sovereignty proposes that people, rather than corporate monopolies, make the decisions regarding our food. Food sovereignty is a much deeper concept than food security because it proposes not just guaranteed access to food, but democratic control over the food system, from production and processing to distribution, marketing, and consumption. Whether applied to countries in the Global South working to re-establish national food production, to farmers protecting their seed systems from GMOs, or to rural-urban communities setting up their own direct marketing systems, food sovereignty aims to democratize and transform our food systems. (Holt-Giménez, 2009)

The connections between the concept and the Slow Food philosophy are not random: the fight to protect seeds and safeguard traditional knowledge is part of the movement's ideals and basic projects, as mentioned throughout this chapter[33]. With the broadening of Slow Food's agenda and forms of action, drawing closer to issues of concern to peasants and environmentalists, especially the former, these links have become easier. The Terra Madre network is based on the same logic as the Campesino a Campesino movement: small farmers supporting each other, together with NGOs and other allies, rather than looking to governments to meet their needs (Holt-Giménez, 2009). However, a strong point of contact to create alliances may be advocacy.

> In the face of a renewed, neoliberal assault in the form of a Green Revolution, peasant movements and farmer-to-farmer networks do appear to be moving closer together. […] New mixes of advocacy and practice across borders and sectors and between institutions are being forged on a daily basis.
>
> These hopeful developments have the potential for bringing together the extensive local networks for agroecological practice with transnational advocacy organizations. If the two currents merge into a broad-based movement capable of generating massive social pressure, they could tip the scales of political will in favor of food sovereignty. (Holt-Giménez, 2009)

Slow Food has invested a lot in this aspect in the last decade. In Europe, it opened an office in Brussels to be able to lobby the European Parliament. In Brazil and Germany, this is also an important characteristic. The movement's strategy for the coming years, approved at the 2022 International Congress, puts advocacy as one of the three pillars of action, alongside education and the defense of biological and cultural diversity. Furthermore, the structural change that the movement has gone through was intended to make forming alliances with other activists and entities that have similar agendas much easier. However, it is crucial to understand, that these connections and alliances are constructed in localized contexts.

> As June Nash (2005a: 3) points out, social movements must be as flexible as the global institutions they challenge. Slow Food, like La Via Campesina and anti-GMO movements, displays this capacity for adaptation in its actions, alliances, political strategies, organizational structures, and rhetoric. Economic notions (exchange, morality, consumption, commons, and so forth) are often defined in dichotomous terms that obscure the complex realities of activism. As Richard Wilk

[33] Likewise, the concept of food heritage and food sovereignty are intrinsically linked, or at least should be, as discussed in the previous chapter.

> suggested, "The real action takes place in between". (2006: 15) (Siniscalchi, 2014, pp. 238-239)

Those places in the middle and all the complexities of the movement in its performance, such as who the actors are, what the contexts and repertoires of action are, and how they impact the movement's agenda locally, nationally, and internationally, are what I will address in the next chapters.

5 SLOW FOOD IN THE COUNTRY OF *ZERO HUNGER*: THE BRAZILIAN CASE

As with Slow Food in general, its Brazilian branch can have many faces. It could not be otherwise, in a country with more than 215 million people, with the fifth biggest territory on the planet, and with a huge diversity of cultures and nature. After looking at the movement's history, growth, changes, and contradictions at the international level, it is time to focus on the cases. This chapter aims to identify and analyze the actors that are part of Slow Food in Brazil, their agenda and repertoire of actions, as well as the movement's structure, locally and nationally, its funding strategy, alliances, and its conflicts and contradictions. The purpose of this analysis is to lay the groundwork for comparison with Slow Food in Germany, establishing the particularities and similarities of the movement (Chapter 7). This contrast will show the possible connections and contradictions that occur in different realities, as well as the conflicts and disputes that have led the movement to adapt and change as a whole (Section 5.2).

Here I present the results of the fieldwork conducted between 2019 and 2020[34]. The analysis developed here is also enriched by the possibility of occasional comparisons with the work of other authors who have researched the movement in Brazil (Gentile, 2016; Nascimento, 2014; Oliveira, 2020), even if they were focusing on different aspects. To facilitate the analysis of the movement in Brazil, I will analyze two of its facets: the institutional one, the Association Slow Food Brazil (ASFB), and the network considering the activists' interactions and activities within their local groups or the SFYN. In this way, it is possible to illustrate the different forms Slow Food takes that build this complex social movement (Siniscalchi, 2013b).

[34] 2019 on-site and 2020 virtually (see Section 2.2).

Accordingly, this section has been structured as follows. First, I recount the history of the movement in the country and the establishment of the national legal figure, as Brazil has a unique arrival of the movement, arising from an alliance between Slow Food International and the federal government of the time. This top-down beginning and the establishment that followed become a privileged locus of analysis of the movement's forms of action in countries of the Global South, extending the discussions held in Chapters 3 and 4 about how projects that have this format have, on the one hand, difficulties establishing themselves and, on the other hand, can end up reinforcing already existing local inequalities. But this institutional aspect is not the whole picture. So, once this is done, I will discuss the observation units: the local nodes of the network from Florianópolis (SC), Salvador (BA), and the Youth Network. These were chosen for their representativeness (see Section 2.2): the first, by being perceived within the movement as one of most active and most grass-rooted, besides being the headquarters of the largest project that the national association has ever executed; the second, for its importance at a national level in establishing institutional partnerships, in a project-based performance, while having a still incipient group of activists; and, finally, the SFYN Brazil, as a group that acts locally but organizes nationally, and that is recognized as one of the most active branches of Slow Food in Brazil. In addition to these factors, this selection will allow a comparison with relatively similar observation units in the German context. The particularities of each locality, how alliances are forged, and how groups behave are analyzed first, separately. After detailing each observation unit, I can then build my analysis of the movement in the country as a whole (Section 5.3). To do so, I will apply the following analytical categories: activist profiles; repertoires of action; alliances and finances, and structure and internal conflicts. I will do this descriptive-analytical exercise following the authors discussed in the previous chapter (Counihan & Siniscalchi, 2013; Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2011; Motta, 2021c; Siniscalchi, 2013a, 2013b, 2014a, 2020) because it allows us to question the perceptions we have of the movement since most of the studies about it have been developed in countries of the Global North (United States and Europe), by illustrating how it takes place in different contexts, and how it is appropriated by its members. Using the concept of food inequalities (Motta, 2021c), it is also possible to analyze and qualify the limits and potentialities of a movement that proposes methodologies such as inventories from below while reproducing top-down dynamics, pitting elitism against struggles for food justice. These reflections will be

required to return to the question of what role Slow Food plays in safeguarding the national food heritage, and whether it does so (see Chapter 9).

5.1 Lula's Brazil and Slow Food's unusual establishment

The history of Slow Food in Brazil could be divided into three periods: the beginning and establishment, between 2000 and 2013; the institution of a national association, in 2013, and the spread throughout the country, from 2013 to 2020 (when this research is completed). Slow Food arrived in Brazil in 2000 through the activist Margarida Nogueira, who founded the first convivium in Rio de Janeiro (Gentile, 2016; Oliveira, 2020). However, what gave the movement a boost in the country was a partnership with the federal government through the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA). This alliance started in 2003 with the visit of an Italian delegation to learn more about the government project *Zero Hunger*. Slow Food had one delegate in that group. From the meeting, this representative started working on projects with MDA focused on fair trade: "So, more or less it is like this: the convivia were on one side organizing themselves, and the government, through the MDA, stimulated the organization of the Communities, the identification of the food communities, the Ark of Taste projects, the Presidia" (Humberto Oliveira in interview to Gentile, 2016, p. 85). In 2004, the first Terra Madre received 150 Brazilian delegates, from 32 food communities, with the support of the MDA (Gentile, 2016).

In October 2007, the partnership still being fruitful, the first Terra Madre Brazil took place jointly with the IV National Fair of Family Farming and Agrarian Reform, in Brasília. It brought together "representatives of 77 food communities, 26 chefs, representatives of 10 Brazilian universities, representatives of Slow Food Italy and all the Brazilian Presidia (each Presidium has a stand to present and sell their products directly to the fair's visitors)" (Gentile, 2016, p. 87). The political context was fundamental to the development of the movement in the country.

> The centrality of one element in this story is evident: "Lula's Brazil". New, auspicious, a land of opportunities where one can start over by putting alternative models into practice, where one can finally try to realize long-aspired visions and ideals: according to the opinion of most of the interviewees, Brazil, the day after the victory of the PT and the election of Lula, shows itself to the world in this semblance. And because of this semblance, it attracts the attention of social agents and promoters, the third sector, and international cooperatives (the Italian mission mentioned in the interviews), wishing to set virtuous experiences in motion. In the specific case of Slow Food, Lula's Brazil

> appears to the movement as a partner in an unusual way, never before applied with any country in the world.
> It is an experiment in partnership between a social movement and the government. The agreement, in the understanding of the parties, will serve to provide that support from above and the adoption of consistent public policies, necessary for an integrated and organic procedure, that is, capable of ensuring systemic effectiveness. Effectiveness that, on the contrary, sporadic actions based only on voluntarism and spontaneous activism are generally lacking. (Gentile, 2016, p. 95)

The presence of a Slow Food technician working in the MDA gave the movement's projects a push that, however, did not keep pace after they departed.

The second period of Slow Food in Brazil could be symbolized by its institutionalization, which was not easy. In 2012, almost 10 years after the alliance with the federal government, it was announced that the Rio de Janeiro Convivium would become the headquarters of the national association (Oliveira, 2020; Tomazoni, 2012). However, a change in the movement's structure, a conflict that is mentioned by many but never explained, ended with the departure of the two coordinators of the international office in the country, Lia Poggio, responsible for Slow Food Latin America, and Mariana Guimarães, responsible for Slow Food Brazil (Oliveira, 2020). The solution found at the time was then to turn the Institute founded by the São Paulo Convivium in 2009 into the Slow Food Brazil Association. In this way, the already existing legal status was taken advantage of, making it possible to make agreements for projects and receive external funding. Without such institutionalization, this became much more difficult. Even the association's fee for each new member had to go to Italy before coming back to the convivia before the establishment of the national association.

The association's first board was chosen by appointing the delegates of the Terra Madre 2012 rather than election by the movement's network. The group comprised representatives by theme: Agroecology and Urban Agriculture (Marcos José de Abreu), Biodiversity and Education (Marina Vianna), Eco-gastronomy (Margarida Nogueira), Social Gastronomy (David Hertz), Indigenous and Traditional Communities (Maurício Fonseca), Youth (Caio Dorigon), and [Convivia] Leaders (Cenia Salles). In addition, there was the fiscal council (Rodrigo Cotrim and Sidney Latorre) and the president (Georges Schnyder) ("Associação Slow Food do Brasil," n.d.). As one of the members of the first council (2013-2017) explained, that was a necessary first step to the movement's organization in the country. They offered themselves for the cause, not meaning they were willing to do that job.

> it wasn't something that was created from a social movement, go to the street and so on, get up and... we founded the association, our association, it was something that we had to have, because at some point we were going to have to spend money, hire, I don't know what, you know? We needed this minimum structure even for Slow Food International to have a dialogue with some institution here, but not this amorphous thing, you know? Slow Food International has a huge difficulty in relating to what is being built in Brazil, right? Then I understood that it had to be a task to be done, so I did it, you know? And I knew it was temporary, I didn't want to... it wasn't a task that I wanted, that I was available, that I wanted to be reviewing it and so on, so...

In this first term, a group of regional facilitators was also created. Five people, one per political-geographical region of Brazil, were put in charge of mediating between the network and the national association[35]. The idea was to regionalize the movement, which was still Southeast-oriented (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais). The mediators were selected from activists or people who were working closely with the movement at that time. Many of the interviewees described the facilitators as being fundamental to the growth of the movement, mainly in the North and Northeast of Brazil. Looking at the organizational aspect of SF in Brazil, it is noticeable that those actors who were chosen to the leadership positions were elected by the actors above, and not by the movements' base.

Some adjustments to the structure of the association were made for the first election of the board, in 2017. The first move was to change the constitution of the advisory council, which now included elected representatives from the different types of nodes in the network: convivia, food communities, working groups, Youth Network and Slow Food International. The mandate was changed from four to three years[36]. The board, also, underwent a transformation; it now had a president, vice-president, and general secretary. The winning slate, however, was the only one to run. The president, Georges Schneyder, executive director of the MESA World (gastronomy publishers) in São Paulo, continued in his position; the vice-president was Luis Carrazza, Executive Secretary of the Central do Cerrado Cooperative in Brasília, and the general secretary was Jeronimo Villas-Bôas, partner and manager of Kambôas Socioambiental in Ribeirão Preto, São Paulo. As one

[35] The facilitators' payment was made possible through projects. I will tackle the finance of the association later in this chapter. Over the years, the two largest regions, the North and Northeast, began to have two facilitators each.

[36] In 2019, however, it was made possible for the board to stay on for an extra year so that they could hold Terra Madre Brazil in June 2020, in Salvador, and close all the reports from the event before handing them over to the next team.

can see, it was still a Central/Southeast-oriented, white, male group, a criticism that was made and taken into consideration in the next association election.

It is important to highlight the political context of this third period of Slow Food in Brazil. Unlike when the movement arrived in the country, with the 2016 coup d'état (Dilma Rousseff's impeachment), the political landscape became increasingly unfavorable for partnerships with the federal government. It was during Michel Temer's government that the ASFB carried out its largest project to date, called *Good, Clean and Fair Food* (*Alimentos bons, limpos e justos*), based on the philosophy of the movement proposed by Carlo Petrini in 2005. The agreement was signed during Dilma Rousseff's government and, despite the MDA being reduced to a special secretary, the compromise was maintained. After that, however, no new alliances were drawn up. The opposite occurred with the inauguration of Jair Bolsonaro in January 2019, when most of the spaces of collaboration with civil society ceased to exist[37].

Finally, although this research is focused on the fieldwork that took place between 2019 and 2020, it is important to note some changes that occurred within Slow Food Brazil in 2021. Globally, Slow Food decided at the International Congress in Chengdu, in 2017, to simplify its structure and transition all local groups into Slow Food communities[38]. Here, the adaptation took longer than in other places as the change was discussed among the members of the advisory board, board of directors and the management team[39]. It was only in November 2020 that the groups received notification that they had till March 2021

[37] It is symbolic that Bolsonaro's first act as president was to sign the dissolution of Consea (National Council for Food Security), which was housed in the President's office and included members from the most diverse areas of civil society.

[38] "The word 'community' entered the Slow Food vocabulary in 2004 as the foundational concept of Terra Madre. At the time, 'food communities' referred to local groups of food producers and others who identified with Slow Food's vision. After the Chengdu Congress in 2017, the Slow Food Community became an organizational unit conceived in response to the complexity of Slow Food in the world: Neither a classic association nor an NGO, but a movement working in a network that draws its strength and richness from the network, widespread and rooted everywhere, with its own ways of acting, interpreting diversity and fully inhabiting that diversity with dignity. Communities are made up of groups of people who share Slow Food's values and who come together to work towards a specific objective, such as small-scale olive production. They operate at a local level, dialoguing with the rest of the network and strengthening it" (Slow Food International, 2021, p. 45).

[39] One of the interviewees uses this case as an example to say that the Brazilian Network does not accept the normative from the International uncritically. On the contrary, it is always trying to adapt it to the local reality. However, she ponders, this makes the processes many times slower than in other places, where they discuss and adapt while implementing the normative.

to conclude the transition[40]. The first months of the year were chaotic in some of these communities.

At the same time, there was the election of the new board of directors. Once again, there was only one board running and it was elected. The difference was that none of the previous leading members stood for re-election. The current president is Maria da Conceição Oliveira, gastronome and researcher from São Paulo; the other two directors are Antonio Augusto Santos, agroecological farmer and activist in Santa Catarina and Gabriella Pieroni, historian, and researcher, from Minas Gerais. Even though the representatives are predominantly from the south/southeast of Brazil, this group does have some diversity of gender, rural/urban and ethnicity, including two black members. They are also all from the community *Levante Slow Food Brazil* which was created from a mobilization against the political coup of 2016[41].

In the same general assembly that took place in April 2021, the structure of the advisory board was also changed, to comprise a representative of each community (those with more than 30 members may have an extra representative), whose mandates are not fixed, i.e., if the community has a new spokesperson, the representative on the board is also updated. This change was instigated as an attempt to stimulate the participation of the network in the association's decisions.

The ASFB does not have a headquarters office. There are, nonetheless, four people that are hired on part/time contracts to deal with the network and the partnerships. There are also the regional facilitators who are in charge of bridging between local actors and the association. Most of the work, again, is done voluntarily. Furthermore, the Brazilian association does not have a regular income. The membership fee paid by the members has never been equivalent to the number of people involved with Slow Food as not everyone could be officially associated. The role of the business supporter is quite incipient in the country; and there is no donation culture. Furthermore, one of the main difficulties for the association would be to assure that the business donating money would share the movement's philosophy.

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[40] This lack of communication between association and local nodes is a struggle that will be further discussed. This episode, however, is an example of how, despite attempts to make relations more horizontal within the movement, it is still perceived as top-down. The advisory board has representatives from the local groups. Nevertheless, the latter were surprised by the change from convivium to community.

[41] I will elaborate on this political aspect within the movement later in the thesis when dealing with the profiles of the activists.

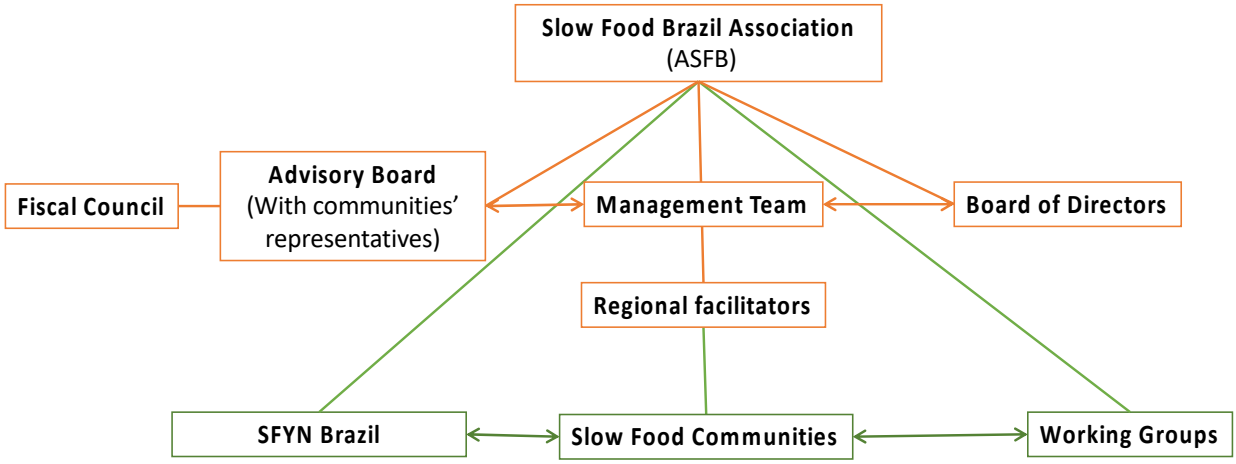

Figure 10. *Slow Food Brazil Structure.* Slow Food Brazil has a national association (ASFB), with all its different parts, and the network: SFYN and other Slow Food communities (formerly divided into convivia and food communities), and the working groups. Own work.

With this overview of the history of Slow Food in Brazil and its institutionalization, I turn now to the analyses of the movement in loco. To do this, I will use the four analytical categories mentioned at the beginning of this chapter: activist profiles; repertoires of action; alliances and finances; and structure and internal conflicts. From the picture drawn for this analysis, I will be able to reflect on the role of the movement in safeguarding the local food heritage, along with other concepts that surfaced during the research.

5.2 Slow Food Brazil Network

As we have seen, the institutional facet of the Slow Food movement in Brazil is still taking shape and defining itself. What I will now analyze is how the movement is developing in the nodes of this network. The three observation units selected, Florianópolis, Salvador and SFYN Brazil, will give us a good panorama, or a perspective from different realities within the country. First, Florianópolis-SC is one of the three capitals in the south region of Brazil. Its formation is strongly marked by the early Portuguese colonization, especially emanating from the Azores. The interior of Santa Catarina state is also home to many immigrants of German and Italian origin. These settled in the region with the support of the Brazilian government, which, after the end of slavery, in the last decades of the 19th century, implemented a 'whitening' program in the country, offering incentives to European immigrants (Schwarcz, 1993). The city is divided into the mainland and the island. There are about 500,000 inhabitants and, despite being a large urban center, it still has a lot of green areas, giving it a rural feel. Santa

Catarina is still one of the states with the lowest degree of inequality in the country. In 2019, the Gini index in the state was 0.417 (versus 0.545 nationwide), and the median real effective household income per capita of residents in private households was R$1,188 (while nationally it was R$805) (*IBGE | Cidades@ | Bahia | Pesquisa | Síntese de Indicadores Sociais | Estrutura Econômica e Mercado de Trabalho | 2019*, n.d.).

In the Northeast of Brazil, Salvador, on the other hand, is one of the largest capitals in the region. With a population of almost three million inhabitants, it also has the largest black population in the country. In this sense, Bahia and Santa Catarina are opposite, in that in the former, the number of people who self-declare as black and brown is 80%, while in the latter, those who declare themselves as white are the majority, comprising 82% of the total (IBGE, Coordenação de Pesquisas por Amostra de Domicílios, 2022b). This number has a historical explanation. Salvador was the first capital of Brazil (when it was still Portuguese America), a position it held for more than 200 years. It was also one of the main ports for the arrival of enslaved people being brought from Africa. Conversely, in the south of the country, which has experienced some degree of land distribution, agrarian exploitation in Bahia has historically been based on large estates: first, with the extraction of brazilwood, then with the sugar industry, and finally with cocoa. Bahia state has a level of inequality above the Brazilian average when it comes to income. In 2019, the Gini index in the state was 0.548, and the median real effective domiciliary income per capita of residents in particular households was R$ 485, versus the national R$ 805 (*IBGE | Cidades@ | Bahia | Pesquisa | Síntese de Indicadores Sociais | Estrutura Econômica e Mercado de Trabalho | 2019*, n.d.).

Although not the focus of this work, this information is essential to contextualize the proposed critical analysis of the Slow Food movement in these realities, using the concept of food inequality as a framework (Motta, 2021c). It also serves to explain the diversity of conditions in which the movement is developing in the country. To facilitate the discussion, I will focus on each locality separately, to present a comparative analysis.

5.2.1 Florianópolis: Cooks, consumers, and producers together, a grassroots Slow Food?

Florianópolis hosts two convivia: *Slow Food Mata Atlântica* and *Slow Food Engenhos de Farinha*. The latter is also a Presidium. Both are part of the *Catarina* Network and, as such, frequently work together. Here, I will focus mainly on the first, which I was able to observe closely, but the network will appear too. The *Mata Atlântica* convivium started as *Sabor Selvagem* in Balneário Camburiú, a smaller coastal city, with four gastronomy

students. They learned about the movement in 2008, from a professor, with whom they would later start going on expeditions to the Amazon region. The class was on Amazonian culture and cuisine. “Then he gave us a class and opened up this whole universe of food culture, which was something we didn't learn in college, you know? What we learned in college was to be a little robot, to work for businessmen, for restaurants, you know? So, this caught our attention” (P. B., 30, cook, event organizer and market vendor, personal communication, June 6, 2019). The professor then proposed to them organizing a group to go to the Amazon and get to know in loco the food culture and the socio-biodiversity. “So that is how we started: organizing expeditions to the Amazon and through this group, right? From Sabor Selvagem (Wild Taste), that professor Ofir, he was already part of the Slow Food movement, so, one of the prerequisites for us to participate would be to be part of the movement” (P. B., personal communication, June 6, 2019)

These expeditions allowed them to know more about the movement and to meet the *Cultural Center Engenhos de Farinha*[42], mainly through the manioc culture. Santa Catarina is one of the largest producers of the root, explained the activist, and it was used in different ways, not in its whole potential as in the Amazonian region, for example, where indigenous people ferment the cassava liquid, which is rich in hydrocyanic acid and a strong pollutant for rivers and water tables, and turn it into *tucupi*. “So, we also started to learn about this issue, the food, the products, and also about this environmental issue, right? Besides culture, how important it is to value the environment, too, you know? So that it doesn't have this environmental impact” (P. B., personal communication, June 6, 2019).

This interconnection with the other convivium also allowed one of the group’s main alliances to flourish: the Cultural Center would invite them to cater their events and, at that time, the *Engenhos de Farinha* had already established a relationship with the NGO Cepagro (Center for the Study and Promotion of Group Agriculture). The cooks from *Mata Atlântica* would then serve some traditional dishes, such as *bijajica* (a cake made with raw grated manioc, peanuts, and sugar), as well as present some of the native products, such as *pinhão* (pine nut) and *butiá* (fruit from a palm tree), both of which are Slow Food Presidia, in different recipes: they called it agroecological coffee.

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[42] The Cultural Centre (Ponto de Cultura) was a body of entities recognized by the federal government in the first decade of 2000, for its sociocultural work in their communities. This body would allow them to access funds for their projects.

> Then we started to articulate more, right? So, it was very connected to the activities... practically, we would cook meals at the events... at Cepagro, at the Agroecology and Engenho's Network, at the Cultural Center, you know? So that is how it was... we also participated in the projects of the Culture Center, the taste workshops, in the public schooling system, we were always called to be workshop instructors. (F. G., 37, cook and lawyer, personal communication, June 3, 2019)

These articulations and projects shaped a lot the activist profile of the convivium, or vice versa, one could argue. So, in 2019, the members were mainly cooks[43], along with the presence of agronomists and academics, with some producers interacting closely. The activists were still predominantly from the urban middle class. The academics came through many of the projects and alliances, some through Presidium programs, others through workshops at universities, and yet others through the first big national project mentioned above, *Good, Clean, and Fair Food*, that was developed in partnership with the Santa Catarina's Federal University (UFSC).

The group did not have regular meetings; however, in June 2019, it happened that some of them met a lot because of the opening of a collective business. *Tipiti* was a venture thought up by three partners (two of them Slow Food activists) which brought together fair-trade products from local socio-biodiversity, along with cooking and craft workshops, a weekly market, and gastronomic events in which the space functioned almost like a bar, with craft beer and snacks produced using local farmers' goods. These encounters allowed the members to share their ideas and plan projects.

[43] In Florianopolis there was this predominance of cooks presenting themselves as such. In Salvador, as will be discussed further, most of the gastronomes introduced themselves as chefs. There is a status difference in those definitions that also translates to their activism, but I will go further on this analysis in Section 5.3.

Figure 11. *Slow Food activists venture in Florianopolis, Tipiti.*. The space proposed fair trade of products of the local socio-biodiversity, workshops, markets, and events. Own work.

The *Mata Atlântica* convivium had, then, three main axes of action, these being the same three as the Slow Food International *Call for Action* strategy. The first would be bringing producers and cooks (consumers) closer. That would include the previously mentioned catering at events at universities, and meetings between the *Ecovida* Agroecological network and other partners, as well as visits to producers on special occasions, such as

the *Farinhadas*, which is a celebrational day of producing manioc flour. Commercialization projects with the Presidia would also be included in this pivot point.

Figure 12. *Convivium visiting producer.* Members of Mata Atlântica Convivium visiting the manioc flour producer, Ms. Catarina, in a *farinhada*. Photo @ JuanLopezPH.

The second axis would be the Education of Taste. The education would include taste workshops, designed to raise awareness of food socio-biodiversity and stimulate the public to think about it. These workshops would be held in schools and universities, as well as among activists and, even, producers. Another educational tool would be promoting Disco Soups (*Disco Xepa*), the SFYN event to draw attention to food waste, used in diverse political demonstrations. Then there is the Snail Project (*Projeto Caracol*), which Slow Food had developed in partnership with Cepagro, as part of the Small Buckets Revolution (*Revolução dos Baldinhos*)[44], a project with the Chico Mendes community in Florianópolis periphery. The Snail project implemented the renovation of a space to be a collective kitchen in the heart of the community and a place to hold

[44] The Small Buckets Revolution is a successful urban gardening project that was born out of the absence of basic sanitation and the health consequences of trash accumulating in the streets of the community. The organization encourages the community to compost their organic waste by distributing buckets that are taken to the composting center. It also gives courses to teach people how to build their own compost bins and promotes the cultivation of collective gardens.

workshops with the local population, some of which were for children and others for women. These workshops focused on starting the running of the kitchen, which would provide an extra income and, at the same time, provide the local population with healthy, affordable food. The kitchen here is understood to be a sociocultural place, something beyond the food.

Figure 13. *Slow Food Snail Project*. Slow Food activists' actions with the Revolução dos Baldinhos. Disclosure photos.

Finally, the convivium is also active in advocacy, with seats on Santa Catarina's Council for Food and Nutritional Security (Consea) and on the State School Feeding Council. Earlier, they had a seat on the council of the Pirajubaé Marine Extractive Reserve, where the traditional fishers would collect *berbigão,* a local kind of cockle, and other seafood, but they gave it up as they were unable to attend the meetings regularly.

Another characteristic of the movement in Florianópolis is the closeness between consumers and producers. Further, the term co-producer is often used in meetings, even outside the Slow Food context, such as in the Ecovida Network. This connection could be explained by multiple factors, such as the local culture of associativism, or the physical proximity of the rural and urban in Santa Catarina state. Another component is how the partnership with Cepagro shaped the local Slow Food movement. Cepagro works directly with agroecological farmers, focused on the producer's side. This, for example, has increased the presence of the agronomists in the convivium. In addition, the different alliances and the advocacy work also are points in common shared by Slow Food and Cepagro. One good example of this was the fight to regulate the raw milk cheese in the state, a problem faced by artisanal producers all around the world. "This law, this

construction of the raw milk law here in Santa Catarina, was this, a network articulation work that used a lot of the Slow Food Network to give visibility to this, right? So, I see a lot of this power of communication" (G. M., 34, educator and ASFB regional facilitator, personal communication, June 18, 2019).

On the other hand, as pointed out by Eduardo Rocha, Cepagro's president (personal communication, June 17, 2019), the Slow Food perspective brought to the NGO concerns about agrifood heritage and food culture. Food culture and agrifood heritage are two concepts that are often mentioned in the Slow Food operations in Florianópolis and Santa Catarina. Mostly, it refers to products of the local socio-biodiversity, such as the *butiá* or *pinhão*, but also to preparations, such as the specific manioc flour *farinha polvilhada* or the *bijajica*. Together, those are Presidia or Ark of Taste products.

Even though an analysis of the Presidia is not the focus of this work, I would like to expand a little on these three cases. The *pinhão* Presidium is one of the first in the region. It was created in 2008 and involves diverse partners: "the Ecological Cooperative Ecoserra assists in the commercialization and production of the pine nut, and the Vianei Center for Popular Education assists in the production, training, and agro-industrialization of the pine nut production" ("Fortaleza do Pinhão da Serra Catarinense," n.d.). From the federal government-financed project, *Good, Clean, and Fair Food*, the association Renascer, in Urubici was able to better equip their agroindustry. An office space, a former school, which was formerly used by the region's mothers' association and, for a few years, was taken by the Presidium association, has been undergoing redevelopment. Unfortunately, the funding ran out before all the adaptations for health surveillance could be realized. They are waiting for a grant promised by the municipality. Alternatively, they could use the money raised from the sale of the association's car. Another factor that makes the advancement of the project more difficult is the absence of the leader of the association. Because of a family problem, she cannot be as present as before, and that affects the Presidium as a whole. It is a problem repeatedly heard in Slow Food, that of personalism (Oliveira, 2020). The moment one leader stands out, rarely are others discussed. And much of the work and movement ends up being concentrated in this figure. In general, the departure of such a leader should create a vacuum for a possible new figure to emerge, or for the group to become stronger, but this is not what can be seen in the cases analyzed here. The absence of leadership leads to a level of abandonment of projects. The *pinhão* case is even more complex, argue the regional facilitator, as it

englobes eight municipalities and not only producers, but also small industries and gatherers.

> How do you do it, how do you articulate this, you know? And then, there are these organizations that have been in the territory for a long time. And they also say: Presidium, for me it is the same thing we do. You are not bringing anything more. Because we are already doing... we have been there, sweating, for 30 years in the territory. Right? To talk about the araucaria management plan, right? to talk about the processing plan, the processing, to bring new products... we now need more, because it is a Presidium that is already older, the pinhão one. So it had other demands. (G. M., personal communication, June 18, 2019)

Figure 14. *Slow Food Presidium of* Pinhão. Left: Publication with pinhão recipes. Reproduction of the cover. Right: Pine and pine nuts. Own work.

Even with all the distress, most of the producers point out that the involvement of Slow Food gave the *pinhão* a presence that it did not have before. It was what made the product known and valued, making it more appealing to the market.

> So many pine nuts have already been sold, and there are still pine nuts for you to sell. And if it doesn't get cold, it will be kept. So... That's why Slow Food is important, because of the knowledge people have about us and the demand for the product.
>
> **T** So this had an impact on you?
>
> **G** It did, it did... no, I think that if it didn't, even we wouldn't be harvesting pine nuts anymore, right? Because of... the sacrifice that it takes to get here. It is very, very sacrificing. You have to like to work, otherwise. (J. G., 57, farmer and gatherer, personal communication, June 20, 2019)

The same point is made by Ms. C., a producer member of the *Engenhos de Farinha* Presidium. She states that Slow Food's involvement has helped the culture continuity enormously: it has allowed them to be known and to build a market network. This allowed the next generation to consider maintaining the tradition, as most of them had given up. It is an enormous work, and, for the last decades (before the project), it stopped having financial return. Local activists argue that the role of the network, including the cooks, is to present these products and the know-how behind it to a broader public.

> Then, the younger people also see, wow! I think that what my parents, my grandparents do is very important work, for society, so, from the moment we value this work, right? This stimulates people and gives more credibility to what they believe in and see that it is important. Then, this issue of valuing and supporting small producers also comes into play, when it comes to price formation, you know? Sometimes you sell things for a very low price, right? So, a flour that you used to sell for three reals a kilo, today you sell it for seven, ten, you know? So from this valorization. (P. B., personal communication, June 6, 2019)

Figure 15. *Farinhada. A* traditional manioc flour mill in Santa Catarina, during the festivities, for a group to produce flour. Part of the Slow Food Presidium Engenhos de Farinha. Own Work.

The project, which was developed in partnership with Cepagro, was able to map the manioc flour mills in the region and establish a network.

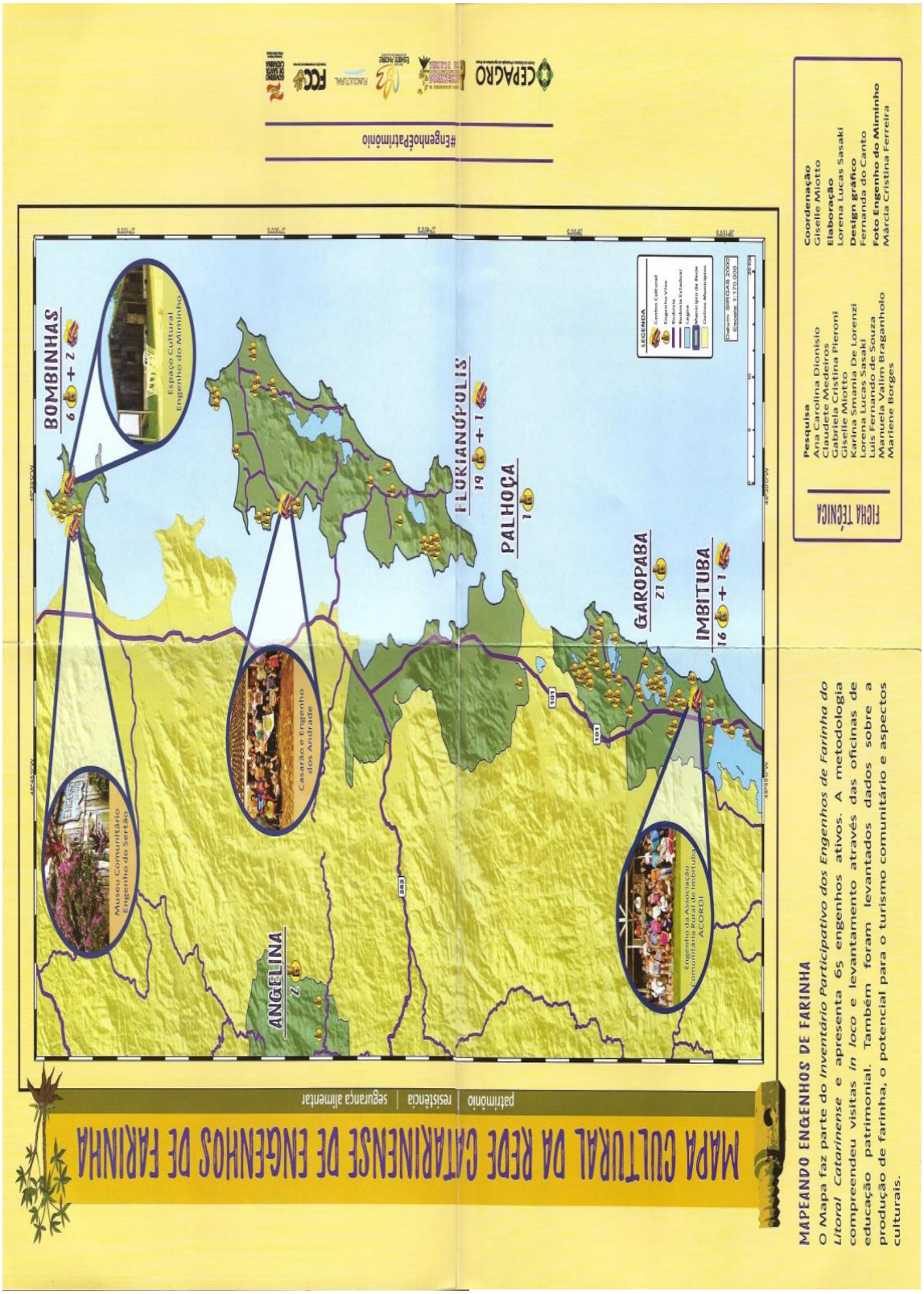

Figure 16. *Cultural Map of the Santa Catarina Flour Mills Network.* The map is the result of years of a participative inventory and project in partnership with Cepagro and Slow Food. Reproduction.

It not only valued and rescued a culture but also gave some of the producers an extra tool to assist resistance in their territory. That is the case for those in Imbituba-SC. The

families organized in the Acordi association have been fighting to stay on the land they have occupied for generations. As in many parts of the country, they have lived and planted in an area that belonged to the state. This type of occupation can have its ownership recognized based on usufruct. However, what happened in that community was that a company, without anyone knowing, acquired the land for an insignificant price (cents per hectare) and went to court for its repossession. This type of land grab is not uncommon in Brazil. The community, which was formed of farmers, fishermen, women, and *butiá* gatherers, then got together and formed the association. It filed for recognition as a traditional community by the responsible authorities. It took almost 10 years, but the anthropological report done by INCRA attesting that it is a traditional community that occupies that entire region for generations was approved in 2019. Of the fight, the community established its headquarters in the middle of the land, next to the flour mill. In their case, becoming a Presidium did not yet have an economic impact, because their production of manioc flour was still small.

> because we still resist, you know? So as long as we don't get past this level of resistance, of lack of recognition, it is very difficult for us to say this. But, on the other hand, I think there was more... how can I put this? It is... there was more recognition, I mean, we managed to go further, to advance more in terms of being better known, you know? (M. B., 50, agronomist, farmer, fisherwoman and *butiá* extractor, personal communication, July 19, 2019)

But she adds that, "as soon as we get organized, and now the tendency is for us to get organized for production, right? Because we had fierce struggles, you know? It took a long time, and now we have succeeded" (M. B., personal communication, July 19, 2019). Besides being part of the *Engenhos de Farinha* Presidium, they also integrated into the *Butiá* Presidium. It is also a multi-city Presidium, with environmental protection and territory as a focus. The project hosts producers who have the trees on their land, but also gatherers that harvest them on non-occupied state land. These are the areas with the greatest number of conflicts since the community frequantly manages the plants and outsiders harvest the fruit, but often prematurely. In other cases, disputes over territory involve burning the *butiá* palms. So, in this case, the Presidia project can help on the environmental preservation, argue one of the producers.

> For example, we have in Imbituba, the problem Imbituba has with the *butiá* is the burning. So, they burn the fields so that later they can build lots. The problem in Jaguaruna is already the removal of the individuals to make a decoration. And also burning. So, each place will have a, a problem to be faced, and I think it is up to us, who are part of the Slow

> Food community, to present it, to denounce it (A. A. S., 54, farmer, personal communication, June 9, 2019).

It is, nevertheless, a hard task, he points out, as there are also many conflicts between gatherers and producers. “I think it's very important that we Slow Food members manage to get more people registered and that these people are aware that together we can change this situation, which is not favorable, right?” (A. A. S., personal communication, June 9, 2019).

However, the valuation process must be careful, emphasizes the activist. He points out that if the fruit becomes fashionable nationally, it could create an imbalance since there are not enough *butiá* palms to supply this demand. What would be observed would be a

Figure 17. Butiá *pulp pudding and hat made from its palm straw.* Recipe created by farmer and butiá gatherer. Own work.

worsening of the existing disputes, in addition to distortions, such as people grinding the *butiá* stick along with the fruit to yield more juice. So, the focus should be on the local market first.

> We want to work the product as something local, as Slow Food says, in school meals, as we put here in the city, the importance of eating what you have close to you, right? To know what we eat. […] And then, give new products so that you have added value. So that people can earn from their work, right? Not being one, a part of this, being exploited and the other earning a lot of money on top. (A. A. S., personal communication, June 9, 2019)

An important part of this recognition of value, recurrent in the producers' responses, is the fact that they are now part of an international network. Going to Terra Madre in Italy is seen by many of them as a unique moment not only in the life of each of them but also in the community. "The fact that, for example, I went to Italy last year, and I represented the Presidium automatically, I represented our community, I took the community to the world. Do you understand? This is fantastic!" (M. B., personal communication, July 19, 2019). In this sense, Slow Food role is to help these communities to be more known. "And today, if we put there, as we have, when we do, sometimes we put there the narrative labels, saying that it is a product of Slow Food, everybody... who doesn't know, is interested in wanting to know, you know? And that draws a lot of attention" (M. B., personal communication, July 19, 2019). The fact that the event is hosted in Europe, and, consequently, the community has its value recognized by a 'first world' country, also plays a role. As I will debate later in this chapter, this colonial relationship with Europe is a topic in Brazil. It can be observed in attempts to fight it and change the power dynamics towards a more horizontal relation. At the same time, the colonized discourse of admiration is still reproduced by activists.

> All the testimonials I had from people who went to Terra Madre were positive. In the sense of, ah, a lot of work too, it is stressful when you travel, all that stuff and so on. But you have the possibility of living with another culture, in another place, right? And then again, ah, first world, even though many of them have European ancestry, you know, it's an important connection. Very important. (N. M., 52, agronomist, personal communication, July 10, 2019)

The Terra Madre becomes one of the main tools for integrating these producers into the movement, making them feel like they belong to something bigger, allowing them to identify themselves with their peers from around the world. However, this is not so simple, as we see from the Presidia discussed here. One of the first difficulties is the model of the Presidia project. It was originally designed for the Italian reality and then

exported around the globe. There are some formulas and methodologies that do not work in all contexts. Adaptations are needed, and negotiations with the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity are not always easy. This was one of the aspects mentioned by many of the interviewees in Santa Catarina.

Besides, these three Presidia were also part of the first big project of the ASFB, the *Good, Clean, and Fair* project, in partnership with the federal government and the Santa Catarina Federal University (UFSC). As mentioned earlier, this project has had many problems along its trajectory. First, there was the political scenario, which led to delayed payments and the planning having to be adapted and readjusted more than once. Then, the relationship between the Slow Food activists and the academic team in charge of the project's execution was not harmonic, the UFSC partners not having been part of the movement before. Then, locally, one of the biggest conflicts within the project was the dismissal of the facilitator of the southern region from the work team because of conflicts concerning, mainly, different approaches to the methodology. The change was an additional setback to a process that was already far from smooth. Altogether, these problems contributed to the project having short deadlines that did not take into consideration the rhythms of each community and their processes to construct a common understanding of the Presidium and integrate it into their reality.

> Then everything arrives in a community, because of the deadlines, super tight, and also the situation in which the project occurred was also difficult, right? In the middle of a change of government' So, the resources were blocked and when they were released, they had to release them with the resources, with a schedule [accelerate] and so on, ' don't know what, and fast, to show the results and so on, so on, so on. The reference is no longer your time to work with the community, the community's time. It became your time, it is your project, not the communities anymore. My vision, right? So, I think that the communities got on board, because, well, what do you want? Nothing, or something that is happening? So, let's get something, right? That it is this or nothing...'But I think that the community itself no longer believed in that. So, you say, what's going to happen? Yes, will it transform our community? No, it won't. We will participate in something, and it will end. (B. S., 35, cook, and former ASFB regional facilitator, personal communication, June 12, 2019)

Some communities also reacted to that and imposed their rhythm, as it is part of their culture.

> But that's when we made it very clear to people, right? that the time was not the time of those who were coming from outside, but it is our time that has to be respected, you know? It doesn't matter, ah, because in 15 days [speeding up] ... no, it is our time. It is our time, and that is what I

> think we have a difficulty for people to understand, right? (M. B., personal communication, July 19, 2019)

Further, she argues, the region's natural beauty is still there only because of the local communities' culture and rhythm, and that also should be safeguarded. The implementation time was one of the consensuses among the interviewees, that it was far from what it was supposed to be. For some, however, it was a lesson learned as it was the first big project of the association. One of the points highlighted by several actors that took part in the project was that the fault lay in the project proposal of seeking to deliver the whole Presidium process in such a short period. It would have been better had the planning been implemented one step at a time, or per project. This way, the pace of the communities would have been respected and, the values could have been better integrated, raising the chances of more continuity. As ASFB can only work by projects (in order to finance their actions), the continuity of the Presidium depends on the community willingness to keep up with it. Slow Food's support should be a "kick-off. Now, what the community will do with it is up to them. And that is why I say: partnerships with organizations. If you have organizations that work in these communities and that incorporate the Presidia program, and that take this discussion and adopt this methodology in their day-to-day work, well, it is wonderful, you know? Wonderful" (G. M., personal communication, June 18, 2019).

However, another obstacle to the communities' embracing of the movement, and for many activists, as it will be discussed throughout this thesis, is to understand what Slow Food is. This is due, frequently, to the broadness of the movement's actions and agenda. The facilitator that took over the south region, warns that within this big project hosted in Florianópolis, though, the movement was stepping into a field that is not its expertise, by developing a rural extension activity, mobilizing farmers, and not having the meanings to keep up with it. "We have a great potential of promoting it, of linking the rural and the urban, and dialogues, and promoting dialogues, but to stay there in the rural extension business? We don't have a team; we are not prepared for this" (G. M., personal communication, June 18, 2019). Albeit she states this is a localized problem of the South of Brazil, this undefinition or willingness to do more than the movement is capable of, hinder sometimes the relationship with other organizations.

This difficulty in understanding Slow Food, however, is not a localized one. As debated in Chapter 4, internationally, the movement has so many faces and its philosophy is so broad that almost everything could fit under its umbrella. In Santa Catarina, Slow Food

members define it in different ways. One of the members characterizes it as **a consumer movement**.

> For me, the movement is mainly a consumer movement. That, somehow, because it finds adherence and because it is convenient, it goes to the field. But it enters the field supporting things that already exist in the field, not proposing them. For me, the movement is not able to propose in the Brazilian rurality, at least. But the movement is able to show consumption demands, right? And from this to leverage it in a certain way in processes that already exist and that are adhered to in the field (P. X., personal communication, July 9, 2019).

The focus on consumption, nonetheless, would be connected to the right to eat, in a merge with the food sovereignty concept.

> From the human right to adequate food to the right to take risks under the consumer code, these are points of view that need to be explored, and we as Slow Food are fully capable of exploring these points of view. And for this we have to understand ourselves as a consumer movement and have our partners in the field. Even, because the farmer is also a consumer, he doesn't need to stop being a consumer to participate, he doesn't need to stop being a farmer to participate. But I think that the perspective has to come from the human right to adequate food, for food and nutritional security, for food and nutritional sovereignty, for these issues. Then it makes sense for you to have a movement, to actually feel like a movement. (P. X., 33, researcher, personal communication, July 9, 2019)

The consumer perspective also shows up in a producer's definition of Slow Food: "For me it's an organization that gives support to those that don't have it, to those that have less, let's say, less possibility of getting there" (L. O., 47, farmer and gatherer, personal communication, June 20, 2019). So, the movement would help these producers to access market. "Because, especially for those who work with extractivism or something like that, it's quite difficult, you know? So they end up giving this support to help" (L. O., personal communication, June 20, 2019).

A recurrent description of Slow Food that came up in the interviews was its role as a connector: a network that articulates different actors and networks, and that can enclose a lot.

> For me, what it does is it articulates networks that were not so articulated among themselves. You had a network of restaurant owners, cooks, who, through the university, were already articulated, universities, who, through NGOs, were articulated in the field in some places, but you never had a network that got all these people talking, and Slow Food is, was the network that arrived doing this dialogue in practice, every day (B. S., personal communication, June 12, 2019).

It does not mean that becoming this connector of diverse actors was easy. There was, or there is still maybe, a lot of strangeness among them. But there is one common point too: food. Another fundamental characteristic of Slow Food pointed by interviewees is its international aspect: a global network.

Finally, the role of raising awareness about the food system and reinforcing its philosophy of *Good, Clean, and Fair Food for All*, also came up:

> I think that... the role of Slow Food is to bring this awareness, you know? And this reflection, you know? Where does food come from and where is it going? And this is something we try to do a lot. Even in the dialogues, in the conversations we have, sometimes in workshops, lectures, we try to be aware of where food comes from, you know? Where does it go? So, within this process, right? We talk in many different ways, both about the food culture of small producers, right? Then there are the food communities... so, what is the role of each person, of the consumer? How can we contribute to a more just society through our food choices? What is the influence of this, so I think that our role, what we do here in the region, is more about making people aware of this, right? (P. B., personal communication, June 6, 2019)

But it is not an easy task, argues another activist. "I think that Slow gives, it speaks in words that cause ... almost discomfort" (G. M., personal communication, June 18, 2019). Her pint is that the three elements of the movement's philosophy, *good, clean, and fair*, need to be associated, and many times they are worked separately.

> We are not talking only about clean. We are going to work on other aspects, you know? And I think that for these debates that we have within agroecology, the organizations that I circulate, the spaces that I attend, I see that the importance of Slow for these spaces is to bring this tripod that sometimes gets lost in the agroecology conversation, as it has been lost today. Everybody says, there are a lot of Bolsonaro people in the *Ecovida* Network of Agroecology and Solidarity Economy, how can this happen? So, well, people only focused on the clean technique, and to hell with everything else. So, I think we bring this to the agenda, which I think is interesting... yes, I see the importance of diversification of production when you talk about native fruits and local foods, and diverse uses of non-traditional, non-traditional or non-conventional things. So, you bring a light to this, which I think is interesting, right? Slow's contribution in this sense. And... and I think that here in the Santa Catarina Network, what we have is also the political issue, you know? This is very important. So... it is one more voice, right? So, I see that... this form of communication that Slow has, the proposal it has, the way you bring the origin of the products, and the history behind those products... the human, social and natural history behind those products, I think this is... essential. (G. M., personal communication, June 18, 2019)

All these perspectives somehow make sense when looking at the actors that are involved in the Slow Food movement in Florianópolis and Santa Catarina. Their definition of the

movement is linked to their local repertoire of actions. At the same time, it shows how, because of the diversity, difficult it is to share a characterization of the movement. I will dwell more fully on the issues raised in this session at the end of the chapter. First, I turn to the other two observation units.

5.2.2 Salvador: An institutional and gourmetizing Slow Food?

In Salvador, Slow Food had a different trajectory. The state of Bahia stands out nationally for having projects with external funding, from the state government to IFAD. Although these projects were already happening in the region, the capital only started its first convivium in around 2012. And it was established in a unique way: Fernanda Cabrini, an Italian, who had lived in Salvador for many years and who had an inn there, received Carlo Petrini as a guest, on the recommendation of one of his childhood friends.

> One day Carlin arrived, and he stayed with her for a few days and we, well, we're the same age, we lived through the same political period of the Italian Revolutionary Left Movement, he was in another group as I was, two groups that were working, let's say parallel, so, a lot of affinity with political ideas, like the way of, or how to transform this political phase that we lived through, with other objectives, into something more concrete, more useful, more, broader on a planetary level, you know? And something I like to do, I like to cook, I like to plant, it is not something... it is something that is in my blood. So, after he traveled, we started a small group of sympathizers. […] And then a leader was needed for this convivium. Everybody left: 'I can't', 'I can't', and I was the only one remaining. That's how I was elected leader of the Salvador Convivium [laughs]. It wasn't by any merit. (F. Cabrini, 9, tour guide, entrepreneur, cook, personal communication, August 24, 2019)

This first group lasted until January 2019. Even though in that first meeting, they were many, they had a core group of three or four people who would do seminars with universities, work with the communities on localized problems, take part in an annual event promoted by the local gastronomy museum, and so on. The last, the gastronomy seminar, has been a space to counterpoint some actors of food industry.

> It was very interesting, we didn't have much space, but we always put ideas in their heads and even spoke against what had been said up to that moment of the issues. For example, one that was very important, I think, was the one about manioc, which also became a book, this intervention I did, about the preservation of traditional cassava flour houses [mills]. If on the one hand Embrapa, everybody plays in favor of the factories, the fact of the, the famous story about hygiene, etc. I did a re-evaluation of what the traditional manioc flour mills were, what they meant socially within a small community, that they were a meeting point for mobilization, for solidarity among people, and that this was disappearing. (F. Cabrini, personal communication, August 24, 2019)

In 2019, she stepped away and the next leader believed that the way for the movement to grow is by expanding its philosophy and gathering together more people. “I think that the main role that the group, the collective, has had this year was to give visibility to society. To improve the relationship between the countryside and the city, and the city and the countryside, to bring them closer together. And to participate in forums that converge with our principles, like the Bahia Forum to combat the impacts of pesticides” (A. Viana, 54, Geographer and Tourismologist, personal communication, August 5, 2019).

This does not mean, though, that they were able to greatly expand the group. More than one interviewee confirmed that a maximum of eight people would get involved in an event when demanded, most of them being professors and students of gastronomy. Academics are a significant part of the people involved, not only from the gastronomic field but also from tourism and development. In the view of one of the most active members, the convivium’s member profile would mainly be students and people whose activism in Slow Food would facilitate their own job, like producers. However, she argues that the producers that are nowadays in SF Salvador are mostly organic producers that already have some access to information, and who have come to SF, not the other way around: “Not in general the farmer, but the one who has several employees, but a producer” (T. L., 31, Cook and educator, personal communication, August 10, 2019).

Despite this variety of profiles, the biggest challenge of the group was to have enough people attend every event as they could not achieve holding periodic meetings. In 2019, they planned three lines of action: to promote an Ark of Taste Festival, “to bring this group to have direct contact with the consumer, whether the final consumer, restaurant or inn”; to make more expeditions to visit producers, “to have this proximity, not necessarily to buy, but to get to know the struggles, the day-to-day difficulties”; and to increase the participation of Slow Food representatives in the discussion forums in convergence with the movement’s agenda, “so that we could spread the word about the movement, which is unknown here” (A. Viana, personal communication, August 5, 2019). This does not diverge much from what had been done locally before, as one of the oldest members explained.

Figure 18. *Salvador Convivium visiting producers.* Convivium expedition day to meet the *Beijuzeiras* - traditional food producers - in a quilombo nearby Salvador. Own work.

> And in relation to the convivia, I think there is a difficulty with this issue of volunteering, you know? Here in Salvador, we worked with this, bringing producers, supporting them to be present in events, doing tastings, bringing people to present their products... Basically, what we did was to act in this sense. And there was this thing of lectures, right? Being in schools, in some event. But the main thing was to support the producers so that they could present what they do, what is their possible use in gastronomy, to put them in contact with chefs. It was the creation of this network between possible consumers, which can be people, restaurants or inns, and the producers. (M. T.N., 40, visual artist, designer and communicator, personal communication, August 13, 2019)

So, the convivium still focused on trying to bridge producers and consumers, by bringing the first to the city or the latter to the countryside, and on making the Slow Food philosophy more known in the city. It is important to highlight that the group of the Salvador Convivium in 2019 was critical of the movement. They criticized the chefs (this will be discussed shortly) and the ASFB. Most of the criticism was centered on a sense of a lack of support from the association, while the convivium had not been included in the projects within the state government. The convivium leader pointed out that there was a difference between Slow Food in Bahia and Salvador. So, the communities throughout the state that had had a longer relationship with Slow Food were more independent and proactive in this view. Meanwhile, the producers in Salvador waited for the movement to

come to them and to propose how Slow Food could help them out. “And we don’t have enough personnel for that” .

> Let's see if we can at least get out of the situation we're in, right? since we keep mirroring to the world a reality that doesn't exist. And it was another shock for me too. Because there is the *licuri* convivium that holds a festival every year. But the *licuri* convivium only talks to the people in the region and the chef here, that's it. Then you have the *umbú* convivium, the same thing. Both have a strong cooperative, which receives a lot of support from the government, but they get by. But, like this, they don't care if there is Slow Food Salvador, or not. They don't care. Because they were created first and never had a dialogue like this, you know? So I am trying to create this. (A. Viana, personal communication, August 5, 2019)

Money is also a limiting factor for the expansion of the convivium's own actions mentioned by some local actors. Some activists struggle to have even the transport money, which often makes it impossible for them to go to the field. Others argue that a budget would allow them, for example, to pay an intern for publicity and administration tasks. However, these claims came with the idea that this support should come from the national association as the convivium had already held book raffles and product auctions to cover expenses for some of the activities, but it had not been enough. This lack of network among the different groups within the movement in Bahia, coexisting with a wealth of projects in partnerships with funding institutions, is what led to the state being defined by some observers as having an institutional profile. The Northeast facilitator did not agree with this characterization. With more than six years of experience, she argued that there had been no involvement of other institutions with Slow Food when she had arrived there. But even when such involvement started, it was based on a community, on grassroots movements.

> I think that to stamp or put a label that the Northeast or Bahia is institutional is a big mistake. And why, I would say, how did it come about, right? This institutional relationship. It was provoked by me as a facilitator because I think that without the commitment and the debate, the relationships and the involvement of institutions, the movement becomes very fragmented and very local. And this is a great fragility. So, I think that there has to be this connection both in the countryside and in the city, and this is very important to me. So, when the first project funded by the European Commission came, it was a project that was born through the Slow Food Foundation [Association] of Brazil to take place in the semi-arid region of the state of Bahia. […] But who provoked and who defended were the grassroots issues, right? So, we have to understand how this relationship is. I think Slow Food still has a certain difficulty in understanding that we can have institutional partners, we can position ourselves in institutional plans, being from the base and defending the base. (R. Tapie, 46, rural development

> researcher and ASFB regional facilitator, personal communication, August 23, 2019)

One example of these alliances' actions could be seen in Climate Week, which was held in Salvador in August 2019. In conjunction with *Agence Française de Développement* (AFD), Slow Food was able to provide three stands for small producers, part of the Ark of Taste and Presidium projects, for them to sell their products in the fair food court, an event with actors from many countries.

Figure 19. *Climate Week Salvador.* Slow Food's partnership with AFD allowed producers from the network to present their socio-biodiversity goods to an international public. Own work.

The Bahia state government is one of the biggest institutional allies. Wilson Dias, Director-President of the Company of Development and Regional Action (CAR), explained that the partnership between ASFB and the federal government already existed, with the MDA. And the Bahia Secretary of Rural Development had been created based on that model (W. Dias, personal communication, August 20, 2019). With that came the understanding that a partnership with Slow Food could help in public policies concerning strengthening family agriculture, especially with socio-biodiversity preservation. One of the ways pointed out by him was the approach to chefs as they knew what would appeal to the urban consumer, and Slow Food was the bridge between them. This is similar to the role that another big partner, IFAD, expected from the movement.

> Slow Food, for me, the role it plays, is exactly to *gourmetize* and valorize this investment, so that it can be absorbed by a domestic market that is very valuable. This market of niche products, you know? We know that these family farmer products are not going to be exported immediately, they might be in the future, after they gain knowledge. But usually, the quantities are small, so we need to value this product.

> (L. Bichara, IFAD Program Officer in Brazil, personal communication, August 26, 2019)

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) invests mainly in the semi-arid region of Northeast Brazil, and it found in Slow Food a partner to help in the rescue of products, in capacity building and in developing the training components of their projects. One example was training young people in Sergipe on eco-gastronomy, where they learned alternative uses for the food they had in their own backyard. Another successful case, from Bichara's perspective, is the *Umbú* Presidium:

> Slow Food developed for this cooperative, which is a beneficiary of the IFAD project, a very beautiful label that tells the story of the gravatar, that bird, and there, when the person buys that product, they already value that product much more. You see a brutal difference in price. It is the same product, the family farmer would put it in a reusable jelly cup and close the lid and sell it, let's say, I don't know, for two reais. From the moment that you put that narrative label, that you change the packaging, the same product can be sold for 10 reals, 15 reals. So the goal, if part of this increase in income is passed on to the farmer, we will be very happy. (L. Bichara, personal communication, August 26, 2019)

A key element of this *gourmetization* process is the chefs. Slow Food Brazil established a Chefs' Alliance in 2016, and one of its objectives is "to value the products of Slow Food Presidia, the Ark of Taste and small, good, clean and fair local productions, conserving biodiversity and the food culture of each territory" (Aliança de Cozinheiros Slow Food, n.d.).

To construct a relationship with renowned chefs was also one of the strategies of SF in Bahia.

However, it is still a big challenge to convince many other chefs to follow the philosophy of the movement. ASFB's regional facilitator sees two difficulties in this: the first is that Slow Food often works with very artisanal products, which means they do not always fulfill the national sanitary standards, making it impossible to use them in restaurants. The second is the ignorance still prevalent among restaurateurs about the field.

> The cook, the chef, unfortunately, is not politicized. He is not able to keep up with the advances that we have had in the rural environment, I issue of hygiene of that product, the issue of standards, the issue of the rural producer's capacity today to understand the benefits, how to benefit that product corresponding to the market. So, there is also this... This is broken down by what? taking them to the field. It was a very regional experience, you know? That I lived through. (R. Tapie, personal communication, August 23, 2019)

The strategy of taking chefs to the field was drawn up and they approached two professionals "who were doing innovative things". The first thing they organized together was an expedition focused on everything about the goat, which was a way to demystify this meat that is traditionally consumed in the region but stigmatized as poor people's food, too rustic to be served in a restaurant. It made an impact.

> We began to see that Slow Food was so current, so contemporary, so necessary, so sustainable, the philosophy of good, clean, and fair food, which was exactly what we were looking for, a food that we believed in, that supported small producers, that was not industrialized, that had as little interference as possible, so that with a simple touch we could make it incredible because all we had to do was keep it incredible. Then we understood the Slow Food concept, we liked it, and we started to raise this flag until the day we became a member of Slow Food Salvador, and we, I think it was three years ago, we held an event in São Paulo with Carlo Petrini, with some cooks who are also part of Slow Food Brazil, and then we joined the alliance of cooks […]. We joined the alliance and that is when our commitment became even stronger. (F. L., 39, chef and restaurant owner, personal communication, August 22, 2019)

As the relationship with chefs is one of the main foci of the movement in Bahia, it is interesting to look at the different perspectives among the local actors on what their role within the movement as chefs is. As just mentioned, the funding partners see in them the potential to *gourmetize* local products. Adding value is also these professionals' goals.

> During this period, we continued to do countless expeditions, always focused on valuing the small producers, and getting there and transforming them, helping them to improve their products. In the old days, the *licuri* was not so good, and together with the Rural Development Secretariat, which supported us in our expeditions, we taught them how to store, how to extract the best oil, and with that... native bee honey came, you know? in this whole mixture, in all these wanderings. And then we saw it until we came across the Ark of Taste, and our mission is to find ingredients to include in the Ark of Taste, things we don't even know about. So, we managed to include some things, but, well... The fundamental thing for us was last year [2018] when we went to Terra Madre. Then everything made sense. We came back extremely stronger, and today what I do here has a lot to do with everything I experienced during all these years. So, Slow Food is fundamental for this gastronomic evolution that we live here, inside [his restaurants]. The Slow Food philosophy is what makes us different. (F. L., personal communication, August 22, 2019)

One of the objectives supported by chef F.L. was to show the rest of the country, which expressed a great deal of prejudice toward and ignorance about the Northeast, the richness of the region, from the caatinga to the coast, including the Atlantic Forest. He also expressed that Slow Food needed to be present in more popular media, such as TV Globo,

the most popular show in Brazil, to reach more people, and so that everyone would know about it, "as it is, like, out there" (F. L., personal communication, August 22, 2019).

This work of chefs is sometimes recognized by the convivium members, but it is, at the same time, criticized by the local Slow Food activists. The first complaint is the lack of involvement of the chefs with the convivium and a certain degree of resentment that the latter develop their own expeditions to producers, and not only do they not invite anyone else but they do not even accept people from the convivium to go with them. The claim is that these are activities of the Chefs' Alliance, aimed only at chefs. Others question these expeditions in the sense of not perceiving them as a solution: that just going to visit a community does not allow you to get to know its reality. Further, if the producer is not put on the center, it will keep being only a reproduction of inequalities, with appropriation of the products by the elites, in this case, represented by the chefs. "We actually want to promote the product to promote the producer, but we have the product as an actor and the chef steals the scene. And I think that this generally still happens today" (T. L., personal communication, August 10, 2019). Thus, even if the product is valued, this does not necessarily translate into an economic gain for the producer. "Because generally, they are products that gain a very high added value, they become an expensive product, a premium product, most of the time, it is considered as a premium product, but the producer continues having the same life. He continues to have the same devaluation" (T. L., personal communication, August 10, 2019).

Furthermore, she points out that it is more interesting for the restaurant as a business to work with a rare product. "For me, for my restaurant, if that product is rare, it's even better, because I will put it with a much higher added value. If it is popular, what fun will it be, if the guy can find it on the corner?" (T. L., personal communication, August 10, 2019). So, it is not only a matter of adding value to a product that will allow it to continue to exist. That means, many times, that even the cooks that are in the kitchen dealing daily with these products do not know about their origin and importance or are only reproducing a pre-made discourse that was presented to them by the chef. Her argument says that if a product is not in the population's everyday life, in the Sunday farmers market, it will be forgotten. Being in a distinguished dish does not mean it will be remembered. So, the goal should be rescuing the popularity of products, not making them niche.

> When I met Slow, I imagined a movement much more popular than elitist, and today I see that it is more elitist than popular. It's not that it's

> not important. As a cook, I can say that I know the importance of restaurants because the fact that it is on the menu will guarantee that it will always remain in the daily lives of some people. But it is a very select group of people. (T. L., personal communication, August 10, 2019)

The discussion is along the same lines as the debates on food heritage processes and the risks of displacing this heritage from the cultures to which it belongs (Matta, 2012; Parasecoli, 2017; Santana, 2016; Sections 3.2 and 4.2 in this thesis). The strategy of *gourmetizing* products is also seen as a problem by the regional facilitator. She defends the idea that the projects should maybe take a step back and bet on their cultural background as what values them:

> Because the projects talk a lot about food sovereignty, fair prices, and a solidarity economy, but, at the same time, they direct the market to a public with purchasing power higher than that of the countryside. So automatically people don't have access to the products that the cooperatives are benefiting from (R. Tapie, personal communication, August 23, 2019).

Looking at the municipalities where are the cooperatives with which Slow Food works, she founded that their products were not in the inns, the hotels, or even in the local farmer's market. "That is frightening to me. And at the same time, what that means? That it limits the people in the municipalities to have access to this product" (R. Tapie, personal communication, August 23, 2019). She has two explanations for this absence. The first is that, to have access to broader markets, these products have to meet some standards of packaging and labeling that make them expensive. So, they end up being directed to the markets that can afford high prices, meaning big cities, as Salvador, or the Southeast and South of Brazil. The second is that many of these products are processed in a way that does not correspond to the local identity. "Like jams, for example, which are not part of the local identity. We consume a confection, with a little sugar, which takes away the sour taste, and we eat it cut up, spooned. It is not a jam, that we don't eat for breakfast on a cookie" (R. Tapie, personal communication, August 23, 2019). But there are also local concerns in this sense.

> As a counterpoint, some regions are making very nice movements that are still allowing the final consumer to have access to these foods through festivals, such as the *Umbú* Festival, and the *Licuri* Festival, which was born even before the cooperatives were born, and it is what lives and what allows these products that are sold to be promoted at a local level. (R. Tapie, personal communication, August 23, 2019)

Once again, I would like to look at three projects developed in the state, despite their low interaction with the Salvador Convivium, to understand better what effect alliances have

in the field. They are two Presidia and one food community, with quite diverse characteristics: the *Licuri* Presidium, the Caatinga Mandaçaia Bee Presidium, and the cashew nut food community.

The Licuri is one of the first Presidia in Brazil. The Coopes (Production Cooperative of the Piemonte da Diamantina Region) was created in 2005, just after one of its founders, Josa, went to Terra Madre in Turin. She had already been working with the women of the region known as the Piemonte da Diamantina, set in the middle of the caatinga, to try to benefit the *licuri*. The small fruit has a nut inside, which is collected and shelled by the women. Josa explained how something she had learned at the first Terra Madre, in 2004, was that she could turn the *licuri*, an undervalued product in the region, into something noble. "Slow Food was important because it was who first looked at us as *licuri* producers" (J. de S. Alves, 57, Educator and food-producer, personal communication, September 1, 2019). The movement's support included nutritional evaluation, workshops to develop different products with *licuri* and packing it, and the creation of a label.

> This helped us commercialize the *licuri*. And this has also improved the women's income. There are women who bought houses, sofas, beds, bought land... which was difficult for them before, because here in Bahia, in the countryside, there is still a lot of machismo, so it is the man who makes the money, and the woman is dependent. So, breaking *licuri* and selling *licuri*, they have little money to buy whatever is most necessary. (J. de S. Alves, personal communication, September 1, 2019)

In this Presidium, more than in others, gender plays an important role. Even if the profit from traditional food products and crafts generally benefits women, in the case of *licuri* gathering, it is almost exclusively women's work. Taking into account the entangled inequalities that women in rural spaces face, with most of the food insecurity concentrated in rural areas, higher in the Northeast of Brazil and, among black women (Galindo et al., 2021), this kind of project ends up having a great impact.

The Coopes brings together the *licuri* gatherers and establishes rules from the harvest to the transformation of the fruit. It has a small processing plant in Capim Grosso (BA) where they pack the *licuri* in natura and produce not only the *licuri* oil but also some of the biscuits. There is a store at the cooperative's headquarters selling women's products such as cookies, sweets, *licuri* milk, and handicrafts made from the *licuri* straw. To the current president, the impact of being recognized as a Presidium is immeasurable.

> There isn't a number that represents the impact it had because numbers don't represent everything. But, without exaggeration, I would say that from the cultural and economic point of view, it was a revolution in

> people's minds since Slow Food trained us as a cooperative, in the communities, at the grassroots, in the production groups we call it, in the communities (V. A., personal communication, September 2, 2019).

He argues that this training created not only technical knowledge about *licuri*, "but an awareness was created that the *licuri* has to be valued, the human being that is part of the extraction process has to be valued and, therefore, the *licuri* has to be sold better" (V. A., personal communication, September 2, 2019). The establishment of the cooperative as a "collective instrument of fighting" was a consequence of this awareness and knowledge. "So, this whole awareness of valuing the *licuri* as something fundamental for the economic balance of the families as well as for the caatinga's ecosystem was created. So, that's why I call it immeasurable. We can't give a number to represent this ideological revolution that our bases have today" (V. A., personal communication, September 2, 2019).

Figure 20. *Licuri Narrative Label.* The narrative label of the Presidium of the licuri explains the origin of the food, besides its organoleptic characteristics, and gives details about its handling, processing, collection, and about its producers. Reproduction.

The testimony of a 68-year-old *licuri* gatherer, who sustained her family with the fruit, reinforces this argument.

> The licuri gives me everything because if I have licuri in the field if I have a hungry chicken in the yard, I throw palm oil, I throw the licuri and she eats it. I make coconut milk with licuri, I make pumpkin bread,

> cassava bread, and potato bread, all with licuri. And now there are some kids who are lactose intolerant, who don't eat anything, but now they eat the bread with licuri and the licuri oil that I make because I don't put butter. (M. S., personal communication, September 2, 2019)

The greatest achievement of the project becomes the recognition of the value of the work and the food culture of these communities. The financial return of a despised and almost exclusively female product ends up having a great impact on the lives of these workers. However, this is not a simple process. The president of the Coopes considers that this revolution and change of consciousness are still going on and the whole process has taken 15 years to date. So, it is something that takes time, which is something the projects frequently fail to consider. This may be because such projects usually last only two or three years. Here, once again, the importance of continuity in the projects arises, and of respecting the rhythm of work in the communities.

Coopes also hosts a second Slow Food project, the Caatinga Mandaçaia Bee Presidium. During the work going on between the cooperative and Slow Food focusing on *licuri*, another threat was identified: "(Because of) the long drought that has affected the ecosystem in the last decade, the local biodiversity and the agrifood heritage have been severely damaged and, as a result, honey production has been greatly reduced and the mandaçaia bee is at risk of extinction" ("Fortaleza da Abelha Mandaçaia-da-Caatinga," n.d.). The small *Melipona mandacaia* is one of the hundreds of stingless bees native to Brazil. Its honey is more liquid than those from *Apis mellifera*, and a family produces, in a good flowering season, around 1 to 1.5 liters of honey. This honey can be used as medicine, as food, or can be sold as a complementary source of income. Furthermore, the mandaçaia bee is one of the main pollinators of the *licuri.* So, both of the Presidia are connected and the protection of one influence the other.

> I think that another way in which the mandaçaia and the bees themselves are important is that, if you have a bee, you will not apply poison [pesticides] on your property, and you will encourage your neighbor not to apply poison on his property. So, it's like I told you, one thing leads to another. […] So the importance of a, a simple bee you can have a relationship with agroecology, with deforestation, with poison, with quality food, with the issue of sugar - the substitution of sugar for honey. So a bee can give you a range of opportunities to get out of this vicious life of agribusiness. (M. R., 34, farmer and educator, personal communication, September 2, 2019)

Figure 21. *Mandaçaia bees meliponary.* The meliponary project is still small and used for educational purposes. Own work.

M.R. oversees the meliponary at Coopes. He explains that the project mainly had an educational focus till that point; schools visited the project to learn more about the stingless bees and their role in the local ecosystem. Their next step would be to find a

new project to fund more boxes to grow and multiply the beehives as Slow Food and IFAD financed the first step. The financial and technical support is often presented as an important contribution of Slow Food. In Brazil, as the national association still has limited income, this is done in alliance with a funding partner, which can even be Slow Food International. In this case, workshops with experts in stingless bees, how to reproduce and keep them, and even the rescue of some species that were no longer in the locality was part of the movement's support.

> So, if it wasn't for Slow Food to make this first step of buying some boxes [for beekeeping] and donating some boxes to the farmers, it wouldn't have happened. So, besides Slow Food already doing this awareness work, the financial issue is important, the financing of something, financing a course, financing the purchase of a box. And then we support ourselves, obviously. (M. R., personal communication, September 2, 2019)

The continuity, as mentioned before by the president of Coopes, is one of the great struggles. The communities frequently need more time and investment to structure themselves than the projects enable. The involvement of the producers and the ability to find different partners can help a community to keep advancing in this sense.

> You think that many times you get an agreement to have something long-term, then there's a change of government, and then it's all over. There is no such thing as a long-term structuring project that can be done. 'Ah, we are going to accompany this cooperative here for ten years, we are going to let it do this, contribute, you know?' so that it can reach a very interesting point. Or, as this group of producers here needs quality, to focus on quality, then we will be together with them working on the long term. We can never do it. It is a one-year, two-year, or three-year project at the most. So, I think that within the reality of Slow Food in Brazil, I think it does a good job, you know? It manages to approach and sensitize institutional partners so that the projects can happen. I think that the case of Bahia is very emblematic in this respect, that there is a conquest of IFAD, you know? So that it pays more attention to this question of good, clean, and fair, what is socio-biodiversity. And there is one project after another. (M. T.N., personal communication, August 13, 2019)

The movement's presence in the territory can even reach beyond the current project. That was the case of the food community of Cooperacaju (a cooperative of cashew nut producers). They heard about Slow Food because the movement was in the region doing some work with the Kiriri indigenous group and approached the Slow Food representatives, not the other way around. Formed by small family farmers, the cooperative produces in an agroecological way, and cashew trees are one of the several sources of income for each producer. However, cashew nuts per se are not threatened;

they are even an export product from Brazil. What is valued in this case is the continuity of a tradition, the caju tree being part of the scenario and food culture of the region. This and small family farmers being paid a fair price for their product (in monocultures and mass production, prices can be low). In this sense, the cooperative approached Slow Food as a way of valuing its product.

> Slow Food's support comes in the form of showing farmers the product they have, and the richness they have. Because, many times, the farmer is not used to knowing the value of his product. To know that the product he produces there, the whole world is interested in it and that it has value. A social value, a financial value, and this value needs to be passed on to the farmer, right? (I. S., personal communication, August 20, 2019)

This brings us back to the different definitions of Slow Food that one can find in a region. In Bahia, many of the interviewees talked about Slow Food as something apart, as if the national association was the ruling entity to be obeyed, somehow. This confusion about the movement's different roles is recurrent. One of the mentioned reasons for that would be the lack of continuity of the projects and actions. An example would be the producers who were invited to Terra Madre in Italy (or Brasília, for the national editions). These producers associate Slow Food with that event, and the event alone. So, something distant. The regional facilitator defines Slow Food as a very passionate and chaotic movement:

> Passionate because I think that the human being, the history of the human being with food, is embryonic. We live already feeding ourselves. We know the world, what is sour, what is sweet, what is from the caatinga, what is from the Atlantic Forest, through food. So, we already have this connection with the Earth since we were children, and the Slow Food movement makes us relive the importance of identifying and positioning ourselves and finding our tribes through food. So, this has this passion side. And... and chaotic because the movement has an activist side, it has a sympathetic side and it has a side that tries to be institutional but can't because of, I would say, the lack of social capital, of having professionals fully dedicated to it, and even because these professionals still understand what the institutional side of Slow Food is, which is not yet clear, particularly here, from Brazil, you know? (R. Tapie, personal communication, August 23, 2019)

Despite this, Slow Food is still perceived as an important actor in the local reality. "Look, for me, Slow Food is a fantastic tool for raising awareness. To raise consumer awareness of the importance of understanding production systems and the responsibility we have in the choices we make. So Slow Food works a lot on this, and I think it's fantastic" (R. Tapie, personal communication, August 23, 2019).

> I think that Slow Food has consolidated itself not only as a movement here but also as an institution, you know? That is a reference, that has a voice, that can give some answers, that can mobilize opinion makers, that can be a reference for these opinion makers, that can sometimes politicize these opinion makers, in the political sense of micro-politics, but also the macro-politics, of understanding that, ah, if I choose this or that food, this will have a huge impact on society. Or this political project or that political project has a huge impact on food. We have observed this in the last few years, right? Mainstream leaders that take sides, like, oh, we have to defend this here, we can't have pesticides, we can't have transgenics... There is a question of expulsion, of repossession of a settlement, and the guys go there and take a stand. I think that Slow Food has a role to play here, and a big role to play yet, you know? In this field. (M. T.N., personal communication, August 13, 2019)

This difficulty in defining Slow Food as a movement or an institution, the conflicts, and the difficulties of building networks are reflected in the actions and profiles of the actors. There are different facets of Slow Food in Bahia. However, there is one consensus: the movement, whether through adding market value or recognizing the importance of food, plays a crucial role in valuing the farmers, herders and gatherers with whom they work. I will come back to this discussion shortly. First, I turn to the analysis of the Youth Network in Brazil.

5.2.3 SFYN Brazil: A link that engages activists from all over the country.

The SFYN started in Brazil with the Disco Soups. The event format created in Berlin was easy to adapt to different local realities and low cost. To raise awareness against the waste of food that is still fresh enough for consumption, activist groups gather to collect what would go to waste and transform it into delicious preparations, usually, but not only, soup. The Santa Catarina group found out about it and started doing it there. The first Youth Network member in the ASFB was Bernardo Simões, from Florianópolis' *Convivium Mata Atlântica* (see Section 5.2.1). With the creation of the role of the facilitators in 2014, he took over the southern region of the country and the seat on the association's council was provisionally occupied by three members: one representative from Rio de Janeiro, one from Brasília, and one from Porto Alegre. In 2015, the latter, Caio Dorigon, assumed the leadership of the SFYN. The milestone for the Youth Network in Brazil was the first (and only) Youth Terra Madre, in 2015, called *We Feed the Planet*[45].

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[45] This event was a last-minute idea, pitched in March and realized in September the same year, to not let the World Expo in Milan, whose motto was 'Feeding the Planet, Energy for life', and where the actors discussing it were the big players, not the peasants, to pass by. The SFYN decided to gather young producers and activists from all around the world to debate the future of food under the theme We Feed the Planet.

> There was no Youth Network, right? It was insipient, like this... I think that maybe there was Bernardo's group there. And it was very difficult because it was very difficult to create a network of volunteers and nobody ever saw each other, nobody knew each other. So, this was something that I was... And then we had this opportunity, because of We Feed the Planet, to set up the delegation. (C. Dorigon, 27, gastronome, personal communication, June 27, 2019)

Forty young people from all over the country, with different profiles, were selected by the ASFB Council to be part of the Brazilian delegation in Milan[46]. The precise objective was to form future leaders and build an active network in the country.

Figure 22. *We Feed the Planet.* Slow Food president, Carlo Petrini, welcome the young activists, the future of the food system, in Milano. Own work.

Even with the event's many flaws, such as, for example, very poor accommodation for the members of delegations from Latin American and African countries, while the Europeans were hosted by local families, the outcome was the beginning of a national network for the Brazilian youth. Once back in Brazil, a group of around 10 people (with

[46] I was one of the 40 young people selected for this event and was also part of the group that was formed afterwards. Many of the observations that are presented in this section, therefore, come from first-hand observations of these events, as well as consultation of meeting notes and minutes. This is the observation unit, then, that I was most integrated into. As for the analysis, I restrict myself to the temporality delimited by this work: 2019 and 2020.

fluctuations and changes) continued to meet via Skype. A WhatsApp group has also helped to maintain contact. The meetings, which were more or less frequent, were a place to share each member's experiences and ideas concerning projects, get help from their peers and plan actions together. Most of the activists that continued to attend the meetings were students or young professionals. There was a prevalence of gastronomes and cooks, but there were also nutritionists, designers, educators, and agronomists. There was, though, a lack of producers. Even if they connected with the group at big events like Terra Madre, they did not take part in the regular online meetings. Perhaps access to the internet could be one of the reasons for this.

Figure 23. *We Feed the Planet.* Parts of the Brazilian delegation in the final march (l) and after the national meeting (r). Own work.

> I think it has... Virtues and problems, right? The biggest problem, which is a problem Slow has in general here in Brazil, is... We don't manage to get the farmers to participate. I think the WhatsApp group was one thing, I think in the beginning... [...] it was always very urban, no matter how hard we tried, and I think one thing we tried, we would send questions to the group, and then several farmers would... They would answer, they would give their opinion, but they never, I think they never felt part of it, you know? And that was very difficult. It was one of the things that I think... I couldn't do that, but I would have liked to do, is to include more rural areas in the Youth Network. But there was this articulation, the first articulation. I think that, now, last year, it kind of got tired. (C. Dorigon, personal communication, June 27, 2019)

The first big mobilization organized by SFYN Brazil was the Disco Xepa Day, in June 2016. The idea was to have a Disco Soup event happening at the same time in different parts of the country. The date chosen was the 4th of June, during World Environment Week (from May 30th to June 5th). The events, which were held in 14 cities, had different

dimensions and formats, involving activists of various ages and profiles[47]. The success of the endeavor made the young Brazilians decide to propose to expand the event onto a global scale. The idea was presented during the SFYN assembly, in October of that same year, at Terra Madre in Turin. An international organizing task force was formed, and the first World Disco Soup Day took place in April 2017, with more than 100 happenings, in 42 countries on the same day. The event is now part of the movement's annual calendar.

The experience of governance by a group with members from South America, North America, Africa, Europe, and Asia inspired these young people to propose a new structure for SFYN: instead of having a single president, at the time Dutch, a collegiate board with representatives from diverse backgrounds could give more dynamism and bring new perspectives to the movement. The group in question then prepared the proposal to be presented during the Slow Food International Congress in Chengdu, China. However, at the event, the youth delegates were surprised by the decision that they would have to do a transition process proposed by a coach hired by the SFYN board. In the end, by having a funding source, the leadership of the SFYN would remain in the Netherlands.

This decision hit Brazilian activists hard. There was a revolt at the top-down decision and a certain degree of frustration with the central office. The conflict with SFYN International would escalate further when, one year later, a commission with representatives of all the continents, including Latin America, was announced, without any previous consultation with the network. Taking the situation even further, the transition to the community format proposed by Slow Food International did not foresee the same activists being part of more than one group, and the first orientation was that the activists would have to decide between the local group or the Youth Network[48]. The SFYN Brazil then released 'A young manifesto for a united network'. The text reinforced the Brazilian Youth Network's history and development, based on its diversity and engagement, and criticized the way the management was being handled.

> We know that it is not an easy time to be an activist, we recognize every step that has been taken and we value all the work that has been done in recent years, not only by the Slow Food Youth Network Brazil but by all the young people around the globe who have not lost the motivation and the will to make things better. At the International

[47] A promotional video summarizing the Disco Xepa Day is available at https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=736656103166013. Accessed 05 September 2022.

[48] This rule was reversed, and activists were allowed to be in more than one community. When the SFYN Brazil Community was formalized in this new format in July 2020, 24 young people signed up as members.

> Congress in Chengdu, despite the attempt to take this proposal for discussion and debate, we were welcomed with a closed agenda, with a closed proposal, coming from above and without any possibility of debating the subject. We felt excluded from the structuring of the very network that we compose, love, and help to build. In our view, this should no longer be the case. For all the progress we have made, we think it is time to take another step and create an organizational model in which everyone is listened to and represented in the most horizontal way possible. We understand that for this to happen, it is necessary to create a decentralized, transparent, and representative model of the SFYN.
>
> To improve the network, we propose the creation of a youth council in which different parts of the world can share their problems, anxieties, achievements, and solutions. But for this to work, we believe that this must be a democratic process in which representatives must be voted by the network itself and, as a suggestion, we propose that this happens during Terra Madre. (SFYN Brasil, 2019)

Amidst these conflicts with and the estrangement from Slow Food's central office, SFYN Brazil representatives attending Terra Madre 2018 took the opportunity to strengthen alliances with the youth networks in Latin America. In 2019, they took the *#SoberaniaAlimentarÉ* (#FoodSovereigntyIs in a free translation) campaign to social media, using videos and posts talking about the power of choice, the need to know the origin of a food, the link between local identity, biodiversity, seasonality and culture, and the role of Consea and public policies.

Still in the line of strengthening the network, they also launched the *Slow Food Connections* project, bringing together activists from Brazil and Japan to exchange ideas and experiences.

Figure 24. *SFYN Campaign #SoberaniaAlimentarÉ*. The campaign on SFYN's social media aimed at discussing what food sovereignty means. It was online for five weeks, always alternating texts and videos with examples. Instagram reproduction.

Another action developed by SFYN Brazil, although this was more localized, was the first Slow Food Academy, which was to have taken place in Curitiba and its surroundings but ended up online because of the COVID-19 pandemic[49]. The young Brazilians who organized this venture also took part in the first SFYN World Academy, all online.

As one can see, SFYN Brazil relies on some of the basic repertoires of action of SFYN in general: online campaigns, Disco Soups, and now an SFYN Academy. "I think one thing that kept SFYN going was Disco Xepa [Disco Soup]. Because since *We Feed the Planet*, five years have passed and we have kept close or supported each other because each one of us knew, in our solitude in our own city, making Disco Xepa, if we didn't count on the others, we would give up" (T. L., 31, Cook and educator, personal communication, August 10, 2019). However, SFYN has also had a big role within Slow Food Brazil in engaging the network in general. As the youth are active members of their local convivia, and usually only one or two per city, they have mobilized the other members to be able to perform the actions they have organized. Furthermore, they frequently give workshops and lectures on Slow Food in universities and schools. The ability to attract new members is evident every time a call is made (via e-mail and social media, in general) for anyone who wants to know about and join the movement. The great

[49] I will discuss the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on Slow Food in Chapter 8.

difficulty, however, is the commitment to participation. In general, as in most Slow Food groups, there is a core of about four to six people who are always doing the work. “I think we work a lot on awareness. So, awareness of food, of waste, the Disco Xepa, now of Food Sovereignty [2019 campaign]. I think it has a cool role. I think it does. Within the movement too, the actions are always used as examples, so there’s that” (C. Dorigon, personal communication, June 27, 2019).

The distances between cities and states in Brazil are a complicating factor for public meetings. So, for the SFYN, which gathers together members in the five regions, the international meetings, such as Terra Madre, are an important space to connect members and strengthen their relationships. These personal meetings also give a boost of energy to the network and, usually, the national calls become more regular after them. In the end, the group works out being a support for the young activists around the county:

> The Youth Network is what keeps me in Slow Food today. I think that if I stayed in Slow Food after I left [my work with] the Gastromotiva, it was because of the Youth Network. Because we don't end up having the opportunity to forget how important it is to be part of it. So, in general, I learned that the Youth Network is perhaps one of the most important points of Slow, in the sense that there is a continuity of Slow for the future because if you are here today if I am here today, and tomorrow we will leave the Youth Network, after so many years in it is more difficult to leave. But if you join a movement like Disco Xepa, or Terra Madre, because you were invited to participate and so on, or because of a labor connection, because my area of work today is Slow, when this connection ends, Slow ends. So, I think that keeping me in Slow owes a lot to the fact that the Youth Network exists. If it didn’t exist, I probably wouldn't be here. (T. L., personal communication, August 10, 2019)

This capacity of supporting each other and developing campaigns together despite the distances gives SFYN Brazil recognition within the ASFB. So much so that some leaders suggested they should run for the association’s board of directors in the 2021 election. The young leaders did not think they would be up for the task, though. They argued they would risk being buried by bureaucracy and lose their mobilization capacity.

5.3 A Slow Food with many faces in search of its essence

Once we have made this journey through the different ways Slow Food has developed in Brazil, institutionally or as a grassroots movement, a major challenge arises: what is Slow Food’s role or how can it be defined? The answers and definitions of the actors in this chapter show that it can be many things. The discourses and actions also demonstrate not only that the movement has its own characteristics in Brazil but also that it reproduces

some of these internationally. In this section, I will focus on the analysis of the movement in a macro-view of the country, based on the questions raised in the observation units and reflecting on the debates covered in Chapters 3 and 4. To facilitate this work, I will rely on the same categories that I have already used in this chapter (activist profiles; repertoires of action; alliances and finances, and structure and internal conflicts), adding an analysis of the movement's inconsistencies and limitations, as well as its potential and successes.

Slow Food Brazil Network

	Florianópolis-SC	Salvador-BA	SFYN Brazil
Activist Profiles	- Mainly cooks - Agronomists and academics - Producers interacting closely	- Gastronomy professors and students - Academics (not only from the gastronomic field but also from tourism and development) - Chefs	- Students or young professionals - Prevalence of gastronomes and cooks - Nutritionists - Designers - Educators - Agronomists
Repertoires of Action	Bringing consumers and producers closer - catering at events at universities, and meetings - visits to producers - Commercialization projects with the Presidia Education of Taste - taste workshops - promoting Disco Soups (*Disco Xepa*) - Snail Project (*Projeto Caracol*) Advocacy - Representatives in Santa Catarina's Council for Food and Nutritional Security (Consea) and on the State School Feeding Council	Bringing consumers and producers closer - visits to producers - Expeditions with chefs - Reinforcement of Presidia projects (through institutional partnerships) Education of Taste - taste workshops - Participation in seminars and lectures at universities - promoting Disco Soups (*Disco Xepa*) Advocacy - Representatives in debate spaces as the Bahia Forum to combat the impacts of pesticides	- promoting Disco Soups (*Disco Xepa*) - mobilizing the country's network for national events as Disco Xepa Day - Online campaigns - SFYN Academy - International projects (Slow Food Connection, SFYN World Academy, Disco Soup Day)

Alliances and Finances	- UFSC and other Universities - Cepagro and other local NGOs - Agroecological cooperatives	Institutional partnerships - CAR (gov Bahia) - IFAD - Universities	SFYN on other countries
Structure and Internal Conflicts	- Proximity producers and consumers - More horizontal structure - Divergences university and activists (specific case)	- Separation of Convivium and Chefs - Structured partnerships for projects with communities - Convivium distance of ASFB	- Conflicts with Slow Food International

Table 2. *Slow Food Brazil Network three observation unities. Own work.*

Is Slow Food a consumer movement, a movement that reunites producers and consumers? The activists in the observed units were more from an urban than a rural context, confirming what other researchers have already highlighted in other countries (Counihan & Siniscalchi, 2013; Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2011; Siniscalchi, 2014a, 2020), as well as what has already been identified by Oliveira, in his study of convivia leaders in the country in 2013.

> […] most of the interviewees were born in the urban area and only two leaders said they have rural origins. A large part of the convivia's activities takes place in urban areas. Although Slow Food has a number of projects in rural areas, such as the food communities, the Ark of Taste and the Presidia, these projects are not always structured within a convivium.
>
> During the closing of the Sixth International Slow Food Congress in Turin (2012), Petrini highlighted the need for each food community to become a convivium. In other words, he sought to present the need to establish links between Slow Food's structuring projects and convivia, with spaces for interaction between the different members. (Oliveira, 2020, p. 90)

Furthermore, there is a prevalence of members having completed higher education[50], data that once again conforms with what Oliveira found among the movement's leaders.

> One of the specific characteristics of Slow Food is its 'intellectualized' profile. As already pointed out in another chapter, it is a complex movement whose members need to absorb and process a very large body of information. The results of the statistical survey show that professionals with master's degrees represent the trend. They account for almost 35% of all leaders. In addition, more than 78% of the respondents have at least a college degree. The areas of training are the

[50] It is important to point out that gastronomy in Brazil can be either a technical college course, i.e. two years of study after high school, or a bachelor's degree, with a 5-year course.

> widest: there are from anthropologists and economists to lawyers. However, there is a predominance of professionals trained in gastronomy. (Oliveira, 2020, p. 91)

So, this already shows a certain level of elite profile, if one takes into account that only 20,1% of the Brazilian population has tertiary education attainment (OECD, 2021). There is also a prevalence of middle-class activists; in Brazil, one would say from middle- to upper-middle-class. Nonetheless, it is crucial here to understand the social-economical context of each locality. When comparing the activists from Florianópolis and Salvador, one can notice the class differences. In the south, middle-class members are prevalent in the movement, and the financial difference among members is not that noticeable. In the Northeast capital, on the other hand, the class differences are much more marked. As shown in the introduction to this chapter, Bahia state has a level of inequality above the Brazilian average when it comes to income, and this is reflected in the movement. The classist context can be observed in how the chefs identify themselves. The tendency of these professionals to call themselves cooks instead of chefs can be seen in Florianópolis (as well as in other parts of the country, such as São Paulo or Brasília). It is a way to reduce the importance of hierarchies and make relationships more horizontal. However, in Salvador, they present themselves as chefs, with some discomfort being shown when they were called cooks. This should not be perceived as an individual choice or people aiming to be superior, but rather as an adaptation to the classist context, as a social distinction (Bourdieu, 1979). In the end, the added value that the diverse partners and local actors talk so much about has to do with 'elevating' these products, refining them for an elite public, and, in this sense, the restaurant should not be led by a cook, but by a chef, preferably with French techniques. This is one of the biggest challenges and contradictions of Slow Food and it brings us back to the discussion on native food gentrification (Matta, 2014).

Gourmetizing a product is the strategy presented by many of Slow Food's partners. The idea is always to add commercial value to the food goods so the producers' communities can have a more dignified income. However, in doing so, as some of the actors involved noted, what often happens is a displacement of these products to the big centers, where there are consumers with the purchasing power to acquire them. The fair in Slow Food's philosophy is rendered moot by looking at only one side of the relationship. What is more, it is possible to observe a detachment of the products from the food culture, creating the native food gentrification (Matta, 2014): the ingredient is transformed in preparations with different techniques, preferably of *haute cuisine*, away from its poor, popular origin.

As one activist cook said (see Section 5.2.2), it is not a condemnation of the inventiveness and creativity of kitchen professionals, but an understanding that such a strategy is not enough to safeguard a food culture. Displacing the ingredient from the food culture, that is, from the techniques, preparations, and expertise that surround it, may enhance its value, and perhaps preserve the vegetable or animal, but it does not guarantee the safeguarding of the food heritage.

Gourmetizing a product could still be seen as a colonialist discourse, which fits very well with this hierarchical view of 'elevating' them, presenting a clean version. García (2013) shows this with the Peruvian case. But in Brazil, and, more specifically, among chefs in Slow Food, the colonialist discourse is also noticeable. There is a phrase that is repeated now and then: "I discovered this product or food", giving the chef an air of a conqueror who explores the interior of the country in search of new lands or goods.[51]. However, this colonialist discourse comes not only from restaurants. It is never too much to remember that Brazil was a colony for more than 300 years, so this relationship is still perceptible in society, to various degrees. Slow Food, being a movement of European origin, also touches on these issues. On the one hand, Brazilian activists do not easily accept the guidelines of the headquarters when they consider them too Eurocentric but, on the other hand, the validation, the recognition of a product of popular Brazilian culture by Italians is sometimes pointed out by the actors as a great source of satisfaction. The delight of many Slow Food members attending Terra Madre is that a rich, 'developed' country recognizes the value of our products.

But those are not the only contractions of the movement in Brazil. Continuing on the activists' profile, I would like to go back to the idea that Slow Food's broad philosophy allows it to accommodate activists with the most diverse goals and perspectives. Or, as one member put it, it is a social movement that tries to negotiate with different actors and classes, from the producer to the big gastronomy publisher, with the cook in between (B. S., personal communication, June 12, 2019). This diversity creates conflicts. However, class is not the only source of internal disputes.

Political differences began to clash within the Slow Food Brazil Network during the Terra Madre 2016, when a group of activists, part of the country's delegation, organized itself to denounce the political coup that was the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff. Posters were

[51] Chefs' discourses, their hero/conqueror images, and how they appropriate some of the current agendas to their profession and business, is an interesting topic to be better researched but they are not within the scope of this research.

hung on the country's stand at the fair and some other activists, pro-impeachment, or anti-PT (Workers Party), reacted: the movement should not be getting involved with any political party. This reaction encouraged the protesters to organize themselves more formally, and so the working group, which in 2020 became a community, *Levante* Slow Food Brazil was founded, aiming to be a political and politicized arm within the movement. Once again, it is crucial here to localize this conflict within the country's political context at that time. The Brazilian political scene has become polarized, in a similar way as in other parts of the world, since the 2013 demonstrations and the 2014 elections. The culmination of these conflicts was the 2018 presidential elections, and this political tension was reflected in the movement. The national WhatsApp group was the scene of fierce discussions between supporters of the PT candidate Fernando Haddad and the far-right politician Jair Bolsonaro. For some of the interviewees, voting for a far-right candidate should be incompatible with Slow Food's values and history, having started within an anarcho-communist movement, and members having this position meant that the movement had clearly failed to communicate what it was and what it stood for. Nonetheless, the range of actions and values that could fit under the umbrella of *good, clean, and fair* ended up allowing this kind of incompatibility.

So, even if one can make some generalizations about the profiles of Slow Food activists in Brazil, such as it being a middle-class, intellectual and white movement[52], they are not a homogeneous group, and that is reflected in its repertoire of actions. This can be divided into the three axes proposed by Slow Food International and mentioned above, namely: education/awareness-raising, political advocacy and reaching out to producers/ safeguarding the socio-biodiversity. Once again, these are broad themes and can embrace a variety of actions. Within education and awareness-raising, there are the *Disco Xepas* (Disco Soups), taste education workshops, including sensory circuits assembled with local products, lectures and presentations in schools and universities presenting the movement and its principles, online campaigns, and cooking courses for the most diverse tastes and different purposes.

[52] In a country where the majority of the population declare themselves as brown or black (IBGE, Coordenação de Pesquisas por Amostra de Domicílios, 2022b), the movement still looks white. It is fundamental, however, to understand whiteness here as a value that varies contextually. Thus, the range of phenotypes perceived as white in Brazil includes people who could also be considered, for example, non-white outside the country. Such a perception is also closely allied to social position. Slocum's concept of whiteness (2018) then, would fit in this definition (see Section 4.2).

Figure 25. *Taste Education Workshop.* The sensory circuit is one of the tools used by Slow Food Brazil activists. Five stations are set up with products from the region, each dedicated to a sense: sight, hearing, taste, touch, and smell. Minas Gerais, 2016. Own work.

Advocacy is the part most easily identified as the political action of the movement. It is also possible to observe that the activists who assume this role of representing the movement in these forums and councils are those with a more political and less gourmet focus. This does not mean, once again, a political homogeneity since right-to-food agendas can be present both on the left and on the right spectrum. However, it is necessary to recognize a certain predominance of left-wing activists in this field in Slow Food Brazil. In recent years, the SF movement has been able to establish itself as a reference point for other social movements and public opinion in the country. It has guaranteed its space in many alliances and spaces of organized civil society, such as Conseas, the Alliance for Healthy Food, the Permanent Campaign against Pesticides, and many others (with more local representation). Slow Food also has a considerable presence on social networks such as Facebook and Instagram, with over 65,000 followers on the latter.

The third action axis, that of bringing consumers and producers closer together, is Slow Food's first goal and one of its greatest challenges, as can be seen from what has been presented so far. The concept of co-producer was born in this sense, of positioning the consumers (especially the urban ones) committed to the productive process (see Section 4.2). Thus, actions that introduce producers and consumers, either by bringing the former to events in the cities or taking the latter on visits to the countryside, fit this objective. This is also where the projects for valuing local socio-biodiversity products, such as Ark of Taste and Presidia, come in. Their main valorization strategy ends up going through

an increase in market value, and this is an inconsistency that is debated in the movement, as raised by activists in the previous sections. The elitism of the movement becomes evident in this sense: if a product is only for a restricted group, is it fair? Some Slow Food members struggle with this.

> Fairness is very difficult to work with in any organization. You have commercialization and the ways to make that commercialization fair and accessible it is very new. Do you understand? So, everything is under construction. I have seen technicians, for example, within the group, saying, ah, you sell for 20 reais, I want everyone to sell for 40 reais. Then I turned around and said, "No! But then I won't be able to buy it! I won't have money to buy your cheese. What do we think about this? Different markets, different prices? Markets, what is the neighborhood, do we keep the neighbor's price? What is the market where the person can pay more, will pay more? It's almost like a tax on the richest, you know? Like, the richest pay more? [...] So, the fair is very new. I think that in this discussion of commercialization. And I see all the organizations breaking up, and in a positive way, to overcome this issue of accessibility. (G. M., personal communication, June 18, 2019)

On the other hand, this is the action axis too that is more integrated with the food heritage concept, a concept that is present in the activists', and even other actors', discourse. As shown in Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, being part of Slow Food has an impact on the producers' self-value. But the safeguarding role goes further than that. In this sense, despite all critics that it deserves, the Presidia protocol of production could be considered a valuable tool, argue one activist. "It is a great tool, because it is a wonderful record of the whole chain, of all production, of all knowledge, so it is an interesting tool as a mobilizer to work on the issue of intangible cultural heritage of our agrobiodiversity" (G. M., personal communication, June 18, 2019).

This process, however, is neither simple nor without contradictions. Many times, the protocols of the Presidia, as traditional and artisanal products, conflict with the sanitary legislation in force. This is a recurrent problem around the world, with hygienic sanitary rules developed for big industry and not for the small producer. In this way, the Presidia can be a tool for market valorization, but, at the same time, the protocol, by aiming to safeguard traditional knowledge, hinders access to wider markets.

> Presidia are not simply the result of labeling processes; they constitute an economic and political project. Today, more than in Slow Food's early years, they are conceived as a tool that encourages certain producers to legalize their sometimes 'undeclared', 'hidden' activities since the production processes in question are frequently very small. Presidia projects embody Slow Food battles against the industrialization of food and are instruments to create new economic

> and political spaces (cf. Siniscalchi 2013a). Indeed, Presidia aim to give social and economic meaning to productions threatened by the powerful agro-industry because they lack economic viability. [...] At the same time, the prices of some Presidia do not make them accessible to everyone, and this contrasts with some aspects of the philosophy of Slow Food evoked before.
>
> Through Presidia, Slow Food also becomes an actor in the conflictual processes of regulation of food production. (Siniscalchi, 2014, p. 232)

The market access to these products is, then, one of the most contradictory aspects of Slow Food action in Brazil, being a continuous struggle between valuing a product and, with it, safeguarding the local food heritage by increasing the producer's income and guaranteeing access to the product to all groups that traditionally consume it. What these cases show is that this effort is constant and there is not yet a solution. Elitism still surrounds this kind of project. And, as we have seen, it is looked upon favorably by some partners.

In addition, the cases discussed here also present many difficulties surrounding the very process of becoming a Presidium. The main criticisms, apart from the issue of fair prices, lie in the continuing top-down structure. First, with the choice of the community to integrate the project, a move which does not always start from them. It generally starts with the movement and then, through various contacts with other entities, reaches them. This requires a mobilization that is not always feasible due to the execution times of the projects using external funding. The methodology defined by the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity includes a series of protocols that are not necessarily compatible with the Brazilian reality. This criticism is not new, and the disputes and negotiations between Brazilians and Italians have brought some changes to the process. The inventories proposed by the movement's headquarters still lack flexibility, but inspirations and models for inventories from below (Montanari & Porciani, 2020; Pieroni, 2018) have been proposed. It is also noted that it is not just the increase in the market value of the product that leads communities to join the Presidium. The project, like a stamp of recognition, is also a tool of resistance for populations that have their territories and ways of life threatened, such as the community of Areais da Ribanceira, in Santa Catarina (see Section 5.2.1). Being part of an international movement helps their causes to become visible. And in this context, the project gains an even greater political value.

This brings us to the alliances forged by Slow Food in the contexts analyzed here. They can be classified into three types. The first, made with NGOs or universities, builds partnerships for action, bringing together different areas of expertise to broaden the action

in one area. These seem to be more localized and linked to specific topics, with little opportunity for extension. The second type can be classified as pure funding, which occurs with foundations and public funding edicts. In this case, another institution passes on the money to Slow Food to develop its own projects. In these examples, we can see some repetition and the tightening of bonds. There are even partnerships that are extended from other countries, such as the German Heinrich Böll Foundation, which supported part of Terra Madre Brazil and with whom contact was made by the then president of SFD, Ursula Hudson. The third type also involves funding partners, but they develop projects together with the movement in addition to providing funding. A good example would be CAR, in Bahia, which has been developing multiple projects with Slow Food in recent years.

One missing approach seen in Brazil, though, is the partnership with private businesses. This is another controversial topic in the Brazilian movement. Although Slow Food internationally has set the rules for companies to be a funding partner, in Brazil, some of the movement's (and the association's) members are often accused of being overly strict about this. So, instead of focusing on the fact that the business has some points in common with Slow Food, they demand that it fits completely with the philosophy, which makes selection more restrictive. This becomes a problem in a country that does not have a culture of donation. As shown throughout this chapter, financing itself is a big challenge for the movement in Brazil. And the precarity caused by this has had certain impacts on how both the association and the network have developed in the country.

The first clear impact is in the local network actions. The availability for activism is one of the topics that came up frequently in the interviews and conversations. As it is voluntary work, often people cannot keep up with the pace because they must earn money from regular employment. Here the social-economic context has a big impact. As Slow Food members are mainly middle-class, even upper-middle-class, this is a population group that still needs to support itself and cannot count on the state to guarantee the minimum necessary for a dignified life. Furthermore, having the time and energy to dedicate to the movement is not the only thing to be factored in. The lack of financial resources also impacts the magnitude of the actions that can be developed since activists must also contribute financially to get them off the ground. This often ends up weakening the movement and discouraging activism. This also explains why actions like *Disco Xepa* (Disco Soup) and online campaigns are so recurrent since they require few resources to be promoted.

The second impact is on Slow Food Brazil's structure, namely, the ASFB. The lack of stable and adequate financial resources limits the association's structure and the hiring of professionals who can dedicate themselves exclusively to this. Moreover, by having such a very limited team, the professionals who work there end up assuming a workload much greater than they should. The precariousness ends up being determined by the activism since the ASFB employees are also part of the movement. This not only goes against Slow Food's philosophy, which preaches against this accelerated and unsustainable life but also limits the movement's capacity to expand. With more funds, the association could have a larger staff, with more dignified working hours and more defined functions, which would make the processes clearer and more fluid.

Another structural issue that provoked major challenges which became evident in the interviews and observations was internal communication. Although Slow Food is often seen as a movement that publicizes the problems of the food system and highlights the value of local socio-biodiversity products, information within the network and between the network and ASFB does not often flow as it should. There is a lack of basic understanding of who does what and how best to operate the association, the international headquarters, and the communities. Some of the discussions in this chapter show how the members of one convivium were unaware of the role of the association and had expectations that were not plausible. But beyond this, the fluidity and comprehensiveness of the Slow Food theme, as already noted, allows people from many different backgrounds to join. This varied membership also makes it difficult to have a narrower understanding of what the movement is. Finally, the lack of staff in the ASFB also makes the dissemination of basic information about the functioning of the association difficult and does not allow constant contact between this institutional part and the activists. There is a recurring perception that there is a lack of transparency concerning how things are being done, not because of malice but because of a shortage of capacity.

This is one of Slow Food Brazil's great inconsistencies. When asked about the role of the movement, many of its members pointed to communication skills as Slow Food's greatest potential. Here is a movement that makes people aware of the food riches existing in their region and country, the problems caused by the food industry, the risks of agrochemicals, etc. A movement that communicates a joyful way of facing these issues. But, at the same time, these same interviewees point out that one of the greatest challenges of the movement is to communicate internally: from clarifications such as those just mentioned, through clear communication of what Slow Food is, to communicating about what each

node of the network has developed locally. The ASFB has not one professional dedicated to this issue. There were times (some years ago) when they had voluntary press officers or communication coordinators but, as already mentioned, those posts did not usually last long. Slow Food International's monthly newsletter has recently been translated into Portuguese, with the inclusion of a news item about Brazil, before being distributed to the network. This is done through an e-mail list, which began in the early 2000s under the name *Intellectuals of the Earth*[53] and has since become *Slow Food Br*. This space was, for some years, the main means of communication between activists. However, a few years ago, the creation of a WhatsApp group led to the mailing list diminishing. It still exists today but it is little used. The logic of communication via WhatsApp is different, and conversations often cross each other. But this is still the main communication tool of the movement in the country. The ASFB still runs a website, which was redesigned in 2020 to be more user-friendly, but this has not been embraced by the activists.

Among Slow Food's limitations in Brazil, it is worth mentioning that all this uncertainty surrounding the development of the movement also contributes to the personalism problem, mentioned earlier in this chapter. The limitation of personnel, both in institutional and network spheres, makes those who are in charge take on many more functions than they should, and they end up centralizing decisions and imprinting their values on the movement.

All in all, when looking at Slow Food in Brazil, it is possible to identify a movement mainly formed by middle-class, urban white people, that that is greatly concerned with the politics of food. Most of the members and actors that circulate around Slow Food have integrated concepts such as food heritage, co-producer, and *good, clean, and fair food for all* into their vocabulary. Food sovereignty is also a recurrent topic articulated within peasant movements. Slow Food in Brazil also has a connecting role, as mentioned by different interviewees. It is a movement able to communicate with peasants, scholars, chefs, and governments. Although it has many limitations, it also plays a significant role in the Brazilian context. When we look at all the observation units discussed here, it is noticeable how the movement, despite having a small membership, plays a role among those who are connected to its network, mainly the producers involved in projects such as the Presidia. Moreover, the movement succeeds in being recognized by other political

[53] If in a first moment this name seems to reinforce the academic activist profile, its origins are in the first Terra Madre and was linked to the idea that the populations that are in the fields, waters and forests producing food are the intellectuals of earth and should be listened as such.

players as an important actor in food issues. It is also noticeable that the Brazilian movement has been adapting Slow Food philosophy and tools to its reality and necessities, questioning, and often creating tension, with the international office. Even though, in other moments, the fact that it is a movement of European origin still opens doors and causes dazzle in a colonial posture of admiration for everything that comes 'from above', from 'developed' countries.

6 SLOW FOOD IN THE LAND OF *VEREIN*: THE GERMAN CASE

Slow Food Germany is not only one of the oldest, with 30 years now, but also the strongest branch of the international movement. Even though Germany is not internationally recognized for its food culture, beer, bread, and sausages are the stereotypical idea of the country's food, and it is a reference when it comes to fighting for greener alternatives. Being a vegetarian for environmental and animal-rights reasons has been considered normal in Germany for some time now[54]. The environmentalist movement grew significantly in Germany through the 1980s. It was not only a localized phenomenon, the oil crisis of 1979/1980, and its subsequent economic depression, the destruction of forests, contamination of waters, the ozone hole, and the Chernobyl disaster all fomented the establishment of these social movements (Uekotter, 2017). The social pressure on these topics caused public policies to start considering environmental issues in the country, with the creation of the first ministry with such a theme.

> The results of West Germany's environmental policy were certainly respectable by international standards. It was in fact the ecological 1980s that defined the international the results of West Germany's environmental policy were certainly respectable by international standards. It was in fact the ecological 1980s that defined the international image of Germany in environmental circles: the Green Germany was born (Uekotter, 2017, pp. 124-125).

The environmentalist movement grow around the globe from there, and this is the same context that led to Slow Food creation (see Section 4.1). However, in the farming sector, the environmental policies were not so progressist and found some resistance (Uekotter, 2017). Here it is necessary to bring another aspect to the scenario, as Germany was also one of the founder countries of the European Union end signatory of the CAP (EU's

[54] Currently around seven percent of the population eat a vegetarian diet and one percent eat a vegan diet (with 44 percent eating a flexitarian diet, i.e. eat meat occasionally, but deliberately avoid it from time to time) (BMEL, 2022)

Common Agricultural Policy). This means that the national politics to agriculture are linked to the regional rules. This policy was put in place in 1962, to protect the European countries agriculture in the global market (facing the US dominance) and ensuring the access to food withing its members. However, in the lates 80s, these politics are being challenged and go through changes, as the environmental concerns rise, and there is a need to safeguard what was being lost in the eagerness to produce intensively for the European and international markets. The European rural landscape is changing and need to be rescued, with its small familiar proprieties and productions. The CAP reform of 1992 includes some environmental concerns and measures to encourage the younger generations to keep farming (European Comission, 2022; Uekotter, 2017). Germany environmentalist movements are among the leaders of contestation of the model of agriculture foreseen in the regional policy.

> The agro-environmental debate was always an imposition on farmers, a concern of people far removed from agriculture, and few attempts were made to construct environmental policy *with* the farmers. As a result, environmental policy advanced much slower in agriculture than in many other areas. On the positive side, there was a boom of alternative agriculture since the 1980s (Uekotter, 2017, p. 120).

All that form the background context of Slow Food arrival and growth in the country. Furthermore, it has to be considered that, one of the leading European countries, Germany is also among the largest economies in the world and has a comparatively low level of inequality (not among the lowest, but still far from the most unequal) with a Gini index of 0.317 (as opposed to Brazil's 0.545, for example). Given this framework, and after having analyzed the Slow Food movement internationally (Chapter 4) and in Brazil (Chapter 5), I will now move on to examine how the movement has become established in Germany. This chapter, together with the previous one, will serve as a basis for comparing and understanding the particularities and similarities of the movement in such different realities (Chapter 7).

I present here the results of the fieldwork conducted between 2019 and 2020[55], plus an analysis of the movement's publications. Moreover, as much of the critical work on Slow Food is based on European or US realities (Counihan, 2016; Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2011; Schneider, 2008; Siniscalchi, 2013a, 2013b, 2014a, 2020), it serves as a basis for the reflections raised in this Chapter. To be able to understand how Slow Food acts, I will first examine the history and structure of the movement’s national

[55] With part of the 2020 field being held online, due to the COVID-19 pandemic (1.3).

organization. With that outlined, I will delve into the three observation units: the Frankfurt am Main Convivium, the network in Berlin, and the SFYN Germany. Once again, it is worth remembering that the choice of these units was based on their representativeness. Frankfurt am Main is one of Germany's biggest cities and has an active convivium, but one with more of a gourmet profile. Berlin, on the other hand, is not only the location of the association's headquarters but is also a more diverse city, with different groups and lines of action. Finally, SFY, which is active nationwide, has a more political agenda and questions the gourmet profile of the movement. Looking at these units, I once again resort to the analytical categories of activist profiles; repertoires of action; alliances and finances, and structure and internal conflicts. These are also the basis for the final analysis of the movement in the country as a whole, as I seek to reflect on how the actors perceive themselves as members of Slow Food, the role the movement plays in the European context, its incongruities and solutions, what concepts emerge from this research and, looking at the question that guides this thesis, what role the movement plays in safeguarding food heritage.

6.1 From a *Verein* of Italian food lovers to a food movement

Slow Food Germany (SFD) was founded in 1992 as the first national association outside of Italy. The movement was brought to the country by the "Munich wine merchant Eberhard Spangenberg, who also published a small book edition, and successfully sought a license for a German language edition of the Slow Food Osteria guide" (*Die Geschichte*, n.d.). Spangenberg was also the first chairman of the German association, which started in Königstein im Taunus. "After one year, the young association had 150 members, who from 1996 met in the convivia, the local Slow Food groups. From 1997 to 2001, food markets were organized in various cities in Germany, and the association continued to grow: in 2004, there were around 5,000 Slow Food members in Germany" (*Die Geschichte*, n.d.).

The German registered association format plays an important role in how the movement structured itself in the country[56]. Slow Food is a national *Verein* with local chapters, the convivia. Being part of an association is quite common in the country, something that could have helped the movement establish a juridical status. Furthermore, by German

[56] The *Vereins* have existed in Germany since the end of the 19th century, gathering people around sports, politics, hobbies, and so on (Zimmer, 2007). There are currently more than 600.000 of these registered societies in the country, but this number has been declining each year (Schubert et al., 2022).

law, once a person becomes a member, they pay an annual fee, and that is automatically renewed till the person asks to be excluded. This institutional status also allowed the movement to develop projects and alliances.

In 2021, the SFD had around 12.000 members spread across 87 convivia. Each convivium acts locally: they usually meet monthly to plan their projects and share a meal (I will add further detail in the next sections). The convivia leaders meet twice a year, and there is also the annual general assembly, in which every member can take part. This is where the accounts are approved or not, and important changes regarding the association are discussed and voted on.

Figure 26. *About Slow Food in Germany (Slow Food Deutschland, 2022, p. 5)*

The national association has a central office in Berlin, with around 12 employees that work on specific themes and projects (*Kontakt*, n.d.). However, most of the movement's work is voluntary, with some projects allowing the hire of specialized third-party consultants. The Slow Food Germany Association has a board with five members (one from the youth group), and it has also 11 Committees, with different themes and working foci: the Ark Committee, Education Committee, Chefs' Alliance, Purchasing Guide Committee, Fish Committee, Gourmet Guide (Genussführer) Committee, IT Committee, Fairs and Markets, the Quality Committee, Arbitration Committee, and the Wine Committee (*Die Organization*, n.d.). "In-house networks, such as the Slow Food Chefs'

Alliance, also complement Slow Food's active work along the food value chain" (*Der Verein*, n.d.).

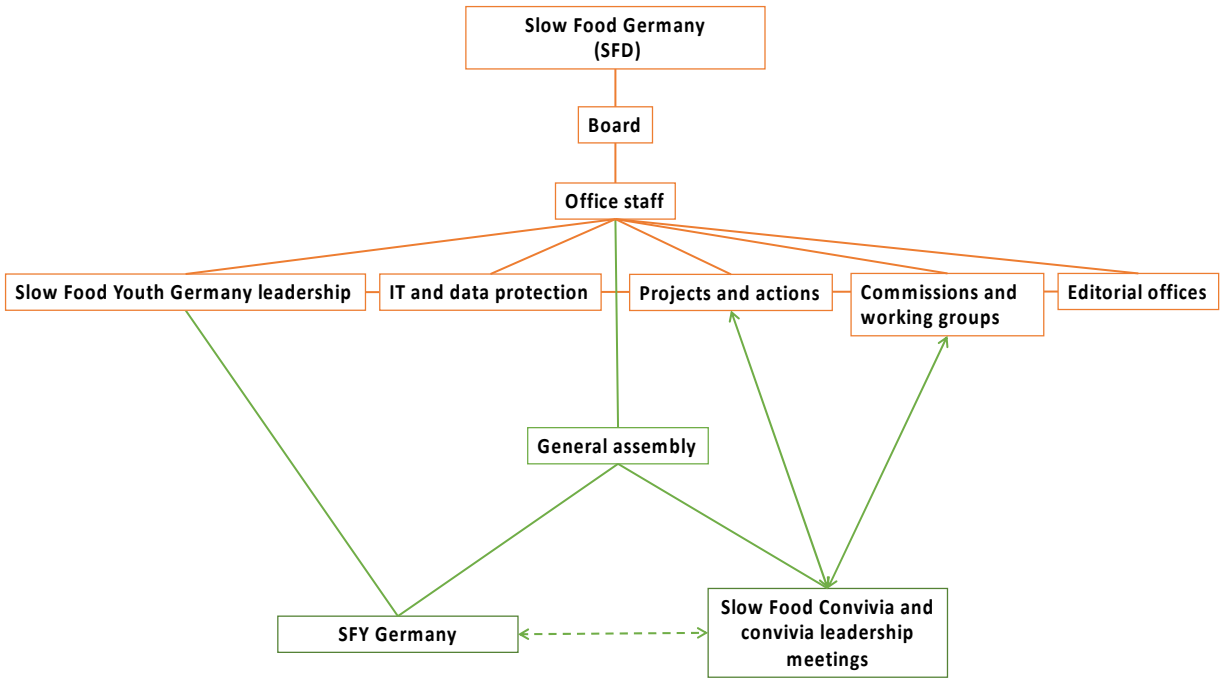

Figure 27. *Slow Food Germany Structure.* Chart based on observation and SFD's information (Die Organization, n.d.). Own work.

To communicate with such a wide group, three main tools are used. The most formal one, still used for bureaucratic information, such as renewing fees, is traditional mail. E-mails are the main means of communication: the SFD association and the convivia, in different formats, use them to send their members monthly newsletters, event and campaign announcements, and to contact members urgently when needed. Up to 2019, the national-level regular meetings, such as the board meetings or the working groups, were still held through group phone calls. That year, they started using the Zoom platform (which was quickly incorporated during the pandemic in 2020, as will be discussed further in Chapter 8). A distinctive feature of Slow Food in Germany is that it has its internal platform connected to the website, Confluence, where professionals and members can not only find information but also work together and communicate. The goal of developing a single space has not only made it easier for the groups but has also created the association's database.

> The big aim and dream would be that everyone uses Confluence because that would make it much easier to work together at the national level. And instead of having, like, every room, every group having Slack or Trello or whatever, and like, you know, for each working group, there's a different platform. And when the working group disappeared, I have no idea how I get access to the stuff. And it's like lost forever. Whereas, if it's there, it's like easier for us to use it and . . . yeah, to have a kind of an archive as well. (L. Duhan, 29, Coordinator of Slow Food Youth and Terra Madre in Germany, personal communication, February 11, 2020)

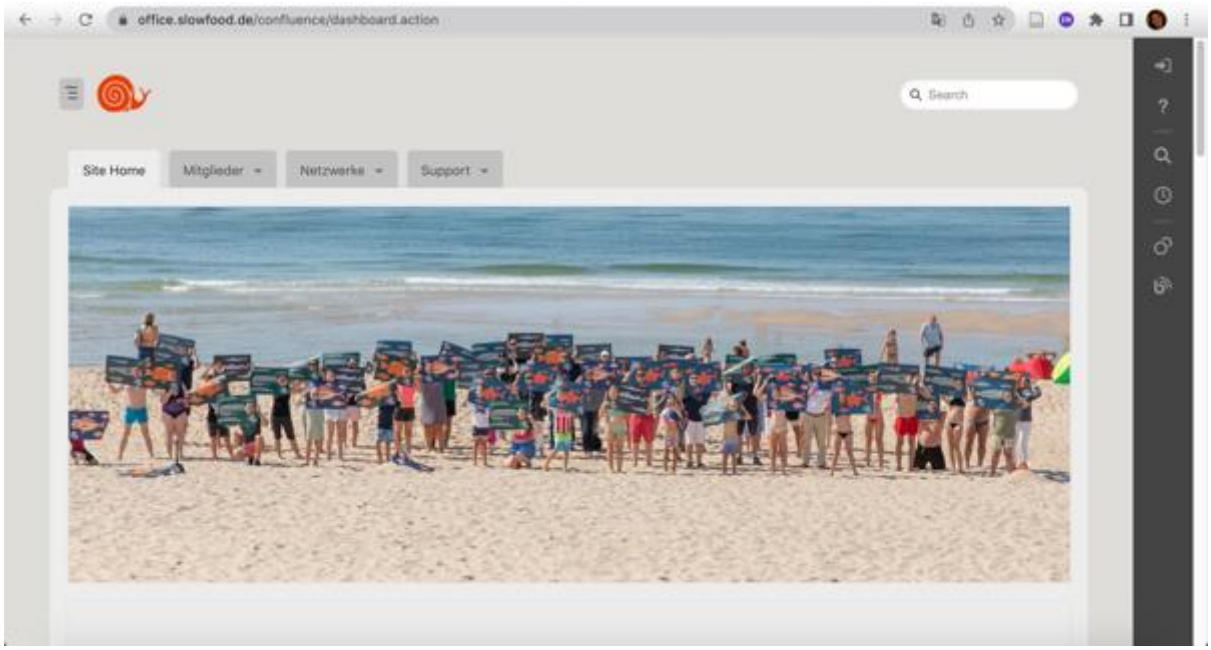

Figure 28. *Confluence SFD member's home*. The more projects and groups the activist is part of, the more tabs become available. Reproduction.

However, it should be noted that few members use Confluence as their communication platform. At least that was what was observed in the nodes. As will be discussed when we look at the local groups, each one adapts to their reality and uses the tools that they are most comfortable with. As far as external communication is concerned, the main SFD tool is its website, where it posts updated information about current campaigns and projects, publishes its position papers, and offers links to the international movement. All the history, structure, and legal public documents are accessible there. Besides that, SFD is present on social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Even though engagement has grown in recent years, its reach is still limited: the most popular platform would be the Facebook page, with 20,752 likes[57], Instagram and Twitter have

[57] Available at https://www.facebook.com/SlowFoodDeutschland. Accessed 17 October 2022.

6,998[58] and 5,134[59] followers respectively, while the YouTube channel has only 405 subscribers[60].

SFD finances itself through the members' fees and, mostly, supporters' contributions, businesses that associate themselves with the Slow Food philosophy and donate to the movement. This explains why Germany decided not to adopt the model proposed by the international movement of abolishing the convivia and turning all the groups into communities. "[…] having communities is kind of, could be dangerous for the financial independence of Slow Food in Germany because we, the structure of the organization is based on the members paying a membership fee" (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020). This is another reason why the SFD is one of the most established arms of Slow Food International, being of the few associations which send money to the central office instead of asking for help with funding. The big projects and actions, however, are mainly funded by partnerships with other institutions and foundations.

The *Slow Food Magazin* is an example of a partnership between the association and a publishing house. Launched in 2000, the bimonthly publication discusses themes that involve food, culture, and society, trying to reinforce the perspective of fruition with social-environmental responsibility that the movement proposes, even if it often sounds quite gourmet. The magazine is available in many newsstands around the country and offers a subscription. But, it also has many advertisers and businesses that are somehow linked to Slow Food's ideals. Another product of this kind of partnership is the annual *Markt des guten Geschmacks* [Market of Good Taste], held every April since 2007 in Stuttgart, and organized in collaboration with the Stuttgart Trade Fair Center. The four-day event is inspired by the Salone del Gusto and brings together artisan food producers, who share the principle of *good, clean, and fair food*, from all parts of Germany and even Europe. In fact, there is a predominance of producers from Italy at the fair. "With their quality-assured exhibitors and varied and informative supporting program, they now attract a total of over 100,000 visitors a year" (*Die Geschichte*, n.d.). The event also hosts workshops and roundtables and discusses themes such as food waste and food sovereignty.

A project that aligns well with these two and has been developed by an SFD is the *Slow Food Deutschland Genussführer* [Slow Food Germany Gourmet Guide]. It was launched

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[58] Available at https://www.instagram.com/slowfooddeutschland. Accessed 17 October 2022.
[59] Available at https://twitter.com/Slowfood_de. Accessed 17 October 2022.
[60] Available at https://www.youtube.com/user/SlowFoodDeutschland. Accessed 17 October 2022.

in 2013 and is published every two years (except for the pandemic years of 2020 and 2021). Its focus is not on high-end restaurants but rather on the ones that are in sync with the movement's philosophy, even if they are not part of Slow Food.

> The Slow Food guide has established a new form of restaurant criticism. It is not just about the taste, texture, and composition of individual dishes. We try to find out whether restaurateurs are working in accordance with our philosophy: good, clean, fair. This means **regional, seasonal, authentic**, and **transparent**. This gives restaurant criticism a more complex meaning. The evaluation of restaurants is no longer about the mere tickling of the palate, as is often the case in traditional restaurant criticism. Rather, we try to paint a holistic picture. We want to see the food on the table in its context, including all its relationships to producers, culinary tradition, to processing techniques. If restaurant criticism is limited to the description of taste and interaction of the dishes, it is no longer contemporary from our point of view. (*Slow Food Genussführer Deutschland,* n.d.)

It is interesting here to note that in the guide's discourse, good, clean and fair are equivalents for regional, seasonal, authentic, and transparent. However, there is not much explanation of these concepts. They come imbued with the assumption that by coming from a short distance and being seasonally conforming, food is clean, or environmentally friendly. This is in line with Slow Food's discourse in general, even if it lacks reflection or definition of what is regional (see Section 4.2). Transparent can also be interpreted in the same direction: the movement preaches that the origin of products should be known so that a more conscious consumer choice can be made. Thus, what remains is authentic. As discussed throughout Chapter 3, the idea of authenticity has been abandoned in heritage discourse when looking at cultures that are always re-signifying themselves. Authenticity requires stagnation, and is one of the requirements for geographical indications, along with the territory. This kind of discourse, linking culinary tradition to authenticity, could be compared to the regionalisms of the beginning of the last century, with the emergence of guides like Michelin (see Chapter 3). In the context of Slow Food Germany, such a narrative sounds contradictory since it is a movement that avoids touching on such topics close to nationalism, as I will discuss later, and that suggests that its guide wants to differentiate itself from existing ones.

To be able to evaluate so many places, the Slow Food coordinates more than 500 volunteer members within the convivia to do the restaurant listing and visits. This is not, of course, a conflict-free process. As the criteria must be clear and well-established, the discussions among the evaluators are frequent. One that took place in Frankfurt am Main, in 2019 was about the kind of cuisine restaurants should offer to be included in the guide:

only German and regional should be accepted, or even some level of modern (that could be said to be 'international'), but no other national cuisines. The argument was that the aim was to value the regional and local products and culinary techniques as opposed to profiles that were already in other guides. The line is, however, hard to draw, and in such a wide and varied team, it is hard to keep the criteria the same everywhere. Some aspects are more easily controlled, such as, for example, the exclusion of establishments that use eels since this is an endangered species and, in this case, consumption would not protect it, rather it would damage it. Finally, even if this was not a guide for high-end restaurants, for some Slow Food activists it was still perceived as an elitist selection as the price per person could be as high as €60.

These three projects still have the *gourmet* aspect of Slow Food in common, in that the focus is on good food and the pleasure of eating it. This is the best-known characteristic of the movement, and it has a historic background. However, in the last decade or so, Slow Food in Germany has been moving in a more political direction, trying to rid itself of the gourmet club tag somehow, getting into debates and fighting against social concerns. One could say that a milestone in this sense was in 2010 when Slow Food's headquarters moved from Ludwigsburg to Berlin.

> At Luisenstrasse 45, in Berlin-Mitte, Slow Food Germany, an association with 10,000 members, can now operate at the center of political events and thus better contribute its positions to public debate than at its previous location.
>
> "In Berlin, we have everyday contact with the executive, the legislature, political parties and friendly associations and societies," says Dr. Andreas Eichler, chairman of Slow Food Germany, explaining the relocation. Direct exchange, rapid communication and intensive dialogue with government, parliament, associations, and the media become possible here, he said. "In the capital, we find an incomparable potential of services and an infrastructure useful for our work." In addition, he says, Berlin is equally accessible to all the convivia. Dr. Eichler also points to economic advantages of the new office headquarters. (*Pressemitteilung: Geschäftsstelle von Slow Food Deutschland e.V. ist von Ludwigsburg nach Berlin umgezogen*, 2010)

A key figure in this process was Ursula Hudson, who died in July 2020 at the age of 62 after a long fight against cancer[61]. "It was her work that gave Slow Food a political voice and [...] the question was always how can we make it work to connect this political voice with the practical experience" (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020). A

[61] I will expand on the effects of her loss to the movement throughout this chapter and in Chapter 8.

member of the SFD Board since 2010, holding the role of chairwoman since 2012, she led the movement toward this political role.

> Forging alliances, networking, and co-sponsoring campaigns: The Slow Food slug appeared as a co-supporter at more and more events. Under Hudson's aegis, the grassroots organization for good food became part of the German agricultural opposition. It was no longer about the subtle hazelnut note in chocolate soufflé, but about overfishing and food waste, about biocultural diversity and dual-use chickens (Kriener, 2020).

There has been much resistance within the movement to this new role for Slow Food. This conflict comes on top of another that is quite evident in the country: a generational one. There is a sort of crack between the youth and the older members; while the first are mostly interested in the politics of food and demonstrations, the second has, in its majority, a more gourmet profile. Ursula, however, had begun a work of trying to integrate the two poles, which continues with her successors. "The management of the registered society by Ursula gave a lot of space. For, she said, 'As diverse as eating, nature and food, Slow Food Germany can be as diverse as that'. And some people can't stand it" (A. L.H., 65, educator and psychologist, personal communication, November 3, 2020). The point is, if Slow Food wants to distinguish what is good food and what is not, this must be discussed internally. "It needs a discourse, a debate, a development of a position. And to develop this, I think, we need diversity. The young voice is needed, the experienced voice is needed, and from this something can arise" (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020).

One of the concerns that is raised by the conflicts generated by this shift is that it would imply a loss of members. This would affect not only the diversity of the movement but also its financial viability. So, the movement's directors live this dilemma. On one side, they need to move carefully, not changing everything at once, so they do not lose the older members that are used to this *gourmet club* way of being. But "at the same time, we don't have time anymore to wait for these people. And if they want to leave us because they don't agree with the idea of Slow Food, then, that's how it is. We will find enough people who want to participate in the association and who are connected to the idea" (L. L., 30, consultant in sustainable food and natural resources, personal communication, December 18, 2020). Most of the current active leaders are on board, explain the activist. "Of course, they like to drink a good glass of wine or eat well. But they also know what it means to eat within the planetary limits, and that is important to be politically active.

So, we all pull in the same direction, perhaps quite a few but toward the same direction. And that is good" (L. L., personal communication, December 18, 2020).

Even if it often sounds like a conflicting position within Slow Food, being political does not mean not enjoying good food, as some of the interviewees recall. That was SF's foundational ethos, but it seems to get lost sometimes. "I think what is important is to create awareness within the organization that there's no contradiction between both of them" (N. Wolff, 50, SFD president and consultant on the European environmental policy, personal communication, November 12, 2020). After all, she argues, "the culinary people, need the policy people because if we don't change the framework, if we don't change the way food is produced. Well, the gourmets won't have anything to eat in future". Even though this was the foundational discourse of Slow Food in Italy, the politics of food and its enjoyment has been understood, within the movement in Germany, as many times contradictory. "It was in the past. We accept that. But today we have to think of food in a different way. And I think that's a huge task, and right now we are working on a communication strategy" (N. Wolff, personal communication, November 12, 2020).

The conflicts and struggles can be observed in the structure of SFD. Although it has members all over the country, the German Youth Network is gathered in a convivium, it being the only one in the country that is not linked to a territory. This has to do with the difficulty of integrating young people into their local convivia. Some reasons highlighted for this are that the convivia generally meet in restaurants too expensive for the students' wallets; in general, the convivia show little interest in the more political agendas, and there is a generational shock as the younger members are between 18 and 35 years old and the convivia are generally over 55. Some convivia groups have been founded by the youth, the first of which was at Fulda University, in 2010, but they are still not many.

As can be seen, there is an absence in Slow Food Germany of people aged between 35 and 55. Some respondents believe this is because, at this stage in life, people form families and have other priorities. Consequently, the movement is placed to attract students or retirees and people at the end of their professional careers. But there is also a view that the traditional association structure may not be attractive to these generations. This is an issue that the association is concerned about.

> It is a problem, we try to change that, we try to figure out now some events and more material for families, for younger people. I''s also a problem because we do have these people from Slow Food Youth and, to them, the association is not attractive. So, which is not, and they are

> only old people, it's not so interesting for them, and they are a bit older people. Some of them at least have very… not very progressive ideas. It's on Slow Food now, so that's a problem for younger people (N. Wolff, personal communication, November 12, 2020).

The format of registered society is pointed as one of the possible problems. As it maybe is not interesting for younger generations. However, it is crucial to Slow Food Germany financing itself. "A clever thought is needed to complement the current model. Slow Food isn't in a position to give it up right now, but one must work project-based, one has to try to reach out to younger people with projects. And to try to hold them with these projects" (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020). There is no clear solution yet, but a sense that something has to change in the movement's structure. "I always see it [Slow Food] as a network and there are different people sitting at different spots around this net, and if I want to be successful, then I will have to try to approach it in different ways. The right way doesn't exist" (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020). It is hard to affirm, though, that Slow Food is not attractive to young people. They are present in SFY, after all. What's more, although the *Verein* format is declining in this country, there are still other social movements, even in the food field, that manage to keep groups of young people engaged. So, maybe, proposes another activist, what is missing is to Slow Food distinguish itself in the social movements' spectrum.

> Actually, there are many associations and perhaps there is a surplus and that we should distinguish from the other and make clear what we do, what are we standing for. Because for many people Slow Food is unintelligible because we are so wide. We are on the one hand more than a community garden but also, because of that, it is less tangible for many people. And we do community garden as well but not only that. It is a part of us but not so explicit. And that is the difficulty that we have. Doing things in such a broad way and then also making it understandable for people what they support and what they get out of it and what they can bring into it if they were a member of Slow Food. (L. L., personal communication, December 18, 2020)

The fact is that, even though there has been an increase in the number of youth members, SFD's overall membership has fallen in recent years: it achieved around 14,000 in 2019 but dropped to around 12,000 in 2022. Several factors have contributed to this, including the loss of members due to death, or disagreements arising over the new directions of the movement, the impact of the pandemic (see Chapter 8), or the inadequacy of the format for the younger generations, as has already been pointed out here. Despite this loss, the movement continues to grow in Germany, at least in terms of projects and alliances. "I think what we have is a very strong national association, so, yes, we have the convivia, but I think that the coordination by the national office in Berlin is quite strong. And it's a

very good one. And so. This could be a reason why it's a strong movement in Germany" (N. Wolff, personal communication, November 12, 2020).

More than being strong nationally, SFD has a decisive presence in the international movement. Once again, Ursula Hudson is singled out as a major figure in this process, someone who had an important place of influence on Slow Food's international council. Nina Wolf has continued her work though, and has been, since July 2022, part of the Governing Board of Slow Food. This intrinsic connection is reflected in the agenda and action strategy of the movement. As proposed by the Call to Action (Slow Food International, 2021a), Slow Food Germany's action repertoire is also structured along the three axes of advocacy, education, and biodiversity. "The association advocates for biocultural diversity, promotes sustainable, environmentally friendly food production, engages in taste education, and brings producers of artisanal food together with co-producers (consumers) at events and through initiatives" (*Der Verein*, n.d.).

Advocacy has been one of Slow Food's main lines of action, particularly over the past decade. SFD is not only an active part of Slow Food Europe, with an office established in Brussels to lobby the European Parliament, but also has alliances with other movements in Germany. Those translate into demonstrations as *Wir Haben es Satt!*[62](We are Fed Up!), a march organized every January in Berlin, assembling agrarian and food movements, focusing on organic and sustainable farming policies. It is a demonstration that has opened *Green Week* since 2011. The coalition that organizes it, *Meine Landwirtschaft* (My Agriculture), comprises more than 50 organizations, from farmers' leagues to movements such as Slow Food. They also hold, and have done for 10 years now, a *Schnippeldisko* the night before, where liters of soup are prepared in a party with workshops and forums and the soup is served the next day, after the march. The last public event, in 2020, gathered around 27,000 people in the Berlin streets.

> Our food is inextricably linked to politics, economics, society, culture, knowledge, agriculture, health, and the environment. That is why food must play an important role in political decision-making worldwide. Through campaigns such as *Meine Landwirtschaft*, Slow Food engages in dialogue with decision-makers in politics and business in the social debate on agricultural, fisheries, nutrition, environmental and consumer policy. For Slow Food, access to good, clean, and fair food is a fundamental human right.
>
> As part of its political and educational work, Slow Food often cooperates with partners and political alliances such as the *Wir Haben*

[62] I will expand on its new formats with the pandemic in Chapter 8.

> *es Satt!* alliance and organizes events such as the annual demonstration in Berlin against the agricultural industry. With other political alliances, on the other hand, the focus is on political lobbying: with joint letters, talks and petitions, we try to convince (EU) decision-makers to implement a sustainable food system. (*Der Verein*, n.d.)

Figure 29. *Wir Haben es Satt! 2020.* Thousands of people take the street in January to protest the current agrarian system. Disclosure photo WHES.

This unique alliance also allows them to build a collective strategy around what each organization's focus will be the following year, so they can work on complementary but non-repetitive themes.

> And we have like different organizations focusing on different points, which is on, which is pragmatic from an effectivity perspective, but also like, for example, very in a very ghostlike way. If, for example, WWF concentrate on one topic, a small organization like Slow Food has less chance to reach out to the, to the public with the same topic because they have much bigger, they have much more attention from the public. (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020)

Position Papers are also a tool used by SFD. Sometimes they are the result of long-standing work by a group of the movement, having more of a report format, and serve to reaffirm or substantiate certain positions and struggles of the movement; others are constructed in partnership with other movements or institutions; or yet others are reactions to specific situations. They are divided into 14 themes: Agricultural and food policy, Aquaculture and pond management, Bees, Biological and cultural diversity, Soil,

Fishing, Health and nutrition, Children and teenagers, Food craft and quality, Food waste, Dairy diversity, Palm oil, and Animals in agriculture (*Positionspapiere*, n.d.). These, along with alliances and campaigns, are key to SFD's positioning among social movements.

> We should play this role. We must gain a position with Slow Food, to be asked when someone works on it. What does the future of our food system look like? If people are invited to discussions, Slow Food should be on the agenda and be perceived, not only for organizers or taking decisions but also for other people. And it is super important that we work on that. In Germany, but also worldwide it is important having, in taking that position (L. L., personal communication, December 18, 2020).

More than only making alliances, Slow Food Germany wants to differentiate itself within the food movements. And advocacy is one of the ways of having an impact as well as gaining recognition. As environmentalists and peasant movements also started to focus on food, Slow Food's uniqueness is to be fighting for a better food system for some decades now, and with the idea that "being political doesn't mean to relinquish, that it doesn't mean we only eat crispbread and water" (L. L., personal communication, December 18, 2020).

> I think that in the past, Slow Food was avant-garde, as a food organization and as an organization requesting strongly requesting good, clean, and fair food, so I think that was exceptional in the past. And now for like five years, other organizations are taking up this topic. And we have to be very attentive and to. Yeah, and careful as well, because I think that they are progressing so fast with such a speed that we have right now, lagging behind a little bit. And so, we have to speed up and become about **Slow Food International wants to become the number one food movement in the world**. I don't know whether that's possible, but I think that we should at least have some aspiration because it's such an important thing now with the biodiversity loss we're having and the climate crisis we're having, we're going to have to speed up and to make a difference within the next 10 years. That's a timeframe we're having if we don't make a difference within the next 10 years. It's too late, easy, so we have to do it now (N. Wolff, personal communication, November 12, 2020).

Some of the SFD alliances also are with big organizations, such as *Brot für die Welt*, *Misereor* (both from religious backgrounds), and *Welthungerhilfe*, more focused on projects, frequently on education, the second axis. The education of taste has been one of the movement's primary forms of action (see Chapter 4). In Germany, it is also one of the main goals, falling under the association's Statute:

> The purpose of the statute is achieved in particular through information and in the form of events, seminars, etc., whereby the following ideas are disseminated:
>
> - Preservation and development of tasty products of high quality, which are produced using ecologically sound methods.
> - Taste education through taste experiences with natural products.
> - Protection of animal and plant species, especially by promoting the demand for products threatened with extinction (Ark of Taste), the preservation of biodiversity, and the improvement of food culture.
> - The right to enjoyment, respect for the natural rhythms of human life, practicing resource-saving behavior with regard to the preservation of the environment.
> - Consumer education and representation of consumer interests through lobbying of parliament and authorities.
> - Discussion and development of quality criteria for food. (Satzung von Slow Food Deutschland e. V., 2021)

This would be the case of projects such as the Slow Mobil, for example, that has been developed by some convivia[63] and brings cooking classes to schools. Then, there is Edible Connections, which connected 12-18-year-old students from Germany with peers from the Global South and, for a year, they worked together on solutions to the food system from their different experiences and cultures (*School Project 'Edible Connections',* n.d.).

> The Slow Mobil, for example, it's mostly about having the kids wanting to cook and, you know, getting this knowledge and this desire to cook by themselves. And just discover cooking and asking where the produce comes from. The Edible Connection project we just had, in which we had school classes here in Germany being in touch with school classes in Uganda and Hanoi, in Vietnam via Skype. And they were exchanging about their food culture. It was mostly about like this cultural aspect, like, what do you eat at breakfast? What do you eat at lunch and what do they eat in Vietnam and where do they buy their food? And where do we buy our food in Germany? And they were feeding each other in the supermarket, and feeding each other at the market, and exchanging those views and stuff to show each other what's our cultural background here in Germany and the cultural background in Vietnam or Uganda. (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020)

One of SFD's main ventures, however, under this axis of action, would be the Slow Food Youth Akademie. This program has the objective of training changemakers. It has been held annually since 2016 and brings together around 25 young people between the ages of 18 and 35 from different backgrounds. It consists of eight weekends of training, each

[63] I will explain it further in the next section, when looking at the Frankfurt am Main group.

dedicated to an aspect of the food system, like vegetables or meat production, or gastronomy and hospitality.

Figure 30. *SFY Akademie 2020.* Among the themes that the young activists learn are one weekend on fish (l), from macro problems to the fish producer perspective, or on Gastronomy, and urban gardening (r). Own work.

But beyond training in the strictest sense, for many Slow Food Germany members, raising awareness would be classified as an educational field of Slow Food actions, one that links it to the two other axes of advocacy and biodiversity, as once people are aware of the impacts their food choices have in the planet, they would search for a better alternative.

> Food is of the utmost importance for the community, and social environment. […] So, when someone is interested where their food comes from, they notice that there are important jobs such as farmers or fishermen or bakers and butchers. All these people who are working that we have something to eat, how important they are. And that is related to the culture. In Germany, the small traders are disappearing and are replaced by mass production [...] and I think, there we have an important role to rediscover how important this culture is, and also to preserve our own identity. That is an important request to make. (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020)

The idea of raising awareness for the accelerated loss of biological and cultural diversity has been one of Slow Food's main objectives since its foundation in Italy. However, in Germany, as the movement established itself first by being connected to Italian products, the dynamics in this theme evolved differently. Some factors have played a role in this. One of them would be that the importance of the localization of food that Slow Food preached in Italy and expanded worldwide is often based on valuing local traditions. This involves recovering the public's pride in their products, knowledge and culture. The line between this pride and nationalism is quite thin, which, for historical reasons, is why it has been avoided in the progressive movements in Germany. This also explains why the use of the term heritage is fairly scarce in SFD communications. One of the rare occasions it appears is in the explanation of the projects Ark of Taste and Presidia:

> Through projects such as the Ark of Taste, a catalog of livestock breeds, crops and foods that are threatened with extinction, the associated Presidia promotion projects, and through the Terra Madre network, Slow Food works worldwide to preserve the biodiversity of cultivated and wild plants, traditional and sustainable cultivation and processing methods, and thus our precious culinary heritage. (*Der Verein*, n.d.)

So, even if the Ark of Taste project was launched in 1996 when SFD was already established, it was only in 2000 that it started in Germany (*Die Geschichte*, n.d.). Currently, it has 85 passengers, as they call them, including 26 animal breeds, 20 vegetables and 17 kinds of fruit (*Die Arche-Passagiere*, n.d.). Presidia account for only five, all of them in the southern regions of Baden-Württemberg and Bayern. According to a senior member, it is an arduous task to rescue these traditional products in Germany, not only because of this resistance to heritage but also because of the place food has in the country's culture.

> The Ark of Taste is working on specific food, but the idea is to revive the culture around food. That is a difficult process because in some regions they have lost a lot of it. Germany is not for anything, the country where they spent less money on food. And where grocery chains like Lidl and Aldi have their origin and which are now all over the whole world, not making them happy, more they are covering the ground all over the world [laughs] and have a part in losing individuality. But I think that, nevertheless, there is a movement to get interested in and Slow Food is ahead of it. Slow Food, as a movement, wants the cultural context of food to reevaluate and bring it into meaning and also to let people experience it and give them joy back. (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020)

However, more than these relatively low numbers of Ark of Taste or Presidia, what draws the attention of those who arrive at the meetings of the different nodes of the network is the absence of those products in the dinners, lunches, or even conversations. There is a lack of connection between the members of the movement and the projects. This involves mainly the youth, who do not even know it most of the time. And the explanation goes back, once more, to the bureaucratic structures and their lack of appeal to young people. "The Ark here in Germany has a commission, the Ark Commission, one must hand it in, hand it in a written form, which is very bureaucratic, it is very time-consuming, it causes a lot of work and then they decide if it works or not. And then, 1000 questions. I think it is a process, that frightens young people" (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020). Furthermore, as the SFD board decides who is in the commission, they end up working on closed circles. There is a feeling of lack of information on this work, explains the interviewee. There were some attempts to break this, but the interested people gave up when facing the bureaucratic demands of the commission.

I would like to expand a little bit more on the Ark of the Taste because the program is managed in Germany by one of the aforementioned committees. The group is made up of members of the movement, some of whom are experts on the subject, but not necessarily so, who are responsible for accepting or not the application. The latter can be submitted by any member of the network, as one of the members of the committee explained:

> Usually, a member of Slow Food or the convivia thinks about which products we have that are endangered by extinction are typical for our region. For which one could we fill in an application for the Ark. And then it is the first obstacle to find someone who wants to make an effort to collect facts and to fill in the form. Like so many things in life, in Germany, everything works in a form (G. S.R., 63, educator, personal communication, December 14, 2020).

The great difference of the process in other countries is how strict the German commission is to accept a new Ark passenger. “Well, we look quite closely at it before we accept something into the Ark. If I compare it now with Italy because I know a little bit more about it, in Italy, one can accept something quite quickly. One has an idea, writes a half-page text, registers it and ‘Boom’, it is already part of the Ark” (G. S.R., personal communication, December 14, 2020). In fact, he explains, the German procedure to get into the Ark has the same level of demand as the Presidia elsewhere. This could have an effect of easier transition from one project to the other, and reflect on more Presidia, but it is not what happens in Germany, and there are only five in the country. Probably, among the factors that make it more difficult for a product to access the Ark of Taste in Germany is the fact that only passengers with three active producers can be included. There are a few exceptions, in cases that “it seemed to us that farms had a perspective, not to close the day after tomorrow and then it would disappear” (G. S.R., personal communication, December 14, 2020). Among the older passengers there are some for whom one can no longer find producers, either because this requirement of three was not imposed when they were admitted, or because the two or three producers that existed than gave it up in the meantime. “But our hope never dies that someone will come and take it up and continues. So far, we have resisted not taking some passengers out of the Ark because there isn't anyone who is offering it. Because the Ark should show not only the diversity but also the threat we have in the area of food” (G. S.R., personal communication, December 14, 2020).

The whole admission process to the Ark of Taste list, due to the bureaucracy, can be exhaustive. But there is no fixed deadline. It can take, "between six weeks and five years", according to the same interviewee.

Figure 31. *Flyer on Ark of Taste.* Reproduction of the German informative sheet on the project *(*Arche des Geschmacks*, n.d.)*.

Since 2020, however, SFD has invested in better publicizing the project. In addition to tastings with products from the Ark (see Chapter 8), the monthly newsletters started to present a product to be more widely known by the network. International projects aside, SFD works on the topic of biodiversity often through the abovementioned position papers – such as those on animals in agriculture (*Tiere in der Landwirtschaft*, n.d.), dairy diversity (*Milchvielfalt*, n.d.), or fishing (*Fischerei*, n.d.). Part of some of the research that leads to these papers is done by a team of experts on the topic and serves to define the criteria to be met so that a product can be considered to be *good, clean, and fair*. Also, each year the association chooses two themes to be developed by the movement. In 2022, for example, it was soil and terroir.

With this overview of the movement's history, structure, and internal conflicts, and a macro-vision of projects led by the national association, I will turn now to the local aspect of Slow Food in Germany. Once more, I use four analytical categories: activist profiles; repertoires of action; alliances and finances, and structure and internal conflicts. It is from

the picture drawn from these analyses that I will, in the final part of this chapter, be able to reflect on the role of the movement in safeguarding the local food heritage, even without using this term, along with other concepts that came to the surface during the research.

6.2 Gourmet or political? Slow Food Germany in loco

As we have seen, Slow Food Germany has a well-established structure, based on a model that is common in the country, the *Verein*, and has, over the last decade, sought to position itself more as a reference among food-related social movements. The movement, however, struggles with a generation gap, and a dualism set between being a gourmet club and a political movement. To be able to see how it takes form and how these conflicts are resolved, I will turn now to the three observation units: Frankfurt am Main, Berlin and SFY Germany. They were selected to give this work a variety of perspectives that the movement has around the country. To facilitate the discussion, I will focus on one reality at a time so that I can, in the last section of this chapter, make a comparative analysis.

6.2.1 Frankfurt am Main: The gourmet dominance

Frankfurt am Main is not only one of the biggest cities in Germany and the banking capital but also one of the biggest groups of Slow Food. The convivium was founded only five years after the movement arrived in the country. “There was already SF Germany. And there was here an initiative that was looking further into wine. And then, together with my partners, we founded Slow Food Frankfurt in 1997 as a convivium” (A. E., 71, Chef and consultant, personal communication, October 12, 2020). The connection to the gastronomic world was present from the beginning. The convivium's work revolves a lot around gastronomy and the pleasure of good food. Once a month, they meet for the *Schneckentische* (Snail tables, in a free translation), a dinner to get together, receive updates from the leader/board, and plan the next steps of the convivium’s actions. The group is quite diverse when it comes to professions, with chefs, tourismologists, art experts, financial market people, educators, and so on. What they do have in common is the age range: almost all are over 50, with many over 70 years old.

These meetings are the main activity of the convivium, but not the only one. Frankfurt was one of the convivia in SFD with a Slow Mobil. The project is based on a trailer with a kitchen that goes to a school or kindergarten and welcomes the children to cook together. “While working in the Slow Mobil, the children learn that there are other heating

methods than microwaves and that French fries can also be made from potatoes. They learn that carrots don't grow on trees and that milk doesn't come from the refrigerated section like cola, they get to sniff real vanilla and even knead bread dumpling dough (with sparkling clean hands!)" (Philosophie, n.d.). There is a group of Slow Food Frankfurt members that manage and teach the project. However, the whole convivium supports it financially: in 2018, the old car broke down for good, and they had to raise money to finance a new trailer for the workshops. Although they were able to replace the car, this was not without criticism. Some members of the movement questioned the investment in a fossil fuel-powered vehicle that only housed a few children during each workshop.

Besides this educational activity, the convivium does some visits to producers of the regions, always with a theme, and hosts some nights of discussion, where they invite experts on one topic to present. There is also a commission in the convivium established to evaluate restaurants for the *Genussführer*.

Finally, one issue that has been worked on since the founding of the group, and which is linked to the food culture of the region, is the question of *Apfelwein*, a type of cider. It has been a concern since 1997, when the convivium was founded. "There were a few producers that were producing regional products. There was *Apfelwein* but if you looked behind it, in most cases, it was a concentrate of cider from Poland or […] Hungary or elsewhere. Yes, yes, or south […] Tirol and they called it Frankfurter *Apfelwein*" (A. E., personal communication, October 12, 2020). According to this interviewee, the local meadow orchards than were only to legitimate the *Apfelwein* brands, as this kind of culture is very laborious. "The *Apfelwein* here has a [...] fixed price by consumers. So, it means that it can't be expensive. That means that producers were told to produce economically. This led to cider concentrate from Poland etc. […] With cheap products we can't work in a meadow orchard, that isn't possible" (A. E., personal communication, October 12, 2020). There are nowadays, he argues, market for craft *Apfelwein*, with people willing to pay the price it costs, for the labour and quality. But Slow Food Frankfurt involved with them.

Some years ago, the convivium tried to start a project with the meadow orchards. "This would be one of the projects that would be typical for Slow Food because you can conserve old sorts of apples and you can help to conserve places for trees, food trees and grass which is not essentially used but you can keep these places which help to keep the biodiversity" (B. P., 61, chef and educator, personal communication, November 9, 2020). But it did not go through because the group did not have the work force to continue it.

The product, also, is not yet in the Ark of Taste. According to different interviewees, there have been some attempts to add it, but the whole process has never been completed. Some mention that there were difficulties concerning the issue of risk. Others argued that because people were unwilling to do the work the Ark's request entails, adding it was unfeasible. Now they are trying a different approach to put the product on the list: not adding it as *Apfelwein* but through its special ingredient, the sorb three. It

> is a very special fruit which belongs to the family of roses. It is a tree, and it is sort of a rowan berry. Well, it is a light, very small berry but it is not a family of the apple, and it is quite bitter, and it was used, it was traditionally added to the *Apfelwein* to support the *Apfelwein*. So, adding it makes a special taste. Our *Apfelwein* is refreshing but you have to get used to this very special taste. Meanwhile, the younger generations don't drink such a lot of *Apfelwein*, or sorb is not a very common taste to the wide majority. So, it gets more and more behind, and we want to conserve, to keep it. We want to get it in the Ark of Taste and that is one project here in Frankfurt. (B. P., personal communication, November 9, 2020)

These projects around *Apfelwein*, however, are not quite noticeable to those who only attend the *Schneckentische*. I only got to know about them when asking members about the absence of Ark of Taste products in Frankfurt. Communication in the convivium is something that deserves some attention. One issue that draws a lot of attention in the group is the level of organization/structured planning. For instance, in December, the convivium already has, in general, the next year planned out, with the dates of all the *Schneckentische*, visits to producers, fairs that they will take part in, and the hosted discussions. In 2018 and 2019, the plan was presented and distributed in a 35-page high-quality brochure. Since 2020, the virtual version has been circulated. In addition, all the planned meetings are available on the Slow Food Germany homepage, along with the contact details of the leaders and board (*Termine*, n.d.).

Figure 32. *Slow Food Frankfurt 2020 Calendar of events.* Reproduction of the cover.

This form of advertising of the convivium's activities shows an open attitude to new people who are curious about a topic, and who could become new members. Most of the events are open to everyone. However, there are some paid ones which charge less to members. This is not reflected, however, in growth in the group. At every dinner, there is at least one new face, but they rarely return. Integration is a problem recognized by some of the members.

> Well, the integration, yes, it was also when I started to come and go to the *Schneckentisch*. I always had the impression that there is a group which belongs together, where everybody knows each other, and Bettina [former leader] did a good job. She tried to integrate, she sat together, and listened to people. And I try to do the same. On the other side, the older ones, they ask, they talk to you and then you don't have

> the time to go to the new ones. So, it always seemed to be difficult. (B. P., personal communication, November 9, 2020)

The Frankfurt Convivium fits the image of the elderly gourmet club profile precisely: their dinners look like a group of old friends getting together, and to insert yourself, you would have to be pushy. Of course, this is not representative of the whole group; there are other groups with members who do have more a political profile, and who seek to be more welcoming. It is a subtle but noticeable internal dispute. This research was carried out under two different leaderships, which had diverse approaches to this issue. One difference was the greetings in the e-mails: while the first would start messages with 'Dear members of Slow Food Frankfurt' or 'Dear members and friends of Slow Food Frankfurt', the other would address people more formally with 'Esteemed interested parties in the Slow Food Convivium Frankfurt' (Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren).

Figure 33. *Schneckentisch Menu.* The Frankfurt Slow Food Convivium's last dinner before the pandemic. Menu inspired by the Osteria guide. Own work.

The lack of people under 50 years old in the convivium was also a concern for some members. The more hands-on part of the group tried to coopt them for actions and projects once they showed up at a *Schneckentische*. The gourmet side was more inclined to support the younger members if they needed help to do their actions. "At the moment, I try very hard to get the Youth Slow to get closer to the convivium; I offer possibilities to introduce themselves at the *Schneckentisch* when they have organized something here in the region. We have to overcome this threshold; we have to make a move toward each other" (A. E., personal communication, October 12, 2020).

During 2020, some young members (me included) tried to establish an SFY group in Frankfurt and the region, but after three meetings, the plan did not go through, thus following the pattern of lack of continuity due to other priorities in life. Besides the age gap, there were some other issues between the young and old. The main one would be the more political perspective of the younger members. Even if they had a more gourmet

profile, they were usually more concerned about the environment, for example, and were more open to vegan and vegetarian movements. This created strong reactions among some older members as they felt they were being judged. They used historical reasons to justify the large quantity of meat that was present in the national food culture. The argument was that Germany had gone through two world wars during the last century, which resulted in many dietary restrictions. So, in the 1950s and 1960s, when the plates became full again with enormous schnitzels in restaurants, and chicken roasteries on every corner, this symbolized that everything was fine again, explained one interviewee. But these generational clashes were not the only reason why young people did not integrate into the convivium in Frankfurt. The dinners were usually held in restaurants with relatively high prices. So, for someone at the beginning of their professional life, it was more difficult to spend €40 on a meal than for someone with more than 30 years of a career behind them or even retired. These prices also restricted participation not only by age, of course, but by economical class, and this is one of the reasons that the movement is classified as elitist. One of the members reacted to that: the first argument was that we should pay the producers better prices. But then, the explanation took a more personal and elitist direction:

> Well. I don't agree with it [that SF is elitist]. […] Where I am against is that we only see ourselves because we have delicious food. We like to eat but we also want to know where our products are from. How do they relate to each product? Why is the *Genussführer* that we started so thick? That has its reason because we always investigate how the restaurateur in this list\. How does he look for his/her producing range? Where does he buy it? We want to know that. How does he pay? Does he pay well his employees? And I have to say that in a mixture it is a wonderful thing. Many of these people, and here one has to be careful, are using such arguments and I had to fight them over the years here in Frankfurt. We had once the slogan '*Aus reiner Freude am Genuss*' ["For the pure pleasure of enjoyment'] that is something when the other convivia pulled a fast one on us. 'The Frankfurter only wants to eat and drink'. [...] Sorry, what does 'company' mean? Company isn't with a glass of water and […] a salty pretzel. It is more. It can be delicious, but not only that. and these people, who talk and think like that are unenjoyable. […] For me, then one has to be aware, many times it is also jealousy because some that can afford a good meal, and that isn't everyone in our convivium, some do. […] Mostly they are jealous of food. there is no honesty behind it. I see it all the time: If they would say: 'Sorry. How nice that you can afford that. It is not my thing'. They have to talk badly about it. [...] If someone tells me I can't afford this that is a neat, honest thing. Then I don't go there. At our local work, we have to be aware that we offer with our offers a certain price-worthiness, so it should be price-worthy, it should be worth the price. A low range, a high range. Or leave it totally open so everyone can say I can eat soup and drink sparkling water and then I am over it for the

> evening. That is the money I have for this evening and that is okay. And such events we have to offer. And if another one says that he is going to eat a three-course meal, then he should eat a three-course meal for €40, €50. They couldn't care less. The big problem is jealousy in this context.

It is crucial to note here that, despite this discourse of valuing the producers, the *Schneckentisch* are usually held in restaurants that do not identify their suppliers or explain their dishes' cultural origin. Furthermore, there is no mention of any Slow Food Ark products or even connections to producers from the region. At this point, the Frankfurt Convivium abandons one of the premises of the movement: having the dinner table as the place to discuss its philosophy (Schneider, 2008). Among their contradictions, one is that the meetings often take place in Italian or Greek places, under the justification that Frankfurt is an international city and, so, Slow Food should encompass this melting pot of different cultures. However, during the dinners at these restaurants, there was no mention of the specificities of those cultures, or why some dish was chosen to be served or not. Everything stayed at the 'tasting good' level.

As one can see, internal conflicts are recurrent. However, they are dealt with discreetly; if you attend the dinners, maybe you will not notice it. They are not only due to different perspectives on the role of the movement, whether more gourmet or more political, but also to personalism (and the conflicts of egos this implies) and political differences. After all, as has been said throughout this work on several occasions, the Slow Food philosophy is an umbrella for a range of very different views of the food system. That would also apply to the convivium activists' profile, according to one member: "Here is one pole, with the people who are mainly interested in pleasure, good, I mean, sitting together and having a nice meal, eating nice meals. And the other end is people who are active in politics, politically active, want to change the food system and in between in a lot [laughs]" (B. P., personal communication, November 9, 2020). She states that they try to get all together in Frankfurt. "At the moment and for years I think that the Frankfurt Convivium is more in the pleasure-fraction, in the pleasure direction more than in a political direction. I look at other convivia, they are more active in the political direction". But one thing, once again, do not need to be disconnected to the other, as she pointed the convivium role with the pandemic. "I think Slow Food, now in corona, should support restaurants and small shops and as you say artisan production and things like this here in Frankfurt because on the other side, we have the Food Policy Council" (B. P., personal communication, November 9, 2020).

The city's Food Policy Council is recent in Germany. The Frankfurt one was founded in 2019. The councils are formed by civil participation and they advocate the consumption of good food from regional and seasonal production (Ernährungsrat Frankfurt, n.d.). They do so by linking farmers and farming initiatives, such as the Solawis and urban gardens, to institutions in the city's administration, such as kindergartens and hospitals. This is also one of the spaces of political activism of Slow Food members: two members are part of the council. "In Slow Food, we transport the contents by having nice meals come together in restaurants. And in the Food Policy Council, it is more [...] without fun but it is different. It's more political. So, there is not a lot of need to me to have political work in Slow Food because there is the Food Policy Council" (B. P., personal communication, November 9, 2020).

It is interesting how, in the discourses in Frankfurt, the classical idea that you either enjoy good food or you are a political activist is sustained, as if Slow Food does not explicitly propose that both should go together. At the same time, when defining the movement's role, this concept came up.

> The aim [of Slow Food Germany] is to have good food for all, not only for those who can afford it. Because it is good food, it is more expensive than industrially produced food which is based on the exploitation of people and the environment and the cost which industrially produced food which, which does, the costs that emerge through conventional and industrial grown and produced food, the extra costs such as the destruction of biodiversity, water pollution, with nitrates, environmental contamination. No fair wage for people who need social care, what we all pay, illness of the people because they eat unhealthy food, which was produced economically and contains inferior components, all these additional costs are, as I say always, distributed to the general public, everybody pays them but not by the food. And that is what the Slow Food and Food Policy Council have as their aim, that everybody has admission to good food. Which is a long way, a very long way. (B. P., personal communication, November 9, 2020)

This definition of Slow Food's role by movement members in Frankfurt am Main show how there are narrative disputes within the movement. In this Section, we can see that the convivium there is still more gourmet-oriented, with some actions directed to education. Most of the political side is still restricted to a small number of members, who are involved in some advocacy in the City's Food Council. With that in mind, I move to the next observation unit, Berlin.

6.2.2 Berlin: Diverse city, diverse movement

Berlin is not only the country's capital but also the biggest city, with 3.7 million people living there. For Slow Food, the city is central. Besides being the headquarters of the

national association, Berlin also has a high concentration of activists, with around 800 members and 50 supporters (*Regionalgruppe – Slow Food Berlin*, n.d.). The convivium, moreover, is not the only group in the capital, which still has an SFYN chapter.

Here I need to make a short interruption to clarify some research difficulties. As detailed in Section 2.2, the plan was to have both groups in the city as part of the observation unit. However, the field research in Berlin was planned for two different moments: one month in January and another three from April to July 2020. However, on March 11 of that year, COVID-19 was declared a pandemic by the WHO, and the German government imposed lockdowns and travel restrictions some days later[64]. In this new context, most of my field research had to be done online. However, not all groups went digital, and that was the case with the Berlin Convivium. Thus, observations in this group were very limited as I only had a few preliminary observations and interviews at that time. This does not allow me to detail here the profile of the activists, their lines of action, and internal conflicts. However, the youth group did go on with their activities and even found creative ways to adapt their repertoire of actions, and I will go into more detail in Chapter 8. This allowed me to continue with the ethnography of this part of the movement in Berlin. In any case, the constraints imposed by the context should be kept in mind when reading the next paragraphs.

The Berlin Convivium was founded in 1992, like the national association, and also like the SFD and Frankfurt am Main, by restaurateurs, in this case of Italian origin (*Regionalgruppe – Slow Food Berlin*, n.d.). Differently from other convivia, the group has their own website (linked to the SFD's one), where they present themselves, identify the current groups/projects there are in the convivium, and announce future meetings and events. This kind of organization, already having different groups within the convivium, is a strategy to accommodate the diversity of goals within the movement, explained one interviewee. Also, this allows the local leading team not to centralize everything as each group has its representatives. There used to be seven groups or projects, of which only three are active currently[65]. The first is the *Genussführer*, which gathers people interested in rating bars, cafes, and restaurants for the SFD guide. There is also a wine enthusiasts' group who gather to taste and learn more about wine. Finally, there is the *Stammtisch* which is a monthly dinner that brings convivium members together in different

[64] I will discuss the impact of the pandemic on the movement in Chapter 8. Here, I just want to clarify some of its consequence to the research.
[65] In the end of 2022.

restaurants. However, it is much more of a 'get together' kind of event than an 'update on what is going on' one.

Among the groups that are not active, there was the *Kiez-Spaziergänge* held culinary neighborhood walks that

> invite you to discover the culinary delights of areas of Berlin that are not on your doorstep. Slow Food members lead a Saturday morning tour through their neighborhood and show what Slow Food discoveries they have made there. The great bakery, a super cheese store, the tomato lady, the special chocolate store, the favorite stand at the weekly market... The point is to give other members an insight into their own world of experience with as little effort as possible, to get to know new offers and of course: to taste! (*Kiez-Spaziergaenge – Slow Food Berlin*, n.d.)

From 2009, there was also a cooking group in the Berlin Convivium, which met once a month for the members to cook together. "Our focus is on regional and seasonal products, meat, fish, and vegetables, and contact with producers in the surrounding area is very important to us. In our dishes, we also compare the taste of different breeds and varieties, or we vary a basic product with different flavors or side dishes. We have also cooked vegan dishes" (*Kochgruppe – Slow Food Berlin*, n.d.). This was a limited group, that was quickly filled, there was even a call for those interested in starting a second one. The *GrundNahrungsMittel* (Basic Foodstuffs) organized events focusing on one basic food product, where one could learn about its history, food culture, production process, nutrition, etc. Finally, the Slow Food Salon organized meetings for 20 to 30 people to discuss one chosen topic, inviting experts from a more political-culinary perspective.

Apart from that, the convivium also promotes a fair with local small producers around August; one small version of the Slow Food International's *Cheese*[66] in October or November; a fair with local honey producers, and many other smaller events. "Our main role," pointed out one member, "is to value the small producers".

[66] *Cheese* is a biannual international fair organized by Slow Food in Bra, Italy, that congregates cheese artisanal producers from around the globe.

Figure 34. *Flyer of 2022's Cheese Berlin*. Reproduction.

According to some interviewees, as in other cities, people over 50 years old predominate in Slow Food Berlin. However, younger members are always joining; some are interested in cooking, and others are looking for activism. “Most people know Slow Food when traveling to Italy using the Osteria guide. There are still a lot of members that think of it as a gourmet club. On the other hand, young people of Slow Food also don’t want to mix with the old ones. We have the doors open for them in the convivium, but they are not interested,” explained one Berlin Convivium member.

The gourmet club characteristic can, then, be seen in the convivium. What some members argue is that it's not just about a good meal per se, but there is political concern regarding where the food comes from, which is the basis of the movement, after all. “I arrived in Berlin in 1987 and it had terrible food then. People weren’t interested in what they ate, but only in the price. Discount supermarkets were still a hit. But the city has had a food revolution in these last 20 years, and I think Slow Food is part of it,” argued one senior member.

One example would be the *Markthalle Neun*, a traditional market building that, after years without renovation, was to be sold. However, it was kept and renovated according to a new project following the pressure of the organized local residents. The new project, which was implemented at the end of the 2010s, follows the Slow Food ideals: small-scale food retailers, some producers, and other traders, all artisanal and with a trackable origin. The space hosts the *Cheese* every year and has also hosted SFY events in the past.

This would be one of the rare, shared points between the Berlin Convivium and the Slow Food Youth Berlin. "I know some faces because partly we do information stands together. In the *Markthalle Neun*, when there are fairs, we share out, some people are older and more interested in Slow Food, so we can send out mutual people. That is basically from where I have known them" (N. H., 23, student of political science, personal communication, October 27, 2020). The young activist explains that there have been attempts from both sides to get more in tough and, eventually, work together. But it did not prosper until then. "We have decided this year one person, I don't remember who, someone from our group, should read the newsletter and tell us in which activities we could participate to have more contact. But unfortunately, it is still quite separate" (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020). Even in the *Wir Habben es Satt!* demo, in January, where both groups take part, they end up going separate ways. The youth goes in the front of the manifestation, with banners, and the others with SFD's float, in the middle.

One of the main arguments for this lack of integration between the old and the young is the cost of the events hosted by the former. But the lack of contact goes beyond this, as is clear from the explanation of an SFY Berlin activist.

> It was definitely what I heard when I started, when I got to know Slow Food Youth: the oldies go to eat nicely. And I haven't heard anything different yet. I think they also do some interesting workshops or make some trips, but I actually have no clue. And there are some convivium leaders who, as I said, are quite cool [laughs], fresh and do workshops on fermentation and offer something that isn't that expensive (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020).

However, they ultimately do not participate in these, and the convivium regular dinner-meetings are too expensive for the students. So they have a different approach. "I would say that culinary delight is a part we like to do, and we mostly eat together. We prefer to cook together, or everyone brings something self-made. And they care more about going out to eat. And, well, we try to get the oldies to do some more politics or political actions, but it is a bit tough at the moment" (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020).

The SFY Berlin was established in 2011. They meet at least twice per month: one meeting to work on the campaigns, actions, and projects they are doing and planning, the other one to just hang out and have fun. They also meet sometimes in cafes or restaurants, but always somewhere much simpler (and less expensive) than where the convivium meets. Mostly, they make an eat-in; that is, each one brings a preparation. When there is good weather, they often meet outside for picnics.

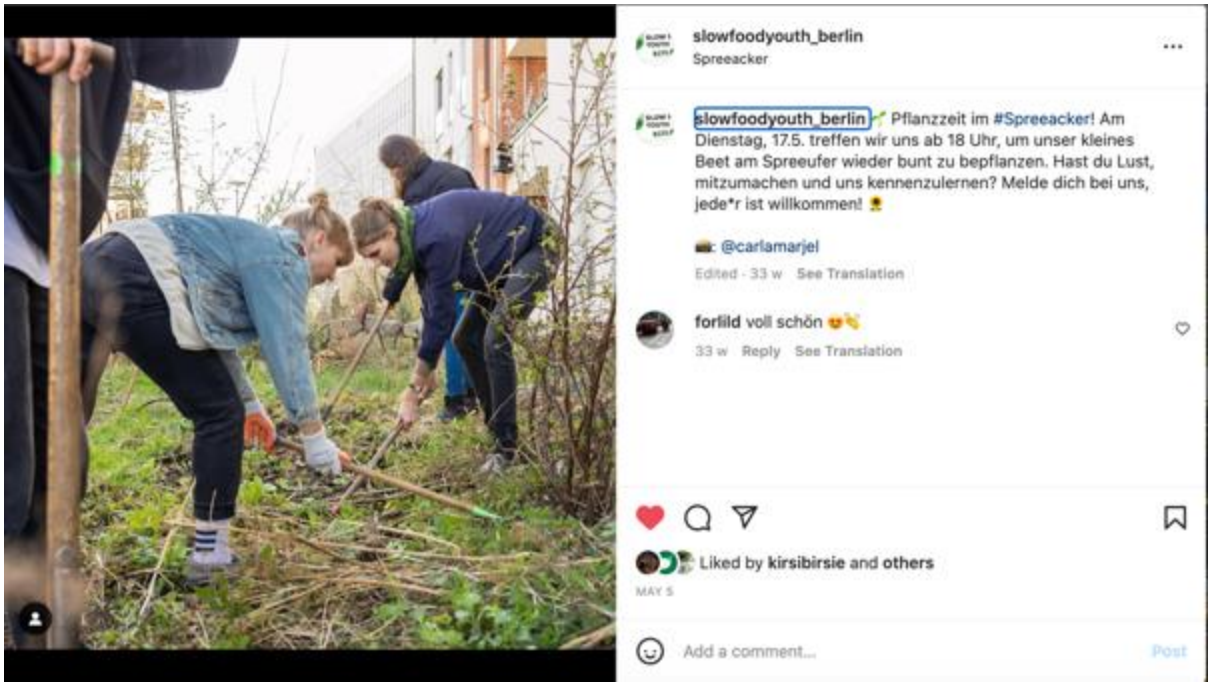

Figure 35. *SFY Berlin calls for newcomers.* One of the group's activities is to take care, together, of a garden in the city. Instagram reproduction.

They have their organizational system. At the beginning of each year, they get together somewhere in Brandenburg and hold a kick-off meeting to plan the months ahead. The communication is transmitted mainly through the Slack platform, and every meeting is recorded in continuous minutes, with the updates discussed and decisions on each theme highlighted so they can track what was discussed in the last meeting and register the advances in the same document. The activists are mainly in their 20s (some in their 30s) and come from different backgrounds: "We come from the food trade or food start-ups, study or work with a focus on sustainable nutrition or do something completely different and are privately enthusiastic about the topic of food" (*Berlin*, n.d.). One thing that is quite common among many of them is that they have taken part in the SFY Akademie. This is one of the ways of getting into the group, but, also, many of the people that go to a meeting, had heard about the program, and then decided to take part in it. The group has core members, those that are always there, and, as with most of the others, have those members that come and go. Usually, there are around 10 people in a meeting, sometimes more, other times fewer. The visits and workshops do attract people from outside the movement.

> It is important to us to go to the farms and see where and how animals live. And then to understand the relationship like when I go to a butcher there it says 'this' then it means that it comes from the farm where I had been to last week. So, this is important, and we try to spread it as effective publicity. In fact, with our social media, we are quite strong

> here in Berlin, we have a pretty good Facebook page where we quite often publish articles. We have a good Instagram account which is placed nicely. Also, topics, not just events, what we do more via Facebook, but also how to ferment or stuff like that. And yes [...] I have the feeling that through it we are quite big but I am also in a bubble so I don't know how it is seen from the outside. (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020)

Food waste is also a theme, and they organize the *Schnippeldisko* (Disco Soup) twice in the year: with the SFY Germany on the eve of the *Wir Haben es Satt!* demo, and in April, as part of the *World Disco Soup Day*. Being in Berlin, the country's political center, also helps the group to weave local alliances with other movements. In addition to giving more strength to topics that are already part of the agenda, it brings in others that may not have been there yet, such as food sovereignty, explained one member. "I think it [food sovereignty] is a topic every once in a while. I think last year we talked about food sovereignty a lot. We, as a local group, try to when we get involved in projects. Now we have participated in a project from *Aktion Agrar* where they have sent us old seeds" (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020). In addition to having their private gardens at home, the group has a vegetable patch at *Spreeacker*, a *Verein* for urban landscape conservation in the middle of Berlin, where they grow food collectively. This, explains the activist, is connected to food sovereignty.

> For me, it mattered to do it on your own and put up your own food sovereignty and trade: how deep has it to be? How much water needs the plant? The corn, for example. What do you do against animals, all the snails that are coming? And that's why I would say were are in it, we try to give each other abilities, to preserve it longer, fermenting or Kombucha, healthy stuff. (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020)

Figure 36. *Schnippeldisko 2020. The e*vent reunites thousands of people in a party, with workshops and roundtables. People chop the vegetables for the soup that will be served after the WHES, the next day, while dancing. Own work.

To be able to develop its actions and projects, the group counts on the money they have from SFD, and they also get extra from the sale of Glühwein at the *Rixsdorfer Christmas Market*. This is an alternative Christmas market, where only NGOs and charity organizations have stands, in which there is no electoral lights, only oil lamps and candles. "There is a nice atmosphere and there we have a stand and sell delicious glühwein, organic and from winegrower, and support *Stolze Kuh* which is a farm in Brandenburg" (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020). This income also allows them to donate some money; in 2020, for example, they donated €200 to the Brazilian Slow Food Youth Academy initiative.

In the end, the SFY Berlin is still a small group, but quite active, with different actors leading diverse projects, from producers' visits to workshops on fermentation, taking care of a community garden, as well as taking part in different demos and online campaigns. Many of those are led by other groups and organizations, which SFY Berlin has joined as a supporter: some of the members are activists in other movements too. They also frequently take part in other SFY Germany campaigns or events, as being in the capital

can facilitate connections. More than that, members of SFY Berlin actively participate in the administration of the youth movement nationally, which is our next observation unit.

6.2.3 SFY Germany: Denken, schmecken, die Welt bewegen[67]

SFY Germany has a similar history to SFYN (see Section 4.2). Like the international SFYN, the German one was born outside the SF organization. It has existed since 2009, but it is only since 2013 that it has become part of SFD. To fit into the institutional structure of the national association, the whole SFY is considered to be a convivium, the only one that has members all over the country and is not defined by its territoriality. To meet in person, the group has, twice a year, a big weekend gathering when they can get together, plan their projects and actions, and discuss some topic in their agenda, from communication approaches to understanding better the CAP (the EU Common Agricultural Policy).

Figure 37. *Netzwerktreffen Fall 2018.* Disclosure photo.

They also have different working groups that are presented, and new ones are proposed, at this moment. The meeting is an occasion to work further or start the work which continues throughout the year, communicating by phone (which migrated in 2020 to Zoom calls), Telegram/WhatsApp or, rarely, by the internal platform of SFD,

[67] Think, taste, move the world.

Confluence. It is one of these working groups that became the sole Slow Food community in Germany and produced the *Calendarium Culinarium* (*Slow Food Communities*, n.d.). This project was inspired by a similar one developed by the Swiss SFYN. They developed and designed a calendar illustrating 50 types of fruit and vegetables and showed which months they were available in Germany. The process of creation and realization took about four years, and in 2020 the calendar was put on sale. The goal is to raise funds for the movement.

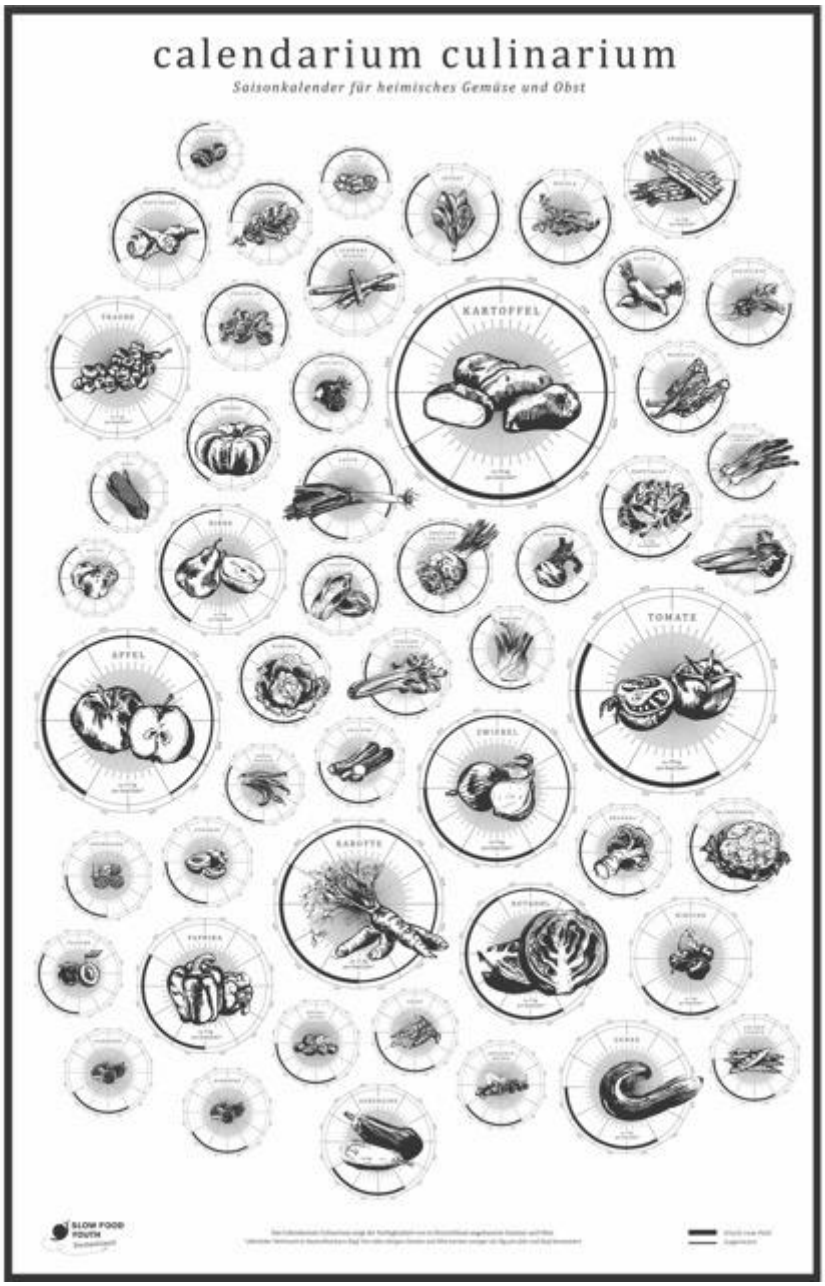

Figure 38. *SFY Calendarium Culinarium*. Reproduction.

SFY Germany is also integrated with the international SFYN board, with the president, for example, often attending national meetings. In addition, they had a representative on

the SFYN International coordinating committee, a group whose election was questioned by other SFYNs, such as Brazil and Japan (see Section 5.2.3). Apart from this direct relationship, they try to articulate with other European SFYNs, for example, by participating in continental meetings.

At the national level, in addition to the working groups, Slow Food's Youth Network has nine local groups: Berlin, Freiburg, Fulda, Göttingen, Hamburg, Köln, Leipzig, Lübeck, and Münster. These groups, as one can see from the case presented in the last section regarding SFY Berlin, have their dynamics, agenda, and actions, while remaining connected to the national network. Another particularity of SFY Germany is that the SFD has a coordinator designated to support and organize the network. She works directly with the SFY board and assists them with organizing events, for example. The SFY board is always a team, elected every two years in one of the network's semestral meetings. Even with these gatherings and the local activist groups, it is still a challenge for the SFY to come together nationally in projects and actions. "We're still struggling to find ways of working at a national level together because it's a. Yeah, we have a lot of local groups that are very active, but, like, having a working rhythm at the national level is still a bit of a struggle for us" (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020). That maybe has to do with the frequency of their meetings, as well as with the limitations of engagement that the voluntary work allows: since young adults are already committed to their local projects, having national actions could add an extra burden. More than this, there is also the difficulty of long-term dedication since many activists spend only short or medium periods in the movement. Another characteristic of SFY is the flow of new members. In almost every meeting, there is someone new, someone who has just joined the movement, either because they heard about it at university, a friend took them to a meeting, or they read something about it. Despite offering a possibility of renewal and growth, this is also a challenge, as the SFY coordinator explained.

> It's always a funny thing because that's always a bit of a struggle or I mean again, it's something positive, but also kind of a challenge because there's always new people coming. Which is great. But this means, like, we always have to start from the beginning. And so, it makes it harder to, like, build on something if we don't have the same basics and background. But that's been changing a lot, like we are building a base that's getting bigger and bigger. (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020)

As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, one of the biggest projects involving young activists is the SFY Akademie. The training program for young changemakers is

promoted by SFD with co-financing by the European Union and support from other partners[68]. The goal is to train a new generation of professionals in various fields, aware of the problems of the current food system. Many of the Akademie's graduates end up staying in the Youth Network, some even taking on leadership positions.

SFY Germany members have different backgrounds. Most are either students or early-career professionals. Chefs, backers, and other professionals in the gastronomic field comprise one part, but frequently there are also social and political scientists, communicators, health professionals, and, more rarely, farmers. This lack of people from the rural areas is not exclusive to the SFY, and they have found one way around this through forging alliances.

> We don't have a lot of farmers inside the Slow Food Youth Network in Germany, but we are cooperating with young farmer organizations. For example, the young ABL [Association for Peasant Farming] know Slow Food quite well and we know them quite well. And we cooperate when we need to have some sort of some stuff where we're working together, for example. And so, yeah, for the CAP, for example, we've been cooperating with those young farmers organizations and then. Yeah, and I guess, like it always depends on local groups, a lot of the local groups are organizing also visits of farms, for example, um, where they just go and visit farms and ask questions, the farmers and everything. So it's created more contact. (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020)

SFY Germany defines itself as a group of political activists committed "to a sustainable food system, to the streets, and into dialogue with politicians" (Slow Food Deutschland, 2022, p. 7). Their action repertoire is focused on Disco Soups and workshops, as well as on demonstrations and campaigns. Most of those are carried out in alliance with other organizations, even if SFY is not one of the organizers, but they are simply cooperating with other movements.

> Slow Food Youth is a network of young food enthusiasts spread throughout Germany. We maintain active contact with other organizations such as Fridays for Future, Nyeléni, jAbl and Meine Landwirtschaft and work together nationwide to implement political actions. We are also globally networked and maintain contact with young Slow Foodies around the world. (*Slow Food Youth Deutschland*, n.d.)

Individually, some of the activists find in these alliances other ways of protesting, as with Extinction Rebellion, for example. "I think it is to adjust our protest based on how urgent

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[68] They are: Schloss Kirchberg gemeinnützige Stiftung Haus der Bauern (a non-profit foundation), Lighthouse Foundation, Edeka Südwest (a supermarket chain), Bio Boden Genossenschaft (a cooperative), and DSW (the German Foundation for Commodity Science).

the climate crisis is, and that's why I think it is a very important method. Civil disobedience is the next step, and it is okay for me that it doesn't happen so much or not at all at Slow Food [laughs]. We do more educational work or political demands on social media or within manifestations" (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020).

The climate crisis is at the top of the agenda for SFY. With that comes a concern about animal welfare, which is connected with the fact that many of them are vegans or vegetarians, the search for alternative proteins, the fight to ban pesticides and the need for changes in the CAP to bring about a more sustainable agricultural model. Another issue that is dear to the hearts of young people and brings them into conflict with the more gourmet part of the movement is the question of accessibility to good, clean, and fair food. The criticism of Slow Food that it is elitist is a recurrent one. There is no easy solution as the movement declares that the producers should get paid better for their work, but this should not make good food inaccessible to people that do not have the means, such as students.

> When we're talking about good, clean, and fair food. Usually, it's more expensive because it has to be more expensive. So, the producers have like a fair share of what they're producing. But as a movement, it's hard to make it... How do you do to make this accessible to everyone? As only a social movement like this, you would need to have the whole structure changing because it shouldn't be that those products are less expensive so everyone can have access to them. It should be like everyone should have access to them because everyone should be paid in a fair way that makes them accessible, to pay a fair share for whatever they want to buy. So, it is a bit of a struggle to find a way of making the topic of good, clean, and fair, accessible for everyone. And this is a challenge. […] And I guess that's why Slow Food Youth decided, OK, we want to have this topic as something that's more accessible to our budget as well as students, for example. And like, how do you make it to make it accessible for everyone? So, like, what other tricks and tips and stuff? (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020)

Among these tricks are buying your products directly from the producer, making your bread, canning to get the most out of vegetables and fruits, fermenting, and all kinds of preparations, to not only generate variety but ensure the maximum use of all food.

This critical and more politically inclined stance, as narrated throughout this chapter, is one of the main points of intergenerational conflict within the movement in Germany. To bring these two poles closer together, however, a few years ago, the SFD board started to include a representative from the Youth Network. The idea was that the SFY's agendas should be heard and debated on a national level. It is important to note here that this

measure was taken by a management that was already seeking to make the movement, as a whole, more political.

One notable impact of this closer connection has been SFD's adoption of gender-inclusive language. SFY decided at their semestral network meeting at the end of 2019 to adopt this language in their communications. Then, the national association not only accepted this when consulted but they decided it made sense to incorporate the change into the whole movement. First adopted at the end of 2019, it triggered a reaction from some members and convivia, who argued that this was not only nonsense, a leftist agenda, but it showed disrespect to the German language. This evolved into the presentation of five motions on the topic at the 2021 general assembly, three of them by youth members. Of the other two, one was against the use of inclusive language, presented by a member of the movement who claimed she was discriminated against by being called only by her name and not by 'Mrs.'. The second asked that decisions in this regard by the board be communicated transparently to the members. The last and the three submitted by the SFY were approved by a large majority. The other one was rejected, also by a large majority. The motions submitted by the SFY dealt with requiring the Executive Board to prepare a proposed bylaw regarding gender-equitable language for the following year's general assembly. It proposed that the association's forms should include at least a third non-binary option as gender, and that gender-appropriate language should be used in all the association's communications or gender-neutral greetings should be used. Their argument for all of them was based on the *fair* principle of Slow Food. Thus, they explained, SFD should stand for a fair interaction between people, which would be a respectful, polite, and non-discriminatory one. Also,

> As part of a democratic society, Slow Food Deutschland e.V. should take a critical look at the various forms of discrimination and identify ways of reducing them within or with the help of its own work. In this way, Slow Food Deutschland e.V. is playing its part on the path to an open, respectful, and inclusive society for all. (MOTION 31 for the General Meeting, 19.06.2021)

The same argument was used to request, in a fourth motion, the addition of a clear position of the association against discrimination in any form on its website, which was also accepted by a large majority. The acceptance by so many people of the proposals took even the young activists by surprise. They expected more resistance and were quite happy with the result. Even so, there were still issues that some youth members felt needed to be further addressed within the movement, such as sexism.

> There are also women at our age who had experienced sexism within the association, and survived or observed, sexist sayings and that is important. I think it is a social issue. We must reappraise the sexism we have in our society and fight against it. And we must do so within the structures we are involved in. That means that it is very difficult, and it takes time, and, at the moment, there is so much cheering about it. There are going to be rules about awareness that means not only sexism but all types of discrimination, there should be some rules to discuss it. We would like to do a workshop to show white men that they have a powerful position. And there, the association isn't completely involved yet because they don't want to scare them. That is for us as Youthies, very difficult. It is a difficult topic that is important for us, so we can feel comfortable but also get new people involved, young women, and they do not get scared away and go and say 'Hm, strange moments'. I think even if we deal with food and agriculture, you can't exclude racism and sexism. It must be discussed as well in our association. (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020)

This enthusiasm for change and for implementing more egalitarian agendas can be pointed to as one of the strengths of the Youth Network. However, this is also where, as explained by one of the interviewees, the lack of interest in other themes arises. Food heritage should be on this list, but it is not very attractive. The Ark of Taste, for example, is pointed as a model project on the topic, but that does not interest the youth. "It's not something that's like super sexy. Well, it is interesting, like a lot of people are interested, but they don't necessarily know how to tackle it from a youth perspective, so there is an interest, but I guess it sometimes appears not political enough" (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020). On her opinion, the young activists are mobilized by scandal topics, or more confrontational ones, as pesticides, meat consumption, or food waste. Contradictorily, when one looks at SFY's actions, one can note the interest in old vegetable varieties. These are the cases of workshops developed or visits to producers who work with legumes arranged. Or even, there is the book prepared by a group of SFY Akademie 2019 activists that surveyed local varieties that are as nutritious as or more than the trendy superfoods like quinoa and avocado, and then presented recipes with them.

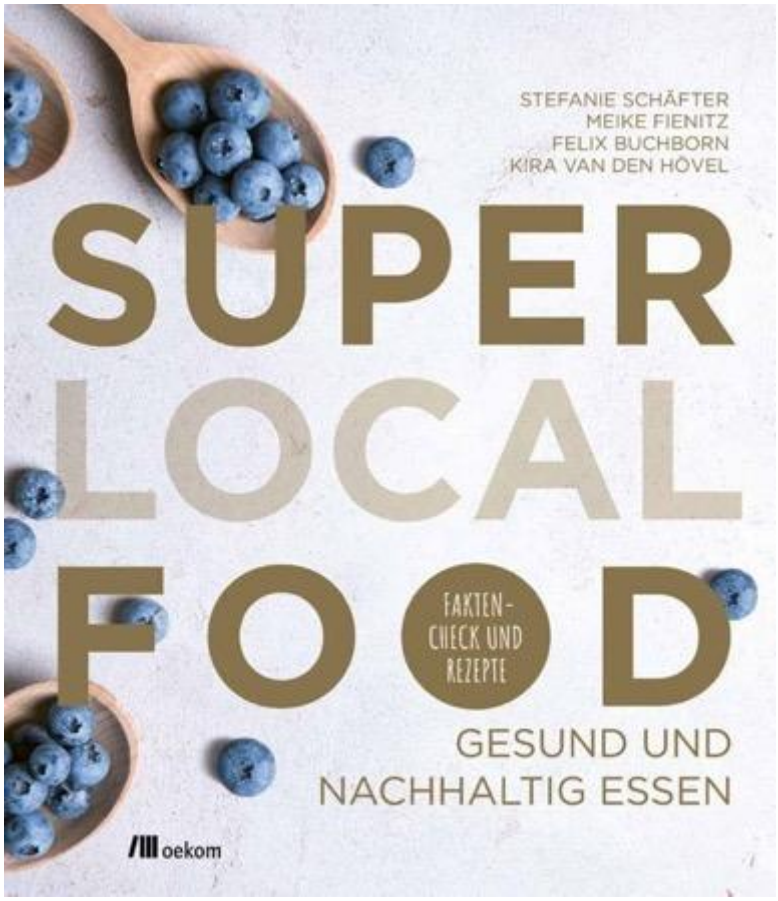

Figure 39. *Book Super Local Food*. Cover reproduction.

So, despite the discourse that this kind of theme does not interest young people, it seems that it is not about the theme, but the way of addressing it. As reflected by Counihan in the Sardinian case, these kinds of workshops educate about cultural heritage "in revitalizing knowledge about fruit, vegetables, and grains that had major importance to the diet, agriculture, material arts, and survival. Their initiatives could potentially foster food democracy by making available healthy, sustainable, and culturally meaningful foods at accessible prices" (2016, p. 225).

This may be one of the biggest struggles between the youth and the other Slow foodies: the approach technique. One thing that pops up frequently in conversations with different actors of the SFD network is that Slow Food's greatest differential from all other social movements is its positive approach: it is propositional and pleasure-oriented. Even if it is looking at the problems of the current food system, it proposes changes in a joyful way. The balance between pleasure and politics seems to be the major challenge.

6.3 A consumer's movement defining itself

Now that we have gone through the whole process of how Slow Food arrived, structured itself, and delivered its projects in Germany, and looked at how this is done locally, in different realities, we turn to a macro-analysis of the movement in the country. How is Slow Food adapted at the country level? What are the agendas and repertoires of the actions adopted? What role does the movement play in this context? To answer these questions, I will start by looking at the structure of the movement and how this has influenced its development in Germany. I will also look at the profile of the activists, the internal conflicts, the movement's strengths and limitations in this context, the predominant agenda and the themes emerging, to finally arrive at the actors' perception of what the movement's role is and what its future is.

With 30 years of establishment, Slow Food Germany's association has a stable structure. As we can see, it can support and develop its projects and finance itself. The SFD model counts on commercial partnerships, either in publishing or event promotion. This is a point in common with the international headquarters of the movement. In addition, SFD has a wide range of partners and funders (major or one-off) for its many different projects. The *Verein* structure, to which Slow Food subscribes in Germany, not only has a working model but it is integrated into the country's culture. Thus, it is possible to say that such an organization ends up impacting the movement's performance in the territories, either by already providing the formats and prerequisites for this or by providing the security (of hired personnel or financial support) so that new actions can be carried out.

Slow Food Germany Network

	Frankfurt am Main	Berlin	SFY Germany
Activist Profiles	- Chefs, tourismologists, art experts, financial market people, educators, and so on. - Most members over 50, with many over 70 years old	- Diverse groups - Convivium: most members over 50 - SFY Berlin: members between 20 and 30 years old - Students (agronomy, nutrition, political science, health, etc.) and young food	- Students or young professionals - Bakers and cooks - Nutritionists - Health professionals - Communicators - Political scientists - Agronomists - etc.

		professionals	
Repertoires of Action	Bringing consumers and producers closer - visits to producers - *Genussführer* commission Education of Taste - Slow Mobil - Discussion nights Advocacy - Representatives in the city's Food Policy Council	Bringing consumers and producers closer - visits to producers - Collective urban garden - *Cheese* - Small producers' fair - Local honey producers' fair Education of Taste - Workshops - promoting Disco Soups (*Schnippeldisko*) Advocacy - Campaigns and demonstrations (online and in person)	- promoting Disco Soups (*Schnippeldisko*) - Online campaigns - SFY Akademie - Workshops - International projects (SFY World Academy, Disco Soup Day)
Alliances and Finances	- Slow Food Germany	- Slow Food Germany - Own projects (Christmas Market) - Other movements and NGOs	- Slow Food Germany - Own projects (*Calendarium Culinarium*) - SFYN International - Other movements and NGOs
Structure and Internal Conflicts	- Horizontality or Top-down depends on the leadership - *Gourmet club* group *versus* political activists	- Separation of Convivium and SFY - Horizontal structure (SFY)	- Separation of most Convivia (older members) - SFD coordinator as support to the Board

Table 3. *Slow Food Germany Network. Own work.*

The different forces or lines of action that compete internally for institutional direction are also clear. Looking at the localities, one can see that there are different ways of being called Slow Food, from the most gourmet to the most political, with a lot in between. And how each group operates is intrinsically linked to the profile of its members. Despite these differences, when looking at SFD as a whole in the country, it can still be said to be an elitist movement, as some of the interviewees pointed out. "We are a very privileged

group, very, very white. Actually, I don't know anyone who is PoC[69] or Black and active within the movement. Very white, partly, also, very academic" (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020). There is a wide range of occupations among Slow Food members, including those from the gastronomic field, along with many pedagogues, lawyers, social and political scientists, health professionals, and also other professions not necessarily related to food. This highly educated profile is linked to the fact that for the youth members, Slow Food is present at the universities, with some of the local groups even existing within one. And among the adults, the expertise is also applied in working groups, and position papers; there is space for all of them. The ones that are not very present are farmers. There are some, but not many. And this, too, is recognized as a flaw by some members. It could be compensated for, some interviewees argue, by making alliances with farmers' organizations, such as ABL, the German member of Via Campesina.

Such a profile of activists is in line with what other researchers have discussed about alternative food movements: they are spaces of privilege, middle- or upper-middle-class, white, and with a high level of education (Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2011; Slocum, 2018). Such a configuration contributes to their exclusionary nature, even when there is an intention to become more welcoming (Slocum, 2018).

> At some point, it still has, here in Germany, something elitist because it is a white, educated movement. With this background, it still has an elitist character. But it is something we are looking into and where we wish to be more diverse. But it is still difficult. I still think that it is turning this pleasure away and heading toward conscious consumption and an exchange about conscious consumption (L. L., personal communication, December 18, 2020).

Even within the movement, there is a problem with integration. The spaces used by, for example, the Ark of Taste commission, or some convivia, are so hermetical in their age and class that it becomes hard for someone younger, for example, to join. So, although this overall profile could suggest a homogenic group, as it has been often repeated throughout this chapter, the movement does face internal conflicts and struggles. The most evident of them is the generational gap (and shock). The division between the young members and the 'oldies' (as many of them say) is a recognized problem that SFD faces. It is shared by other European chapters of Slow Food. This difficulty of acceptance of the elders of the young and vice versa is aggravated by the absence of members in the middle

[69] Person of color.

age group between 35 and 55. This is a particularity, though, of Slow Food, pointed out one activist.

> There are other NGOs where the young and the old are not so important, and the middle-aged are the big majority. Slow Food, in that sense, is a bit, a strange organization, because the middle generation is very weak, for whatever reason. It's probably because food has become a trendy and very politicized issue only recently. So, you have a lot of young people who are influenced by veganism and vegetarianism and all kinds of other ideologies, and they have discovered Slow Food as a place to get over this. Meanwhile, in your age group [the late thirties], this was not yet the case. And you're also not in that group where you are now, sort of. Getting closer to your retirement and thinking about the good life. So. That's my explanation. (J. M., 57, politician and director of NGO, personal communication, October 28, 2020)

The completely different goals, all collected under the Slow Food philosophy, were, back in the early 2000s, the reason that the SFY network was created, as remembered by the SFD's Youth coordinator: "We needed to have something that attracts because the youth that were part of the Slow Food Network weren't finding themselves in the events that were offered, and things that were offered by the convivia". Not only they were too expensive for students, but the topics also were not necessarily interesting for the young crowd. "Here in Germany, we like to have topics that are more toward the public. So, you know, Disco Soup and this kind of stuff, it's more about reaching out with a message and, of course, meeting together and cooking together and everything" (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020).

However, the structure, with SFY being one convivium with all its members spread across the country, maybe makes integration more difficult. A priori, one person could belong only to one convivium. It does not mean, however, that SFY and the convivia members could not work together. According to the Youth coordinator, it did happen in some cities. "We're trying to bridge the gap and that's been also a big question in the past years. Like, also, how do we work together with Slow Food as local groups or how do local groups work together with the Slow Food adults or oldies?" (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020). There are cities too where the youth group is more active, while the local convivium is not.

> And now there is also a new form, that I think it's fun, when do you start getting too old for Slow Food Youth? And they're entering the convivia. [...] And that's also the thing is like the generation of youth that has been active with Slow Food Youth is now entering, and they did. The challenge is now to keep them and to manage, you know, the switch from youth to Slow Food without losing too many of them, basically, because it has to do with the, with the aging, the moment in

> life. A lot of them are becoming parents and stuff, and they don't have time for any volunteer commitment and self-reliance. (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020)

This integration of the two generations in Slow Food, however, could not be seen in the observation sites of this work, which reinforces the argument that it is still a localized phenomenon. Besides the generational clash between forms of action, one of the major differences that these Slow Food groups encounter is one of ideology. The recurring simplification is young people are political and the elderly are gourmets. But it goes further. Environmental concerns, eating local food, and animal welfare, for example, are topics that can be touched upon by all groups. It is often the approach or level of changes demanded that is different. One example of confrontation, in this sense, would be vegetarianism and veganism. “I think that Slow Food still has a problem with listening to younger people and accepting their ideas. Veganism, for example. Accepting this as a way of life and accepting that there are vegans at Slow Food. This is awful. That isn't possible” (G. S.R., personal communication, December 14, 2020). The interviewee relates the hardship he faced when discussing SFD’s position paper on veganism with some of the convivium leaders. The document was published on the association’s website, but it is not part of the central debates of the movement. “It is a big problem. This is pushed down and then younger people don't feel accepted or integrated or taken seriously if they are always pushed aside” (G. S.R., personal communication, December 14, 2020). It should be made clear that being vegetarian and vegan is not an exclusivity of young activists. There are many vegetarians/vegans among the older members. Nonetheless, the topic is controversial, even among the more political actors of Slow Food Germany. There is no question among the activists that it is necessary to reduce meat consumption. However, many of them argue that animal products are part of many food cultures and can be produced in a fair and sustainable way. In this regard, SFD has many position papers, on animal welfare, milk diversity, bees, and so on. As one member argued, polarizing gourmet and political is not smart. Slow Food should be both.

> I mean, you can be a gourmet club and still be a political activist organization. And, of course, when you talk about protecting culinary heritage, **if you're not a gourmet, why would you care?** So, I think in a way it is almost logical that you start to worry about good food, the food becoming an industrial product, which is no longer good, which is destroying the environmental base and all that, and becoming politically engaged. So, I think this is not such a contradiction as it was presented by a lot of people in the beginning, when Slow Food started to become politicized. (J. M., personal communication, October 28, 2020)

However, to also assume that everyone who has this more political drive within the movement is a harmonious group would be naïve. As discussed earlier, the breadth of the movement's philosophy makes it possible to embrace many agendas and perspectives. “Because in the end, not everyone is as simple as that, left versus right and all that. You can be conservative and perfectly happy in Slow Food because you believe in tradition” (J. M., personal communication, October 28, 2020). For some members, this is a plus.

> I think it's good. Because if you, if you sort of want to make Slow Food a leftist movement, you have lost. Slow Food will not achieve its aims. […] because of local self-sufficiency [anarchist origin of SF], the defense of your region against the center. You can do that as a conservative, proud of your region, you can do it as an anarchist against the government. Why not? […] I mean, there are lines of thought that nicely fit together. It's not always black and white. A lot of it is actually gray. (J. M., personal communication, October 28, 2020)

Being in this movement that encompasses so many issues is highlighted as one of Slow Food’s strengths, as it brings together people such as farmers and environmentalists, consumers, animal protectionists, that have conflicting aims, but have also overlapping ones.

> They come from different angles; the environmentalist that takes the farmer as his opponent has lost. The farmer who takes the environmentalist as his opponent is the same. But when they understand we have different interests, the farmer has to survive, he has to make money. That’s it. And the environmentalists, of course, have to accept if I ruined this farmer will be the agribusiness industry saying ‘one less’. So, you have to come together. And Slow Food is trying to do that within the organization, of course, from a consumer’s point of view, from a gourmet point of view, maybe, but essentially from a consumer’s point of view. (J. M., personal communication, October 28, 2020)

Slow Food would be then the consumer movement that links the different parts of the food system, the person in between. SFD works together with farmers, chefs, other economic players on food sector. Furthermore, even though consumers’ decisions as co-producers us an important part of the movement’s ideology, it needs to imapct the political framework to be effective.

> To make these networks stronger, to say ‘here we want’, there should be certain intersections where decisions are made. In one direction or the other. And Slow Food must be at this intersection and say, ‘Please, in this direction and not in that direction’. And here I see the task and I see it not only as a task for civil society but also a political task, which Slow Food as a movement, in Germany as a registered society, must drive forward (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020).

That capacity of communicating and connecting with different actors would then enrich Slow Food with a diversity of perspectives. “We have like a lot of direct positions because

we have people coming from the fields and able to talk about the reality of gastronomy, farming. And we have this kind of mixed organization where we're a mix of basic like bottom-up organization with lots of local groups that are quite independent" (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020).

Another strong point of the movement that is often highlighted is its constant positive attitude. Slow Food proposes a positive approach. That means that the movement intends to cause a change in the food system not only through criticism but mainly by proposing alternatives and understanding solutions found by resistant actors. Slow Food, using its positive rather than confrontational approach, also differentiates itself from other movements, as one interviewee pointed out: the NGOs and environmental movements are perceived as always complaining or always having a negative view, whereas Slow Food proposes to discuss these serious themes but with joy, around the table, with nice food and drinks. "What I simply love about the organization [SF] is that people are positive about life and they're not carrying the burden of the world on their shoulders" (J. M., personal communication, October 28, 2020).

On the other hand, this same broadness and positivity can be perceived as a fragility. One point is that the integration and communication between such different actors, as can be seen in this chapter, is not an easy task, or one that Slow Food has mastered yet. When it comes to this broad action, it is unable to leave one specific impression. "So people have usually heard about the concept, they kind of grasp the concept behind Slow Food, but they do not necessarily know what the organization does, basically" (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020). However, now, after being, for example, part of the promoters of the *Wir Haben es Satt!* demo since its inception, other organizations have started to recognize Slow Food's expertise. "They are recognizing […] the expertise of Slow Food on the topic of biodiversity. Food heritage, for example. This is one of Slow Food's topics where they recognize it, the other organizations, and, usually, we are the organization where they go to to talk about the consumer perspective" (L. Duhan, personal communication, February 11, 2020).

Concerning the movement's expertise, the food heritage theme arose more than once, as Slow Food's role in safeguarding the biocultural diversity (*Biokulturellevielfalt*).

Once again, it is important to note that this idea is not repeated so openly. The proposal to safeguard food heritage per se can be perceived as a conservative or nationalistic movement, and for this reason, such terms are often avoided by SFD. However, this does not necessarily mean, as already stated (see Section 6.1), that the movement does not

offer such safeguarding. What it does do is try to detach itself from this possible negative interpretation. So much so that, when asked to present their definition of food sovereignty, some members bring up the idea together with heritage (as perceived by the peasant movements that shaped it).

> Without food sovereignty, we lose our cultural culinary heritage. Then, we are dependent on the food industry. That will be dictated by what is there and what is not. And that goes together with sovereignty, with the farmer who should be able to decide over his seeds, and it continues with food production, and it ends with every consumer who should be able to make his own conscious decisions. And that is one of the main topics of Slow Food. Perhaps it isn't formulated enough in a political context. (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020)

It is crucial to mention here that both those concepts, food heritage and food sovereignty, did not come up naturally in the interviews. They were introduced by me when questioning the members. This reflects their causal discomfort and diversity of comprehension. One activist argues, for example, that food sovereignty is not used much in Germany, but it is implied in the 'regionality'. "It's labeled differently [food sovereignty]. Yeah, people would talk here a lot about regional food. […] So, regional implies independence from globalized markets, independence from this... Global agribusiness thing, even if sometimes it's just, it is sometimes just pretense" (J. M., personal communication, October 28, 2020). Another term, he explains, would be

> *Bäuerlisch Landwirtschaft*, a sort of small, small farmer, which is also very popular. […] And for them, *bäuerliche Landwirtschaf* implies regional, maybe self-sufficiency... not that, reliance on your own local food base and not on the global market. You can call all that food sovereignty, food security, whatever you want, I mean. And this leftist political discourse, it will get other terms, but the meaning is roughly the same. Also, when you talk about the Slow Food Presidia. (J. M., personal communication, October 28, 2020)

The importance given to regional food is not restricted to the movement, as German government research shows:

> If the products come from one's own region, there are no long transport routes, one knows the area from which the food comes and possibly even the producer at the weekly market. This is particularly important to the majority of respondents in the case of fresh products: eggs (86 percent), vegetables and fruit (84 percent), bread and baked goods (82 percent), meat and sausages (76 percent) and milk and dairy products (70 percent) should come from the region in which they live. (BMEL, 2022, p. 12)

However, no regulation delimits what is regional, so any product originating from a country whose territory is more than 350,000 square kilometers can be called regional.

This is a topic of debate within Slow Food: how the industry captures these discourses that come from social movements. SF has a big focus in Germany on local food, i.e., food that comes from a short distance away, which allows you to get to know the producer. And this last point is reinforced as a way to resist the misuse of the term.

Another recurrent interpretation of food sovereignty is an individual perception: of the individual having sovereignty over their food. And from this perspective, Slow Food has an important educational role.

> I think for us, food sovereignty is a concept that is more important, and I think that our approach to it is that you have to educate and inform people so that they can be sovereign of their food, because if you don't know about the things you're buying and what's in all this industrial food, and if you don't know where to get other alternative food and food alternatives and what you can do with the food and cook yourself and not be dependent on industrial and convenience foods, then you're not sovereign. So that's something we're actually aiming at, even if you don't call it, like, that. (N. Wolff, personal communication, November 12, 2020)

Finally, also recurrent, is the strangeness of applying such a concept in Germany. When asked what they understood by food sovereignty and whether they thought Slow Food had a role in guaranteeing it, some respondents thought only of countries in the Global South.

> Food sovereignty means for me that they can live on their own and that they don't depend on other nations or anyone. That they can do it on their own and that they can grow their vegetables and there, Slow Food has a role. Everything that concerns the safety of seeds and, or better, said protection of seeds and the possibility that farmers are allowed to replant and to grow it again and that they are independent of the industry. In this case, everything that Slow Food is doing in this sense is contributing toward food sovereignty. Also, political support, all the networks that Slow Food is facilitating, projects like '10.000 gardens in Africa' where they do gardening, school gardens, also in other parts of the world. So, people learn how to grow vegetables, and how to depend on themselves. That are only some projects of it and how the topic is worked on.

The phenomenon repeats itself when the topic is food security. It is common to think of it as a problem of poor or 'developing' countries as if this reality was not an issue in Germany. This lack of discussion about food insecurity in this rich European country is not unique to Slow Food; it is a broader problem, one which includes a lack of data and, consequently, of adequate public policies (Pfeiffer, 2010, 2014; Pfeiffer et al., 2011, 2016). However, this is not a common position (even if it has been repeated among politicized members). As the president of the SFD points out, this concept, which gained

strength in the post-war period, is still an impediment to changes in the CAP of the European Union. It is an olde value, from a time of reconstruction and famine. “We have to reinterpret it or get rid of it, because it has such a devastating effect on our nature, basically, because we always look at quantities. And not a service for society like biodiversity conservation and clean water and well, things we need, which are very basic” (N. Wolff, personal communication, November 12, 2020). Slow Food advocacy role is crucial for this difficult change. “You have to have a new interpretation of food security in Europe. And then, of course, at a global level, it has always been important for Slow Food. That's, of course, that's what we are doing here. We should always look at the effects it has on the Global South and yes, it is important in that sense” (N. Wolff, personal communication, November 12, 2020).

Even if these terms are not part of Slow Food's routine vocabulary in Germany, it is clear that a large part of its repertoire of actions touches on these agendas. The focus is often much more on environmental issues, with an approach to the food system concerned with sustainability. And this is also criticized internally. “With ecological issues, it's working now quite well with the idea of sustainability. But if I have a closer look at what we say regarding fairness, that is a social problem, then it is still barely anything. Well, other than negotiated rewards, we can’t think of anything else. That is not enough” (G. S.R., personal communication, December 14, 2020).

The *fair* part of *good, clean, and fair food for all* is one of the greatest struggles of Slow Food worldwide. SFD did have fairness as a year theme in 2021. However, most of the discussions and publications were focused on animal welfare. There is in the movement a limitation when it comes to social inequalities. It can be observed in the discussions of who can access the meetings or when the discussions about vegetarianism and meat consumption do not touch the question of people who stop eating animal products because they cannot afford them anymore. The ideas of *reflexive localism* (Goodman et al., 2012) or of food inequalities (Motta, 2021c) are still quite embryonic in the movement. Topics such as rethinking exploitation of the Global South and migrant labor forces are starting to appear here and there, but mainly still among the youth and in events shared with other organizations. Maybe this is a future agenda.

7 IT IS ALL SLOW FOOD?

After analyzing how the Slow Food movement has been established, the profiles of its members, their action repertoires, their alliances, and their activities locally in Brazil and Germany, it is time to compare these two realities. At the end of the day, is it all Slow Food? The epistemic interest of drawing a comparison, one of the bases of the anthropological triangle along with ethnography and contextualization (Pujadas, 2010), is to create a sufficient base so that we can have an in-depth comprehension of our object of study. Thus, the choice of these two very different contexts to understand how Slow Food is realized as a social movement comes from the objective of having a richer analysis with a greater multiplicity of perspectives. As discussed in Section 2.2, this type of comparison has its challenges. How do you delineate units of observation that have enough similarities that you can make a systematic analysis? The choices of each of the groups observed here, as already explained, was based on their relevance to the movement in that country. But in addition, I looked at each group in Chapters 5 and 6 through the analytical categories: activist profiles; repertoires of action; alliances and finances; and structure and internal conflicts.

By looking at the similarities and differences, how Slow Food adapts in one region, what its connections and agendas are, and why it is distinct from or similar to others, I will try to build a broad understanding of the multiple meanings that Slow Food can have. As stablished in Chapter 2, I am interested in this work to comprehend the multiplicity of cultures that entails this organization, how they relate, negotiate, and construct this international organization discourse and action. How they differ or not in relation to the history, social structure, politics, etc. in which they are immersed. Throughout this work, I have been recounting my analyses of the phenomena I encountered in the field along with other work already developed on the movement, whether from European countries, the US or Brazil. Here I cross-reference these analyses, taking up some points of reflection to broaden the understanding of the international movement.

To this end, I will look at five aspects of both countries. First, the contexts, history, and structure of the movement. Next, the profile of the activists. This brings us to the movement's agenda and repertoire of action. Finally, I will look at the local disagreements. Once the comparison of these local settings has been made, I will address their relationship to the international movement and reflect on the power struggles within the movement through the lens of a South American country and a European country.

This makes it possible to create an understanding of what Slow Food is, and from there, in the concluding chapter (Chapter 9), to discuss its role in safeguarding food heritage.

7.1 Brazil and Germany particularities and common grounds: the same, but quite different

The first significant difference that pops up when looking at Slow Food in Brazil and Germany is its structure nationally. While the first is still trying to establish its association, with many financial struggles and the lack of a workforce, the latter has had a strong organization for many years. Some factors could be considered regarding this aspect, which influenced the choice of these two countries for analysis (see Chapter 2). Slow Food began in Italy and Germany was one of its first international chapters. This means that the movement was not only brought there in its early stages but also that having arrived, Germany has been shaping their format for three decades. It should be noted how the German association model of *Verein* is part of the country's culture and is formally regulated, which has offered a certain level of stability for the movement. Furthermore, there is not only physical proximity between Germany and Italy but also similarities concerning the struggles and positionalities. Brazil, on the other hand, is not only a more recent addition to the movement but it also has a different history and culture, it being a Latin American country. The struggles range from a lack of financial means to different agendas and positionalities, when comparing to the movement's headquarters.
The political context, for example, was crucial for the establishment and growth of Slow Food in Brazil. Slow Food International's association with the federal government, when the activist network in the country was still in its infancy, shaped some of the movement's relationships and priorities in the country. Such proximity, with projects developed in government partnerships, also had its impacts when the political scenario changed, and the movement lost its funding and support. In Germany, on the other hand, Slow Food does not have its continuity linked to the choice of government. While the movement there is funded by members' and supporters' contributions, and it relies on partnerships with other institutions to finance its projects, the Brazilian chapter is still building these relationships. The ASFB cannot survive on members' contributions, and the main financial partners are government agencies or external funders, few of which are private. This is another point of difference between the movement in the two countries. The structure of Slow Food in Germany is not very different from that of the international

movement (in Italy) in terms of having a commercial arm. That is, although it does not have a publishing house or events promoter like SFI, SFD develops products and events in partnership with other companies. This is the case with the *Genussführer* guide, the Slow Food magazine or the *Markt des guten Geschmacks* fair. In addition, businesses are essential supporters, donors and sponsors for the maintenance of the association and its projects. In Brazil, on the other hand, business partnerships are an issue of conflict. Some interviewees complained that there was a wing of the activists that was very demanding regarding the alignment of the company with the movement's philosophy: that is, either the corporation acts 100% following the precepts of *good, clean and fair food* or Slow Food cannot ally itself or receive its support. For the activists in favor of such partnerships, this level of alignment is almost impossible, and it is part of the movement's struggle to change this aspect of the current reality. To achieve this, being connected to companies that are open to the philosophy and to incorporating it, even if not yet fully, would be enough. In a country where the culture of donation and the fiscal incentives linked to it are restricted, this type of support would be a possibility to increase the association's income and expand its capacity for action.

Still looking at how the movement is structured, the other aspect in which the two countries differ is in the relationship between the activists with the national association. In Germany, SFD is not perceived as something apart from the movement, or that it is far removed from the activists. On the contrary, the association is formed by its members (activists), and they decide its direction through meetings and votes at annual assemblies. Thus, the SFD is a democratic instance of representation in the movement. This is linked to the *Verein* structure, firmly established in the country, and also to Slow Food's 30 years of history there. In Brazil, on the other hand, the association is seen as a way to give an institutional face to the movement. However, this does not mean they are fully integrated. Thus, the ASFB is often cited by members as something separate and even antagonistic. Moreover, the difficulty of making it a democratic space is noticeable, with council meetings, for example, having a limited and fluctuating level of participation. There are different reasons for this. The first is that the association is still recent and is still being shaped. It is still in the process of building what kind of movement the country expects and needs. Unlike in Germany, Brazilians are not so familiar with this format of association. It is good to remember that the country only became a democracy again in the late 1980s, so it is still a learning exercise. On top of this comes the difficulty of financing the association, which generates a certain degree of precariousness.

This is, of course, reflected in the national association's ability to maintain not only qualified and diverse staff but also fair working conditions. Comparing both realities, we find a country of continental dimensions employing four people part-time, and the smaller country has 12 full-time professionals working in the headquarters. It should be emphasized, however, that this does not necessarily mean excellent working conditions. It is commonplace throughout Slow Food, as in many other third-sector organizations and movements, to find employees working overtime and for less-than-optimal salaries. The part of believing in and being an activist for the cause plays a role in this.

Despite such differences in structure, history, and context, when we look at the Slow Food Network in the two countries, something brings them together: the profile of the activists. Not homogeneously, as might be expected, but with some fundamental characteristics repeating themselves: they are an urban movement, middle- and upper-middle-class, academic, and predominantly white. This confirms what has been said about the movement and criticized by scholars (Allen, 2010; Allen & Wilson, 2008; Goodman et al., 2012; Siniscalchi, 2013b, 2014a; Siniscalchi & Counihan, 2014). This configuration brings to the movement's discourse, as Guthman reflects, an exclusionary characteristic, one of being 'colorblind'.

> In any case, the problem I am addressing is not negated by the presence of a few black bodies in these alternative food institutions. […] My concern is the extent to which [265] these practices, institutions, and spaces are coded as 'white', or at least 'not black', not only through the bodies that tend to inhabit and participate in them but also through the discourses that circulate through them. As I will show, many advocates and admirers of these institutions are 'colorblind' to the racial content of these discourses. I posit that their representations contribute to the production of 'white space' that, in effect, works as an exclusionary practice. (Guthman, 2011, pp. 265-266)

This is still a sore point within the movement. As we saw in the previous two chapters, there are some actors within it, in both countries, who are aware of this problem. In Brazil, a country where the majority of the population identifies itself as black or brown (IBGE, Coordenação de Pesquisas por Amostra de Domicílios, 2022a), this does not reflect on the movement's face. It has been discussed by some activists, and the new board of ASFB is representative of it, as noted in Chapter 5, with a black woman as president and a black man, a farmer, as director. However, maybe what is missing is the perspective of the intersectional inequalities (Motta, 2021c): being predominantly white is a consequence of being an urban, middle- and upper-middle-class academic movement. These are spaces of privilege that end up being exclusive, even if they pretend to be inclusive (Slocum,

2018). This is a fundamental aspect when claiming that this is a white movement. It is not just about phenotypes, not least because the perception of whiteness varies greatly from one country or region to another. But we are talking about privileged, elitist spaces. However, each location has its specificity: some host more cooks, others more academics, others yet more gourmets. Many have some producers among them, even though the predominance is still urban. Furthermore, it is crucial to look at how this translates in different realities, namely, being a predominantly middle- or upper-middle-class movement has distinct meanings, depending on the context. In Brazil, it can be seen, when looking at Florianópolis and Salvador, that the profile of activists is still middle- or upper-middle-class, even though the realities are distinct. In the first, where there is less inequality, there is a more horizontal relationship between members from rural and urban areas. In the latter, on the other hand, class distinction is evident in some discourses, and some members struggle to even take part in actions due to a lack of financial means. In Germany, that could be reflected more in terms of generational differences: the youth, still students, have a more restricted budget, while the older members are wealthier. However, one does not see a class discrepancy as marked in Salvador, for example.

The age profile is an important difference between the movement in both countries. While in Germany there are two still-distinct groups, the young up to 35 and the older from 50 and above, in Brazil, age is not an issue. Young people in their 20s, adults from 30 to 50, and activists from 50 plus all work together in the convivia. This was pointed out by one interviewee in her 60s as a positive point of the movement: it is not ageist. Thus, in looking at these two distinct realities, some conclusions can be drawn. The first is that, again, this mirrors the historical process. In Germany, as well as in other European countries such as Italy and the Netherlands, the gap between young and old has to do with a movement that was much more gourmet in its beginnings and this is already consolidated. The youth movement came with other agendas and modes of action that did not fit together and, therefore, they broke away, creating their movement. In recent years, there has been an attempt to reconcile these two strands. In Brazil, a country where the movement is much younger, it was born with a differentiated agenda and its structures have not become so fixed. That is, they can still be shaped, and they have been. More than that, the South American country has different concerns and struggles than a European country, and other social dynamics as well; the aging of the population is only starting to be a problem nowadays, and this can also be seen in how activism is performed.

So, let us now consider the agendas and repertoires of action in both countries. Here I would like to turn to the three axes of action proposed by Slow Food International (2021) and which, as noted earlier, cover the movement's operations both in Brazil and Germany: education, biodiversity, and advocacy. SFD focuses mainly on the first and last (see Chapter 6). Education is in the association's mission and includes the work of raising awareness among the population about the problems of the current food system and possible solutions. They have also many different projects with children and schools, such as the Slow Mobil. In Brazil, on the other hand, this axis is connected with the Education of the Taste theme, mostly using the sensorial methodology with schools, as well as groups of workers, to provoke the five senses through food. It is also linked to the idea of raising awareness of the problems in the food system, and involves educating the groups with which the movement works about their own food culture. This is connected to the biodiversity axis.

Biodiversity is present on the agenda of both countries in different ways. In Germany, it is connected to the concern with climate change and the loss of animal and plant diversity. Although it is part of the Ark of Taste project, and in the last two years has started to try to make it more popular among the members of the movement, it is still restricted. In addition, the country does not focus on Presidia. Meanwhile, in Brazil (see Chapter 5), these two SFI projects were the gateway to the movement in the country. So, Ark of Taste and Presidia products are important tools used by the movement there, whether to value the products among cooks and chefs, make them more known, or value the communities where they come from and integrate those with Slow Food. The discourse on food heritage is recurrent in this topic: the importance of safeguarding the fruit and vegetables, animals, and, mostly, the preparations and know-how of traditional populations as a way of stopping the biodiversity, social and cultural losses that we face. This food heritage is also linked with the concept of food sovereignty, which takes us to the advocacy work of the movement.

In Brazil, there are two clear actions on advocacy: one is taking part in the municipal, regional, or National Food Council (Consea), or School Feeding Council; the other is to integrate alliances of movements that push for public policies on specific themes, such as healthy food or banning pesticides, among others. These spaces deal with issues ranging from family farming, traditional peoples' rights, and land rights, to agroecology and changing the production model, with better laws for artisanal production, to urban food, its distribution, its accessibility to different populations, and information dissemination.

It is interesting to note that, at first glance, the movement is similar in this respect in Germany. There, Slow Food members are also part of local food councils (although these have been established more recently than in Brazil), and SFD is in alliance with other movements and organizations, such as the WHES organization. The difference, however, is that the movement in Germany also works with the Slow Food office in Brussels, focused on lobbying the European Parliament. So, while advocacy work in Brazil is very much focused on the country's problems, i.e., internally oriented, in Germany, this is extended to the economic bloc that the country not only belongs to but is one of the leaders of.

As far as the agenda is concerned, the analysis of these six observation units in Brazil and Germany makes it clear how many topics can be gathered under the umbrella of *good, clean, and fair food for all*. In Brazil, issues such as the human right to healthy and culturally adequate food are of great relevance. Thus, issues such as the encouragement of family farming, agroecology, traditional agricultural systems, the right to territory, agrarian reform, and the protection of threatened biomes are part of their fight. Also, following this line, campaigns for changes in the sanitary legislation, which is biased toward the big industry and ends up persecuting artisan producers, and against the indiscriminate liberation of pesticides are part of the actions. At the same time, there are programs to value traditional products of the local food culture, among the local population and in market value, and the search so that even the most marginalized populations in both urban and rural areas have access to healthy foods and knowledge of their socio-biodiversity. Meanwhile, in Germany, even if also aiming to change the current food system, the focus of actions and campaigns is more on preserving the environment. So, among the targets is a common agricultural policy that encourages organic small farms, that reduces the use and production of pesticides, and guarantees animal welfare. Food waste is also an issue (as it is in Brazil), but accessibility is still little discussed. Social issues, such as food sovereignty, food and nutritional security, the human right to a healthy diet, and working conditions in rural areas, are hardly addressed concerning the country itself, but mostly regarding poorer countries or those of the Global South.

Slow Food in Brazil and Germany

	Brazil	Germany
Activist Profiles	- urban movement - middle- and upper-middle-class - academic - predominantly white - Integration of all ages	- urban movement - middle- and upper-middle-class - academic - predominantly white - Age gap divide the movement in two groups: 20-35 and 50 plus
Structure	- ASFB since 2013 - Limited workforce, with four part-time employees - Network not so integrated with Association	- *Verein* (registered society) structure - SFD established form 30 years - Office with 12 employees - Regular meetings - Members integrated with association
Alliances and Finances	- Depends on external financing (through projects) - Alliances to develop projects with governments, developmental agencies, and foundations - Many national and local alliances with other social movements, NGOs, and civil society organizations to do advocacy	- Finance itself through members, commercial partnerships, and business support/contributions - Regional, national, and local alliances with other social movements, NGOs, and civil society organizations to do advocacy
Repertoires of Action	Education - Education of Taste workshops - Raising awareness of the problems in the food system - Reinforcing the value of the communities' food culture Biodiversity - Ark of Taste - Presidia	Education - Raising awareness among the population about the problems of the current food system and possible solutions - Slow Mobil - Edible Connections - SFY Academy Biodiversity - Climate change

Table 4. *Summary table of the movement in the two countries, according to the analytical categories used here.* Part 1. Own work.

	- Linked to socio and cultural diversity (socio-biodiversity) - Food Heritage Advocacy - Representatives in the municipal, regional, or National Food Council (Consea), or School Feeding Council - Integrating alliances of movements that push for public policies on specific themes, such as healthy food or banning pesticides, among others.	- Ark of Taste Advocacy - Representatives in local food councils - Part of *Meine Landwirtschaft* coalition - Partnership with Slow Food Brussels (EU office) for lobby
Agenda	- Human right to healthy and culturally adequate food - Family farming, agroecology, traditional agricultural systems, the right to territory, agrarian reform, and the protection of threatened biomes - Changes in the sanitary legislation (that is though for the big industry) - Against the indiscriminate liberation of pesticides - Value traditional products of the local food culture - Access to healthy foods and knowledge of their socio-biodiversity for all	- Environmental preservation - Common Agricultural Policy that encourages organic small farms, that reduces the use and production of pesticides, and guarantees animal welfare - Food Waste
Internal Conflicts	- Network and ASFB difficulty of communication - Political division	- *Gourmet versus* political - Generational clash

Table 5. *Summary table of the movement in the two countries, according to the analytical categories used here.* Part 2. Own work.

There is a fundamental difference in both countries' approaches. In Germany, the consumer is the focus. Public policies are still on the agenda, but the change of individual behavior is the main goal. While in Brazil, although individual behavior change is a theme, there is a prioritization of structural changes, which guarantee a more democratic state.

> Even when incorporating political consumption in their repertoires of struggle, these social movements do so in an ambiguous way, with several criticisms and with a certain discomfort with the idea of the consumer as a political category. They often give preference to more usual categories and, in many cases, prioritize the conventional forms of political pressure in the institutional sphere of the state, making an effort not to sideline the ethical aspect. (Portilho, 2020, p. 242)

This brings us back to the difficulty the movement in Brazil faces in establishing alliances with private companies. At the same time, it explains some speeches made by actors of the movement in Germany, such as making topics sound sexy, to captivate people. The movement preaches an individual, lifestyle change.

This ability of the movement to cover so many topics is seen by many as both one of Slow Food's strengths and weaknesses. It is a strength because it allows the various actors in the food system to circulate and link together: from peasant movements to chefs, from academics to consumers and rural producers, from peripheral populations to elites, and from the political left to the political right. But it is a weakness because acting on so many fronts means that the movement does not have a well-defined identity. This is one of the great challenges faced by both the SFD and the ASFB: how to communicate what the movement is, both internally and externally. It is recurrent in both countries that members find it difficult to define Slow Food or confuse it with the Terra Madre network, or the biannual international gathering, or the national association[70]. In Germany, one of the strategies adopted to reduce this knowledge deficit in the network itself is the monthly newsletter. This is sent by e-mail to members (and interested parties who subscribe), with news about the movement, position papers, and current campaigns, among others. Besides the national version, SFY and several convivia also have theirs. In Brazil, there are projects not only to adopt this strategy but also to develop training workshops for the network. However, they cannot be developed due to a lack of personnel. Both countries

[70] Here I would like to give my own testimony. In the four years I was part of the movement in Brazil as an activist before I began this research, my understanding of all the dimensions of Slow Food was quite restricted. I had difficulty in defining the movement and capturing the full range of its action. This understanding came with the deepening of knowledge required to develop the work I present here, a level of dedication that is not expected of volunteer activists.

also have their websites and social media accounts. In Germany, it is clear that they have been investing in communicating with the outside over the last decade, not only through the abovementioned channels but also through their position papers, to build an image for the movement. In Brazil, social media and some position papers have also been among the adopted strategies; however, the ASFB structure is still limited in this regard. This means that crucial functions, such as communication, have to be led by volunteers. The association has already had two companies coordinating the area, but, at some point, the burden became too heavy for the people in charge and there was no continuity.

Continuity in volunteer-led projects was often referred to as a difficulty in all the observation units of this study. One of the main reasons that it recurs is because life gets in the way. People volunteer for one role but, over time, other priorities arise. This is even more apparent in situations of little stability: in Germany, for example, among young people who are between studies and starting their careers. In Brazil, more generally, this is due to job instabilities.

These are not, as we have seen throughout this work, the only challenges that local networks face. In Germany, the movement has been trying over recent years to take a more political direction. The internal conflicts are, thus, between groups with a more gourmet profile, focused on the enjoyment of good food, and those who are more politically engaged, who understand that it is necessary to change the current food system to continue not only having good food to enjoy but to guarantee the survival of the human species on Earth. This confrontation also has a generational character: the gap between the youngest and the oldest within the movement is very marked, and the dialogue between the two groups is still emerging. In Brazil, internal conflicts, on the other hand, are not due to clashes of age but political views. It is important to note here that just as there are people over 50 in Germany with political verve, there are also members with a gourmet profile in the Brazilian movement. It is just that these do not dispute the discourse by these means as much. However, political conflicts were quite evident at key moments: during the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff (2016), in the 2018 presidential elections, and, even if outside the scope of analysis of this thesis, in the 2022 elections.

Although these are different internal struggles, there is a common point between them: the dispute between conservative and progressive ideas. And that is a consequence, one could say, of the broadness of the Slow Food agenda: once again, many different discourses and perspectives can fit into the philosophy of *good, clean, and fair food*.

Maybe the recently added *for all* will make it more socially inclusive and change some of the concerns and ideals among the movement's members.

Thus, by comparing the contexts, history, structure, activist profiles, repertoires of action, agenda, difficulties and internal disputes between Brazil and Germany, we can better understand the differences and similarities between Slow Food in the two countries. But, before we can answer the opening question of this chapter, 'Is it all Slow Food?', I would like to analyze how the national movements relate to the international movement.

7.2 From national to international: the power struggles within the movement

What does it mean to be an international movement? As we have seen, the local contexts in which the movements act are diverse. However, what should be kept in mind is that Slow Food has its origins in a European country. Thus, even though the problems it intends to address are global, the strategies and their implementations are designed for local realities. This does not mean, of course, that they cannot be adapted to others, but that such translations generate tensions.

When looking at Slow Food Germany, the relationship with Slow Food International looks smooth. More than that, it seems to be not only an alignment but a partnership[71]. SFD is one of the few that sends money to SFI, and not the other way around. Also, their former president was part of the International Council, and the current is on the new board, elected in 2022. All this is to say that it is not that there are not any conflicts, only that they appear to be resolved more smoothly. At least compared to Brazil.

Within the network and ASFB, it is not uncommon to find criticism of and complaints about SFI. It is clear that the relationship is not easy. This goes for both sides. Here, I would like to go back to the history of the movement in Brazil. Slow Food was still emerging in Brazil before the international movement sought an alliance with the federal government to promote its projects and expand its presence in the country. Certainly, the network developed a lot after that, and did so on its own, but such a partnership played

[71] However, such an observation should be taken with some caution, and one should consider the limitations of this research. When I make such a statement, I base it on observation of the movement between 2019 and 2020, when this relationship was already more than established. From the narratives, former SFD president Ursula Hudson played a vital role in making this happen prior to my arrival in Germany. Moreover, often these conflicts only came to be narrated or only became evident when someone was close to those who were locally having to deal with the international office frequently. As much as I had contact and conversations with some of these actors, and took part in many events, my integration with the SFD staff was still limited.

an important role in pushing everything forward. In addition, until 2020, the international office had one representative working directly in the country, while those responsible for other (usually multiple) nations were based in Bra. Finally, the lack of self-financing of the national association meant that SFI still acted not only as an institutional but also, sometimes, as a financial supporter of the movement in the country. Hence, all these factors, or this co-dependence, must be considered when we look at these conflicts.

One of the main criticisms would be that even though Slow Food founder Carlo Petrini called on the movement to be an 'austere anarchy', its international structure was perceived as top-down. One good example would be the decision that was taken in the first half of the 2010s that the Slow Food Network should reach 10,000 products in the Ark of Taste within two years. Chiara Gentile questioned the president of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, Piero Sardo, in an interview:

> C.: Many Brazilian members complain about Slow Food having taken this somewhat 'emergency' stance, with the goal of 10,000 products on the Ark, with this rush to register, while what already exists is not being strengthened or developed. What is the aim of the goals and this stance?
>
> P.: The goal is to have a minimum of worldwide political weight. Let's be serious. We cannot go to a UN table and say: 'We have four hundred projects, or products, in the world'. Four hundred, all over the world... They will laugh at us. It is another thing to say: 'We have 10,000'. That is, to be with 10,000 situations in the world that need support is quite different. So are the gardens in Africa. Why do we have to reach 10,000? Because a thousand in Africa is a drop in the ocean. It is not that with 10,000 we can change the world. But we are more credible. The problem Brazilians complain about is true, but they forget one particular thing. It is they, not us, who have to accompany and develop what has already been created, what already exists. They are the ones who have to accompany the Brazilian products in the Ark and the Presidia. If they don't do it, they can't blame us. I mean, we gave the necessary support and follow-up in the beginning. We accompanied them too much, I think. [...] By the way, they can choose their own line. If they want to invest more in education than in products or Presidia, that is fine. The United States does that. Germany does that. In Germany, they have practically no Presidia because they prefer to work with education and young people. That's fine. If they do not want to work in the search for products, Brazil will choose its line of work. Let them choose. (Gentile, 2016, pp. 101-102)

Aside from the contradiction in wanting to achieve high numbers in a short period as a form of relevance in a movement that preaches against this fast pace of life, this rush made the movement change the procedures to add products to the Ark list, to be quicker. The result was the inclusion of products with information that was not only unfounded but also contradictory (Santana, 2016). The Ark of Taste and Presidia projects are a great source of struggle between ASFB and the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity. The

forms, protocols or even categories of products have been, once again, formulated based on an Italian reality and would need adaptation to be used in a country such as Brazil. However, these changes are not easy, always face great resistance and an incomprehension of the reasons by the international foundation. Situations like these cause the Latin American network to often perceive international instances as Eurocentric. This is a fair assessment. One can observe the difficulties of the movement, in Europe, to understand contexts, perspectives, and problems so far from their reality. Besides, there is an enormous challenge in having a horizontal relationship between countries that were historically colonies and colonizers and that are now 'developed' and 'developing' or any other more current nomenclature (some people within Slow Food still use 'third world' to refer to those countries in the Global South). These values arise here and there. I do not mean here to be fatalist or to simplify these relationships. On the contrary, I consider it essential to add this layer to its complexity. The recognition that such dynamics are still present is crucial if they are to be extinguished and a more horizontal movement pursued.

A good example in this regard is the Youth Network in both countries. They are the nodes with the most common points between them. As their members are spread across their countries, their meetings and actions are coordinated over distance. The difference between them is that in Germany, they meet in person twice a year. Both focus on campaigns and Disco Soups as their main action strategy. However, the topics differ. Among SFYN Brazil, food sovereignty, food heritage and Ark of Taste and Presidia are among their concerns, while for SFY Germany, these are not so attractive topics, and their focus is more on environmental matters. The two networks have contrasting relationships with SFYN International. The episode of the international council (see Section 5.2.3) is an example. While the decision generated a letter of dissatisfaction from the Brazilian chapter, the German chapter had a representative in the group. Apart from that, the two groups work together. For example, the Brazilian Academy of 2020 received support from SFY Berlin, and the coordinators of the program in both countries are part of the organizing committee of the SFYN International Academy, they both work on the Disco Soup Day, and organize together the SFYN Thanks during Terra Madre.

Therefore, what can be observed are different ways of being Slow Food in very diverse realities. Nevertheless, the conflicts and tensions that emerge from this relationship are also what shape the movement and lead it to become increasingly international. As one

Brazilian activist put it in a message to the group of delegates representing her country at Terra Madre 2022:

> We (the Brazilian network) have a good reputation, along with SFI, for our creativity and seriousness when dealing with issues pertinent to our universes (we have a bad reputation for other things, like punctuality, which is not our strong point). For this reason, it is nice to use our participation in forums and TM debates to make contributions that help bring complexity and diversity.
>
> For example, in this process of building the content of political advocacy, it became very evident to us, in dialogue with the colleagues from SFI, how difficult it is to understand hunger. There is a complexity of factors and political desires that end up not reaching those who don't have it so present in their reality (even though Europe has had great crises throughout its history).
>
> Our multiple views and positions, together with those of other colleagues from Latin America, Africa, and Asia, cause tension in the movement and make it dialogue beyond the obvious. So, let's roll up our sleeves and get to what matters in this TM!

So, what is observed is that it is these internal conflicts, at the local, national, and international levels, that tense and relax and in this way shape the movement. Looking at the history of Slow Food (see Chapter 4), it is possible to note how it has adapted to new agendas and repertoires for action. This has allowed the movement to continue to have so many features. While it is a broad movement, whose philosophy can embrace many causes, its institutionalization depends on a rigid and hierarchical structure. “The appropriation in its own ways of Slow Food's principles and the desire for autonomy often conflict with membership in a larger, hierarchical political structure” (Siniscalchi, 2020, p. 199). The ideal of austere anarchy preached by Petrini often gets lost in the bureaucratic structure. Nevertheless, Slow Food is still in motion, adapting and creating new ways of acting. This became clear in 2020 and 2021. As one can see, an important part of this work was carried out during the COVID-19 pandemic. This cannot be ignored. More than that. The more than two-year pandemic crisis has had an impact on the world, on the food system and, necessarily, on the Slow Food movement. So, before moving on to discuss the relationship and role of the food movement in safeguarding food heritage in Brazil and Germany, I would like to look at how the health crisis has affected the movement, in both countries and internationally.

8 THE IMPACT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON SLOW FOOD

As cases of the corona virus started to grow in Wuhan, China, in January 2020, most people had no idea what proportions it would take. However, in March, it had already reached the status of a pandemic, forcing many countries into lockdown to try to restrain it and avoid or reduce the overwhelming of national health systems. Work and studies went online, and social distancing became a safety rule, compelling all groups to adapt themselves. Social movements where no exception. Many events went online, using the diversity of apps and platforms available. Some demonstrations migrated to social media, through #hastag mobilizations or photo actions. Others, more urgent, took to the streets even though trying to keep their members safe. Social movements that focused on food in some way, from farmers to consumers, the food movements, faced the same challenges. However, one could say they had an opportunity to gain more relevance as one of the main concerns of the time was to maintain the food supply chain worldwide, despite the shutdowns.

I already discussed the effects the pandemic crises had in this research in Section 2.2. From events being cancelled to encounters beings translated to the virtual world, this ethnography gained new shapes and adaptations were necessary. But, of course, the health crises repercussions were much wider than that. In this chapter, I aim to analyze the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on the Slow Food movement: how it has changed its organization, agendas, and capacity for influence. If the restrictions imposed by it made some interactions more difficult, it also amplified the access to groups far apart, as they migrated online. Furthermore, this crises moment becomes a scope to observe how Slow Food, as social movement managed to adapt and set itself in motion. “In general, social movements adapt to moments of intense change, mobilizing to turn them to their advantage” (Della Porta, 2021, p. 213).

Global crises have different effects and consequences in each location. They challenge institutions, and generally impact public policies with a tendency toward economic austerity that ultimately affects social welfare.

> As seen with the Covid-19 crisis, emergencies affect not only civil rights but also social rights because they magnify the effects of the unequal distribution of resources within and between countries. In particular, social protection is at stake because living conditions related to primary social rights (such as the right to health, work, housing, and education) are jeopardized by exceptional circumstances. As it is during wars or deep economic depressions, the disruption of everyday life hits

> especially hard some groups of the population, increasing social, gender, generational, and ethnic inequalities. (Della Porta, 2021, p. 213)

And the COVID-19 pandemic was more than a health crises, "it is possible to speak of a triple crisis: a health and medical crisis, an ecological one, and a crisis in capitalism and globalization" (Delanty, 2021, p. 2). In this way, Slow Food becomes an interesting object of observation, as an international social movement that is structured in a network, and that has a good part of its work based on awareness and focused on food and, consequently, environmental issues. The pandemic crisis has not only brought these issues to the fore, but also caused an accelerated digitalization of life in some societies, which for Slow Food's work can have both losses and benefits, as we will see in the following pages.

However, once again, it is necessary to look at the pre-existing inequalities that this crisis reinforces. Such digitalization has not occurred for all groups. In fact, the reality of home-office, for example, is restricted to a portion of the population. When it comes to access to food, these inequalities have become even clearer. Thus, a movement that advocates for an alternative food system is an excellent focus for observation. As I have discussed throughout this thesis, however, we are dealing with a social movement of consumers, made up of activists, white, mainly middle class, upper middle class, with a high level of education. Thus, the concepts of food inequalities (Motta, 2021c) and *reflexive localism* (Goodman et al., 2012) are fundamental to analyze how Slow Food faces this crisis situation, if the movement is able to get out of its contextual bubble, how it adapts to the new problems that arise (or that finally come to light), and what solutions it brings to the public space.

The links between the outbreak of COVID-19 and the food system are varied. The first of them is evident: where the pandemic is said to have begun, in a wet market in Wuhan, China. The strongest evidence up until now shows that the virus probably migrated from bats to humans (Mallapaty, 2020). Even though this has not yet been proved, the local culture of eating bats was highlighted by many people as the cause of the pandemic, and often in racist and prejudiced ways. To some epidemiologists (Angus, 2020; Wallace, 2016), pandemics like the one we faced in 2020 are the consequence of our food system. In short, the industrial farming model, based on extensive monocultures, requires deforestation, substituting the local biodiversity for fewer specimens and, with that, creating the perfect environment for the spread of new viruses and bacteria.

The second link became clear with the advance of the virus and the perspective of lockdowns. People rushed into supermarkets, stocking up on toilet paper, flour, pasta, and canned food. The images of empty shelves all around the globe were impactful. Political leaders reassured there was no need to stockpile, but it was not enough, and it took weeks for the markets to be able to fill up on their goods again.

Figure 40. *Empty shelves were frequent at the beginning of the pandemic.* Reproduction.

If supermarkets prospered at the beginning of the pandemic, small farmers, whose products were sold to gastronomy establishments or schools, suffered without buyers and products already grown or ready to be harvested were lost. Food producers and market and supermarket employees were declared essential workers in most parts of the world. Meanwhile, there was a shortage of fieldworkers in some countries, such as Germany which relied on a seasonal migrant workforce to harvest products such as asparagus or strawberries (Open Society, 2020). Meat processing plants also became a focus of attention as they seemed to be a perfect environment for the spread of the virus (Geitens, 2020; Nack, 2020; Reuben, 2020). The food system, with many of its problems, was on the public agenda. And in countries like Germany, where the inequalities in the field are not widely known among the general public, it became a significant media topic (Küppers, 2021).

So, if we rely upon Goody's definition of the five phases of cooking, i.e., production, distribution, preparation, consumption and disposal (1982, p. 37), we can see the links with the pandemic clearer. Production, which takes place on the farms and in the processing plants and is the origin of the process, faced the impacts of the virus on its

working conditions. Distribution was also affected by the overload of demand, the loss of workers to the virus and the closing of borders. Preparation and consumption were affected as the lockdown meant the middle- and upper-middle-class population with formal employment had to stay at home. Because of these circumstances, many people had to learn how to cook every day or get used to it. Food preparation also became a hobby: making bread from scratch seems to have been the big adventure that those that had to or could do home-office work found during lockdown time. In the Brazilian context, those who were not confined to home-office work also became a concern: how could this population be assisted and not be left to starve[72]? Children were not getting their meals at school, and this could have a big impact on their nutrition. It was a global crisis but with quite localized effects and impacts on everyday life (Della Porta, 2021).

In the next sections I will examine the Slow Food movement in the Brazilian and German contexts, locally and nationally, and include the international perspective. To facilitate the discussion, I will look at three consequences of the pandemic. The first concerns the organizational impact and adaptation. I will consider the biggest challenge imposed by the pandemic on the movement, that of how to translate from the physical to the virtual world. The second is related to the establishment and development of new modes of action and the inclusion of new topics in the agendas. I will discuss how this context was or could be read as an opportunity for the movement to gain more influence in the public sphere as food became a relevant theme. Finally, regarding the third outcome, that of continuity, I will look at the prospects for a post-pandemic movement.

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[72] The effects of the pandemic in the food security of Brazilian households were analyzed by Galindo et al. (2021). The inquiry showed that 59% of the population were at the level of food insecurity during the pandemic (2020). This data confirms the increase in food insecurity in Brazil earlier identified by the National Research for Sample of Domiciles (Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílio) of 2017/2018.

Furthermore, the analysis of the data on food consumption profile combined with the level of food insecurity in Brazilian households shows the severity of the lack of access to healthy food that Brazilian homes experienced during the pandemic, which affects some strata of the Brazilian population, i.e., women, brown and black people [*pessoa de raça ou cor parda e preta*], residents of the North and Northeast regions and rural areas, households with children and with lower per capita income, more. This research offers a portrait of the food inequalities present in Brazil during the COVID-19 pandemic (Galindo et al., 2021, p. 39).

8.1 The first impact: how to organize, locally and globally

Before reviewing the pandemic impacts on Slow Food, I would like to discuss some crucial characteristics of the movement that have been identified in this thesis. The first one is that it operates in different contexts, and this is reflected in the movement's repertoires of action and agenda. So, in Brazil, most of the convivia do not have regular meetings; they are spaced out and depend on the group that is more active at that point. Nationally, the ASFB has a small structure and is still establishing itself among activists. At the same time, the communication tools such as WhatsApp, Skype and e-mail lists are used frequently. The movement has a predominance of political engagement, although it also has its gourmet members. It develops many projects in the scopes of Ark of Taste and Presidia but it also runs educationally oriented projects and political campaigns. Despite being perceived as an urban, white elitist movement, this entails diverse meanings in the context of high levels of inequality: being middle-class in most parts of Brazil does not translate into a stable life and it implies risks of precarity. In Germany, on the other hand, the movement has an established structure. Convivia meet monthly or twice a month, the leaders of the convivia twice a year, there is an annual general assembly, and the SFY also has semestral meetings. All of these are held in person. Communications, until the pandemic arrived, were restricted to the SFD intranet (Confluence), the website, and the newsletter and correspondence sent by e-mail. Boards and working groups used phone conferences for their meetings until the end of 2019, early 2020, when they started to use Zoom. The activists' profile also matches the urban, white elitist characteristic, even if it has its particularities. There is an age gap among SFD members: on the one side, there are the youth members (18 to 35 years old), and on the other, the older members from the convivia, aged 50 and up. This is also reflected in the different perspectives of what Slow Food is, with a gourmet wing and a more politically engaged wing.

Considering these details, it was on March 11, 2020, with the declaration of the COVID-19 outbreak as a pandemic by the WHO, that the gravity of the pandemic became real in Slow Food. As mentioned before (See Sections 2.2 and 6.2.2), I was beginning my field research in Germany. So, on that same day, the Conference of Slow Food Germany's convivia leaders (*Convivienleitungstagung*), which was to take place in Damme, from the 13th to the 15th, and to which I had been granted access as a researcher, was canceled. The weekend-long event was held in a three-hour-long Zoom conference on Saturday

morning. It was the first of many. Two days later, I received an e-mail canceling the first two weekends of the Slow Food Youth Akademie, the educational program set up to train food system changemakers (see Chapter 6).

The initial migration of meetings to Zoom may give the impression that the process was quick and easy. This could not be less true. To show how things were still confusing then, on March 12, I attended a *Schneckentish,* a meeting of the Frankfurt Convivium, in a restaurant, with another 13 people. It was dinner and involved the presentation of a cookbook of Italian recipes. Only five of the planned 19 people enrolled canceled due to the pandemic. And the members that attended were still travelling and working as usual, even making plans for the next meetings, to which I was invited. Even though there are different perceptions of Slow Food Germany based on the different groups and their goals and actions, the one thing they do have in common is that their activities are based on meetings around food, whether they be in fancy restaurants or at picnics.

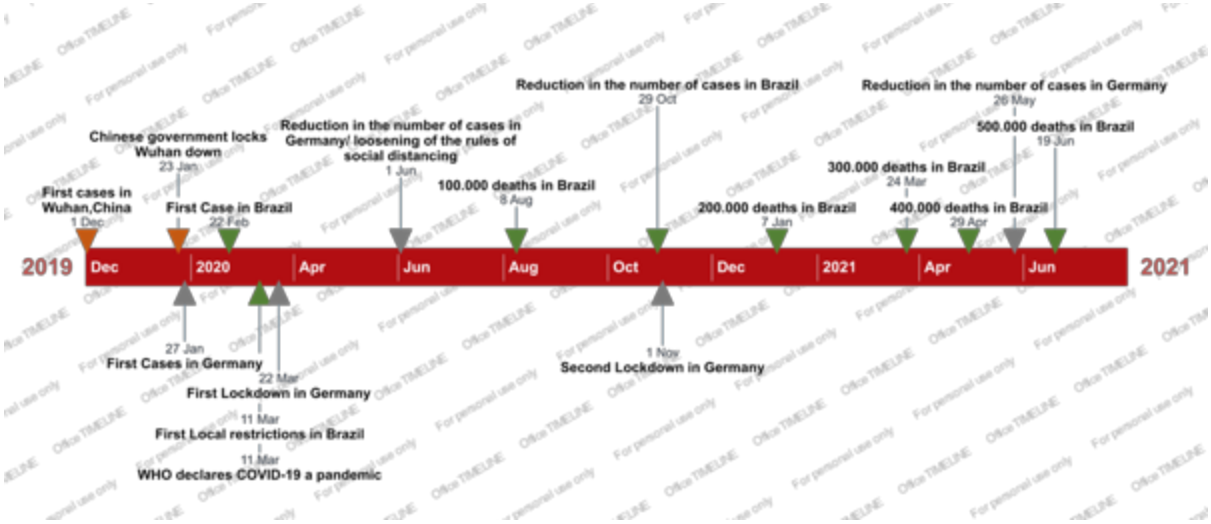

Figure 41. *Timeline of the COVID-19 pandemic in Brazil and Germany*. Own work.

So, when the lockdown began on March 22, it was not easy for Slow Food Germany to go online. It required a process. And some groups adapted more easily than others. The two convivia I observed had a harder time. The Frankfurt group was on hold for the next seven months and just met once again, on October 8th, 2020. At that meeting, they started planning to keep their dinners till the end of the year but were stopped by the closing of bars and restaurants once again[73]. The Berlin Convivium did not hold any meetings for

[73] They were re-opened only in May 2021, to people proving vaccination or recovery from COVID-19.

more than a year. For those groups, then, the pandemic had a great impact on their organization and mobilization capacity.

The SFY, on the other hand, was quick in migrating into the digital world. Here, generational differences may have played a role, as we are talking about young people, aged from 18 to 35 years old, who were already integrated into the digital world. Their first step was to create a Telegram group, and, from there, to start planning Zoom meetings. On the first one, on March 26, 39 people joined. That was a significant number. To get an idea, the SFY meetings that take place twice a year, once in spring and once in autumn, usually attract around 30 young members in some parts of the country. Those Zoom meetings became a monthly event. SFY adapted quickly to what the context demanded, sharing the experiences and struggles they had been facing in their work, their lives, in their cities. Actions and campaigns also were planned during those meetings. Such as the World Disco Soup Day, which had already been scheduled for April, and which was turned into an online edition, the German participation having been planned in those Zoom calls. The SFY postponed its board team election in 2020, which should have taken place in the spring network meeting, hoping to do it in person. However, they chose to use an online process in November of that year. Local groups, such as the SFY Berlin, also went online and not only held their monthly meetings via Zoom, planning new actions and campaigns, but cooked 'together' virtually, each member cooking in their homes. Because they kept in contact (or even strengthened the network exchanges) during the lockdown, the SFY local groups were still able to meet personally during summer (June to August in the Global North), when the contamination numbers in Germany were quite low, for small visits to producers or at picnics, complying with the safety rules.

Figure 42. *Online meetings and campaigns were organized by SFY in Germany.* Disclosure image.

Nationally, most meetings and projects migrated online. This involved not only the abovementioned convivia leaders meeting, but also the general assembly, where the balances, projects, and plans were presented to the association's members, and the motions and changes in the association were voted on. The 2020 general assembly, in July, was still at the beginning of the pandemic and everything was a little bit new to everyone. This format, even with the possibilities of tools to enhance the interaction, is not an enabling environment for those accustomed to one-on-one meetings to discuss politics. However, with the pandemic not wavering, the members adapted to it and, in 2021, kept the format, experiencing fewer difficulties. One of the main discussions in the general meetings, both in 2020 and 2021, was the necessity of the movement to raise their membership numbers to improve the association funding. The concern was that the numbers were falling and the perspective of the pandemic and its subsequent crisis was not optimistic. Financially, SFD was also affected, as it had to cancel its annual fair, *Markt des guten Geschmacks*, in 2020 and 2021.

Other projects had to be adapted to the constraints of reality. It was the case for the 2020 SFY Akademie. It was normally planned for 25 young activists (from 18 to 35 years of

age) per year. It was an eight-month program with a themed weekend per month held in a different part of the country, each weekend focusing on one aspect of the food system. These were intensive weekends, with theory brought by experts, and hands-on learning guided by local producers. In 2020, the program was due to start at the end of March, but, with the pandemic having been declared just two weeks earlier, the first two weekends were canceled. So, what ended up happening was that it was adapted on the go and, in the end, six out of the eight meetings were held on Zoom. Then in July and August, with the number of contamination cases under better control, they managed to hold the weekend activities publicly/offline, as planned: one, on fish, was held in Wiesau and the other, on gastronomy, was held in Berlin. One of the effects of this change from personal to virtual meetings was the loss of people along the way: we began with 25 and, for the last weekend, we were between 14 and 17 online. Some members abandoned the program at the beginning: spending so many hours at the weekend in front of a computer on a Zoom call was time-consuming. The interactions in this format had a different dynamic from the ones in person. Sometimes, they demanded more energy to engage as the conversations did not flow as easily as when people were in the same room, looking at each other and all the non-verbal communication. More than that, the program was designed to be a mix of empiricism and theory - and the virtual format did not allow the participants to touch, smell, or look at from different angles the vegetable products, or the animals, involved. So, even when following all the distance safety rules, spending the weekend together, visiting producers or cooks, or learning to work with fish, for example, and sharing the meals instead of only talking about them made a great difference. If we had not had the two personal encounters, it would have been harder to retain this number of participants to the end of the course. On the other hand, the online format allowed

international experts to take part, which was unusual. For 2021, the hybrid format was adopted from the beginning and planned this way due to the restrictions still in place. It is interesting to note that, despite all the obstacles, the program managed to fulfill one of its functions, which was to recruit young activists into the movement. Thus, continuing the presence of alumni in SFY, one of the participants of the 2020 program was elected to the new SFY Germany leadership team.

Finally, Slow Food Germany suffered a great loss in July 2020, unrelated to the COVID-19 pandemic, but one that may have had an even bigger impact: the death of the movement leader, Ursula Hudson. She was the president of the national association for

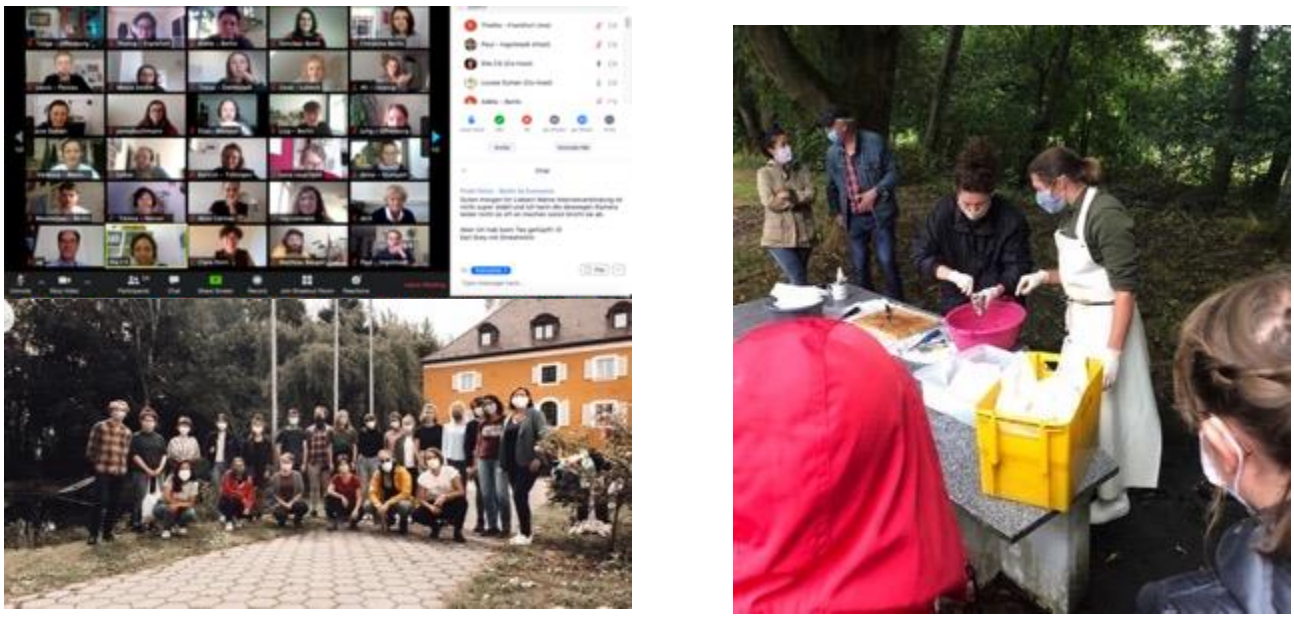

Figure 43. *Akademie meetings online and in person.* Left top: reproduction of Zoom meeting. Left bottom: Group picture in the first in person weekend. Disclosure image. Right: Students learning to clean the fish. Own work.

eight years, as well as a member of the executive committee of Slow Food International. Her role as a leader guiding the movement toward greater political engagement and making it more attractive to the young generations has been highlighted by many members of the association.

In Brazil, Slow Food may have adapted more quickly at first because, due to its continental dimension, most of the movement's communication at the national level was already online (see Chapter 5). So, communication mostly continued in a format already used. Of course, the local convivia had their meetings suspended. But the groups that I have analyzed in this research, from Florianópolis and Salvador, did not have regular meetings. Some of the meetings were canceled and some virtual meetings were held to discuss urgent organizational matters, such as the migration from the convivium to

community format (see Chapter 5). If in this organizational aspect, the COVID-19 pandemic did not change a great deal in Slow Food Brazil, it did have a significant impact on the projects and events that the movement had going on in 2020. Five projects, for example, that had external financing (four by IFAD and one by the Swiss Embassy in Brazil) but demanded fieldwork were either suspended or adapted, and all the fieldwork was canceled. They involved indigenous and traditional populations from North and Northeast Brazil and could have endangered both the professionals and the local populations in the pandemic context. In 2020, the first Brazilian edition of SFYN Academy was planned to be held, organized by the Curitiba Convivium. It would be a shorter program than the one in Germany, restricted to the region, in southern Brazil, but it, too, had to go online. The Academy meetings were held on Skype and their dynamics also changed, from visiting small producers to talking to diverse experts and activists around the country (and the world). The program as an entry into Slow Food also worked here as some of the participants joined SFYN Brazil meetings later on.

As most ASFB meetings were already online, the only organizational one that was supposed to happen in person but had to go online was the general assembly to elect the new board of the national association, in April 2021. Even though the format could mean a more accessible event, it was not widely publicized or even made open to all members. Differently from the German association, the Brazilian one does not count one member as one vote; only the representatives of local groups participate in the general assembly. The greatest loss to the movement's organization, however, was the postponement of Terra Madre Brasil. The event had been planned for two years and it promised to be a rare opportunity to assemble Slow Food activists from the whole country in a four-day meeting, including workshops, cooking classes, debates, and a food fair with the products from Slow Food projects Ark of Taste and Presidia. It was to be the first national Terra Madre in 10 years, and for the first time, it would be open to the public (in the other three editions, it had only been for Slow Food members). Around 30,000 people were expected to attend, and it was to take place in Salvador, Bahia, in June 2020. At first, it was postponed. But then the organizers decided to do it online, in November. On a website[74] and through YouTube[75], there was an intensive six-day schedule of debates, taste workshops with products of Brazilian biodiversity, and cultural attractions. There are two

[74] The event website: https://terramadrebrasil.org.br/. Accessed on 15 January 2021.
[75] The videos remain available on the Slow Food Brasil YouTube channel https://www.youtube.com/c/SlowFoodBrasil. Accessed on 15 January 2021.

perspectives here. The first is losses and how interactions change and are limited when an event goes online. The casual encounters, the exchanges between talks and the meals that strengthen the network are all lost. But there are also gains. People who would not normally travel to the event can access it, expanding its reach. The organization calculated that 200,000 people took part in it. This number is the sum of the views recorded on every platform, i.e., YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram. But the playing of most videos on YouTube, for example, numbered around 250, some fewer, others going to 800 views. The three exceptions are the ones that had famous artists: the opening table, with Bela Gil, a food influencer, had 2,500 views; Chico César's concert had another 1,800 views, and the talk between the musician Gilberto Gil and the indigenous thinker Ailton Krenak was watched 3,600 times[76].

Figure 44. *Terra Madre Brasil went online.* Reproduction.

Internationally, Slow Food was similarly impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. 2020 was supposed to host the Terra Madre, and the Slow Food International Congress. Both

[76] For comparison purposes, on her channel, Bela Gil has videos posted at the same time as the event. The one with the lowest audience had 3,700 views. Most are between 8,000 and 30,000 views, with one especially popular video having been watched 224,000 times. Available at https://www.youtube.com/@belagil/videos. Accessed 09 January 2022.

events were to happen in September. If at first, people thought that in September 2020 things would already be better, it quickly became clear that the pandemic would take longer to be over. The solution for the Terra Madre was to change the format. It went virtual, organizing a six-month long schedule, with online and offline (when possible) local events organized by the convivia and national associations. So, some connection was maintained, even if, once more, the richness of the exchanges that brought activists and producers from all over the world together in one place was lost. On the other hand, the event was extended and allowed activists more opportunities to meet, although virtually, offered an expansion of the debates, and, once more, it reached an audience that might not have traveled to Italy.

More than that, however, one of the biggest concerns expressed by different members of Slow Food in various contexts, was that Slow Food International funds its structure every two years mainly with the support of Terra Madre and Salone del Gusto. Even though this information was repeatedly affirmed, the annual reports of Slow Food International and Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity do not make clear how it impacts the financial state of the movement (Key Documents - About Us, n.d.). No big change could be observed in those institutions throughout 2021. Nonetheless, the commercial arms of the movement (see Section 4.2), were not covered by these institutional figures, so this impact could not be confirmed. In any case, a big campaign for donations was launched with Terra Madre in 2020. Slow Food Germany was one of the national associations working hard on this topic. However, it did not last long and raised only €2,960, according to their website[77].

Regarding the International Congress, the Slow Food board decided to postpone it to 2022 so it would not be online. This was not the first time it did not happen in the planned year. Even though the rule is that it should be held every four years, the last three events were five years apart: 2007 in Puebla, Mexico, 2012 in Turin, Italy, and 2017 in Chengdu, China (Slow Food, n.d.). Taking place after two years of the pandemic was an opportunity to see the challenges and opportunities this brought to the movement more clearly and made it easier to plan the next year's foci. But I will address that in the last section of this chapter.

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[77] Until 17 January 2021, €2,960 had been collected from 79 donors in 10 countries. The same value was registered a year later. https://donate.slowfood.com/en/campaign/support-slow-food/. Accessed 19 January 2022.

So, in short, Slow Food has been impacted in different ways by the COVID-19 pandemic. The first is in its structural functioning since its activists gather around food. With the physical distance imposed, some groups have moved their meetings to the virtual environment, with the necessary adaptations to continue. However, not everyone has been able to do this, either because of material limitations, access to a quality internet network, or personal limitations (such as elderly members having difficulties in dealing with new technologies).

> The convivia; partly, they disappeared. There isn't happening anything at all. It seems that they have fallen deeply asleep. And I think it won't be easy to bring it all together. Because the ones that, in quotation marks, only went eating out or met and worked poorly regarding subject matter, don't have a base anymore. One can't meet anymore; one can't go eating out anymore. There are many, not only the old ones but also the young ones are saying that doing Slow Food online isn't working. Eating is still analog. (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020)

More than that, the extension of these formats has also generated disengagement, with people suffering from burnout either from their workload that accumulated when home and office became intermingled, from too much time spent in front of a screen, or from the insecurities and fears that the pandemic brought with it.

> It is already difficult to keep members and this year we have, for the first time, more departures than admissions. Because exactly these \ Well, on the one hand, these personal levels where people get to know it and participate in it, and on the other hand, regarding these departures, many people feel existentially threatened and look at which expenses, which membership fees, can or must I save. (G. S.R., personal communication, December 14, 2020)

This loss of engagement can also have economic consequences for a movement that depends on membership fees, profits from events, and support from food-related businesses (SFD and SFI). But, of course, although I am here analyzing the impacts on the movement, they are embedded in a broader context. And the fact is that the COVID-19 pandemic was a disruption of everyday life, it triggered "an 'omnicrisis'" (Negri and Hardt 2000: 189, 201), reinforcing pre-existing ecological, economic, political, social, cultural and personal strains, fusing them into an all-encompassing crisis of multiple institutions that takes on a humanitarian dimension […]" (Vandenberghe & Véran, 2021, p. 171).

Thus, the existing inequalities became more evident with this crisis (Della Porta, 2021). And conditions in the locations where Slow Food operated were very different. In

Germany, the federal and state governments acted in a coordinated way, instituting lockdowns and re-openings. Emergency aid for businesses was made available so that they could remain closed without having to cut staff[78]. Hospitals did not reach full capacity at any time. In Brazil, the federal government was under the control of an extreme right-wing denialist leader. Thus, there was, at no time, coordinated action between the federal government and the states. More than that, some states and municipalities that imposed lockdowns were prosecuted and sued by the national government. In addition, to help businesses survive the closures, labor laws were relaxed, creating more precariousness among workers. Emergency help was put in place, but in a temporary way and with amounts that were not enough to guarantee monthly food. Brazil faced overcrowding in its hospitals, even with the construction of emergency structures, and, proportionally, was one of the countries with the highest number of deaths from COVID-19 in the world, reaching almost 700,000[79] people.

At such a moment, social movements can play an important role, "mobilizing in defense of those rights that they perceive to be at risk or ever more strongly needed. In general, social movements adapt to moments of intense change, mobilizing to turn them to their advantage" (Della Porta, 2021, p. 213). The fact that Slow Food operates as a network can facilitate such adaptation, since, despite having a structure that is still sometimes hierarchical (see Chapters 5 and 7), each node ends up tailoring the philosophy to its context and needs. These local solutions can be shared, and more than that, some are built on different realities, such as the cases of the Academies described here. With that in mind, I would like to examine what effects the COVID-19 pandemic had on the Slow Food movement's repertoires of action and agenda.

8.2 Food and the pandemic: an opportunity for Slow Food?

As stated in this chapter's introduction, there are several connections between the COVID-19 pandemic and the current food system. Being a social movement focused on changing the latter, Slow Food had momentum. Once the first impact of the pandemic had passed and the necessary adaptations had been made to continue operating, the

[78] There are certainly many possible criticisms of how these regulations were made and implemented, but they are beyond the scope of this study. The crucial thing here is to note the difference in scenarios.
[79] Until January 09, 2023.

movement moved into action. In this section, I will examine how it forged new forms of action and which of the topics that the crisis brought to light were incorporated into the movement's agenda. Again, I will first look at each country separately and then draw a comparative analysis. The very diverse contexts in which the movement operates create, as we have noted throughout this thesis, differences in ways of acting and foci. However, similarities are also present. In this crisis, it was possible to notice that the movement's first concern was its historical goal: connecting producers to consumers.

In Brazil, the first main initiative was led by the SFYN: the drawing up of a map[80], using Google, that tagged producers, small food businesses and solidarity actions across the country. The idea of the map was launched in a meeting with five people, me included, at the end of March, and it was executed in a very short period, a matter of days. It was intensively advertised for around two months (April and May 2020). The call for registration and the publicity for it was mainly done through social media (WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram). The engagement of famous chefs reposting it on Instagram gave the project a boost. All the registers were added by the original group of people. So, it was an intense project, one that did not allow much checking on the businesses advertised to see if they were in line with Slow Food's philosophy[81].

Figure 45. *The Brazilian collaborative mapping developed by SFYN, which was also publicized by famous chefs, such as Bela Gil.* Instagram reproduction.

[80] Available at https://bit.ly/2UB1cgW. Accessed on 01.02.2021.
[81] We would do a superficial check and businesses that were clearly out of line were not included.

The second step of the project, scheduled for the second semester of 2020, was never realized. It sought to have the whole Slow Food Brazil Network checking and updating the data. The release of an analysis form, to verify how the map impacted engagement with those small businesses, was also planned for release, but this never went further. Here, it becomes clear that SFYN Brazil has a great capacity for launching campaigns and engaging with the Slow Food Network, but their biggest challenge is the continuity of those projects, and this is related to the lack of a bigger group of committed activists as once there is no funding for this kind of action, it becomes voluntary-based work (see Chapters 5 and 7). This difficulty is also, one could say, linked to the fact that the ASFB does not have a database of allied businesses, as, it is worth remembering, the Brazilian association is restricted to partnering with private companies (see Chapters 5 and 7).

The map project also brought a change to the movement's repertoire: the inclusion not only of fairs, stores, and restaurants but also of solidarity actions. The latter is not part of the current repertoire of the movement. However, with the crisis aggravated by the pandemic, they were included. Aggravated, as research shows, by the fact that food insecurity in the country was already deteriorating in 2017-2018. With the pandemic, these issues became even more relevant, and along with them came the emergence of hunger, which once again ravaged the country. Although the pandemic increased the search for organic produce, simultaneous movements happened in the opposite direction in that there was an increase in the consumption of ultra-processed food[82] by different groups in Brazil during the pandemic, according to a Datafolha inquiry (Idec, 2020). This report highlighted how people between 45 and 55 years old, who consumed 9% of such processed products in October 2019, were eating 16% of them in June 2020. Snacks, crackers, and chips had their biggest growth, rising from 30% to 35% during the period. However, another index catches the eye: among the higher-income population, the consumption of at least one vegetable went from 83% in 2019 to 89% in 2020, while the consumption of at least one piece of fruit a day reduced in the countryside (68% in 2019

[82] The concept of ultra-processed food is a classification tool for food called the NOVA System, developed in Unicamp, and used in the Food Guide for the Brazilian Population (M. da Saúde. S. de A. à Saúde. D. de A. Básica. Brasil, 2014). It divides food into four categories: unprocessed, minimally processed, processed, and ultra-processed. The first category includes edible parts of plants, animals, fungus or algae. The second category refers to foods that have been dried, fermented, or cleaned, such as rice, beans, coffee, tea, flour, and so on. The processed foods products made from ingredients including oils, butter, cheese, bread, etc. The ultra-processed foods are industrial formulations, rich in sugars and/or fat and "derived from food constituents or synthesized in a laboratory based on organic materials such as petroleum and coal" (Brasil, 2014, p. 41).

to 62% in 2020) and in the Northeast (from 72% to 64%), which are the areas of Brazil with the lowest incomes. So, while some social strata could improve their diet during the pandemic, increasing the intake of healthy food, buying organic and more fresh fruits and vegetables, a considerable part of the population had to reduce these products intake due to its costs, reinforcing the inequalities.

In this sense, the data from the Food for Justice inquiry (Galindo et al., 2021) showed a reduction of healthy food intake of more than 85% in households experiencing food insecurity, while in those households with food security, this reduction varied between 7% and 15%.

> Regarding the changes in the consumption of healthy foods during the pandemic, Graph 23 shows the group of meats with the highest frequency of reduction (44.0%), followed by the following groups: fruits (40.8%), cheeses (40.4%) and vegetables (36.8%). It is worth noting that the group of eggs was, of all foods, the one that suffered the lowest frequency of reduction (17.8%) and the highest frequency of increased consumption (18.8%). It is considered that the increase in egg consumption may indicate the replacement of meat consumption. As for maintenance in consumption, the group of cereals and legumes showed the highest frequency (73.0%).
>
> Regarding the consumption of unhealthy foods during the pandemic, Chart 24 shows the sweets group with the highest frequency of increase in consumption (8.6%), and the pastas/pancakes group as the one with the lowest increase (5.4%). For all groups of unhealthy foods, most respondents reported no change in consumption of these foods. (Galindo et al., 2021, p. 37)

Furthermore, Brazil saw a high increase in food prices in 2020. Inflation reached 14.09%, with basic products such as soybean oil rising by 103.79%, rice by 76.01% and beans by 68.08% (IBGE, 2021a). With this, the purchasing power of the basic food basket for the minimum wage became the lowest since 2005, with a minimum wage being enough for 1.58 baskets (a measure of the amount of food necessary for an adult for one month) (Mendonça, 2021). This trend had already been observed in the family budget research 2017-2018 (IBGE, 2019), which pointed to food as being responsible for 17.5% of family expenses, a figure that reached 23.8% in rural areas. This directly affected the less-privileged classes, such as retirees, who had the minimum wage as income, or the informal workers, who counted for 39.1% of the working population (IBGE, 2021b).

Thus, the pandemic worsened a scenario that was already a crisis and demanded Slow Food pay attention to urgent issues, such as the population's food security and food sovereignty. The discussions on the topic grew within the movement, as did the advocacy for public policies to guarantee it. At the same time, solidarity actions were incorporated,

based on the motto of the Brazilian sociologist Herbert 'Betino' de Souza, that "those who are hungry are in a hurry". One example is one of the alliances for food security and sovereignty that Slow Food is part of, called *Banquetaço*. This started as a mobilization against the proposal of the then São Paulo Mayor in 2017, João Dória, to feed poor families with *farinata*, a granulated compost made of surpluses of the food industry about to expire. Since then, the collective has mobilized for the human right to healthy food. In 2019, it protested against the disbandment of the National Food Council, Consea, one of the first acts of Jair Bolsonaro as president. With the pandemic, in 2020, the collective's new campaign is 'People are to shine, not to die of hunger', and it has brought attention to the necessity of feeding the impoverished population with healthy and nutritious food, best grown by family farmers and agroecological systems. Although preparing and distributing food has been a model used by Slow Food for many years, it has been done in the context of Disco Soups (*Disco Xepa* in Brazil, *Schnippeldisko* in Germany), where the aim is to raise awareness of food waste and cook and serve delicious dishes with what would normally end up in the bin. The actions of 'People are to shine, not die of hunger' have a different motivation, that of feeding hungry people, and this should be classified as a solidarity action. They also organize the cooking of tasty meals, like the Disco Soups, but their goal is to bring food to people who do not have access to it, while, at the same time, they are a political act and push for public policies.

Figure 46. *Instagram posts of the campaign 'People are to shine, not to die of hunger' [Gente é pra brilhar, não pra morrer de fome].* Reproduction.

Slow Food Germany, for its part, also had, among its first actions aimed at confronting the pandemic, a map[83] listing small food businesses all around the country. There were, however, some differences from the Brazilian project. The first was that they did not rush it, they took their time. This meant that it took longer to register a range of establishments and that it was ready when it was launched. They also had the form to be included in the map available on their private platform, which meant that only businesses associated with Slow Food could access it and that Slow Food had already filtered out who could and could not receive this support. In the same vein, the map was hosted on the SFD website which, a priori, might seem it was restricted to members of the movement. In fact, it could bring curious people to join Slow Food and raise general interest in the movement. Finally, it became a fixed part of the association's website, being integrated as a tool to connect producers and consumers.

[83] Available at https://www.slowfood.de/einkaufen. Accessed on 01.02.2021.

Figure 47. *SFD Map of producers and restaurants.* Website reproduction.

Locally, the SFYN Berlin set up a project called Taste@Home, where they assembled products from the Berlin and Brandenburg area in a box, which was then distributed by bicycle couriers on a specific date. Then, that same night, they did a tasting of the food via Zoom.

> Who needs support? Because corona is super harmful to the retail sector and restaurants and bakeries, although bakeries not that much. But yes,

> delicious wine, bread, and chocolate. We got them through the chocolate trip around Berlin. And it was great. And then what was thrilling, it widened up the possibilities of how to organize events because the winegrower also participated, in Hessen, or definitely in the south of Germany, that evening and spoke about how she cultivates wine. And it is totally an opportunity. And also, Anna from *Stolzen Kuh* was there because we had salami or cheese. I don't remember. Well, we had a product from them. And she wouldn't have come for an evening tasting in Berlin. But sitting two hours in front of a computer, closing it and feeding again animals: brilliant. YES. That was something where I thought 'Okay, some things are easier online'. And yes, for some people, it was a new opportunity. (N. H., personal communication, October 27, 2020)

The same format, on a bigger scale, was launched by the national association. The first was a Piwi wine tasting, on the eve of the general assembly. They sent a box with six bottles of wine, and instructions on what could be served with them, and, then, the tasting was broadcast via Zoom, by a specialist and some of the producers. Later, on the occasion of Terra Madre, Slow Food Germany did other tastings in this format, such as one with products from the Ark of Taste, and one on legumes. The big change between the SFYN Berlin project and the national ones was the scale and the publicity. While the youth group focused their publicity using social media (mainly Instagram and Telegram), the association marketed their tastings through e-mail (newsletters) and its website. If the first could easily reach people outside the movement, the second, somehow, could also be a way of approaching potential new members, as, usually, these boxes for tasting were for more than two people. Also, the first was a little bit less expensive than the others: it cost €35, while most of the first tastings of SF Deutschland were between €45 and €70. This is in line with discussions about accessibility and elitism in the movement (see Chapter 6).

Figure 48. *Tasting boxes from SFY Berlin, SF Akademie and SF Deutschland chocolates and Ark products.* Instagram reproduction (left) and own work (others).

These initiatives, though innovative in format, have been, as mentioned earlier, in the scope of Slow Food courses of action for several years. That is, one of the main aims of the movement has been to connect small producers with consumers, and by doing so, it ends up influencing the production model, the distribution, and the preparation and consumption of food. In this sense, the first moments of the pandemic, at the beginning of 2020, could be seen as a positive context for Slow Food. Higher demand for organic food from local producers was seen in Germany (Bmel, 2021). Many factors, as highlighted in the Die Zeit article 'Einkaufen im Lockdown: Der Bio-Boom in der Pandemie' (Hielscher, 2020) could have contributed to it: the search for a healthier diet during a health crisis, the need to cook more, and even having more money to spend that had not been used for restaurants outings. Producers and activists from Slow Food confirmed this tendency in their interviews, with one farmer stating that his shop was overwhelmed, with a demand comparable to Christmas all through the year.

> I think that the producers or farms or workshops which are looking after Ark passengers, they have been receiving revaluation and esteem by corona. Because, well, why exactly? More people are cooking on their own because canteens are closed. (...) For the joy of life, some are more concerned about cooking well and they are interested in where it is from. Farm shops are booming this year in Germany. They don't have any sales problems but more the problem where to get the products for the increased customer interest. They don't have only Ark products but that is exactly the market or farms which are looking after Ark

> passengers as well. And based on that, I see more uplift in what we are doing. (G. S.R., personal communication, December 14, 2020)

It is important, however, to localize this phenomenon. Here, we are dealing with the group to which Slow Food belongs, the middle- and upper-middle-class. So, these are not people who necessarily suffered an impact on their food security in these first moments of the pandemic. But, the timing is also fundamental. The behavior described here is consistent with the first months of the pandemic. The 2021 German food report shows that, between 2020 and 2021, more people were cooking almost every day: between 39% and 52% of the interviewees. But, at the same time, there was also a growth in the already prepared food delivery: in 2020, 42% of the respondents had never tried it, while in 2021, this number stood at 33% (BMEL, 2021, p. 8). This number changed the next year, though, with a decrease in daily cooking to 46%; however, "the proportion of respondents who state that they cook two to three times a week has increased by four percentage points" (BMEL, 2022, p. 7)[84]. One of Slow Food's essential focuses of action is to raise awareness among the general public of the inconsistencies and inequalities of the food chain, so individuals could do their part to change this reality through consumer choices. In this sense, the pandemic effects, as highlighted here, could be a starting point for a broader influence of the Slow Food movement. However, despite this behavior change, the aftermath of the pandemic saw a rise in inflation, which was aggravated by the war in Ukraine starting in 2022. Food is among the main products that have gone up in price, with an almost 20% increase in relation to the previous year (*Verbraucherpreisindex - Preisentwicklung für Nahrungsmittel - Januar 2015 bis November 2022*, n.d.), and the results of this on the consumption of organic and farm-fresh food is yet to be measured.

Another aspect that may have been affected in Slow Food Germany because of the pandemic and the migration of people to the virtual environment is the way of having political involvement. In addition to online campaigns and lobbying in the European Parliament (see Chapters 6 and 7), the movement is part of the coalition *Meine Landwirtschaft*, which organizes the annual demonstration *Wir Haben es Satt!* (see Chapter 6). If in January 2020, they were able to gather 27,000 people in Berlin's streets, for 2021, they had to find an alternative within the pandemic restrictions. The solution was to keep the tractor demonstration as it would allow social distancing, and, in the end, a photo-action took place: 10,000 footprints, sent by activists from around the country

[84] The question of having tried food delivery before was not on the 2022 report.

(and further) were hung up in front of the German Chancellor's Office as a demand for more sustainable agriculture. The strategy was criticized by some activists, who insisted that a demonstration should have taken place, even if it was to be smaller. “Everybody would understand, it's a smaller demonstration, but... no, they only want a photo opportunity. Ok, have a photo opportunity then... This is good for people who want to post something on Facebook or Twitter and Instagram, and that is it. Will it make a political difference? I doubt it” (J. M., personal communication, October 28, 2020).

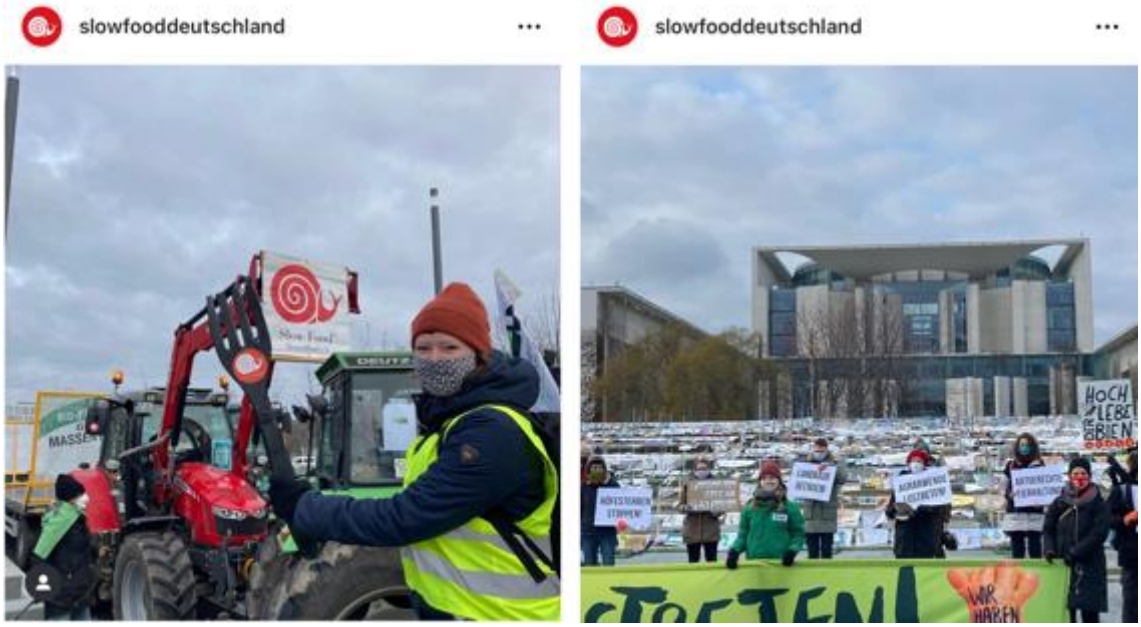

Figure 49. *WHES 2021. Posts in Slow Food Deutschland Instagram.* Reproduction.

However, it is important to highlight that, even before the pandemic, WHES had carried out photo actions as a model of protesting throughout the year. More than that, the then Agriculture Minister, Julia Klöckner, reacted to this campaign with a video on her Instagram account, something that never happened before. So, what is being debated is the way of doing politics. “We are totally sidelined. Our traditional way of influencing […] is closed because we are not meeting. Politics is meeting people and not watching your TV screen and listening to boring speeches. That's the problem” (J. M., personal communication, October 28, 2020). Nonetheless, this perspective was not shared by a majority within the movement. In January 2022, with the pandemic still restricting crowds, WHES once again had a demonstration format with the tractors, a photo-action with hay bales in front of the Bundestag, writing *Agrarwende Jetzt!* [Agrarian Change Now], and an online campaign preceding the event. In this last event, the activists recorded a video. They passed a leek from hand to hand, and whoever was holding the leek would set out their demands and pass the vegetable on to the next participant, like a

relay. The more than 1,500 clips were compiled and delivered to the then Minister of Agriculture, Cem Özdemir, with a leek and a QR code.

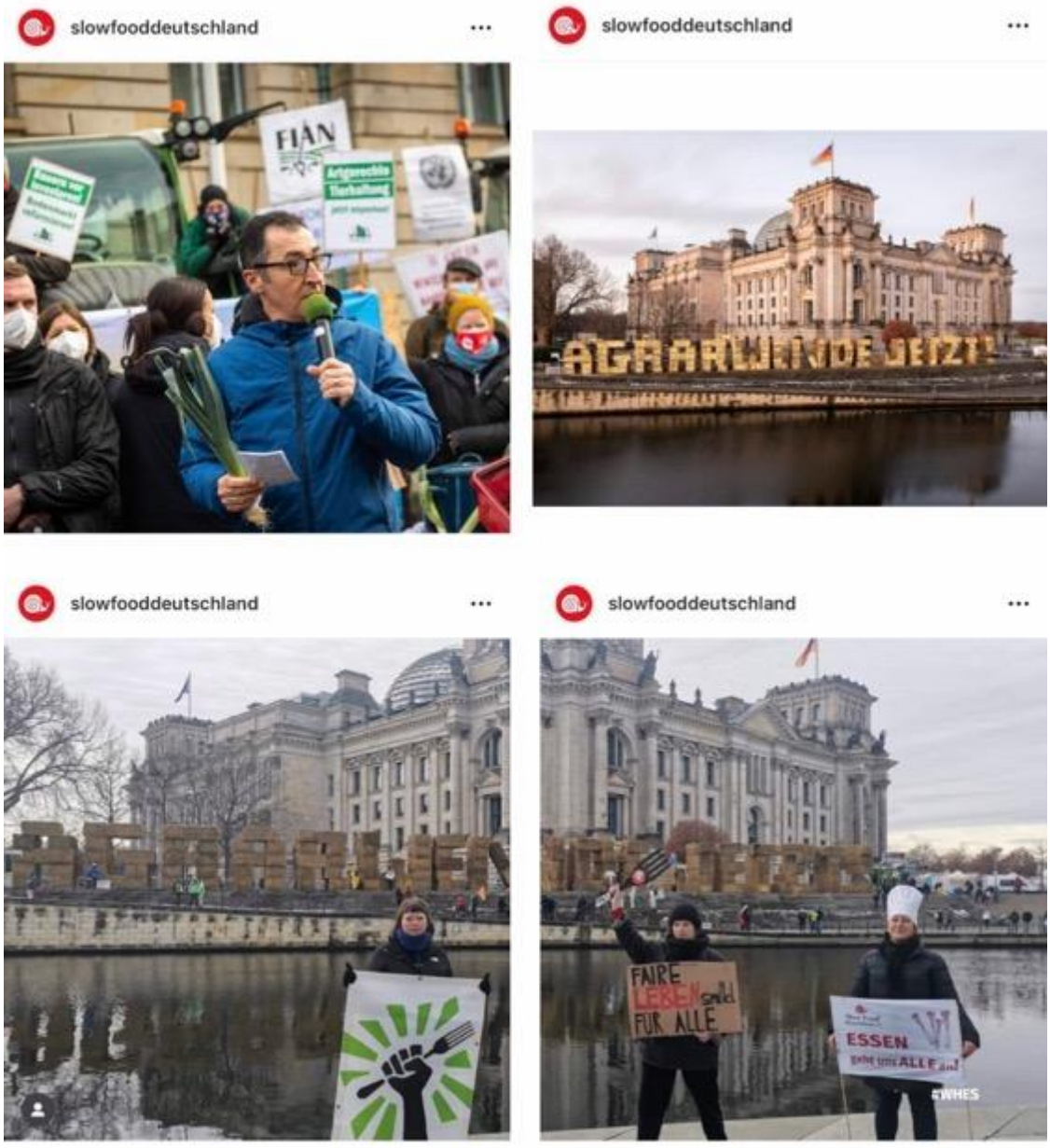

Figure 50. *WHES 2022. Posts of SFD on Instagram.* Reproduction.

Even when recognizing the importance of meetings and physical demonstrations, some groups, such as SFY Deutschland, had invested in online campaigns as a mobilization

tool even before the pandemic. One of them was the #WithdrawtheCAP, a campaign launched by several NGOs and movements linked to the agrifood world. This is part of the strategy of the Slow Food Europe office that is used to lobby the European Parliament, and, in alliance with different other social movements and NGOs, has been instrumental in influencing important agenda there. So, in the end, what we see is a dispute, or rather, two different and not necessarily incompatible understandings of how to do politics. Here, once again, a certain degree of generational clash is evident (see Chapter 6) in SFD. While more experienced activists do not believe much in the power of social networks, arguing that they only speak to a bubble, the younger ones see value in this medium as an additional way of acting. Finally, it is necessary to take into consideration the context in which these decisions not to do demonstrations with large numbers of people took place. Berlin was the scene, in the second half of 2020, of protests against the pandemic measures. These marches gathered thousands of people, bringing together extreme right-wing and anti-vaccine movements (Press, 2020). Thus, not taking to the streets with a demonstration at that point was also a positioning of progressive movements, signaling their antagonism to these values.

In Germany's context, still, the pandemic highlighted the poor conditions of workers in the fields. It became a theme in SFD's agenda. It is interesting to note that, even though the topic of migrant workforce exploitation was already being debated by the SFY in Germany, they focused mainly on the Italian problem with tomatoes and Spain with fruit and vegetables. The problem in Germany was mentioned in articles in the Slow Food magazine (03/2020) but it was not turned into a broader discussion in the network that year, or at least not a discussion that could be perceived as a theme in the groups that I was participating in. In June 2021, the problem of seasonal workers coming from eastern countries and not having proper working conditions was addressed in a cooking class with asparagus and strawberries, the products that first drew attention to the issue at the beginning of the pandemic.

Heimischer Anbau, unfaire Bedingungen

Spargel und Erdbeeren gehören für viele Menschen im Juni unbedingt auf den Tisch. Doch die Ernte wird traditionell von Saisonarbeiter*innen erledigt, die oft schlecht bezahlt und untergebracht sind. Die Slow Food Youth befasste sich in einem Online-Kochkurs mit den bestehenden Zuständen – und mit Verbesserungsvorschlägen.

Die Vorspeise mit grünem Spargel, ein Erdbeer-Crumble zum Dessert: Die Zutaten zum Menü entsprechen der Saison und sind auch aus regionalem Anbau zu bekommen. Und trotzdem bleibt ein bitterer Beigeschmack. Denn die körperlich anstrengende Arbeit des Spargelstechens und der Erdbeerernte wird meist von osteuropäischen Saisonarbeiter*innen gemacht. Und deren mitunter unwürdigen Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen sind spätestens im vergangenen Jahr mit Beginn der Corona-Pandemie bekannt geworden.

Geändert hat sich bislang kaum etwas. Was können wir tun? Welche Lösungsansätze existieren? Wie kann ich fair produzierte Lebensmittel aus der

Figure 51. *An online cooking class debated the working conditions of seasonal migrants. (Heimischer Anbau, unfaire Bedingungen, n.d.)*

Also, starting from the idea of justice in the food system, the SFY have been doing workshops as part of the *#GoEAThical – Our Food. Our Future* project, which is a European action looking to create consciousness in consumers, mainly among the youth, about the food system and its unfairness. The project started in March 2020 and is scheduled for August 2023. Also, the theme selected for the movement nationally in 2021 was fairness (see Chapter 6) in drinking, and looked at the production of wine and, mainly, of juices, such as orange, which had a dedicated workshop on it. Their goal was to show how the products consumed in Germany are being produced in other parts of the world, often not only imposing a negative impact on the environment but also creating poor working conditions for the people who are cultivating them.

Figure 52. *Campaign to raise awareness of the poor working conditions of tomato growers in Italy.* Instagram reproduction.

So, when we look at the Slow Food movement in Brazil and Germany, we see that the pandemic period made the movement adopt new ways of acting and introduce new themes to its agenda. The differences in context, compounded by social inequalities before the pandemic crisis, meant that the challenges that faced the movement in each country were distinct. Even so, there were commonalities. Both Slow Food Brazil and Germany focused, in the first instance, on connecting food producers and consumers. Both also used the same tool, a map. The differences in the execution of the project, however, reflect the different structures and premises of the movement in these countries (see Chapter 7). While solidarity actions incorporated into the Brazilian repertoire, in addition to the reinforcement of online campaigns, in Germany, online tastings, workshops and hybrid protests, with photo actions in addition to the online campaign, also became part of the movement's new range of actions. In common, these campaigns embraced a social justice in the food system theme. This was not a topic that was brought to light by the pandemic, it was already being discussed before it struck. But it is clear

that the impact of COVID-19 in the different realities highlighted the urgency of the problem and made some aspects of it worse, such as hunger in Brazil, or finally made it somehow visible, such as migrant workforce exploitation in Germany. Even so, it can be noted that the issue of food security, in the sense of lack of access to food, is still a topic that is not discussed in the European country internally as a problem of that territory (see Chapter 6). All that remains now is to analyze the prospects that all these changes discussed so far can bring to Slow Food.

8.3 The prospects for a post-pandemic movement

A historic opportunity: this is how the founder of Slow Food, Carlo Petrini, defines the momentum for the EU's food and farming:

> Over the past few years, we have been faced with three crises: the economic crisis, the climate crisis, and, currently, the pandemic crisis. None of these three crises will be solved completely unless we shift the paradigm, unless we move toward the economy which rests on the common good, unless we take into account the environment, food sovereignty, tourism, and fair prices. We shouldn't just look at the product and production. The COVID-19 crisis is tightly related to the environmental and economic crises, which will continue to affect us unless we take joint action. If we keep wasting time, we will miss the opportunity right in front of us. (Anskaityte, 2020)

As described and discussed throughout this chapter, the Slow Food movement was highly impacted by the pandemic, but, at the same time, it saw its historical agendas coming to public attention and even expanded its repertoire of actions and agendas in local realities. However, it is necessary to consider some challenges that the movement will have to face in the post-pandemic time. Before doing so, I would like to look at the different phases of the pandemic. The first impact, in 2020, forced most of the movement to adapt. Some elements, such as Slow Food Brazil, which was already communicating through online platforms, suffered less in that aspect, while others, such as Slow Food Germany, had a harder time in the beginning. But with time, and the diverse paces of the virus and different local contexts, everyone found a way to keep the work going. One commonality seen here in the movements: they changed the ways they operated, but their actions were based on their main aim, that is, to connect small-scale food producers and consumers. It is interesting to see how there were high hopes at that moment when people went into lockdown and the news spread images of water becoming clean and animals circulating in empty cities. It was as if the deceleration could be sustained, and the environment could

recover. These hopes did not last long. Soon, the inequalities were revealed: who could work from home, who could not, who would suffer more the social effects of the crisis, and so on.

In the second phase of the pandemic, in the second part of 2020 and 2021, when it was realized that it would last for some time yet, there was the establishment of new ways of working and organizing. The new challenges were clearer: from doing online activism to changing the agenda focus. Despite the difficulties of maintaining its funding sources (German and International event-based, Brazil project-based), the movement was able to resist and create new formats. That brings us to the third phase of the pandemic, after the vaccine programs when there was the hope of an end: the organization to exercise the influence that the momentum had brought, as pointed out by many members at different levels of the organization.

> Look at it as a chance that has been given to us by the pandemic, that many people have recognized that food isn't a random product and that they aren't products BUT something special. A topic one has to talk about now. Now, it has been made visible that, especially in the food industry, there are many precarious labor conditions. Barely in any other area exist so many badly paid people as in food production. Is it possible? That is what all of us need, what is the most important for us, there we permit people to be exploited. And that has shown us the pandemic. And there, I see a chance to say again that Slow Food should observe, to focus on it. As well as health in combination with planetary health. (A. L.H., personal communication, November 3, 2020)

Such an opportunity, however, does not come without the recognition that the current crisis[85] has been devastating for many people. Thus, the movement is reorganizing itself to face this new phase. And in its Terra Madre 2022, it proposes the theme Food Regener-Action or ‘act to regenerate’. The toolkit distributed after the event still relies on Slow Food current actions and values. However, it is worth mentioning that in 2022 food sovereignty and hunger became a theme at the international meeting, within the corner dedicated to activism.

[85] The writing of this thesis closes in early 2023.

Figure 53. *Reproduction of the cover and first page of the toolkit distributed to activists.*

So, if the current food system is intrinsically connected to the COVID-19 pandemic, the way out of these multiple crises would be through its changes. In this same sense, Slow Food has also renewed its structures. After more than 30 years, Carlo Petrini is no longer the movement's president. The change took place in July 2022 at the International Congress. This event, which was planned for 2020, took place before Terra Madre and was restricted to 50 delegates from around the world. The voting, the changes to the statutes, and the election of the new board of directors, however, were broadcast live on the event's website. The new board, chaired by Edward (Eddie) Mukiibi, from Uganda, demonstrates the movement's effort to be more diverse. The young leader is 36 years old and has a group of mostly young directors, with three more experienced members in addition to the former president. Besides that, the group has a balance of men and women, as well as representatives from the Asian and Latin American continents.

Thus, this movement that was born in the small town of Bra in northern Italy and, despite having spread to more than 160 countries, still keeps its headquarters there, seeks ways to embrace its diversity and face the criticism of Eurocentrism (see Chapters 4, 5 and 7). The generational transmission, the space given to young people on the board, also points

to an attempt to renew the movement and give space and power to activists who have sought a more politically active Slow Food rather than a gourmet club. These changes go in line with the agenda changes the movement undertook throughout its history (Siniscalchi, 2014b). However, it is to be seen if this will be only a formal representativeness or will really impact Slow Food actions and structure. The new board of directors, throughout Terra Madre 2022, insisted on the power of communities and joint action. "It is in the communities that the solutions lie," Eddie reinforced in his speech to the delegates at the event. "We won't succeed without you," added Marta Messa, the new secretary general. The movement is trying to expand its capacity to act, weave new alliances, and be more recognized. Whether these words will become reality and Slow Food will be able to take advantage of this moment of crisis, when its priority agendas are in the public discourse, to continue adapting, reinventing, and growing as a social movement will be the topic of study for some years to come.

This leaves only the final analysis that this thesis proposes: of Slow Food's role in safeguarding food heritage. I devote myself to this in the next chapter, where I will briefly review the discussions arising from this work and outline my conclusions.

9 SLOW FOOD AND FOOD HERITAGE: SOME CONCLUSIONS

After examining the workings of Slow Food, its reality in different countries and localities, comparing how the movement adapts in these contexts and, finally, how it coped with the Covid-19 pandemic crisis, I return to the initial question of this project: What role does Slow Food play in safeguarding food heritages? This query led me through some discussions that I would like to examine once again, connecting some final dots, so I can draw my conclusions.

As I clarified at the beginning, this research is born from the Brazilian scenario. Thus, the concern in looking at alternatives for safeguarding food heritage also comes from this context. The idea and development of tools to protect national heritage as we know it today started in the first half of the 20th century, in Europe. The expansion of the concept of including the ‘intangible’ was a process in the second half of the last century, that entailed disputes of narratives, leaded by countries that had not a culture based on buildings and arts. It took some decades of negotiation until UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was signed in 2003. Germany was among the countries that resisted to this new format, and only adhered to it 10 years later. However, since the establishment of the Nationwide Inventory of Intangible Heritage and

the National Register of Best Safeguarding Practices, almost 20 goods related to food and agriculture has been registered. Brazil, on the other hand, had already recognized in its 1988 Constitution the duty of the state to record and safeguard the cultures of the country's different populations. The national registration instrument dates from 2000, even before the Unesco convention was signed. However, the process of including goods in the national inventory is slow, largely due to the lack of structure of the responsible body, dependent on the political will of the federal government. In 22 years only eight traditional know-hows directly related to food and another two indirectly were registered.

It can not be disregarded the historical and political contexts of both countries when considering their different perceptions of heritage. In Germany, due to recent history, the proximity of a nationalistic appeal that such recognition can generate is a sensitive issue. For this very reason, the country has a special feature in its inventory, which is "a diversity of cultural practices and expressions that are practiced in Germany by various communities"[86]. Whereas Brazil is a country that was colonized and whose original populations and those that were brought to the country to be enslaved were excluded and have always fought against subjugation. Thus, recognizing the culture of these marginalized groups is to value the formation of a multiple country, and an attempt to democratize it, since building heritage is mostly of European origin. This ideal of democratization is similar to the one that based the Unesco convention, in the disputed meanings of what heritage is, and that for many cultures it is not a building or a work of art, but the know-how involved in the construction, preparation or celebration. More than this, it is a democratization, because goods recognized as heritage are major tourist attractions, and, therefore, have high economic value. The addition of commercial value to the registered good is not, on paper, the objective of its recognition. However, this kind of increasing in market value is seen as a tool that is often necessary for the good's safeguarding, that is, so that its practice can continue to be reproduced.

The risk with this approach is to reinforce the already existing inequalities (Bortolotto, 2017; García, 2013; Matta, 2012; Parasecoli, 2017), with the most powerful actors taking advantage of this new economical tool, while the holders of such culture and knowledge make little or no gain. Food, in these cases, migrate from an identity marker to a niche product. An approach that considers the multidimensionality and intersectionality of food

[86] Available at https://www.unesco.de/en/culture-and-nature/intangible-cultural-heritage. Accessed 12 April 2022.

inequalities (Motta, 2021c) is necessary to avoid this kind of distortion. That is, an understanding of what the needs of the community in question are, what the internal and external power dynamics are, and how it is possible to safeguard the culture in question, that is, to ensure that this group can continue to reproduce it. In a Brazilian reality, this may imply guaranteeing territory, food sovereignty, the right to access water, traditional seeds, etc.

So, when looking at social movements, Slow Food is one of the first and still biggest to advocate for an alternative food system. Thus, covering many of the topics aforementioned. Its origin, in the lates 1980s in Italy, is connected to a similar phenomenon oh the heritagization of food. If the last was part of regionalization of countries as France and Italy in the begging of last century, the late relates to a localism tendency, against the standardization and loss of diversity caused by the strong process of globalization and the *McDonaldization* of life, i.e., fast food, fast life. Safeguarding the local food heritage has been part of Slow Food's discourse since the beginning and is actively replicated by the movement in Brazil. But not by the movement in Germany. So, to be able to look at both movements, creating a rich comparative that could enlighten how Slow Food adapts in such diverse contexts, I relied on an analysis of the social movement in these two countries, an anthropology of the organization. That is, by determining the activists' profiles, agenda and repertoire of action, alliances and financing, structure, and internal conflicts, I look at the movement as a site for constructing meaning and discourses, with its conflicts and negotiations (Girona, 2001; Wright, 1994).

The very definition of Slow Food as a social movement is already a first challenge. This is a movement that not only aims to be global but also encompasses these NGO, foundation, and event promoter roles within it, a movement that claims to be a network and calls on its various nodes to exercise *austere anarchy*. Despite this ideal, Slow Food is still often a hierarchical, centralized, and even bureaucratic organization. As the German case shows, a structure with a central office, employees, and a group of directors can guarantee the movement the necessary support to develop its actions, not only in terms of formats and expertise but also financially. However, such an established format can also be limiting, such as in the process of including new products in the Ark of Taste. In the same way, the Brazilian case shows how the lack of a well-structured central organization can sometimes limit the movement's capacity for action, and for financing its projects. On the other hand, this lack of ready-made models also encourages the

creation of formats more suited to local realities. This is not only a struggle but an internal dispute, both locally and internationally (see Chapter 7). These conflicts are also what shape the movement and keep it able to adapt to different times and territories.

As can be seen in the previous chapters, the movement's broad scope means that even its members have more than one definition for it. But if we take up Castells' definition based on Touraine, a social movement has three fundamental characteristics: an identity, an adversary, and a societal goal. Slow Food would be, then, an international movement, a network of consumers and producers, that fights against the *McDonaldization* (Ritzer, 1993) of life and the disappearance of culture and biodiversity caused by it and aims for a conscious society able to guarantee *good, clean, and fair food for all*.

This philosophy encompasses a variety of members' profiles: form the gourmets that are only interested in having nice dinners to the more political activists, and, even then, it could fit conservatives and progressists. However, the idea of this moto, which also could mirror how Slow Food's activism evolved throughout the decades (see Section 4.2), could convey a clear message if not separated, as pointed by one interviewee (see Section 5.2.1). That is, to guarantee *good, clean, and fair food for all*, not only good or clean, but always fair and for all. Such alternative food system, one could argue, would then safeguard food heritage, as it would guarantee communities that are marginalized to access quality, enough and culturally adequate food. But this is the movement's ideal, the goal that it wants to achieve, not what it really does. It is this on-site realization that I have analyzed in this thesis and on which I now reflect in an attempt to answer the question that guided this research.

Slow Food is a consumer's movement. It is worth reaffirming that there are producers and farmers in the movement, but it is still largely urban, and its perspective is more from the standpoint of those who consume than those who produce. Furthermore, it is still a movement predominantly white, middle- and upper-middle-class, and intellectual, which, in many cases, translates into an elitist movement, even if it has different meanings according to the reality in which it is inserted[87]. This profile is not unique to Slow Food, and can be seen in other AFNs (Counihan & Siniscalchi, 2013; Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2011). Slow Food, as one of the food movement's forerunners, is no exception

[87] Once again, being middle-class in Florianópolis means one thing, maybe it is closer to being middle-class in Berlin than in Salvador. The level of inequalities and its intersectionalities have different effects in these places. When comparing the two countries in general, middle-class in Brazil lives in a much more precarious situation than in Germany, where there is still a welfare state.

to this rule. However, some members still struggle to identify themselves as belonging to a consumer movement. So much so that the concern of attracting more producers to the movement is recurrent in activists' speeches. This also indicates a certain difficulty in perceiving how the movement's action formats are designed for the reality of the groups that form it, making it more difficult to integrate rural populations, for example.

In the last years, the movement has defined, in a global level, its main axes of action: biodiversity (defend biological and cultural diversity), advocacy (influence policies in the public and private sectors), and education (educate, inspire, and mobilize the public) (Slow Food International, 2021a). Advocacy includes participation in civil society advisory boards, such as the *Conseas* and *Ernährungsrat*, as well as lobbying and campaigning to influence public agricultural and food policies. Under biodiversity are projects such as the Presidia and Ark of Taste, as well as the Earth Markets, proximity markets, and all actions aimed at safeguarding the food cultures and the products of socio-biodiversity. And finally, the education axis includes all actions and awareness campaigns, ranging from Disco Soups against food waste to taste workshops and cooking classes. Those axes could be observed also in both Brazilian and German contexts. What differs are the focus of action of each group: some are more inclined to work on education and awareness, others on promoting the products of the sociobiodiversity and connecting consumers and producers, others still in fighting for changes in public policies. The profile of activists and the context they are inserted in ends up defining the tools and methodologies that the local group focuses on. In Brazil social justice is observed as a concern, from guaranteeing a decent life for rural producers, to ensuring food and nutritional security and food sovereignty for the population. The environmental issue often enters the agenda as a defense of threatened biomes and of the traditional populations that still keep them standing. In Germany, on the other hand, environmental and animal welfare issues are given more attention. It is clear that the living conditions of producers, who are paid a fair price, are also on the agenda, but these other issues present in the Latin American country are often not perceived as part of the local reality.

The Slow Food tools most easily identified as connected to the safeguarding of food heritage would be the Ark of Taste and the Presidia projects. Both have a strong discourse linked to ecological and cultural diversity, even if the weight of each varies according to the context. In Brazil, these two projects were the entry point and establishment of the movement in the country (see Section 5.1). They are also, even today, an important way for the national association to get partnerships. The establishment of a new Presidium, or

an additional stage to an existing one, or an inventory of possible products for the Ark of Taste are ways to weave projects and get funding for their development. In addition, as said before, recognizing the food heritage is seen by the food movements in the country as a way to take away the invisibility of populations that have been historically marginalized and to value them. The implementation of such projects, of course, does not happen without conflicts. One of them reverberates in other instances, namely the methodology for the Presidia, perceived by many activists and professionals involved in fieldwork in Brazil as Eurocentric and in need of adaptation, which is not always an easy negotiation with those responsible at the SF Biodiversity Foundation. Another structural problem recurrently faced in these projects is their development time, agreed or required by the funding partners, but which often does not take into consideration the time of the community. Another structural problem recurrently faced in these projects is their development time, agreed or required by the funding partners, but which often does not take into consideration the time of the community. This makes such projects perceived as top-down. This is a concern of some of the activists who are leading this work in the ASFB, and inventories from bellow methodologies has been adapted and tested in Slow Food projects in the last years [88].

Finally, there is the question of fair prices. Slow Food has been claiming, since its foundation, that the prices of mass-produced food do not match their real cost. So, to have higher quality food, produced artisanally and respecting the environment, as well as paying prices that allow the producers to make a decent living, one has to pay more. The idea behind would be that, as more and more people do this choice, it would alter the food system. It is a *moral economy* (Siniscalchi, 2013), or a social entrepreneurship (Nascimento, 2014), it is an alternative or reformed liberalism. As already discussed extensively in this thesis, such an approach has its limitations. One of these is the tendency to reinforce elitism that is already present in the current system. Once the private sector adapts to the consumers' pressure for better quality, this sometimes creates two different groups of food products (produced by the same companies): one of quality the rich consumers can afford, and another for the poor consumers, comprising low-quality

[88] One of the inspirations of ASFB methodologies is the one developed by IPHAN. Even though there is no institutional partnership between Slow Food and the national heritage authority, some members of the movement have worked in the body. Moreover, a working group of the movement has already developed safeguard projects, such as that for the artisanal way of making Canastra cheese, from IPHAN's calls.

food (Friedmann, 2005), creating food insecurity for groups that are already most excluded (Motta, 2021).

In Germany, on the other hand, this issue is not allied to such projects since the idea of food heritage is not reinforced by Slow Food there. But it is present in the discourse of local food as healthier and more sustainable. This is embedded within the idea that, if one can meet the producers or know how the food is produced, it will make the supply chain fairer. It can, but not necessarily will (Allen, 2010). Once more, the question of who can access the food at this cost is left out. But what are the local food that is valued by the movement in Germany? It means the territory where it is produced, with no link to the culture of origin. As the Presidia is almost inexistent there and, even though there is an effort of the SFD to publicize the passengers of the Ark, part of the movement still ignores them, and food heritage remains a foreign term. So, local food is not linked to traditional food. However, there is a tendency, among youths, of trying to rescue old seeds, and of creating innovative recipes with old crops, that are not so popular anymore. This appears more as a search for vegetarian and vegan alternatives, for a diet with lower environmental impact, and shows little interest in exchanging experience with older generations, what is one of the mechanisms of heritage, talk with the grandmas. Perhaps this is linked to the fact that, within the movement itself, there is an age discontinuity and a clash between the two extremes, that are also represented by the conflict between *gourmets* and political activists.

Expanding the look at the movement internationally, what can be observed is that Slow Food, with its network structure and broad philosophy, is able to shelter many different forms of activism under its umbrella. From its communist origin stayed the ideal of being an *austere anarchy*. Despite this goal, Slow Food is still often a hierarchical, centralized, and even bureaucratic organization. As the German case shows, a structure with a central office, employees, and a group of directors can guarantee the movement the necessary support to develop its actions, not only in terms of formats and expertise but also financially. However, such an established format can also be limiting, such as in the process of including new products in the Ark of Taste. In the same way, the Brazilian case shows how the lack of a well-structured central organization can sometimes limit the movement's capacity for action, and for financing its projects. On the other hand, this lack of ready-made models also encourages the creation of formats more suited to local realities. This is not only a struggle but an internal dispute, both locally and internationally

(see Chapter 7). These conflicts are also what shape the movement and keep it able to adapt to different times and territories.

Finally, what appears as one of the limitations that the Slow Food movement faces, to different degrees, but in all the contexts analyzed here, is a certain degree of social blindness. That is, the lack of reflexivity on intersectional inequalities of gender, class, ethnicity, and socio-spatiality that exists within the contexts where Slow Food acts. This goes to the idealization of happy rurality, which can be noticed in some urban members, or the unawareness of the struggles that peripheric populations face to access healthy food. When looking at the observation units here studied, it is noticeable how the activists' idea of what *fair food* means changes according to the context. In Germany, it is linked to fair payment to the farmers, environmentally friendly agriculture, and care for animal welfare. There is little mention of immigrant fieldworkers, even if their problems became more pronounced with the pandemic (see Chapter 8), or yet food insecurity in the country (see Chapter 6). Topics such as racism and gender inequalities and how they connect are not much present either. Even though the topic of immigrant workers has started to gain space within Slow Food, mainly related to the production in south Europe, the gendered aspect of it has not yet been confronted. At the same time, if we talk about women leading the movement, Germany already has a long history of this, and Brazil recently turned in that direction, with a black woman becoming president[89]. However, internationally, leadership positions are still male-dominated[90]. In Germany, the SFY brought to the center of the association's debate feminist approaches. Even if it is still mainly language-focused, there is an intention to make the movement more inclusive.

Even in Brazil, where the social aspect is of greater importance than animal welfare, for example, when addressing fairness, there are still limitations. The concept of food sovereignty forged by *Via Campesina* is somehow more integrated into the discourse there, frequently being raised by members. The issue includes traditional populations, indigenous peoples, and their struggle for territory, and, therefore, could also be considered a struggle for social justice. When the topic is the safeguarding of traditional crops and expertise or seed ownership, its link is clear. This is also the case when

[89] It is important to clarify that it is not because a movement is led or formed mostly by women that it identifies itself as feminist or is concerned with the agendas linked to the fight for gender equality (Agarwal, 2014; Conway, 2008; Teixeira et al., 2021).

[90] The quest to be more inclusive and representative is clear with the movement's new board, but it is worth noting that the president is still a man: a young African, but still a man.

addressing food and nutrition security, even before the increase in hunger in the country in recent years and the inclusion of the topic in the movement's agenda there (see Chapter 8). Discussions on gender inclusion in Brazil, on the other hand, are integrated within the alliances, and an anti-racism collective was created in 2022.

It is evident that within the movement, and it gets clearer as we look closely at the localities, understandings of fairness and food justice are, once again, multiple. They depend a lot on contexts and actors. So, the fact that Slow Food is a movement present in so many countries, that it proposes to be a network, that it meets every two years to strengthen its connections, allows these differences to be addressed and debated. These contradictions can be seen in the light of Goodman et al.'s (2012) idea of reflexivity. The proposal is to have a more realistic perspective on the activism for food justice, or a less moralist one, maybe. For that, the authors propose four key points: admit the contradictions and complexity of everyday life; emphasize process rather than vision; do not favor any one scale of political practice, and, work within multiple notions of privilege and economy (Goodman et al., 2012, pp. 30-32).

From these reflections, I can then return to the question posed at the beginning of this project: What role does Slow Food play in safeguarding food heritage? Assuming that safeguarding this heritage means giving the communities that hold it the ability to continue reproducing and re-signifying their culture, this must be part of or be encompassed in the actions for a more diverse, sustainable, and just food system. As this thesis has shown, the Slow Food movement, despite the breadth of its philosophy, works toward the ideals of quality food that not only has a low impact on the environment but can help it to recover, and that guarantees a dignified life for both producers and consumers. There are several limitations to its ability to achieve these goals, as has been discussed throughout this work. Nonetheless, it is possible to note that there have been occasional impacts, both in the lives of some producers, as in the cases of the *licuri* gatherers (see Section 5.2.2) or policies, whether at the local, national, or continental level. Even in contexts like Germany, where there is no intention to maintain traditions, the rescue of ancient crops of legumes, for example, adapted to the territory, and alternative sources of animal protein, end up playing the role of a connector with cultures that are threatened or have already been forgotten. As a transnational movement and with such a broad scope, Slow Food's activists often get lost in their definition or focus. At the same time, it is this breadth of format and activity, of themes and agendas, that allows the movement to connect with so many fields, and thus be relevant.

I hope that this thesis might contribute to some of the reflections not only on Slow Food, or food movements, but on transnational social movements and the food heritage field. It cannot be overemphasized that this is research from a perspective. I am not only a researcher, Brazilian, but also an activist in this movement. My position has consequences for this work, even though I have always tried to have a critical analysis. In addition, this research was traversed by the COVID-19 pandemic, which had its impacts on the way of doing, and on the object of study, not to mention the impacts on the lives of each of us. All these factors, in addition to the natural unfoldings of research, limit the scope of this work. I am looking at a period in the movement, a snapshot of that time-period and the people who were making Slow Food at that moment. I hope that the reflections I bring here will serve as the basis for future debates within the movement itself and will contribute to Slow Food's continuing adaptation in search of a more just food system.

Finally, some possibilities for investigation open from this research. Still with Slow Food as the focus, it would be enriching to expand the research to other continents and realities to find out if the variables we have found here are repeated, or if there are still other translations of the movement, its philosophies and values, structures, and repertoires of action in Africa and Asia, for example. Comparisons between Brazil and another Latin American country or between Germany and another European country can also bring new perspectives on the movement's adaptability and possibilities for action. There is still a new trend that I have observed in the movement to seek dialogues with the FAO's GIAHS program, and Slow Food Brazil groups to focus on projects to safeguard traditional farming systems and not just one product. Other social movements have also looked at the connection between food heritage and a more just food system. I hope that these future works can follow up on the discussions raised here.

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Appendix

Interview Script

Name:
Locality:
Profession:
Age:

Do you participate in Slow Food?

Which knot:

Since when?

How did you learn about Slow Food?

What is your participation in Slow Food projects?

Why did you choose Slow Food?

What does Slow Food mean to you?

What is the role of the movement in your region in your vision?

Do you participate in other social movements/NGOs?

What do you understand by food heritage?

Do you think Slow Food plays a role in safeguarding/protecting this heritage?

What do you understand by food security and sovereignty?

Do you think Slow Food plays a role in defending the food security/sovereignty of the local population?

How does it do this?

Roteiro entrevista

Nome:
Localidade:
Profissão:
Idade:

Participa do Slow Food?

Qual nó:

Desde quando?

Como conheceu o Slow Food?

Qual sua participação em projetos do movimento?

Porque a escolha do Slow Food?

O que significa o Slow Food para você?

Qual o papel do movimento em sua região na sua visão?

Participa de outros movimentos sociais/ONGs?

O que você entende por patrimônio alimentar?

Acha que o Slow Food desempenha algum papel na salvaguarda/proteção desse patrimônio?

O que você entende por segurança e soberania alimentar?

Acha que o Slow Food desempenha algum papel na defesa da segurança/soberania alimentar da população local?

Como?

Interview-Skript

Name:
Ortschaft:
Beruf:
Alter:

Nimmst du an der Slow Food Bewegung teil?

In welcher Gruppe?

Seit wann bist du Mitglied?

Wie hast du von Slow Food erfahren?

Wie sieht deine Teilnahme an Slow Food-Projekten aus?

Warum hast du dich für Slow Food entschieden?

Was bedeutet Slow Food für dich?

Welche Rolle spielt die Bewegung in deiner Region nach aus deiner Perspektive?

Beteiligst du dich an anderen sozialen Bewegungen/NGOs?

Was verstehst du unter dem Begriff „Ernährung als Kulturerbe“?

Glaubst du, dass Slow Food eine Rolle bei der Erhaltung und dem Schutz dieses Kulturguts spielt?

Was verstehst du unter Ernährungssicherheit und -souveränität?

Glaubst du, dass Slow Food eine Rolle bei der Gewährleistung der Ernährungssicherheit und -souveränität der lokalen Bevölkerung spielt?

Wie macht es das?

Gibt es eine Art Annäherung an die Unesco-Politik der Registrierung des immateriellen Erbes in Deutschland?

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Thesis Research: "Food Heritage and the Role of Civil Society: Slow Food's Actions in Brazil and Germany

I, (first and last name)……...……

- ☐ I have read the letter of introduction that I was given
- ☐ I was clearly informed of the objectives of the research and received sufficient information
- ☐ I was informed that the interview will last about 60 minutes
- ☐ I was able to ask questions about the research
- ☐ I understand that my participation is voluntary
- ☐ I understand that I can leave the research whenever I want
- ☐ I've been informed that the interview will be recorded
- ☐ I have been informed that the information I give in this research is strictly confidential

I choose:

- ☐ That my name should be omitted from all publications resulting from this research
- ☐ That I should be identified whenever necessary in all publications resulting from this research

- ☐ I freely agree to participate in the research and give my consent to access and use my data under the conditions detailed in the presentation letter.

Participant's signature

Date

Researcher's signature

Thalita Kalix Garcia Santana
Date

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI
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Pesquisa de Tese: "Patrimônio alimentar e o papel da sociedade civil: as ações do Slow Food no Brasil e na Alemanha"

Eu, (nome e sobrenome)……..……..…

- ☐ Li a carta de apresentação que me entregaram
- ☐ Fui informada/o de maneira clara dos objetivos da pesquisa e recebi informação suficiente
- ☐ Fui informada/o que a entrevista terá uma duração de uns 60 minutos
- ☐ Pude fazer perguntas sobre a pesquisa
- ☐ Compreendo que minha participação é voluntária
- ☐ Compreendo que posso sair da pesquisa quando quiser
- ☐ Fui informada/o que a entrevista será gravada e que, uma vez transcrita a gravação, será destruída
- ☐ Fui informada/o que a informação que der nesta pesquisa é estritamente confidencial

Opto por:

- ☐ Que meu nome seja omitido em todas as publicações decorrentes dessa pesquisa
- ☐ Que eu seja identificado sempre que necessário em todas as publicações decorrentes dessa pesquisa

- ☐ Concordo livremente em participar da pesquisa e dou meu consentimento para o acesso e utilização de meus dados nas condições detalhadas na carta de apresentação.

Assinatura da/o participante

Nome_____
Data

Assinatura da pesquisadora

Thalita Kalix Garcia Santana
Data

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Doktorarbeit Forschung: „Die Ernährung als Kulturerbe und die Rolle der Zivilgesellschaft: Die Aktivität en von ‚Slow Food' in Brasilien und Deutschland"

Ich, (Vor- und Nachname) …….

- ☐ Ich habe das Vorstellungsschreiben gelesen, das mir gegeben wurde.
- ☐ Ich wurde klar über die Ziele der Forschung informiert und erhielt ausreichende Informationen
- ☐ Ich wurde informiert, dass das Interview etwa 60 Minuten dauert.
- ☐ Ich konnte Fragen über die Forschung stellen.
- ☐ Ich verstehe, dass meine Teilnahme freiwillig ist.
- ☐ Ich verstehe, dass ich die Forschung verlassen kann, wann immer ich will.
- ☐ Ich wurde informiert, dass das Interview aufgezeichnet wird.
- ☐ Ich wurde darüber informiert, dass die Informationen, die ich in dieser Forschung gebe, streng vertraulich sind.

Ich wähle:

- ☐ Anonym beizutragen, so dass mein Name in allen Publikationen, die aus dieser Forschung resultieren, weggelassen werden sollte
- ☐ In allen Veröffentlichungen, die sich aus dieser Forschung ergeben, bei Bedarf mit meinem Namen genannt zu werden

- ☐ Ich stimme der Teilnahme an der Forschung frei zu und gebe meine Zustimmung zum Zugang und zur Nutzung meiner Daten unter den im Vortragsschreiben genannten Bedingungen.

Unterschrift des Teilnehmers	Unterschrift des Forschers
Datum	Datum